## NEW FRAGMENTS of MENANDER'S Epitrepontes

WILLIAM FURLEY

# New Fragments of Menander's Epitrepontes 

William Furley
June 5, 2021

## Contents

1 Revised Text ..... 3
1.1 Introduction ..... 3
1.2 Lines 171-183 ..... 4
1.3 Lines 645-661 ..... 5
1.4 Lines 697-701 ..... 6
1.5 Lines 786-823 ..... 6
1.6 Unplaced Fragments ..... 8
1.6.1 Fragment under Glass 136 ..... 8
1.6.2 Fragment under Glass 149 ..... 9
2 Composite Readings ..... 11
2.1 Lines 171-183 ..... 11
2.2 Lines 645-661 ..... 11
2.3 Lines 697-701 ..... 12
2.4 Lines 786-823 ..... 13
3 Translation ..... 17
3.1 171-183 ..... 17
$3.2 \quad 645-661$ ..... 17
3.3 697-701 ..... 18
3.4 786-823 ..... 18
4 Commentary ..... 20
4.1 Lines 171-183 ..... 20
4.2 Lines 645-661 ..... 21
4.3 Lines 697-701 ..... 24
4.4 Lines 786-823 ..... 26
4.4.1 Smikrines' speech ..... 26
4.4.2 Pamphile's answer ..... 34
Appendix: complete updated text ..... 43
The cast ..... 43
Hypothesis ..... 44
Greek Text ..... 44
Bibliography ..... 88

## Chapter 1

## Revised Text

### 1.1 Introduction

Since my edition of Menander's Epitrepontes was published in 2009, some important new fragments of text stemming from the so-called Michigan Papyrus (M) have been published by Cornelia Römer in Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik and Archiv für Papyrusforschung. ${ }^{1}$ In particular some quite large chunks have augmented a vital part of the play, the dialogue between an irate Smikrines and his daughter Pamphile in act four. Although there are still gaps, we now have more or less continuous text for the latter half of Smikrines' speech and the first section of Pamphile's reply, so that one gets a fairly good idea of the give and take between the two, centering on the issue of whether Pamphile should leave her husband Charisios now that he has taken up with a harp-girl Habrotonon and, in effect, moved out to be with her. As readers familiar with Epitrepontes already know, however, the situation is complicated. Charisios has only left Pamphile because he is under the mistaken impression that she has had an illegitimate child by another man five months after their marriage. Moreover, he does not desire the harp-girl at all, but shuns her. Nor is Pamphile in possession of the true facts. As will eventuate, the baby which she did indeed have, was fathered by Charisios himself when he raped her, or as people used to say, forced her, at a nighttime festival called the Tauropolia. From the point of view of Menander's audience, this was a 'lucky' circumstance: the man who raped her and got her pregnant, subsequently became her husband. Modern readers will not feel so happy for Pamphile that she was raped by her future husband: rape even within marriage has become a criminal offence in some jurisdictions. However, according to the conventions of New Comedy, the only thing which mattered for a citizen daughter was that sex, whether forced or

[^0]not, and pregnancy should be sanctioned by marriage. Or, to put it another way, a citizen girl whose lover/rapist did not marry her was lost. The highly charged conversation between Smikrines and Pamphile is conducted around these sensitive issues.

The new discoveries of text relate to separate sections of the play. These are now presented in consecutive order according to the plan of the original edition. First text, then papyrological readings where these are a composite of two or more manuscripts, then translation, and finally commentary. An appendix gives a complete updated text (with apparatus) of the play. Commentary and bibliography given in the first edition is assumed, in order to avoid undue repetition.

## Manuscripts

C = Cairo Codex (Cairensis)
$\mathrm{M}=$ Michigan Papyrus $4733+4801+4807$
$\mathrm{O}^{23}=$ P.Oxy. 3532
$\mathrm{O}^{24}=$ P.Oxy. 3533
$\mathrm{O}^{27}=$ P.Oxy. 4023
$\mathrm{P}=$ Petersburg Parchment (P. gr. 388)

### 1.2 Lines 171-183

A small piece of M (4801 fr. g) has been placed here by Furley (2014), giving line endings which may be combined with a few line beginnings in P . When act two begins, Onesimos is the most likely speaker. First published by Koenen \& Gagos (Aug. 20, 2002).

[XOPOY]
[Act Two]


kоì тот[ ]. . .
ò סєomọ́[tns ]vaı $\lambda$ ह́ $\gamma \varepsilon ⿺, \quad 175$

oúరغ̀ $\lambda$ ọ́ $\gamma$ -
]Ṭñ $\eta$. . [
$\pi]$ pòs $\theta \varepsilon \tilde{\omega} v$


]xo. .v...
aio] Xựvetaı
] үモ́yovev $\alpha$ [
]. .[5-6] . .[

### 1.3 Lines 645-661

For this section see (apart from previous editions) Römer (2016). See readings. See translation.



 દỉtॄ: leg. Römer 652 [ỏס]uvnpoũ leg. suppl. Furley: ]ọv mpọs ßíou Römer 655 suppl. Turner-Parsons $656 \pi \lambda \varepsilon i ́ \omega$ Wilamowitz $\tau \varepsilon \tau \tilde{\nu} \nu \pi \alpha \tau \rho i ́ \omega \nu \pi o \tilde{\omega}$ corr., transp. Fur-
 Gronewald ap. Römer $65 \dot{7}$ a̛miévăı Sudhaus $658 \mu \varepsilon ̀ \nu$ moıń $\sigma \omega$ Jensen 659 Sudhaus

 Tòv vúupıov e.g. Austin

### 1.4 Lines 697-701

For this section see (apart from previous editions) Römer (2012a), Furley (2013). See readings. See translation.

| $\Sigma \mu$ |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  |  |
| (X $\alpha_{1}$ ) |  |
|  |  |
|  | [ $̇$ ¢'] |

$$
\mathrm{XOP}[\mathrm{OY}]
$$

### 1.5 Lines 786-823

For this section see (apart from previous editions) Römer (2012b), Casanova (2013), Furley (2013), Bathrellou (2014), Römer (2016), Furley (2016). See readings. See translation.

| $(\Sigma \mu)$ |  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  $\dot{\varepsilon} \xi[\tilde{n} \varsigma . k] \alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma \cdot v$ ũv таũTá ooı tìv ПuӨía[v] <br>  |
| :---: | :---: |









 798 عipクKќvoવı Gronewald
 Gronewald 801 kaí, $\pi \alpha \dot{\tau} \tau \rho$ Römer ( $\pi \alpha \dot{T \varepsilon \rho \rho ~ i a m ~ G r o n e w a l d ~} \pi \varepsilon \pi \lambda \alpha \sigma \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta \nu$ Turner:












 Gronewald Sєútepov K-G 809 тaioxpòv Austin: т $\tilde{\nu} \nu$ uoı Gronewald, K-G,



 uóvns vel $\mu$ ã̃ Römer: où фńıs Bathrellou 815 ä Römer: ô Turner tí uoı Furley: tí

 al. Römer






### 1.6 Unplaced Fragments

For this section see Römer (2014).

### 1.6.1 Fragment under Glass 136

There are only a few legible letters on this very abraded fragment.
Six lines missing at column top probably

| 1 | $] \pi$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| 2 | ]... [ |
| 3 | ] blank [ |
| 4 | ] blank [ |
| 5 |  |
| 5 |  |
| 7 | ] blank [ |
| 8 | ] blank [ |
| 9 | ] blank [ |
| 10 |  |
| 11 | ] blank [ |
| 12 | ] blank [ |
| 13 | ] blank [ |
| 14 | ] blank [ |
| 15 | ]. .[ |
| 16 | ] . |
| 17 | ] blank [ |
| 18 | ]o. [ |
| 19 | ] ... [ |
| 20 | ] blank [ |
| 21 | ].. [ |
| 22 | ].к.v@@! |



 lou: таĩs $\theta \alpha \lambda \alpha ́ \mu \omega \nu ~ \mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \gamma \alpha i ̃ s ~ L u p p e: ~ \theta \alpha \lambda \alpha ́ \mu \omega \nu ~ G r o n e w a l d ~ a p . ~ R o ̈ m e r ~$

| 23 | ] $\mathrm{Y}_{1}$.. [ |
| :---: | :---: |
| 24 | ].. £.. [ |
| 25 | ]¢़¢ ${ }^{\text {c }}$ [ |
| 26 | $]!\omega \nu$ |
| 27 | ]. c. [.]. T! |
| 28 | ]. [...] $¢$ ¢ $[$ |
| 29 | ]. [. ]ب..... |
| 30 | ].. |
| 31 | ] .[ |
| 32 | ] .. [ |

### 1.6.2 Fragment under Glass 149

There are more legible letters on this fragment, but they do not produce words. I give Römer's original readings with minor modifications.

Six lines missing at column top probably

| 1 | ]п.... you |
| :---: | :---: |
| 2 | ].. [... |
| 3 | ].... [ |
| 4 | ]os.. [ |
| 5 | ].. oc [ |
| 6 |  |
| 7 | ]..toic. [ |
| 8 | ]o.... [ |
| 9 | ].. $0 . .$. [ |
| 10 | ]. $\mathbf{S}^{\text {a }}$. [ |
| 11 | ]...XE.. [ |
| 12 | ] $\varepsilon_{1} \ldots .$. [ |
| 13 | ]. ${ }_{\text {..... [ }}$ |
| 14 | ]..c. [ |
| 15 | ].. [ |
| 16 | ].tov [ |
| 17 | ]. $\omega \nu$ [ |
| 18 | ] $¢ \subset \alpha \lambda$ [ |
| 19 | ]op. [ |
| 20 | ]ou.. [ |
| 21 | ]. $\delta$ [ |
| 22 | ].... [ |
| 23 | ]. $0 \mu \mathrm{E}$ [ |


| 24 | ]. vE [ |
| :---: | :---: |
| 25 | ].... [ |
| 26 | ]... [ |
| 27 | ].. $\varphi \theta$ [ |
| 28 | ] $\omega$ ck [ |
| 29 | ]. \&po [ |

## Chapter 2

## Composite Readings

### 2.1 Lines 171-183

No need for composite readings here as P gives only line beginnings and M only line endings, with no overlap.

### 2.2 Lines 645-661

| C vucv єтهıpoc outoc . . . . . . . . . . [ |  | 645 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| , M |  |  |
|  | ]... [ |  |
| M |  |  |
|  | ]то. [ |  |
| M |  |  |
| \{ $\mathrm{C} \pi \mathrm{m}^{\text {. . }}$ [ | ]¢¢ $\varphi$ |  |
| M | ]. $\omega 1 \pi \ldots$ I |  |
|  | ] $\alpha \lambda \alpha$ | 650 |
| M |  | 650 |
| ¢ C | ]. £taı |  |
| M | ]. $v \in \pi \pi \ldots \ldots$ |  |

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \begin{cases}\mathrm{C} & \text { ]. } \beta \text { rov/' } \\
\mathrm{M} & \text { ]. vṇpo. } \beta \text {. } \\
\text { 保 }\end{cases} \\
& \left\{\begin{array}{lr}
\mathrm{C} & ] \text { о бuct..... } \\
\mathrm{M} & ] . \text { то тоибט[ }
\end{array}\right.
\end{aligned}
$$

### 2.3 Lines 697-701

Fragmentary line endings preserved in C , the rest in fragments of M .

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \left\{\begin{array}{l}
\mathrm{C} \\
\mathrm{M} \ldots \text {...voc вuӨvc. .[.]. autov } \delta \eta \lambda \alpha \delta \eta
\end{array}\right.
\end{aligned}
$$

]XO P[

### 2.4 Lines 786-823





## Chapter 3

## Translation

## $3.1 \quad 171-183$

(Chair.)
not bumping into them seems sensible to me.
[Chorus]
[Act Two]
On. Everything's troublesome here. It won't delight
think[ing
... [
the master[ the old guy [ not ca[re
]end
]... ] says, 175 will call] witnesses ] of the... [
] by god!
] ... [
] ... [
is ash]amed
] has become [
]... [

## $3.2 \quad 645-661$

Sm. Your friend here [ $\pm 8$ ][a child from a prostitute [
has taken[
]... of him[

| (Chai.) | ]happen to me? |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ...[ ].... indeed | 650 |
| (Sm.?) | [ ].. induce. |  |
| (Chai.) | ar]duous life |  |
|  | [ ] .. of the unfortunate |  |
| Sm. | [ t]he unfortunate |  |
|  | man, by Dionysos. But probably I'm being | 655 |
|  | a busy-body, overstepping my paternal role |  |
|  | when it's perfectly possible to leave, taking |  |
|  | my daughter with me. That's what I'll do, I've |  |
|  | very nearly decided to do that. I call you |  |
|  | to witness, Chairestratos, and swear (by god), | 660 |
|  | with whom I sent (my daughter to her marriage)... |  |

## $3.3 \quad 697-701$

(Sm.) He'll keep his wife, and bring her in addition into his ménage without delay, no doubt.
(Chai.) [Th]at's that. A major setback for me, it seems. Well, I must help out, and best be on my way on the errand on which I've been dispatched.
Chor[us]

## $3.4 \quad 786-823$

Sm. ...poisonous potions and daily threats that he'll throw you out. With no resources of her own to contribute here, but enjoying an equal share, she'll live merrily, of course, without a care. Then there's this: You'll only encourage her with your frowns and endless scolding, your position as down-at-heel housewife. Finally she'll oust you. It's not easy, Pamphile, for a free-born woman to compete with a harlot. She knows more tricks, has more experience, knows795 no shame, uses flattery, resorts to one low trick after another. Enough! Believe you me: the Pythia


## Chapter 4

## Commentary

### 4.1 Lines 171-183

171 The placement of the fragment itself receives some slight corroboration from the traces above the gap in the Michigan fragment. Koenen-Gagos had read an omikron followed perhaps by kappa (or something else). If ok is right, this clearly tallies with סокєi, a nearly certain supplement of P in the final line of act one.
172 Jernstedt's suggested reconstruction of this line is now ruled out by M. We need
 letters stood between $\varepsilon \pi I$ and $\pi \alpha \dot{v} \tau \tau \alpha$ in P remains to be checked against an image. Austin's suggestion (per litt.) is possible, although ह́míhє $\mu \pi$ ) late and can mean 'blaming' rather than 'blameworthy' (LSJ). Perhaps émítova here, 'troublesome', recurring in line 1091 of this play (Smikrines speaking) and Men. fr. 576, if four letters are enough to fill the gap. Instances of táv $v \dot{\alpha} \delta \varepsilon$, 'the things here', or 'the things up to this point', occur e.g. at Menander Dysk.
 won't overplease (him?)'. The traces permit either $\varepsilon \dot{q} \varphi p a v$ [ (i.e. a future form of


 often reflects comic vocabulary. I assume Onesimos is being ironical: the situation won't 'overplease' Charisios (?), i.e. he will be horrified to hear that Smikrines is intent on removing Pamphile, and the dowry, from him. Alternatively, Onesimos could be referring to the fact that Smikrines will be annoyed to discover what is going on with his daughter (Charisios taking up with Habrotonon and moving out).
173 oiour [ The word is not likely to be oiouaı (unmetrical) unless the scribe of P used scriptio plena. oió $\mu \varepsilon v o s(-\circ v)$, oió $\mu \varepsilon \theta \alpha$ are possible.

175 Koenen-Gagos read $\lambda \varepsilon ́ \gamma \varepsilon ı \cup ̣$ but I cannot see any trace after iota in the photograph.
176 ó ү $\varepsilon$ p $\omega \nu$. Koenen-Gagos had already pointed to the possible connection here between $\mu$ óp $\quad$ тиpas and line 659 , where Smikrines also calls the spectators to witness. The connection between P and M is given some additional support, I think, by the combination of these words in this line.
177 入ó[. A form of $\lambda$ ó $\gamma$ os, presumably.
177-78 K.-G. note before 178 (line 10 of the fragment) 'wohl Sprecherwechsel', presumably because of moòs $\theta \varepsilon \tilde{\omega} v$ at the end of the line, indicating the onset of dialogue. In 177 they say ]: $\tau$ ' is 'möglich', although I cannot discern anything resembling that on the photograph. If they are right, we would have change of speaker already in 177. If, on the other hand, this is Smikrines' entry already, we get into difficulties with our interpretation of the following fragment (P.Oxy. 4021 fr. 3, with Nünlist's revised text in ZPE 144, 2003, 59-61), where it seems that Onesimos is continuing his monologue. Perhaps $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \theta \varepsilon \tilde{\omega} \nu$ does not mark a new speaker's entry. Certainly Smikrines does not have a monopoly on the expression although he does use it 1083; otherwise Karion utters it in line 1, Syriskos in 232. We might expect paragraphus after 177 in P if the speaker changed at the beginning of 178 , but, without a photograph, I do not know how much is visible beneath oú $\mathbf{\delta \varepsilon}$ $\lambda \varrho[$ [. And there might still be change of speaker in mid-line of 178 , before moòs $\theta \varepsilon \omega ั \nu$.

### 4.2 Lines 645-661

Chairestratos has joined Smikrines on stage at line 631, after the latter had been talking to the cook Karion. In 636 he announced some trepidation (ókvnpo[), probably his own in confronting the irate Smikrines. In 639 there is talk of someone 'having given birth' (тध́токє) but one can only guess who: the candidates are Habrotonon or Pamphile. In 643 Smikrines probably mentions Charisios' name ( $\mathrm{X} \alpha \rho[$ [וбו-) then in the first line of our revised text it becomes clear that Smikrines is referring to Chairestratos' friend Charisios. The new letters we have of the following lines come from a fragment of M giving letters either at, or close to the right margin of text. It was published by C. Römer in 2016. The most exciting new discoveries are probably $\gamma \vee \omega$ ט́бєтaı in line 646 referring to Charisios 'recognizing' something, and the new reading in $656 \pi \alpha \tau \rho i \omega v$.
645 Unfortunately the traces of the second half of this line in C are impossible to

 reconcilable with C. Römer states that the two manuscripts must have had diver-
gent readings here, but, with much imagination, I could make out something re-
 that Smikrines is here talking to Chairestratos about his profligate friend Charisios. In lines 660-61 Smikrines refers to Chairestratos' role at Pamphile's wedding. It seems that Chairestratos was Charisios' 'best man' ( $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ v \cup \mu \varphi \circ \varsigma)$ at the wedding, responsible for escorting Pamphile to the groom's home.
 not have discovered that Habrotonon has had a child by Charisios as Habrotonon has only just now had the idea of pretending that the baby is hers and Smikrines entered in 583 immediately after Habrotonon had exited to set her plan in motion. It is unlikely, in my opinion, that Sandbach's e.g. supplement of line 621 (Smikrines asking Karion whether Charisios has had a child by the psaltria) is correct. What Smikrines has discovered is that Charisios has taken up with Habrotonon and is consorting with her in Chairestratos' house. Presumably he now fears that Charisios will have a child with her, which will have fatal consequences for his daughter's marriage, as Charisios will have to free Habrotonon and recognize the child as his own. This may be the point of $\gamma \nu \omega \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha$ t: he will recognize (= come to understand) that he has had a child by the 'prostitute'; cf. line 896 where Charisios comes to precisely this (false) realization. ]os This could be any number of things; Römer thought of ék $\alpha \sigma$ тоऽ, 'anyone will recognize'; but it might be the relative pronoun
 for Charisios ó movnpós. Better not to make assumptions.
$647 \pi \rho \circ \sigma \omega[$. Probably $\pi \rho o ́ \sigma \omega \theta \varepsilon \nu$, 'from a distance', with Römer. ] $\boldsymbol{\mu} \varepsilon \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \eta \eta$. Probably part of a feminine participle but hard to know to whom Smikrines might be referring: the pornē or his daughter?
648 si $\lambda \eta \varphi$ [ And who is doing the taking of what, is equally uncertain. Römer's $\varepsilon i \lambda \eta \varphi[\varepsilon ́ v \alpha 1]$ is by no means the only possible form. For what it is worth, ơ $v$ cannot go with perfect tense.
649 M has a curious vertical line (|) after $\boldsymbol{\pi} \dot{\alpha} \theta \boldsymbol{\omega}$, possibly marking change of speaker. Again in line 654. $\quad \pi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \theta \omega$ (Römer) is not the only possibility, it seems to me. One might also entertain $\pi \lambda \varepsilon ́ \omega$ ( $<\pi \lambda \varepsilon ́ \omega \varsigma$ ), 'full'. $\pi \alpha \dot{\theta} \theta \omega$, if correct, must be aorist subjunctive; a fairly common expression in Menander is tí toó $\theta \omega$; (vel sim.) meaning 'what can I do about it?' but ] Twı is not readily compatible with that.
650 к $\alpha i ̀ \mu \dot{\alpha} \lambda \alpha$, probably the interjection 'indeed!', or 'exactly!', as used by Onesimos in line 479 (cf. 1008). Cf. Aristoph. Frogs 890 (Euripides speaking).
652 ód]ụṿ̣ןoụ̃. What Römer read as pi (mpòs $\beta$ íou) is more likely to be eta, in my opinion. Then óסuvnpoũ $\beta$ íou suggests itself, matching the traces reasonably well, as Pamphile uses the word in line 825.
653 тоũ סuctụxoụ̃c, 'of the unfortunate man'. As a vaguely sympathetic expres-
sion more likely said by Chairestratos, taken up sarcastically then in the next line by Smikrines: T] òv סuctu૪ñ Toũṭo [v, 'that wretch...' Chairestratos is presumably referring to Charisios who is the subject of this conversation. Presumably Chairestratos knows the reason for Charisios' estrangement from Pamphile ('poor fellow!') but Smikrines does not.
 first words as we need some verb. The | sign here at the end of 654 likewise cannot mark change of speaker, as these three words clearly belong together. It is possible that line 654 was split between Chairestratos and Smikrines.
 es, or could it be a reflection on Charisios' carousing? In line 689 he swears by Demeter and the goddess suits the issue (Pamphile's marriage) quite well.
 being that Smikrines is occupying himself with Charisios' dissolute behaviour, in particular the possibility of an illegitimate child which he suspects Charisios of having with Habrotonon, whilst all he really needs to do to save the situation from his own point of view is to remove his daughter from her toxic marriage (657-8).
 keep Wilamowitz' $\pi \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} \omega$ in the middle of the line, and accommodate the relatively secure new reading $\pi \alpha \tau \rho \mid \omega \nu$ near the line-end in $M$, we need to modify the remaining evidence of C considerably. I suggest replacing C's $\pi \rho \alpha \tau \tau \omega$ at line end with $\pi ం \tilde{\omega}$ for metrical reasons; the scribe of C might have written $\pi \rho \alpha \tau T \omega$ for по०̃ under the influence of $\pi \circ \lambda \cup \pi \rho \alpha \gamma \mu \circ v \omega$ earlier. Then we need to dispense with $\varepsilon \mu \omega \nu$ in C in order to reduce the line to the necessary length. If the changes are accepted we get good sense, which links up well with the next line with its adversative $\mathfrak{\varepsilon} \xi \dot{\delta}$ v, 'while it is perfectly possible'. As Römer herself acknowledges, Gronewald's recon-
 construction in the next line. mótpıos has the meaning 'belonging to the father' (literally: Smikrines' rights and duties), or indeed 'hereditary (sc. custom)' (LSJ s.v. II). Smikrines' thought, then, is that what he is concerning himself with - Charisios' dissolute (as Smikrines thinks) behaviour, involving a possible illegitimate child need not concern Smikrines if he sticks to his paternal duty pure and simple and rescues his daughter from a broken marriage.
657 kaтà $\lambda$ 人ó $\mathbf{y}$ ov, 'according to reason', 'logical'. A favoured expression in Menander, in this play again in 452, Asp. 285, Kith. 58, 85 etc. $\dot{̣}$ ạ! $!$ évaı, 'quit the scene'. Smikrines means that he could stop knocking on Charisios' or Chairestratos' door and go home (with Pamphile).

658-9 'I will do this and I've nearly decided to do so'. One notices a rather engaging indecisiveness on Smikrines' part really to remove Pamphile. For all his blustering

- which we will see more of in the conversation between father and daughter which is coming up - he shows a certain reluctance to act.

660 In the gap at the end of this line one feels there must have been some reference to gods. Smikrines can appeal to Chairestratos as his witness ( $\mu \alpha \rho$ тúpouaı) but he cannot swear an oath by him (ỏ $\mu o ́ \sigma \alpha s$ ). Römer is content with Austin's [aútoùs Toù]s $\theta \varepsilon$ oús (suggested in Nünlist, $Z P E 128,1999,55$, before the discovery of this fragment of M ) although the last six letters all require dots: there are indistinct traces of the line end in both C and M . She translates 'by the same gods', but it would have to be 'by the very gods'.
$661 \hat{\varepsilon}] \pi \varepsilon ́ \mu \psi \alpha$ has the specific meaning of a father 'sending his daughter' to a man in marriage at Od. 4.5, but one might also consider a compound: e.g. غ̇k $\pi$ é $\mu \pi \omega$, $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \mu \varepsilon ́ \mu \pi \omega$, $\pi \rho о \pi \varepsilon ́ \mu \pi \omega$. Smikrines is referring to the marriage procession in which the bride was escorted by the paranymphos (= Chairestratos) from the father's to the bridegroom's house, accompanied by the wedding song (Hymenaios)

 anyway clear (Smikrines sending his daughter as bride to Charisios) but there are a multitude of ways of supplementing the gaps.

### 4.3 Lines 697-701

In ZPE 183 Römer published a small fragment which fills a gap in the previously known Michigan fragments from lines 692 to $702^{1}$, thus bridging the gap between acts three and four. The first letter of Xopoũ is duly visible after line 701. The first five lines of the new piece (692-696) serve only to confirm what we already knew or successfully conjectured from other sources for these lines. ${ }^{2}$ From 697 to the end of the act, however, the new fragment does indeed supply new readings for the beginning of the lines.

697 aúṭìv being Pamphile, the wife, and тìv $\delta^{\prime}$ the new girlfriend Habrotonon, in
 their jingle. غं $\pi \varepsilon \iota \sigma \alpha ́ \gamma \omega$, 'bring in in addition', is almost t.t. for 'introduce a second woman into the household'. Examples in comedy and Attic prose: LSJ s.v. 1.
698 After をúӨús Römer prints $\dot{\alpha}\left[\lambda \lambda^{\prime}\right]$ Éautòv $\delta \eta \lambda \alpha \delta \dot{\eta} . .$. letting Smikrines' sentence tail off without a verb (aposiopesis, she says). In her opinion Smikrines goes on to say the next three lines 699-701 (down to the end of the act) and does not give them to Chairestratos, as Koenen-Gagos and I did. There are several objections to this.

[^1]Römer's reconstruction leaves Chairestratos on stage at the end of the act, unprecedented in Menander. Secondly, the aposiopesis in line 698 is awkward, as we have no idea what verb should be supplied. In addition $\delta \eta \lambda \alpha \delta \eta$ is usually the last word in an utterance or in a line (cf. 473), which it would not be in Smikrines' speech if he had really cut off this sentence before getting to the verb. Thirdly, Smikrines has not been sent on any errand ( $\dot{\tau} \tau \alpha ́ \gamma \theta \eta \nu)$; it is on his own initiative that he has come knocking on Charisios' door now in order to extract his daughter from her marriage. Chairestratos, on the other hand, seems to have been sent on an errand as he enters (possibly in line 631) to find Smikrines ranting on stage. Chairestratos returns at the beginning of act five, probably from this very errand. Koenen-Gagos suggested that he had been dispatched by Charisios to buy Habrotonon from her owner, now that he thinks she is the mother of his child. Now Sommerstein (2014, 15) has confirmed this reconstruction with further arguments. It seems, then, that lines 699-701 are spoken by Chairestratos, confirming that he is now on his way to complete the job he has been given (probably by his friend Charisios). He speaks the lines after Smikrines has left the stage into Charisios' house to speak with Pamphile inside. When Chairestratos now says 'I must be on my way', Menander has neatly cleared the stage at the end of the act, as is his wont.

In line 698 (Smikrines' last line, if I am right) Römer's version lacks a verb governing éautòv, as we have seen. She is right that there is no room for a verb between عúӨ̀̀s and Éautòv. She supplies $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$ ’ to fill the gap; Gronewald suggests sis (apud Römer), a preposition going with غ́autòv. But the expression is not ideal; with eís we would expect $\dot{\varepsilon} \propto u t o u ̃$, if anything, but the final nu is clear. $\dot{\omega}$ on the other hand, with the accusative, meaning 'to/to the home of' someone, gives appropriate sense and syntax; cf. line 876 of this play $\dot{\omega}$ oєautŕv, 'to your house'. On the photograph supplied by Römer it seems to me that $\dot{\omega}$ s is sufficient to fill the gap between sigma and epsilon; omega is also a wide letter. With this supplement Smikrines' sentence is completed with suitable sense and the sentence is allowed to end with an appropriate flourish $\delta \eta \lambda \alpha \delta \dot{\eta}$.
$699 \pi \alpha ́ \xi$ is 'well, that's that', drawing a line under previous remarks. Chairestratos repeats this word in 987 . Perhaps it is characterizing: Chairestratos is constantly
 much less common than ávaтpém $\boldsymbol{\pi}$, 'turn (a thing) on its head', which had been conjectured before the new fragment was discovered. This form itself is found elsewhere only in Polybius 3.111.1, but there are other instances of the perfect passive. The basic meaning seems to be 'to turn aside', 'deflect', 'avert'. So Chairestratos may be saying 'my plans have experienced a setback, as it appears', rather than 'now my plans are ruined'. And his luck does change by the end of the play, because Habrotonon becomes available again once Charisios returns to his wife. So $\delta ı \alpha т \rho \varepsilon ́ \pi \pi \omega$ here may be carefully chosen to reflect the later turn-for-the-better. At
this point, however, Chairestratos is merely commenting that things look bad for him if Charisios really does set up a ménage-à-trois with both women at home, as Smikrines has just averred.
 fill out the required number of metrical positions. There is, in my opinion, space for more than just two letters before -ovŋtéov which we can read in the new fragment. Moreover, I see absolutely no ink traces where Römer makes out ]ṇv at line end. ठıакоvé $\omega$ seems to me, therefore, both palaeographically and semantically preferable to $\varphi \rho \circ \nu \eta$ т $์ \circ v$, and is approved by Bathrellou. $\delta \iota \bar{\alpha} \kappa \circ v \varepsilon ́ \omega$, rather surprisingly, has long alpha. The trace before -ovnteov suits a kappa well enough, but could be almost anything.
Chairestratos has been sent (by Charisios?) on an errand (lines 700-1 are quite explicit on that point) and here he tells himself that he 'must do this service'. It is likely (see above) that the errand consists in buying Habrotonon free, now that Charisios thinks he is the father of her baby ('Habrotonon's ruse'). Note that Chairestratos appears to use the same verb in line 642 which begins $\delta_{1 \alpha \kappa}[\circ] v \in[$. Presumably Smikrines exited at the end of 698 so this is a remark addressed by Chairestratos to himself, i.e. to the audience. It is also equivalent to a stage direction: exit Chairestratos.

700 Note the assimilated structure and word-order of the relative clause, for $\varepsilon$ हimi тウ̀v غ̇mı غ̇ठтí $\mu \mathrm{ol}$ at the end. A small example of the subtle syntax used by Menander in expressing even quite mundane thoughts.

### 4.4 Lines 786-823

### 4.4.1 Smikrines' speech

In ZPE no. 182 Römer published three new fragments (H, I, J) of Michigan papyrus 4752 giving further letters in the second halves of lines 786-823. Then in ZPE 196 she published a further fragment from the same section of the play (lines 786-803) which gives line beginnings ranging from five-six letters to two or three. When the new material is assembled we can read considerably more of the latter half of Smikrines' speech to Pamphile and her answer to him, although there are still several frustrating uncertainties. We have then a major section of the debate between father and daughter on the question of her marriage. This is an agōn in almost Euripidean style and represents a key point in the play: here the issues surrounding Pamphile's family situation are debated by the father and daughter, and Pamphile as second speaker comes out on top. Emancipation is perhaps the wrong word (because she
vows allegiance to her husband）but certainly valour and integrity in the face of an irate father are remarkably displayed．

Where we pick up the thread，Smikrines is in mid rant，having begun speaking in 715,71 lines earlier．In other words，this is a massive speech and the section which is now augmented represents its concluding section，its peroration，as it were． Smikrines＇basic message is that Pamphile＇s marriage to Charisios is a disaster，as the man has gone off with a prostitute，wasting his money（Smikrines＇dowry）on wine， women and song（Habrotonon is a psaltria）．Smikrines has，of course，no idea why Charisios has left Pamphile，nor that Charisios has in fact no desire for Habrotonon but yearns for his young wife，who he believes is involved in a scandal．Nor can Pamphile enlighten him on the true background of their estrangement，as she does not yet know the baby in Chairestratos＇household（being looked after by Syriskos＇ wife）is in fact hers by Charisios．If she did tell her father the truth（as she sees it in the present moment）it would be a scandal which might destroy him．We have to be aware of this psychological moment in this section as it explains why Pamphile has to beat about the bush in her reply to her father．I slightly hesitate about this point －that Smikrines knows nothing of Pamphile＇s faux－pas，as in line 814 Pamphile quotes her father to the effect that Onesimos is to be avoided by her，which might point to the fact that Smikrines knows Onesimos＇ratted on＇Pamphile to his master．
 beginnings（4803／26／B17F／A（c））has brought a surprise．Previously we thought a woman was plotting（（үvvaĩ］ko émíßo［u入ov）against Pamphile，but now it turns out that Smikrines is even more radical：Pamphile＇s rival will use noxious substances against her in the tradition of magical recipes which either induce love（Theocri－ tus＇Pharmakeutria）or disable a rival．For the idea of a woman rival using wicked spells and subtances to oust her rival cf．Euripides Andromache 205．The magical

 tile to humans like toads and snakes＇，gives an idea how émíßou入os is meant here； cf．Aristotle Hist．Anim．488b16；Theophr．Char．1．7．2（snakes again）．Since in these examples it is the snakes＇and toads＇poison which is life－threatening，the word might be particularly suitable here together with 甲ápuaka．The great literary sor－ ceress was，of course，Medea（e．g．in Euripides＇play line 718）．Metrically，we now have a split double－short（ $-\cup \mid \cup \cup-$ ）in the first iamb but that is permissible in the first metron．$\lambda$ ］oıסopíaı，＇quarrels＇or＇taunts＇here，rather than＇reproaches＇， e．g．Aristoph．Clouds 934；plural：Lysias 21．8；Plato Theaet．174c7．Smikrines means Habrotonon will wage a war of verbal attrition against Pamphile．Possibly
 insults＇is a phrase which occurs several times in the ecclesiastical author Joannes Chrysostomus，e．g．Ad Demetrium de compunctione vol．47，p． 396 line 5.

This line is the end of a sentence of which the beginning is missing. Smikrines seems to be listing the weapons Habrotonon will, in his imagination, deploy against Pamphile in order to humiliate her and usurp her place beside Charisios. In fact Habrotonon does all she can to reunite Pamphile with her husband! She is about the opposite of an asp.
787 ف́s ék $\beta \alpha \boldsymbol{\lambda} \varepsilon$ ĩ $\sigma \varepsilon$. Whether $\sigma \varepsilon$ was elided or not (depending on the reading one chooses after it), this must be the personal pronoun 'you' (i.e. Pamphile). But who is subject of $\dot{k} k \beta \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \tau ̃$ ? Habrotonon or Charisios? More likely Charisios, I would think, as in line 829 , where Pamphile comes to consider the question whether Charisios will throw her out on the instigation of Habrotonon. Römer thinks it is Habrotonon who will 'throw out' Pamphile. But can she do that? టs. I take this as 'that', giving the substance of Habrotonon's 'scolding', or, colloquially, 'bitching' ( $\lambda$ oıסopíaı): 'taunts that he'll chuck you out'. $\omega$ + fut. indic. can be an object clause after verbs of caring for (e.g. غ̇ாıцє $\lambda$ ह́ouaı), but there is no such verb in sight, and 甲áp $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ ка and $\lambda$ oıठopíaı are nominative, hence the subject of their sentence. Alternatively, $\omega$ ès might be demonstrative adverb: 'like that', 'in that way'.
 portion'. Palaeographically difficult, the traces after $\mathrm{c} \mathrm{\varepsilon}$ suit lamda better than either alpha or delta, and after that eta is quite satisfactory; for the curl at the top of the left descender of eta compare M's first eta in סıкпки̃̃o in line 807. The invisible right side of eta plus xi-omikron-(most of)mu are probably enough to fill the gap in M here. I take Smikrines' meaning to be that Habrotonon will take nothing into the relationship with Charisios in the way of a dowry (unlike Pamphile), but will 'share equally' with Pamphile in Charisios' wealth.
The conjectures so far have been $\sigma(\varepsilon) \cdot$ á $\rho v v \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta$, 'refusing' (Gronewald, with $\begin{gathered}v \\ \nu \varepsilon ́-~\end{gathered}$
 $\left.\gamma_{\kappa} \alpha \sigma \theta \alpha \mathrm{I}\right)$. But either of these makes Römer's probable supplement at line end oúסè モ̋v difficult, as the negative of these infinitive constructions should be $\mu \eta \delta \varepsilon ̇ \varepsilon ิ v$. To counter that objection, Gronewald later suggested at line end oủoíav, 'wealth', but the alpha is incompatible with the visible trace, and, anyway, Habrotonon can have no 'wealth' to 'contribute'. For the interested reader I list other possibilities which I or others have considered: $\dot{\alpha} \lambda$ [ $\lambda^{\prime}$ ' oio] $\mu \varepsilon \varepsilon_{v} \eta$, 'but thinking/intending' (my second





o[ủ $\delta \dot{\varepsilon}]$ ệv. The gap in M is probably not wide enough for all these letters and Gronewald and Römer suggest that the scribe probably wrote, mistakenly, ovס£v, as the scribe of C does at the end of line 286.
 sume here a 'final' or 'consecutive' infinitive after $\lambda \eta \xi$ ouévn: ‘she'll get nothing as her share to bring to (this arrangement)', more colloquially, 'she'll have nothing to contribute to this arrangement'. $\lambda \alpha \gamma \chi \alpha{ }^{\prime} v \omega+$ infinitive illustrated by e.g. Eur.
 Odysseus, obtained you (by lot) to have as his servant'. Concretely, a wife brings a dowry (as Pamphile has) but a freed prostitute, or pallakē, of course would not. So Habrotonon brings nothing with her, but profits equally with Pamphile. Middle voice of ф $p$ p usually means 'win' or 'gain', but it can mean 'bring with one' and is attested with precisely the meaning (said of a woman) 'bring dowry with one' (Eur. Androm. 1281-2). $\quad \delta_{\text {' }}$ [ $่$ ] $\xi$ ̉oou, 'equally'. Aristophanes has the expression at least twice (Knights 1160, Frogs 867).
The materialistic thought suits Smikrines who, as we have seen, is concerned about his dowry, and Charisios' financial ruin as the result of shouldering two households. Smikrines is concerned about money and the standing of his family, concerns which are still widespread and prevalent even in the so-called liberal democracies, let alone more traditional societies. He is concerned, too, about his daughter's welfare but not at all about the couple's 'happiness', let alone how Charisios may be 'feeling'. He imputes a similar mindset to Habrotonon, imagining that she has only her material gain in mind (as does Onesimos when he hears about Habrotonon's plan), which, as pointed out, couldn't be further from the truth.
789 i $\lambda \boldsymbol{\alpha} \rho \omega{ }^{\circ} \mathrm{s}$, 'cheerfully', 'gleefully'. Only one other instance of i $\lambda$ 人 $\rho$ ós in extant
 ership is neither secure nor happy'.
790-92. It is hard to make out the syntax of these two lines. The lines cannot form

 'the fact that you (sc. are always dejected) will be an encouragement to her', Greek uses a construction such as tó with acc. + infin. A bare nominative + participle(s) is quite impossible. Römer translates (reading où $\delta$ é) 'That will be a consolation to her time and again, while you will have a gloomy face etc.' But où סé must have a predicate, even if only understood from before (not possible here). Römer's English 'while you will have etc.' would be either a subordinate clause or a genitive absolute ( $\sigma \circ \underset{~}{\gamma \varepsilon} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \sigma \cup \theta \rho \omega \pi \alpha \zeta$ оúons etc.). I see as the only possibility to punctuate after тои̃т', with Bathrellou, and take the following words as an independent sentence (explanation of toũt') with ellipse of हĩval: 'you yourself (will be) an encouragement to her etc.' although I do not find this totally satisfactory. For a nagging wife 'driving a husband deeper into the arms of a غ́raípa' Bathrellou appositely cites Plautus Men. 790-91; Terence Hec. 833-36.
790 тоũт'• $\alpha$ Ủтウ̀. For explanation of this see previous note. $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \mu u ́ \theta$ וóv,
＇encouragement＇，＇motivation＇（the verb is $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \mu v \theta \varepsilon ́ O \mu \alpha ı$ ）．тотв．Although то́тє has been read in $\mathrm{O}^{23}$ ，and accepted by Bathrellou，I believe пот $\varepsilon$ may be the reading in $\mathrm{O}^{23}$ ，as it clearly is in $\mathrm{O}^{24}$ ．The sense is probably＇at length＇，＇ultimately＇ rather than＇at some stage＇（LSJ s．v．Tótє III 2，and lines 366 and 719 of this play）： ＇and at length you＇ll be＇＝＇and you＇ll turn out to be＇．
791－2 The three things Smikrines says of Pamphile here form a tricolon without connecting particle（＇asyndetic＇）．Smikrines＇point is that Pamphile＇s dejection will be Habrotonon＇s encouragement：she＇ll feel she＇s winning．It is a well－known phe－ nomenon in sport psychology that a dejected opponent encourages a player．Again， the reality turns out to be diametrically opposite：Habrotonon congratulates Pam－ phile on her luck on discovering that the baby is hers by Charisios（873－4）．She is happy for her．This disparity has the very subtle effect of showing Smikrines to be out of touch，and Habrotonon to be quite different to conventional expectations．
 stood at line end，and，with a little imagination，one can now see that this is compat－
 So，combining the two papyri now，we have，as plausible letters，катакєк．．．رє́vn］ （assuming no variants）．Römer suggests reading катакєк［［8］］оب̣иє́vクs with the meaning＇bored to death＇（116）．Palaeographically，this entails reading the letter after kappa in $\mathrm{O}^{24}$ as an erroneous delta：it does indeed look like a delta，but it could also be alpha or lamda（possibly after correction）．There is only a minimal trace of what Römer thinks might be a first mu of－$\mu \mu$ évns．The proposed meaning ＇bored to death＇seems problematic to me both in context and with reference to the usual meanings of катако́ттн．True，Menander uses the verb twice in the active voice in Samia $(285,292)$ to mean＇bore to death＇（by speaking too much），but we nowhere find this verb in the passive with the sense＇bored to death＇．And Pamphile in this situation is not bored to death，but worried to death！The imagined ménage－ à－trois with Habrotonon is likely to make her deeply insecure，but hardly bored． Römer might have noted Dysk． 398 катакє́коиц＇غ̇ү⿳亠二口丿，＇I＇m quite exhausted＇，but this is said by Sikon the mageiros after dragging a reluctant sacrificial animal along a path．Does Smikrines want to say that Pamphile will be＇exhausted＇here？By itself，one would expect the expression $\gamma \alpha \mu \varepsilon \tau \eta ̃ ऽ ~ к \alpha т \alpha к є к о \mu \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta s ~ t o ~ m e a n ~ r a t h e r, ~$ ＇a battered wife＇，as катако́тть normally means＇cut down＇，＇cut in pieces＇，＇de－ stroy＇；if it ever had a metaphorical sense like our＇cut up＇（＝upset）it might suit，but there would still be the alpha／delta in $\mathrm{O}^{24}$ to contend with．According to Römer the delta was written here erroneously，but the scribe certainly did not cross it out or cancel it with a mark．

[^2] woman' (quoted by Römer). Here one can say that the sequence $-k \lambda \varepsilon$ - can be squared with $\mathrm{O}^{24}$ on the assumption that the alpha/delta letter was meant to be lamda; there is a little extension to the left descender of this letter which seems to have been added afterwards. Perhaps this was the scribe's way of correcting his erroneous delta to an alpha or indeed lamda. The letter after that might well be epsilon, with a section of the left arc rubbed off. But the sense is perhaps less than ideal in the context of rivalry between Pamphile and Habrotonon: it's what goes on in Charisios' two homes which is at stake, not whether Habrotonon can come and go, whereas Pamphile cannot. Nor did Greek males typically see being housebound as a problem for the married woman; We may think the ancient Greek wife's position intolerably restricted at home, but the ancient Athenians certainly did not. It is not likely that the greater mobility of a prostitute (such as Habrotonon) was generally perceived as an advantage in life style. On the contrary, the security, financial and otherwise, of being firmly ensconced in a home was considered desirable for a woman. One can compare Demeas' description of Chrysis' insecurity if he ejects her from his home in Samia (390-98). A further objection is the proxim-
 Smikrines not be contradicting himself?
So, to my suggestion: катакєк $\lambda \alpha \sigma \mu$ ह́vク[s]. As mentioned above, the letter after the last kappa in $\mathrm{O}^{24}$ looks most like delta but might be alpha or lamda. After that come traces which are hard to identify but look most like the left half of theta or epsilon, with a section of the left arc missing. I believe the traces are compatible with alpha, possibly after some correction by the scribe. As an hypothesis I suggest he initially omitted the lamda and wrote кєk $\alpha \sigma-$, then corrected the mistake by slightly changing the alpha to lamda and the sigma to alpha. Römer suggests that the minimal trace before . $\mu \varepsilon \nu \eta$ [ in the new fragment is another mu. I suggest that it is the top right corner of sigma. ${ }^{4}$
I take катакєк $\lambda \alpha \sigma \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta[s]$, from катак $\lambda \alpha{ }^{\prime} \omega$, to mean 'broken in spirit', 'downcast', 'despairing': see LSJ s.v. II. In addition to the examples quoted by LSJ, see

 lowed passion from Aphrodite broke her soul' by Barrett (1964). ${ }^{5}$ A more literal rendering would be 'For this she (sc. Phaidra) was broken in spirit by a dreadful malady from Aphrodite'. For the perfect participle passive катакєк $\lambda \propto \sigma \mu \varepsilon ́ v o s ~ d e-~$

[^3]noting a mental state, see further Dion. Hal. De compositione verborum 18 p. 79.10 Usener-Radermacher (oï $\mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ т \alpha т \varepsilon ı \nu \alpha ́ \varsigma, ~ o i ̈ ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ к а т а к є к \lambda \alpha \sigma \mu \varepsilon ́ v \propto \varsigma, ~ o i ̈ ~ \delta ’ ~ a ̋ \lambda \lambda \eta \nu ~$

 (oúס̇̀ катакєк $\lambda \alpha \sigma \mu \varepsilon ́ v o s ~[o r ~-\mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega \varsigma . ~ O f ~ a ~ m a n: ~ ‘ d e g e n e r a t e ’, ~ ‘ e f f e m i n a t e ’ ~ L S J] ~] ~$
 (тoùs દ̀v тирєтஸ̃ кん $\tilde{\omega} \delta \varepsilon \varsigma$ (Aristoph. Th. 131) with tò катакєк $\lambda \propto \sigma \mu \varepsilon ́ v o v$; i.e. an effeminate, 'weepy' manner. I suggest that Smikrines is pointing out to Pamphile that if she is constantly getting at Charisios with angry looks, scolding words and a generally abject (or dis-
 encouragement to Habrotonon: if she sees her rival upset and on the defensive, that will boost her confidence. ${ }^{6}$
$793 \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \lambda$ úcॄı, '(in that situation) she'll oust you'. The most likely nuance of $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \lambda$ ú $\omega$ here seems to be LSJ s.v. I 2: 'put an end to', 'undo', 'get rid of'. Our word 'paralysis' comes from $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \lambda u ́ \omega$, and conceivably that might apply here: 'she'll render you impotent' (LSJ s.v. IV). In what follows, Smikrines says a hetaira has so many more tricks up her sleeve than a (respectable) woman: perhaps here Smikrines means something like 'she'll run rings round you'.
793-796 (... $\mu \tilde{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$ 入ov). Two ancient writers quote or paraphrase these words in part or in whole: 793-796 (with $\mu$ व́xєбӨaı instead of $\mu$ á $\chi \eta$ ) Palladius, Dialogus de vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi XVI, 40-44 (p. 304 Malingrey-Leclercq); $\chi \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \pi$ т̀̀ $. . . \mu \alpha ́-$ Xๆ: Cyrillus Contra Iulianum 7.229a (PG 76.849b). Both quoted in full by Bathrellou. Unfortunately the quoted words do not extend far enough to decide the doubtful reading व̈ $\pi$ тєтаı in 796.
 stop short of revealing what verb stood here. Theoretically, Өıyץáveı is also possible, but possibly a higher register than $\alpha$ व̈ттєтळı, so less suitable in Smikrines' tirade.
$797 \dot{\varepsilon} \xi[\tilde{n} \varsigma \cdot \kappa] \alpha \lambda \omega ̃ \varsigma . \nu$ ṽv. The new fragment gives us $\varepsilon \xi$ at line beginning, then a gap of perhaps three letters, then $\alpha \lambda \omega c$ on the adjoining fragment. Römer now

 is not ideal (should be tóte), and the remark is abrupt and ill-fitted to its context.



[^4] retain Gronewald's $\dot{\varepsilon} \zeta \tilde{\jmath} \varsigma$ (cf. line 583) к $\alpha \lambda \omega ̃ \varsigma$, but punctuate differently. Putting
 will give $\kappa \alpha \lambda \omega \tilde{s}$ the closing sense 'well and good!' or 'enough of that!', as in line 293 of this play (Smikrines again!); cf. ibid. 354 (Daos). The word would mark the conclusion of Smikrines' speech. There follows only a rhetorical flourish without further argumentation: 'consider this spoken as truly as the Delphic Oracle!'
 the Delphic Oracle. In a reference to Heaut. Tim. ( $84 \mathrm{~K}-\mathrm{A}$ ) we find taũtá ooı kaì $\Pi$ ú $\iota_{ı \alpha}$ kaì $\Delta \hat{\prime} \lambda_{ı} \alpha$, 'these are your Pythian and Delian rites', which Menander is said

 doing their last and final actions'. The story was told that Polykrates of Samos once celebrated the 'Pythian and Delian' rites of Apollo simultaneously on Delos; at the same time he sent to Delphi and asked the oracle whether he was celebrating these at the correct time; the Pythia replied that these (sc. actions) were his 'Pythia kai Delia'; shortly after that he died: Photius Lex. m p. 473.1. The proverb does not, then, appear to connect with Smikrines' words here, unless Smikrines somehow wants to allude to the fact that Pamphile is heading toward disaster. Rather, the point is surely that what he has just described will come true as surely as if the Pythia had prophesied it. It is a splendid last rhetorical flourish, as bold as it was proved false.
 no one was wiser than Sokrates: Aelius Aristides, Про́s П入áт $\omega \nu \alpha$ пєрi $\rho \eta т о \rho ı к \tilde{\eta} s$ Dindorf (Jebb p. 21, line 9).

When we survey this section of Smikrines' speech, we see that he is intent on showing Pamphile that her lot, if she has to 'share' Charisios with Habrotonon, will not be a happy one. It will be a situation in which she will lose out to the wily prostitute in all respects. Habrotonon will flourish, Pamphile despair. A real life example of women's rivalry leading to the attempted suicide of one party is found in Andokides De Myst. 124-128. Andokides relates how Kallias married the daughter of Ischomachos; then he desired her mother and introduced her into his house, creating a ménage-à-trois. In this situation the daughter, despairing of her life, attempted suicide, but was freed from the noose, and recovered. She fled the house. The mother had driven the daughter out ( $̇ \xi \dot{\prime} \backslash \alpha \sigma \varepsilon v)$ ). Kallias eventually tired of her, too, and ejected her. She, however, being a brazen hussy, то $\lambda \mu \eta \rho о т \alpha ́ t \eta$ (127.2), conspired, by means of the baby she was carrying, to persuade Kallias to take up with her again, and recognize her child. We see how the more resourceful of the women (the mother) managed to oust her own daughter and steal a march over Kallias himself. Smikrines says Habrotonon is just that kind of 'brazen' woman, and there is a baby in play here, too, similarly used by Habrotonon to
pressurize Charisios, though to a good end. In tragedy we have various other parallels: Hermione and Andromache in Eur. Androm., Klytaimestra and Kassandra in Aesch. Ag.; Deianeira and Iole in Eur. Her.; Medea and Glauke in Med. The list could no doubt be extended. Possibly we have here one of those tragic structures underlying a Menandrean plot (see my edition 2009, Introduction 1.2).
Smikrines had begun his speech 715f. with a prediction that Charisios' situation would be his ruin. He would have to pay for two women's participation in religious festivals, an idea which clearly sends shudders down Smikrines' back. Then he moved on to depict Pamphile's life beside this profligate husband as one of anxious waiting and loneliness. Unfortunately long sections of the speech are lost. When Pamphile speaks, as we shall see, she addresses other points which clearly belong to the lost lines. Smikrines seems to have referred to the 'scandal' of the situation (809 тaioxpóv); whether this involved the illegitimate child thought to have been fathered by Charisios, or merely to the infidelity generally, we do not know. Pamphile goes on to quote Smikrines that she should shun Charisios as much as Onesimos; that too is missing in our extant text. In 816 she mentions her father's point that Charisios 'will be ruined' (816) which he had mentioned at the beginning of his speech. Considering the fact that at the beginning of her speech she refers to rivalry and offence between women (807-8) it seems that, to a degree, she picks up Smikrines' points in reverse order, beginning with the last (which she dismisses) and then moving back to the beginning. An excellent tactic by Menander, I would judge, as the most recent argument is freshest in the audience's mind. We do not need to believe that Pamphile's quotes from her father's words ( $809,814,816,819$, 822-23) occurred verbatim in his speech; rather, we can imagine that they pick up and summarize her father's points. So this agōn is carefully constructed, with much influence of Attic rhetoric, such as we can observe in Antiphon's Tetralogies. In fact this is a particularly forensic play, with the arbitration scene itself, of course, being modelled on forensic arbitration. Just as Euripides had loved such agōnes so Menander follows suit: another point supporting Satyros' observation that Menander's New Comedy was Euripidean to a marked degree.

### 4.4.2 Pamphile's answer

799-805 We now know that Pamphile began her speech in 799, and not 801, as previously thought. If my and others' main assumptions here are on the mark, Pamphile begins with a prologue running to seven lines. Extant text shows that Pamphile's speech went on at least until 835 and possibly for another twenty lines or so as fr. 8 K-Th and its context may well belong in Pamphile's mouth as well. If that is the case, her speech was a good fifty lines long, comparable to that of Smikrines and balancing the agōn. So a prologue of seven lines would not be out of
proportion. Pamphile is intent at the outset on calming her father with a declaration of polite respect (captatio benevolentiae). 'Father, all that you say is true but...' and what follows is then a spirited defence against his allegations and statement of her own point of view. Pamphile retains in this way both filial piety and independence of mind. Pamphile is squarely in line with Euripidean heroines such as Iphigeneia, Makaria, Polyxene (not to mention Medea!) who stand up (at least emotionally) to the men around them with extraordinary courage. Perhaps real-life daughters did sometimes rebel against the will of their fathers but certainly only behind closed doors, whilst theatre convention requires that Pamphile argues with Smikrines on her front doorstep. Presumably the name Pamphile has been chosen by Menander to signify 'all-loving' rather than 'loving-all'!
As already indicated, the first section of Pamphile's speech picks up Smikrines' points one by one, and probably more or less in reverse order, in order to refute them. In the remaining part of her speech, mainly lost, she seems to have gone on to consider further aspects of her case. Although the sense of these first seven lines can be garnered in outline, line beginnings and endings are often missing, leaving the precise train of thought maddeningly uncertain. My own reconstruction in 2013 (ZPE 185) is different from that presented now in important respects. These revisions derive mainly from reconsideration of the question whose eunoia, goodwill, in line 804 is at issue: Pamphile's toward her father (then), or her father's toward her (now). They also reflect Bathrellou's careful discussion of the new fragments known then, and critique of my paper.
$799 \underset{\epsilon}{\epsilon}[\rho \tilde{\sim}]$. The first letter is indistinct and the verb may have been something else, e.g. $\lambda \varepsilon ́ \gamma \omega$, ${ }^{\circ} \rho \chi \omega$. $\left.\pi\right] \rho \circ \theta \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta$, 'stating as principle’ or 'premise’ (sc. 'throughout my speech') (Germ. 'zugrundelegen'). Bathrellou observes that проti $\theta \varepsilon \mu \alpha \iota$ is elsewhere construed with a dative of a person ('I propose to you'), as Smikrines uses the same verb in 718 (with my note). Accordingly mavtì t is not indirect object, but rather adverbial 'throughout my speech'. So Pamphile means that, throughout her speech, she wants Smikrines to bear this initial premise in mind. Even if she appears to contradict him, she respects him as pater familias. The new fragment of $M$ shows that Pamphile began here, and that 799-800 are not Smikrines' closing flourish. Line 799 prefaces the preface, so to speak, as Pamphile announces: 'this is going to be my premise in the whole speech'.
800 тó $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ '. The new fragment of M shows the line beginning, although Römer reads the third trace as an upsilon, which is unlikely in my opinion: all we see is a left upright (gamma, eta, iota, pi etc.). I reconstruct the syntax as tó + (potential) infinitive, with understood subject ' I ' (= Pamphile), extended by a genitive absolute (ä́коvтоs סои̃). The third letter after tó does not appear to have been mu ( $\mu^{\prime}$-). The line is an example of how small changes in our reconstructions of the text lead


ойтот' ôv, 'that you could never do anything against his will' (my italics), meaning Smikrines could never go against Charisios' will. Some of the difficulties arise because the Greeks wrote literary manuscripts without gaps between words! (moıño бои̃ or Toıńбهıs oú-). In this case, I believe what Charisios wants or thinks is completely irrelevant to the debate between father and daughter. He has gone off and left Pamphile and taken up with another woman in another man's house. Effectively he has forfeited his rights as husband.
$801 \pi \varepsilon \pi \lambda \alpha[\sigma \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta \nu]$, 'with artifice'. For the nuances of $\pi \lambda \alpha \dot{T} \tau T \omega$ here see my note in the main edition.
802 xp̣̣. Although the traces in the new fragment are very difficult to interpret, at least they show that previous suggestions are not right. $\chi-\rho-\eta$ followed by an upright seem plausible enough, although completely uncertain. Each of the letters read by Römer: $\underset{\substack{\text {-o--u } \\ \text { seems to } \\ \text { to } \\ \text { be disputable. Austin had already conjectured } \delta \varepsilon i ̃ ~ h e r e ~}}{ }$ (although negated in his sentence), so equivalent in sense to my idea now. $\quad \pi[$ epi $\dot{\alpha}]-: ~ ‘ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ́ s t a n d s ~ b e f o r e ~ a ~ w o r d ~ b e g i n n i n g ~ w i t h ~ a ~ v o w e l ~ i n ~ C o m ., ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ ’ A \eta \nu \omega ̃ \nu, ~$ тєрі époũ, Arist. Knights 1005f.' (LSJ)
 if given in accord with your wishes'. The supplement is probably not too long as in 801 and 802 we have assumed (at least) seven missing letters (before the discovery of
 Gronewald's conjecture here $\alpha \subset \in \lambda \tilde{\eta}$, in various combinations, remains a possibility of course. It was based on an assumed opposition between $\pi \varepsilon \pi \lambda \alpha \sigma \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta \nu$ (801), 'constructed', or a variant of that, and áq $\varphi \in$ n's, 'simple', 'plain', both terms used to characterize modes of speech. हĩ. The big question is: who is the subject of this clause? Is it Pamphile or Smikrines? In 2013 I assumed Pamphile was claiming her own right to think for herself ( (poveiv) following a common reading of the traces as $\varepsilon-\imath-\mu$, i.e. $\begin{gathered}\text { í } \mu \text { í. Since then } \\ \text { I have changed my mind however, and believe }\end{gathered}$ Pamphile is, overtly anyway, deferring to Smikrines, saying he has the authority to understand 'what is just'. Bathrellou has pointed out that the third trace is not likely to be mu, but may be the left upright of a number of letters, including kappa (as I assume here). Great uncertainty, then, here as to the sense. I take a decision for the benefit of readers, but beware! $\boldsymbol{k}$ ['́pios. Bathrellou agrees that the initial trace may be part of the downstroke of e.g. kappa. Another line in which different supplements will give widely divergent meanings. However all suggestions to date point in roughly the same direction as kúpıos with the infinitive 甲poveiv - being 'good', or 'authorized' to 'think' - seems to be what is required here.
The overall sense of 801-3, then is that Pamphile says, at least, that she must defer to her father. What she goes on to argue, however, gives the lie to this. Since the audience (surely) wishes the unhappy couple to discover their misunderstandings and make up, they are likely to sympathize more with Pamphile than Smikrines at
this point, as he wants to dissolve the marriage.
804 [тò $\mathbf{\delta i ́ k \alpha}$ ]!̣v, 'what is right'. Although supplements have varied (see app.), as in the case of kúpıos in the previous line, they all point in roughly the same direction, forming an object to фpоveĩv. $\dot{\alpha}[v]$ épıota, 'incontestable', 'uncontroversial'. Bathrellou has now endorsed this reading and given it contemporary support by pointing to proper names such as Avńpıotos/'Avépıotos and feminine A Avnpíota attested for the period either in literary or epigraphic sources. She points out, however, that the meaning is more likely to be 'incontestible', that which one cannot dispute ( $\varepsilon \rho i \zeta \omega$ ), rather than what I suggested in 2013, 'uncombative' or 'uncontentious' (applied to Pamphile), and I agree with her, applied now to what Smikrines had told Pamphile, not what Pamphile is about to tell him. As Bathrellou points out in n. 20, Bechtel 1917, 195 glosses the name Aneristos as 'der, gegen den keine épıs möglich ist', which, applied to things, would mean 'incontravertible', 'incontestable'. It seems to me now that عưvoıa is more appropriately said of Smikrines' good will toward Pamphile: 'Father, I know you mean only the best for me but...' Pamphile would be (deferentially) saying to her father that she realizes all he had said was really out of 'good will' toward her. Bathrellou: 'probably, but not necessarily, Smikrines' goodwill towards her, rather than vice versa'. بo! $\lambda \underline{e} \hat{Y}$ [eıv. The end of the line is again unfortunately shrouded in darkness, and my supplement now depends on the assumption that it is Smikrines' eunoia toward Pamphile which dictates (éké $\lambda \varepsilon \cup \sigma \varepsilon$ ) that he says 'incontravertible' truths to her, and which induces her ( $̇ \pi \alpha ́ \gamma \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı)$ to obey.
 but suits upsilon, as well as, perhaps, epsilon or sigma (see app. for other suggestions, most of which read sigma for the trace). The visible letters in M ].ce have led editors to believe unanimously that the personal pronoun $\sigma \varepsilon$ must have stood here. кє $\lambda \varepsilon$ ú $\omega$, order, can be used of inanimate things such as vó os and $\theta$ vuós, but these might be said to represent human planning or will; likewise eưvoıa is a quality of the human mind. غ́mạ́[yєtal, 'induces'. We had this verb already in 651, as the new fragment has shown. غ́móyєı (Gronewald ap. Römer), by the way, is improbable metrically (split double-short).
When we survey this sentence thus reconstructed, Pamphile is attributing two connected things to the good will which she assumes her father feels toward her: that he said all he has said to her out of a fundamental desire for her well-being, and that this good will is a force bearing on Pamphile to obey. The sentiment is part of Pamphile's deferential overture to her father, before contesting everything he said. Thus she manages to preserve an appearance of filial piety while preparing for her own fierce self-defence.


this seems distressing, namely that I meet with [troubles] although I've done no wrong, let us not talk about [brides] who erred.' But this probably mistakes the syntax of the main clause, which seems to take the form of દ́ác $\omega$ + acc. \& infin.: 'leave someone alone to do something', or, as here, 'let someone (doing or being something: participle) be’ (LSJ s.v. 1a). I.e. in this case, ‘let's leave women(?) in peace who happen to err'. Tv $\chi$ व́́v $\omega$ + part. seems in this case well-rendered by 'happen to' do something, and is not here, with Bathrellou, the construction with genitive ([какడ̃ข]) 'chance upon', 'hit on'. The infinitive goes with both participles
 ing of this word, where previous editors had read סuvatóv. Römer's ooì mapòv סокєĩ is unsatisfactory Greek (סокєĩ goes with an infinitive; $\pi \alpha$ рóv would normally be the absolute accusative). $\quad \eta \eta \delta \varepsilon ́ v v^{\prime}$, perhaps marginally better than $\mu \eta \delta \delta \dot{v}$, as it is people who matter in the constellation of man plus two women described by Smikrines.

807-8 [ $\gamma \cup v \alpha$ aik $\alpha$ ], [ $\pi$ ópvas]. But what are the missing words at both line beginnings? The participles tell us only that their antecedents are feminine singular in the one case, and plural in the second. The accusative case belongs to the acc.+ infin. construction dependent on $\dot{\varepsilon} \tilde{\omega} \mu \varepsilon \nu$ as indicated in the previous note. I take the lines to be an abbreviated dismissal of Smikrines' account of all the harm and injustice Habrotonon will do to Pamphile if Charisios accommodates both women. As already outlined, this is the last, vitriolic section of Smikrines' speech, whose content runs (at least) from 786 down to 797. So Pamphile would be picking up on this last argument, only to dismiss it summarily as being 'painful' ( $\lambda \cup \pi n \rho o ́ v$ ). If this is correct the singular feminine noun/pronoun should be Pamphile herself, who 'happens to have done no wrong', and Habrotonon and her ilk, 'who may happen to have erred'. үuvaĩka might refer specifically enough to Pamphile, the wife ( $\delta \alpha ́ \mu \alpha \rho \tau \alpha$ metrically possible but not a comic word), and mópvas to harlots. Again, however, what we supplement will affect sense, as the alternatives proposed to date show. $\dot{\alpha} \mu \alpha \rho$ tov́oos is aorist, so probably refers to sins committed rather than 'being committed' in a general sense. This is the first of Pamphile's points which is expressed in a deliberately vague way (she mentions no names); in what follows that remains the tendency. Probably Pamphile wants to keep the literal truth from her father (she has had, as she thinks, an illegitimate baby and that is why Charisios is estranged from her), and perhaps protect her own honour; it is unfortunate for the modern reader, however, who would like to know exactly what she means at all points.
808-813 This is the second of Pamphile’s points ( $\delta \varepsilon$ útepov 808) so we are right to consider 806-7 her first. This point is expressed in an obfuscating way (see previous note), as she leaves us (and her father) to guess what she means by taioxpòv. That it stems from Charisios in her father's opinion is a fair guess from mapà toútou
and aítiov toũtov tílns; who else can oũtos be if not Charisios? So the point seems to be about some 'dishonour' which Charisios has done her. Is it the fact of his having left her and taken up with Habrotonon, or can it be the baby already which Smikrines has gotten wind of, guessing that it is Habrotonon's by Charisios? Smikrines certainly mentions a 'child by a prostitute' in line 646 but perhaps only as a possibility in the future rather than a known fact. But then Pamphile denies that there is any 'dishonour' or perhaps 'scandal'. What can she mean? She can hardly deny that Charisios is humiliating her by hiring Habrotonon. And she cannot be denying that scandal attaches to the baby as she has no idea yet that it is hers by Charisios. Bathrellou's explanation of these lines is unfortunately weakened by reading $\alpha$ ब่тטх $\tilde{\nu}$ at the beginning of 813 , and thinking it refers to Charisios' misfortune in fathering Habrotonon's baby (she wrote before the new little fragment of M showed the line beginning to be ó TuXడ̀v). taioxpóv is no doubt one of Menander's typical euphemisms but is it a euphemism for an illegitimate child, or for a husband living 'in sin' with a harlot? Then Pamphile goes on to say that in a small closed circle (ėv ó $\lambda i ́ y o ı s) ~ t h e ~ t r u t h ~ c a n ~ b e ~ f o u n d ~ o u t, ~ w h i l s t ~ t h e ~ w i d e r ~ p u b-~$ lic (oi mo $\lambda \lambda$ 人í) only knows 'what has happened' (sc. on the surface) and for them, 'any story to hand is preferable to the truth'. But that does not help us much, either. What truth does Pamphile mean which can be revealed in a small private circle? Surely not that she has had a baby herself after rape, as, I repeat, she has no idea yet that Charisios is its father. Or does she mean that her husband can hardly be blamed for taking offence having heard about her extra-marital baby; therefore there's no 'shame' in that. Just possibly that is what she means (from her point of view), only she cannot spell that out to her father for obvious reasons. In short I think we do best to see here one of those impasse situations which Menander likes to create. Pamphile cannot tell her father the truth which would exonerate Charisios to a considerable degree and must keep her words ambiguous. For another example of the impasse see the conversation between Demeas and Thrasonides in act four of Mis., reported by Getas, who was present.
810-813 'The truth can only be discovered in a small circle. The general public is happy with some superficial story'. This sentiment, though here of course with specific meaning and application in the play, reads as a rather undemocratic view. For an Athenian it might mean that the Assembly can never discover the truth, which was reserved for the few, the óㅅíyol. There had been many notorious oligarchs in the turbulence of the previous century, and two periods of oligarchic rule. Plato indeed favoritizes this viewpoint (for example in the Republic) that only the educated few should have access to government as the uneducated masses simply do not have the intellectual equipment to think straight ( $\varepsilon \dot{\jmath} \beta o v \lambda i ́ \alpha)$. We know that Menander nearly went down with Demetrios of Phaleron when he was ousted in 307 BC, and education in a philosophical school such as the Lyceum was the pre-
serve of the relatively rich and privileged, i.e. not the oi polloi. I fear that such a remark by Pamphile might have been enough to have had its author sent to the gulag under some regimes. One is reminded also of the, at times, life-threatening mental stress caused to people nowadays caught up in some scandal when they are hounded by the media, who only want to serve up stories (ó Tuxผ่v $\lambda$ óyos) to their tabloid readership. The truth is, indeed, only accessible to the small inner circle. It is interesting how Pamphile admits in this remark that she knows 'people are talking about her'; and see lines 665-6 where Charisios is said to be 'the talk of the town'.

Smikrines in Sik. 150-155 expresses a very similar sentiment to that of Pamphile here and is castigated as 'oligarchic' (ò入ıy $\alpha \rho \times$ ıкós) by Blepes for it (156). Like Pamphile he says that the truth cannot be ascertained in public but only in a small
 acter so the same sentiment acquires two valences (as the structuralists would say) in Menander's plays. Hard to pin him down. ${ }^{7}$
812-13 үivetaı. The breakthrough in deciphering this sentence came when Bathrellou realized that what had been read as a tau (тєוvetaı) in M was in fact a gamma. This can then be combined with ó tuxడ̀v [ $\lambda$ ó $\gamma$ ]os in the next line to produce very satisfactory sense: 'so that any chance story becomes preferable to the truth'. [ $\lambda$ ó $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ ]oṣ is of course a supplement, but final sigma is clear and omikron before that quite plausible. That there is space in the gap for three letters is corroborated by Bathrellou's suggested supplement [où $\varphi$ ] ̣̣́1s, 'you say’. Bathrellou did not know then that 813 in fact began with ot [ rather than $\alpha \tau$ [ so she supplemented áтטХผ̃v, which has turned out to be wrong. ó TuXஸ̀v...入óros as an expression is recorded (at least) three times in the TLG, 'a chance account', 'any old story', and the participle of tuyхávט is regularly used adjectivally, 'chance', 'random'. غ̇ாímpooणe, 'before', is usually not used of time, only spatial order, whether literal, or, as in this case, theoretical.

814 Another quote from Smikrines' speech (note $\sigma$ ', 'you'), but not necessarily literal. In lines 422-3 we learned from Onesimos himself that he had told Charisios previously of other indiscretions ( $\tau \omega \tau \nu \rho \circ \tau \varepsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu \mu \eta \nu \cup \mu \alpha \dot{\tau} \tau \omega \nu$ ), which can only point to the revelation about Pamphile's baby, which she had while Charisios was away. Charisios had reacted badly then, being annoyed with the conveyor of such bad news (423-5). Onesimos also tells us there that he had not confronted Charisios with the ring (evidence of the rape that night at the Tauropolia), because he knew that his master was angry with him anyway. So now, when Smikrines tells Pamphile that 'she should avoid Charisios as much as Onesimos', one wonders what exactly he had meant. Is this a reference to Onesimos' having 'told on her' before? In that case Smikrines must know what Onesimos had told and all Pamphile's at-

[^5]tempts at discretion now would seem to be pointless. I do not know the answer. I would assume from extant evidence in the play that Smikrines does not know about Pamphile's baby. Perhaps there were lines in the play, missing now, which showed the threat Onesimos posed to Pamphile.
815-16 Pamphile says it is a 'shameful' thing her father has just said to her, that she should shun Charisios. Presumably she means: 'that is not what a good wife should do, come what may'. She goes on to spell this position out to Smikrines, saying that she married Charisios for the good times and the bad. عĩmas. Menander shows a distinct preference for the 'weak' aorist forms of 'say' as well as 申દ́p ( $\eta \boldsymbol{\eta} \nu \gamma \kappa \alpha$ ). छ̇ยฺŋ̃̃кณs, 'introduce', 'insinuate', 'cast (aspersion)', (Germ. 'in den Raum stellen') preferable to $\dot{\varepsilon} \varphi \tilde{\eta} K \propto \varsigma$ (edd.) as there is no trace of upper vertical of phi in M, which one would expect to see. The basic meaning of évínut is 'send in against', but it can be used of a missile, or poison, courage etc. (LSJ s.v.).
816-17 The sentence begins with another quote from Smikrines, that Charisios is doomed. In line 751 Smikrines has said ớró $\lambda \omega \lambda \varepsilon v$. Perhaps this shows the relation between Pamphile's 'quotes' from her father's speech and what he really says: she is, in effect, summarizing his words. Then Pamphile repeats the verb $\phi \varepsilon$ ú $\gamma \omega$ from before showing that this point belongs in the same context: should Pamphile run from Charisios now that he has become entangled in scandalous behaviour?
817-18 Pamphile says she married Charisios for the good times and the bad. For

 a well-stocked market is the sweetest thing for a well-off person, most bitter how-

 mits vile acts while well-off, what do you think he will refrain from when badly off?' That a person can fall on bad times after prosperity was obviously something of a cliché. Pamphile's point goes a step further, however: if a woman's husband falls on bad times, she should not run from him like a rat leaving a sinking ship. The point is enshrined in modern marriage vows at a Church wedding.
$819 \pi \rho o i ́ \delta \omega \mu$ ' (= $\pi \rho o i ́ \delta \omega \mu \alpha ı)$. The middle of $\pi \rho o o \rho \alpha ́ \omega$ with the sense 'provide for', 'take care for', is documented in LSJ s.v. II 3, but usually with a genitive object or prepositional phrase ( $\pi \varepsilon \rho i ́, \pi \rho o ́ s)$. However the combination with a dative of advantage (commodi) seems natural enough: 'for him'. «äтот̣ov». Smikrines appears to have said this about Charisios in line 704, right at the beginning of the altercation between himself and Pamphile, not in his main speech. A fair translation might be 'impossible'. There Smikrines had said 'one virtue is always to steer clear of an impossible character'. Bathrellou pointed out that ätotiov may not be a quote from Smikrines but might be Pamphile's comment on the previous thought, that she should leave Charisios now that he is in poor shape as a husband. Römer

accepts this point from Bathrellou and supplements où $\mu$ èv ợ̛̣[voi] $\sigma \theta\left[\begin{array}{c}\alpha \\ \mu \circ \prime \cdot] \text { after }\end{array}\right.$ it ('Impossible! You know this as well as I do!'). But this is to overlook the point that Smikrines had called Charisios äтотоv and told Pamphile that she should leave him (703). The letters after $\mu \varepsilon ̇ \nu$ in this line are totally unclear. Römer has objected to my $\varphi \grave{̣}$ [ $[s$ that phi after $\mu \grave{\varepsilon} \nu$ is 'impossible', preferring sigma herself (above). However, I am prepared to stick with phi: one only has to assume that the descender has become abraded. Sigma is indeed a possibility but I cannot think of a suitable word or construction which will connect well with the next line. With omikron one could imagine something like où $\mu \varepsilon ̇ \nu$ ợ! the sense greatly.
820 koıvตvòs то[ũ $\beta$ í] ou, 'life companion'. Smikrines had already used the word back in line 594, possibly in the same context, and Charisios picks up on this expression when he comes to brood over Pamphile's noble words compared to his own pusillanimity (920). Antiphanes is quoted as having used an almost identical expression (Athen. 2.1.92 Kaibel) koıv $\omega v$ òs ád $\mu$ роĩv тñs túXns kaì toũ ßíou (said of a parasite), and the expression (with variants) koivcvòs $\beta$ íov is a commonplace.
 vicissitudes'.

821-23 Pamphile comes to the last of Smikrines' points which she will address. It concerns the prediction that Charisios will have to service two households because of Habrotonon and will pay her more attention than Pamphile (Habrotonon can never be his wife as she is not a citizen).

823 ékévøn. M has only ekeı- so the error may be put down to haplography ( $\varepsilon$-кєı-

 lamda in ó $\lambda_{I} \sigma \theta \alpha \dot{v o v} \theta^{\prime}$, alpha is more likely. Pi in $\pi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda ı v$ is, in my opinion, wrong, too. Nor does the sense with ópẽ, 'I see', entirely convince: Smikrines does not see, only predict. ò $\lambda_{ı \sigma \theta \text { áv }}$ ('slip’ = 'get into trouble') is, in my mind, too much of a euphemism for Smikrines, who tends to exaggerate. Finally, there is split double-short between $\pi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda ı v$ and ó $\lambda_{ı} \sigma \theta \dot{\alpha} v o v \theta^{\prime}$. Unfortunately the traces in M after $\alpha-ו-c-\theta-\alpha$ are indistinct, so my supplement is little more than e.g. An alternative would be

824ff. Pamphile goes on to discuss the possibility of remarriage if she leaves Charisios.

## Appendix: complete updated text version $2.0^{8}$

## The cast

In order of appearance:


The scene is a rural deme of Attica, probably not far from Athens, with two house doors opening onto a street: one belongs to Charisios, the other to his friend Chaire-

[^6]stratos.

## Hypothesis

$$
\mathrm{O}^{28}=\text { P.Oxy. } 4020
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 'Em! } \\
& \text { 'Етitрé[movtes } \\
& \text { Oủx ó t Tpóqı- } \\
& \text { нós oọ [v mpòs } \\
& \theta \varepsilon \omega ̃ \nu,[
\end{aligned}
$$




## Text

## Act One

The play opens with two slaves conversing. The cook, Karion, addresses Onesimos, Charisios' servant:

$$
\text { fr. } 1 \text { K.-Th. }
$$

## KAPIWN

oủx ó т то́фıиós бои трòs $\theta \varepsilon \omega ̃ \nu$, 'Ovŋ́бıцв,



## fr. 2a and b K.-Th.


koì đù $\pi \varepsilon \rho i ́ \varepsilon p y o s ~ \varepsilon i ̃ . . . ~$


P.Oxy. 4936

In the following fragment, which Handley places between fr. 1 and the beginning of the Petersburg parchment, we have scraps of conversation between Karion the cook, Chairestratos and Onesimos. Column i contains line ends, column ii line beginnings, including notae personae and paragraphoi. Column length appears to have been thirty-five lines. For both columns I give a combination of Handley's diplomatic text (where only single letters can be discerned) and his restored text (where whole words can be plausibly restored). All the suggested supplements given in the apparatus stem from Handley's textual commentary. For 'Handley', then, one can read 'Handley in comm.'.

Column i
(minimal traces of 4 lines)

| ] . . . . cıov | 5 |
| :---: | :---: |
| ]. 1.. $0 .$. |  |
| ]traces [ |  |
| ] . . غ¢¢ |  |
| ] traces [ |  |
| ]. . [.. ]o | 10 |
| ]..... ${ }^{\text {[ }}$ |  |
| ]. cuve[..]... [ |  |
|  |  |
| ] . . . . ${ }_{\text {a }}^{\text {cı }}$ |  |
| ]..... ic ö入п | 15 |
| ]ọ. |  |
|  |  |
| ] c̣¢óSp̣' oĩc0' ơtı |  |
| ]. T |  |
| ] . . . . $\mu \mathrm{mic}$ ǐc $\alpha$ |  |
|  | 20 |
|  |  |

```
] Xapıcıo[-
]\varepsilonv[.]..[
    ]\rho... [.]c!
    ovóuaт[0]c25
```



```
    ]к๕⿺v
    ]coov
    ]cтє..[
    ]от!̣@[...]v 30
    ]ข̣vv[
-] <\mu\alpha cú
    ]\delta\varepsilońtou[
    ]. . 
```





 т] ̀̀ $\pi \varepsilon \rho\left[i\right.$ co]ũ Handley 32 e.g. т] ${ }^{\prime} \mu$ à cu Handley

|  | Column ii |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\underset{\lambda_{\varepsilon \gamma}}{\mu \varepsilon}$ |  |
| K $\alpha^{\circ}$ | . x . [ |  |
|  | ]v. |  |
|  | тпкко . . . | 5 |
| K $\alpha \rho$ | $\bigcirc \lambda$. |  |
|  |  |  |
| X ${ }_{1}$ | ד¢¢¢ика[ |  |
|  | $\cup$ U. [ |  |
| Ov | $\alpha v .[] ..[$ | 10 |
|  | $\theta$ |  |
|  | kav |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  | тaútno o[ |  |
|  |  | 15 |
|  | аƯTìv $\delta_{1}[-$ |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |


|  | aủtòv m！［－ | 20 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |
|  | ．． |  |
|  | coị סeũpo［ |  |
|  |  |  |
|  | к入 вíc $\omega$ m［ | 25 |
|  |  |  |
|  | т |  |
| Kap | のu̇tòc к $\alpha$ 入 $[$［ |  |
| Ov | kaì Өacı［－ |  |
| X $\chi_{1}$ | coì $\pi$ ¢ө $\theta$［－ | 30 |
| （K $\alpha \rho$ ） | oĩvov Өá［cıov |  |
|  |  |  |
| Ov |  |  |
|  | TOĨ vบ̃v［ |  |
|  | ［．．．］．．．［ | 35 |

 $\alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \alpha \dot{\alpha} \pi \alpha \tau[\varepsilon \rho-$ Handley：$\alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \nu . \alpha \tau$ leg．Furley 20 vel $\pi \rho \rho[$ leg．Furley 21 кр $\varepsilon \mu \tilde{\alpha} \nu$ Handley 22

 äv है́ı $\lambda \alpha[\lambda \tilde{\imath} ı c$ vel $\lambda \alpha \dot{\alpha}[\beta$ ŋıc Handley

Between the end of this fragment and the beginning of the next scene must have come the lost prologue．Someone－probably a deified abstraction（Diallage，＇Rec－ onciliation＇？）－told the audience what lay behind the rift in Charisios＇and Pam－ phile＇s marriage：a baby conceived before their marriage，considered illegitimate and exposed before Charisios＇return from his business trip，but in fact his very own child by Pamphile．

Before the Petersburg fragment commences we may place，conjecturally，two fur－ ther fragments．For their attribution to Epitrepontes see commentary．

$$
\text { Fr. } 10 \text { K.-Th. }
$$

Stobaeus，Ecl．4．29．58 Hense．Mevóvס́pou ’Eтitpémovtes＇

1．〈uèv〉 Heringa：$\gamma$ àp Hense 2．ai̋oxıov codd．：ai̋oxıotov Heringa．

$$
\text { Fr. 613a K.-Th. = fr. } 837 \mathrm{KA}
$$

Stobaeus，Ecl．4．29．59 Hense．Toũ đủtoũ•


The Petersburg fragment begins in the middle of a speech by Smikrines as he paces angrily up and down outside Charisios＇door．

## （ $\Sigma \mathrm{MIIKPINH} \Sigma$ ）


 àmıotíaı $\gamma \alpha ́ \rho$ ह̇б日＇öนoıov toũtó $\gamma \varepsilon$ ，
 ผંvoúuغvos Tíveıv éautóv．
Toũt' દ̇y [しे
 Tòv êp $\omega \tau$ Ta．

| $\Sigma \mu$ |  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  | 135 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| （ $\mathrm{X} \alpha_{1}$ ） | $\delta \omega \dot{\delta} \varepsilon \kappa \alpha ;$ <br>  |  |
| $(\Sigma \mu)$ |  モ̈ $\xi$ ． |  |
| （ $\mathrm{X} \times 1$ ） |  <br>  | 140 |

127 ante hunc v．тíveı $\delta \varepsilon ̇$ по



 punctum testatur Hutloff：totum versum Chaerestrato dant nonnulli oi $\mu \omega[\zeta \dot{\xi} \tau \omega$ Ko－ erte：oil $\mu \omega[\xi \varepsilon \tau \alpha$ Sudhaus 134 Cobet 135 Cobet $137 \delta i ́ \delta \omega \sigma \%$ cum spatio P X in marg．dextro dispex．Hutloff 138 suppl．van Leeuwen 139 suppl．Sudhaus 140 suppl．

 ттioávnv Gomperz

## ［？ABPOTONON］




 व̀крıß૦入оүкĩ日＇．
］ 101
］c $\quad \perp \mathrm{P}$
［－gap of 1 line－］

> ... [].[

150
трооє［



ő $\gamma$ ’ غ่مผ．

à $\gamma$ x̣ou［．］．кєıт̣०v［
$A \beta \rho$ ．］．．［ ］．．［
Tñṣ vụ［k］Ṭọ̀s．


（？X ${ }^{\circ}$ ）$] \sigma \omega \omega[$

$\alpha$ á $\gamma$ ’〉 हĩTou－





 ］$\alpha$ тnp leg．Hutloff 144 in ．Austin（2011）：］ovac leg．Cobet：edd．pr．versum Simiae
 ley fin．Wilamowitz 145 in ．Austin：$\beta \lambda \varepsilon ́ \pi \pi ء \iota ~ \sigma \kappa \cup \theta \rho \omega \dot{\varphi} \varnothing$＇Wilamowitz reliquaJ Jernstedt







```
(X\alphaı) \varphiрव́\sigma[\omega]\mu\varepsilonv. oîov kív\alpha\deltaos` оiкí\alphav то\varepsilonĩ165
    \alphảv\alphá\sigmaT\alpha]TOV.
mo\lambda\lambda\alphàs ह̇ßov\lambdaó\mu\eta\nu व̈\mu\alpha.
(?A\betap)
    mо\lambda\lambda\alphás;]
(?A\beta\rho) \muí\alpha\nu \mu\varepsiloǹv T\etàv É\varphi&\xi\tilde{\}S.
(X\alphaı)
т\etàv \varepsiloṅ\mu\́v;
(?A\beta\rho) tìv \sigma]ńv \gamma`. î\omega\mu\varepsilonv \delta\varepsilonũpo m\rhoòs Xapí\sigmaıv.
(X\alphaı) iै\omega\mu]\varepsilonv` \omega\varsigma к\alphaì \mu\varepsilonıраки入\lambdaí\omega\nuv ő\chi\lambdaos
    \varepsilonis T]òv тómov TIS है\rhoX&0' ப́mo\beta&\beta\rho\varepsilon\gamma\mu\varepsilońv[\omega\nu

    [XOPO] Y .

\section*{Act Two}
(?Ov) ह̇ாi[ O
 kai tom[ ]. . . ò Sєomọ́[tns ]vaı \(\lambda\) ह́ \(\gamma \varepsilon ⿺, \quad 175\) ó \(\gamma\) ह́p \(\omega\) [ \(\nu\) oưठè \(\lambda\) ọ \([\gamma-\) H]ápṭupas ]Ṭั̃ \(\eta\). . [ \(\perp \mathrm{P}\) \(\pi]\) p̣òs \(\theta \varepsilon\) ธu \(v\) ] \(\lambda \omega \varsigma\) к кì т \(\alpha\).[ ]xo..v...180aio] Xứvetaı] \(\gamma\) ह́ \(\gamma\) ovev \(\alpha\) [ ]. .[5-6] . .[
[— gap of several lines -]
\(\mathrm{O}^{25} \mathrm{fr} .3\)
(?Ov) ..]. \({ }^{\varepsilon ı \ldots . .} \mathrm{\eta}[\)

\(\pi \alpha] \rho \alpha т \rho i ́ \beta o \mu[\alpha\),
. ] بpos ávạT[
166 in. Kock: \(\delta\) ıá \(\sigma\) to] tov Sudhaus, Wilamowitz \(167-170\) suppl. Jernstedt 171 in. suppl. Kock fin. Jernstedt 173 oió \(\mu[\) Evos Eĩval Jernstedt 177 गọ́ \([\gamma\) - Furley post hunc v. initia octo versuum quae habet P in folio \(\mathrm{III}^{\mathrm{r}}\) inser. Hutloff; num Epitrepontibus attribuenda dubium est 181 leg. suppl. Furley
```

\tau]ò \gammaà\alpha Tr[\varepsiloń]pas [
\alpha]!̣!\alpha\lambda\lambda\alphá\gamma\eta\thetä!.[
\alpha]
k]⿰㇒́}\Theta\varepsilonv\delta' \alphàv\alpha\sigmaт
к\lambdaív\etav غ̇\muoị [
\dot{\alpha}\pi\omega'\lambda\varepsilon\sigma\varepsilonv. [
\alphả\gamma\alpha0òv \gamma\varepsilońvo[!тo
\varepsiloṅ\lambda\alphá\lambda\lambda\varepsilonı \delta\varepsiloń \muoı X[
\alphaúTòv ċ0ć\lambda\varepsilon! [
ú\muãs غ̇vo\chi\lambda\varepsilon[1 15
oưOÈv \delta\varepsilońo\mu\alpha[\
oú] T@ั\ \ụXóvT[\
\pm4]. TOS हाँ\pi[\varepsilon
\pm4] yuv\mp@code{ıк[}
\pm4]\rho. . व́mo[
2 0
\pm4]. \delta\alphaк\omega[

```
 possis 4-21 suppl. Parsons (1994b) \(4 \pi] \alpha \rho \alpha т р i ́ \beta o \mu[\alpha ı\) Austin ap. Nünlist (2004, p. 96) 5




Then, conjecturally, unplaced fragments of \(\mathrm{O}^{14}\)
See Weinstein (1971); Austin (1973, no. 135).
```

    V
    ]\varepsiloníooua|
]\varepsilonĩơaık[
]. \varepsilonı आ\alphá<br>lambda\alpha
]. . . \lambda[

```

VI
] \(\xi[\)



VII
[..].. [
\(\varepsilon \notin \lambda] \eta \varphi^{\prime}\) ö \(\lambda \omega \varsigma\)
غं] \(\beta\) ดи́ \(\lambda \varepsilon\) то [

VIII
]. . . \(\lambda \varepsilon \theta[\)
]. áva \(\xi_{!}^{[ }\)

\author{
IX \\ ]. . [ \\ ]ạ̣! \\ ]. . [ \\ X \\  \\ ]بִọє. [
}

193-214 \(\mathrm{O}^{\text {nov }}\) see Nünlist (2003)
(? \(\Sigma \mu)\)
( \(\triangle \mathrm{AO} \mathrm{\Sigma})\)



195
. ....] . \(v\) tò \(\mu\) ǹ máà̀ toũ to!̣[oútou
......]. тєто́nкє \(\mu\) ирі́ou[s


....] \(] \tau \alpha, \mu \varepsilon \theta \dot{v} \omega, \kappa \rho \alpha ı \pi \alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega}, » ~[\)
. .]p̣[. . .]! ס' oũv \(\alpha u ̉ T \omega ̃ ı ~ \varphi \rho \alpha ́ \sigma \omega \omega ~ v[~\)







\section*{}
( \(\Sigma \mathrm{YPI} \Sigma \mathrm{KO} \Sigma\) )








 -207 áp òs... นótqv = Men. Ep. fr. 6207 fin. suppl. Austin (2011), P. Brown 208
 Austin: \(\delta \varepsilon ı \lambda \tilde{n} \varsigma ~ \mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha[\sigma \tau \alpha ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega \varsigma\) possis 209 Furley, Bathrellou: \(\mu\) óvov Nünlist

\(\Sigma v\)
oủ \(\mu \alpha{ }_{[ }[\)



［－gap of not more than three lines－］



 દ̇ठтı ாєpì toút
220
（ \(\Sigma\) v）Tís oũv；


（ \(\Sigma \mathrm{v}\) ）тои̃тоข \(\lambda \alpha \beta \varepsilon\) ฮ̃v
\(\beta\) Зи́ \(\lambda \varepsilon ⿺\) крıтŋ́v；
（ \(\Delta \alpha\) ）
（ \(\Sigma \mu\) ）ن́भĩv；пєрì tívos；

（ \(\Sigma \mu\) ）Tí oũv époì \(\mu \varepsilon ́ \lambda \varepsilon ı\) ；
（ \(\Sigma \mathrm{v}\) ）Kрıтìv toútou tivò
 ठıá入voov ทínãs．

 モ̌ХХотtes；
（ \(\Sigma \mathrm{v}) \quad \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda^{\prime}\) ö \(\mu \omega \varsigma\) ．tò \(\pi \rho \tilde{\alpha} \gamma \mu^{\prime}\) غ̇бTìv＞\(\beta \rho \alpha \chi\) Ú， 230 kaì p̊áıઠıov \(\mu \alpha \theta \varepsilon i ̃ v . ~ \pi \alpha ́ т \varepsilon \rho, ~ \delta o ̀ s ~ т \grave{v ~ \chi \alpha ́ p ı v \cdot ~}\)






 Stob．Flor．III 9．11 Hense 235 post mpóvoıav interp．van Leeuwen
móvt \(\omega v\).
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{\(\Delta \alpha\)} & \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{\multirow[t]{2}{*}{ тí \(\gamma \dot{a} \rho \mu \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon \delta i ́ \delta o u v ;\)}} \\
\hline & & & \\
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{（ \(\Sigma \mu\) ）} & \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{} \\
\hline & oĩs öv סıkớọ̣， & & \\
\hline \multirow[t]{3}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& \Sigma v \\
& (\Sigma \mu)
\end{aligned}
\]} & Távtws．， & & \\
\hline & àkov́бoual Tí \(\gamma\) ¢ \({ }^{\text {a }}\) & & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline \multirow[t]{8}{*}{\(\Delta \alpha\)} &  & \multirow[t]{5}{*}{240} & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline &  & 245 & \\
\hline & ĚXov סépaıa kaì toıoutoví tıva & & \\
\hline & ко́биоv． & & \\
\hline （ \(\Sigma\) v） & Tepì toút & & \\
\hline \multirow[t]{3}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& \Delta \alpha \\
& (\Sigma \mu)
\end{aligned}
\]} &  & & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline & каөí̧ou＾í oou． & & \\
\hline \((\Sigma \mathrm{v})\) & kaì סıkaí \({ }^{\text {c }}\) & & \\
\hline \((\Sigma \mu)\) & \(\lambda \varepsilon ́ \gamma \varepsilon\). & & \\
\hline \multirow[t]{14}{*}{（ \(\Delta \alpha\) ）} & \multirow[t]{2}{*}{} & & \\
\hline & & 250 & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline & غ̇v vukti ßou入ウ̀v ס＇，ömep ätmoo yivetaı， & & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline &  & 255 & \\
\hline & toıoutooí tis ñv．غ̇moíuaıvov má入ıv & & \(\perp \mathrm{O} 14\) \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline &  & 260 & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline &  & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}







```

        á\gamma\alphaӨòv \gamma\varepsilońvoito, \Delta\tilde{a}\varepsilon,» m\alpha\rho' ÉK\propto\sigmaтOv \lambda\varepsiloń\gamma\omega\nu,265
    «\varepsiloṅ\muoì Tò maı\deltaíov \deltaós` oưTc\omega[s] \varepsilonủTu\chińs,
    oưT\omegas \varepsiloṅ\lambda\varepsilonú0\varepsilon\rhoOs. \gammauvaĩK\alphá,» ¢\eta\sigmaı, «\gammaàp
    \varepsilon้\chi\omega, т\varepsilonкоบ́\sigma\etaı \delta' àmé0\alphav\varepsilonv Tò maı\deltaíov,»
    т\alphaúT\eta\nu \lambda\varepsiloń\gamma\omega\nu, \etä vũv [है\chi]\varepsilonı Ṭ̀ m\alphaı\deltaíov.
    \Sigma\mu É\delta\varepsilońOU <\sigmaÚ \gamma\varepsilon;
(\Delta\alpha) OÚ>, \sumú\rhoו\sigmaк'; ö\lambda\eta\nu T\etàv \etaj\mu\varepsiloń\rhoa\alphav 270
кат\varepsilońт\rhoו\psi\varepsilon. \lambdaıт\propto\rhoои̃vтו k\alphaì п\varepsiloníӨоvтí \mu\varepsilon
⿺̇m\varepsilon\sigma\chi\chí\mu\etav. है\delta\omegaк', व̉m\tilde{\eta}\lambda0\varepsilonv \muvpí\alpha
\varepsilonỦ\chió\mu\varepsilonvOs á\gamma\alphaӨ\alphá` \lambda\alpha\mu\beta\alpháv\omega\nu \muOU кат\varepsilonфí\lambda\varepsilonו
T\alphàs X\varepsilonĩpas.
\varepsiloṅTÓ\varepsilon\S T\alphaŨT\alpha;
(\Sigma\mu)
(\Sigmav)
(\Delta\alpha)
(\SigmaU) \varepsilonוֹ\rho\etaK\varepsilonv;

```

``` <бú \(\gamma \varepsilon\); ( \(\Delta \alpha\) ) oủ>, Súpıoк'; Furley: єठєou бupıoк': C: \((\Sigma u)<\varepsilon ̇ \delta \varepsilon o ́ \mu \eta \nu>\). Bodin-Mazon:
```





``` Ellis: є. [C: غ́кん้ Lefebvre 289 Lefebvre
```

 тò $\pi \alpha ı \delta i ́ o v, ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha ~ т \alpha u ̃ \theta ' ~ a ̈ ~ v[\tilde{u}] v ~ \lambda \varepsilon ́ \gamma \varepsilon ı ~$



 $\perp$ O26










 т








320


 $\theta \eta] \rho a ̃ v \lambda \varepsilon ́ \sigma v \tau \alpha \varsigma$, öт $\lambda \alpha \beta \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha ́ \zeta \varepsilon เ v, ~ т \rho \varepsilon ́ \chi \varepsilon เ \nu$

єi̋pクка．крĩvov őtı סíkaıov vevómıкаऽ．
тои̃ $\pi \alpha ı \delta i ́ o v ~ ' \sigma т i ́ . ~ т о и ̃ т о ~ \gamma ı \nu \omega ́ \sigma к \omega . ~$
Tò Taવıס́ov $\delta$ é；
toũ vũv áSıкоũvtos，toũ ßonӨoũvtos $\delta[$ ह̀ kaì
〈 $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ ’＞ins．Leo：$\alpha$ ùtòs îva Croenert，edd．pl． $337 \eta \pi \eta \lambda-\mathrm{C}$ ，corr．Lefebvre ex Choerobosc． in Hephaest．p． 194 Consbr． 339 von Arnim：［．．］v［．．］．ouסє C：［тì］v［aú］тoũ סè Sudhaus $345 \tau-\pi-\pi-$ ，$\tau-\dot{\text {－}} \mathrm{K} \tau \lambda$ ．interpunx．van Leeuwen 346 甲 $\eta c ı \nu \mathrm{C}$ ，corr． Lefebvre 348 оикєстı C．，corr．Sudhaus propter metrum 349 троб弓птвĩs Arnott 355 Lefebvre 356 Croenert 357 т＜ó ＇$^{\prime}>$ Leo：т＜á $\delta^{\prime}>$ ins．Bodin－Mazon：тáסıкєĩv i．e．




oủkoũv àmoסıס̃̃;
( $\Sigma \mu$ )
( $\Delta \alpha$ )
( $\Sigma \mathrm{v}$ )
( $\Delta \mathbf{\alpha}$ )
( $\Delta \alpha$ )
( $\Sigma \mu$ )
$\langle\Delta \alpha>$
( $\Sigma \mu$ )
$\Sigma \mathrm{u}$
( $\Sigma \mu$ )


$\Sigma \mathrm{v}$

movnpòs ñoӨas.
$\omega$ ाт [v]ńค', [öт














oĩ $\mu \alpha i ́ ~ \gamma \varepsilon \delta \eta ́$,


$\qquad$
359 suppl. Lefebvre $\Sigma \omega T n ̃ \rho^{\prime} \cdot$ äm $^{2} \alpha v \theta^{\prime}$ von Arnim, al. 360 व̈ $\gamma \in 1$ Leo ( $\alpha[-\mathrm{C}$ leg. Lefebvre): $\underset{\epsilon}{\epsilon}[\chi \in 1]$ Wilamowitz 361 Lefebvre 362 suppl. Leo 363 Koerte 364 үap:ßp. [ C 368 in. Lefebvre 369 cup in marg. dextro C suppl. von Arnim 370 toıoútous von Arnim fin. Croiset 371 Croiset 372 suppl. Sudhaus: fin. kppc[l]c leg. Jensen
 Lefebvre

$\beta \alpha ́ \lambda \lambda$＇घis тò трокó $\lambda$ тıov．
Ov


ËTıขOv．
$\Sigma v$



Ov Tí Taũ $\theta^{\prime}$ ；

oủk ậụ סıaүvoíns．K入єóotpatos סé Tị！


$[\Sigma u] \quad$ グv．où $\delta^{\prime}$ عĨ Tís；
（ $\mathrm{O} v$ ）
（ $\mathrm{\Sigma v}$ ）
［o］ŨTós ह̇otı－
（Ov）［ó $\delta]$ ạkтú入ıos－
（ $\Sigma \mathrm{v}$ ）ó тоĩos；oủ Yà $\rho \mu \alpha v \theta \alpha ́ v \omega$ ．
（Ov）［toũ］סєoாótou toúhoũ X $\alpha \rho[1]$ бíou．
（ Lu ）x○入ã！̣̣；




єौX］






381 ка $\theta \varepsilon v v^{\prime} \mathrm{C} 382$ oṿๆc（＝Onesimos）s．l．hab． $\mathrm{O}^{26} 384$ ］ouvoutocı $3 \varepsilon \nu \varnothing\left[\mathrm{O}^{26}\right.$ i．e． oủkoũv oútooì $\mu$ ह̀v фáivetaı Parsons 385 стı甲［．．］c̣ $\mathrm{O}^{26}$ ：стрı甲voc C 386 тєкụ［

 moicup［

 al．






Xapıoíọ 'otìv oútooí' toũtóv тотє





 ठєบ̃р' $\alpha$ ả $\mu$ фо́тєроı.
( $\mathrm{O} v$ ) vuvì $\mu$ èv oũv ouváłouol kaì
 $\alpha$ ๙่Tต̃ı $\pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ T o u ́ t \omega \nu, ~ \alpha u ̛ p ı o v ~ \delta e ́ . ~$

катацєvผ,





## XOPOY

## Act Three



T O26

402 suppl. von Arnim: toút $\omega$ ب̣ ṭ leg. et suppl. Gronewald $(1995,29) 403-407$ Lefebvre 409 Jensen 410 Croiset 415 avpıov•ot C C 418 тои́tou Croiset, al. 422 тротép $\omega$


 Austin ap. Parsons 428 fin. Arnott (2000, 155): kukav [C, kukav óc[ O ${ }^{26} 429$ fin. Sudhaus: ouxvóv Koenen (1974) 430 uol s.l. C $431 \alpha \theta \lambda[\mathrm{C}: \dot{\alpha} \theta \lambda[i \alpha]$ van Leeuwen

 t $\alpha \lambda \alpha \nu \mathrm{O}^{26} 442$ suppl. von Arnim . olcupps s.l. habet $\mathrm{O}^{26} 443$ outocevסov[ C , trans. Wilamowitz: ỡtos. évסov Sudhaus [ánTóSo]ṣ suppl. Wilamowitz 444 fin. пот’ ทै Sudhaus 451 таvрот $\omega \lambda$ - C



```455
    тоũTOV, \sigma\alpha\varphi&̀s äv TI \delta\varepsilonוKvứ[OI] TEK\mu\́\rhoIOv.
```




```
    тò]v \delta\alphaктú\lambdaıóv \mu\varepsilon \betaou\lambdaó\mu\varepsilonvos \deltaoũvaí T\varepsiloń \sigmaoו
```



```460
    \pi]@\rho' غ́\muoì \mu\varepsilon\rhoı\sigma\muós.




（ Ov ）\(\omega]\) ¢̣ ゆワoıv．
```



```
（ \(\mathrm{O} v\) ）
kaì toutovì
```








```
Tavpotio入íos aủtóv；
```




```
\(A \beta \rho\)
```



Toוoũtov ヒ́tepov．

```

```

（ $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ） т

```



``` 462 －463 suppl．Wilamowitz 466 ผ＇］s Furley：［vaí，］Lefebvre，al． 474 C：\(\mu\) óvas
```





＜Ov＞ ＜Aßp＞
（ $\mathrm{O} v$ ）
oĩoӨas；
 үuvaı彑í，Toút $\omega \nu$ ग̃v Фí入ŋ．




$\mathrm{O} \nu \quad$ बứtワ＇otì tuxóv； 485




490
（Ov）каì тоũtov［हĩ久］ Ov ；


غ̇นè $\nu \mathrm{U} v ;$


 495





 Tís oĩ $\delta \varepsilon v$ عỉ kaì toũtov évé $\chi$ טpov $\lambda \alpha \beta[\omega ่ \nu$


 $\gamma \in[$
 C 498 leg．et suppl．Furley：Koerte $(1910,34)$＇utrum EMOY an EMOI voluerit scriba， diiudicare non possum＇：vuv．p $\alpha$ leg．Koerte，Jensen ${ }^{1}$ ，Lefebvre，vuv．$\varepsilon v$ Jensen $^{2}$ ，Sudhaus． utrumque legi posse dixit Guéraud：$\sigma \cup ́[\mu \pi] \rho \alpha[\tau T \varepsilon] v \tilde{v} \nu$ Wil．：$\sigma \cup \grave{v} v \tilde{v} \dot{[ } \dot{\gamma}] \underline{\varepsilon} \varphi$［oũ－］Sudhaus：
 test．Guéraud


| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) |  <br>  $\delta \varepsilon] i \xi \omega$. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ( $\mathrm{O} v$ ) |  | 535 |
| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) |  <br>  <br>  |  |
| (Ov) |  <br>  <br>  | 540 |
| $\begin{aligned} & (A \beta \rho) \\ & (O v) \end{aligned}$ |  <br> oú $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho$ oĩ $\sigma \alpha \alpha$ oú; <br>  |  |
| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) |  <br>  |  |
| (Ov) | દ̇à $v \delta$ ס̀ $\mu \eta \kappa \varepsilon ́ T । ~$ <br>  <br>  | 545 |
| ( $A \beta \rho$ ) |  <br>  <br>  |  |
| Ov $(A \beta \rho)$ |  |  |
| (Ov) |  <br>  <br>  ’ٍß | 550 |
| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) | oủkoũv đuvరంkะĨ; |  |
| ( $\mathrm{O} v$ ) |  |  |
| $(A \beta p)$ $(O v)$ |  $\lambda \alpha \dot{\mu} \mu \beta \alpha v \varepsilon$. |  |
| ( $A \beta p$ ) |  тọ́sı кaторӨоũv toùs $\lambda$ о́yous oüs äv $\lambda \varepsilon ́ \gamma \omega$. | 555 |
| (Ov) |  <br>  <br>  |  |

534 ]T! leg. Jensen: દ̇б]Ṭ̀ Headlam: グס]ף Lefebvre, Sudhaus 542 Gronewald (1987): [ñ] xápıs tıs Wilamowitz: à $\lambda \lambda$ ' [oủ] Lefebvre 544 тоut $\omega v c$ ' C: mávt 550 Lefebvre 556 тóєı Koerte: દ̇นoì von Arnim: غ̇кєı̃ Lefebvre 557 пcӨєӨ’ C, corr. Lefebvre


 äv દ̇ாITúx


565















 $\pi \rho \varrho[\quad] . \mu \varepsilon[\delta \varepsilon і ̃]$.
( $\Sigma \mu$ ) * $\dot{\varepsilon} \xi \tilde{n} \lambda[\theta \circ \vee$




 ő[بَ

 ò $\varphi \theta \alpha \lambda \mu$ oús) Furley (olim tàs $\gamma v \alpha \dot{\theta} \theta$ ous), cf. Soph. Phil. 1354, OT 1270, Ant. 974, OG 704: oठ[.]vtac C: toús, tò סeĩv' Capps, Kassel (1996): tàs Yovás Arnott (1965): - тí ¢ $\mu$ '; - Austin per litt.: toúoסe toús- Austin (2010) ódi Furley: outocı C 578



 fr. 882 K . Robert

|  | Tiveıv Toủvou［ $\alpha$－ | ］$\omega \nu$ $\psi] \alpha \lambda$ трías |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | らñv aútò．［ | ］ns ě¢п | 590 |
|  | $\pi \lambda$ ¢́ov |  |  |
|  | $\alpha$ átòv $\delta 1 \alpha \lambda \lambda$［ | ］évov． |  |
|  | ổhoı т ¢ $\lambda$［ $\alpha$ S | $]$ ṇ |  |
|  | koıvตvo［ | $] \lambda \underline{\square}$ |  |
|  |  | ］$¢ ¢ \omega$ | 595 |
|  |  | ］．T［0］ั่Tó $\gamma^{\varepsilon}$ |  |
|  | $\pi v v \theta \propto \nu$ |  |  |
|  | ¢ı入ọp［үup－ | т］$\omega$ ı тро́т ${ }^{\text {d }}$ |  |
|  | £ $\alpha^{\prime}$ ．．［ |  |  |
| （？ $\mathrm{K} \alpha \rho)$ |  |  | 600 |
|  | ŁTÓTOI OUVEXEİS，kúßoı」TUXóv |  |  |
|  | ］．$\lambda$ d̀ $\chi \propto ı \rho \varepsilon ́ \tau \omega$. |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  | ］．¢qụvo ． | 605 |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  | oúర̌is ．．．．．． | pos úhiv． |  |
| （ $\Sigma \mu$ ） | токкі入о |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| （K $\alpha \rho$ ） |  |  | 610 |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  | $\pi[$ |  |  |
|  | ．${ }^{\text {［ }}$ |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| $\Sigma \mu$ |  | ］！s tivos | 615 |



\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline (X \(\chi_{1}\) ) \&  \& 650 \& \\
\hline ( \(\Sigma \mu\) ? ) \& [ ]ọ غ̇máy¢taı. \& \& \\
\hline (Xaı) \& [ óठ]ụvṇpoựßiou \& \& \\
\hline \(\Sigma \mu\) \& \begin{tabular}{l}
] . To тoũ סuctụuoũc \\

\end{tabular} \& \& \\
\hline \& \begin{tabular}{l}
 \\
 \\
 \\
 \\
 \\
 \(\mu \varepsilon \theta^{\prime} \tilde{\omega}^{\circ} \nu .[\cup-\dot{\varepsilon}] \pi \varepsilon ́ \mu \psi \alpha\).]
\end{tabular} \& 655

660 \& <br>
\hline <X ${ }_{\text {al }}$ > \&  àváधı’ $\mathfrak{j} \mu \omega ̃ \nu[ \pm 9] \ldots$. \& \& T L <br>

\hline $\Sigma \mu$ \& |  |
| :--- |
|  |
|  |
|  |
|  |
| [-c. seven lines missing-] | \& 665 \& \[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \perp \quad \mathrm{C}, \\
& \mathrm{O} 27 \\
& \perp \mathrm{~L}
\end{aligned}
$$
\] <br>

\hline \&  \& \& T M <br>

\hline [ $\Sigma \mu]$ \& | [.]. $\nu \omega[\ldots] . v[\ldots ..] \Phi .[$ |
| :--- |
|  |
|  |
|  | \& 680 \& <br>

\hline
\end{tabular}

649 fin. $\pi \alpha \dot{\theta} \theta \omega$ Römer: $\pi \lambda є \omega$ possis 650 عı’тє: leg. Römer 652 [ỏß]uvnpoũ leg. suppl. Furley: ]ọv mpọ̀ amowitz тє т $\tilde{\nu} \pi \alpha т \rho i ́ \omega \nu \pi о \tilde{\omega}$ transp. Furley: т $\omega \nu \varepsilon \mu \omega \nu \pi \rho \alpha т \tau \omega \mathrm{C}:] . \alpha \tau \rho[] \omega \nu \mathrm{M}$


 aủtoùs toùs $\theta$ zoús Austin 661 c [ vel o [ C (teste Jensen) post $\pi \varepsilon \mu \psi \alpha$ colon habere


 סокєĩ e.g. Handley 664 Nünlist (1999, 54-55): 入є́үєт[ ed. pr. т[aũта (vel т[oũto)




|  |  <br>  غ́ $\chi] \theta$ p̣as . . ocọ[. . ] $]$ ıoụ[. $\qquad$ <br>  <br>  <br>  | 685 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & (X \propto ı) \\ & \Sigma \mu \end{aligned}$ | $\mu \eta \dot{\pi} \pi \omega, \Sigma \mu$ [ıкрívך. <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  | 690 | T L |
| X $\chi_{1}$ |  |  |  |
| $\Sigma \mu$ |  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  | 695 | $\perp \mathrm{L}$ +8 |
| (X $\alpha_{1}$ ) |  <br>  <br>  | 700 |  |

$$
\mathrm{XOP}[\mathrm{OY}]
$$

## Act Four

##  


 Furley: ยủ $\varphi[\rho]$ óvn $[v]$ Koenen: $\varepsilon \underset{̃}{ } \varphi[\rho]$ ovń[ $\sigma \alpha \varsigma$ (vel) - $\sigma \alpha \sigma^{\prime}$ ) Gronewald ap. K.-G. 687


 M, $\tau^{\prime} \varepsilon[\quad] \omega \omega$ C, corr. suppl. K.-G. $696 \gamma ı \nu \omega c k \omega \nu$ C, $\gamma \varepsilon ı v[$. ]ckઘı M an dicolon post $\delta$ ok $\tilde{\nu} \nu \mathrm{C}$ (Lefebvre) incertum 697 suppl. K.-G. 698 ف่s Furley 700
 Römer, al. suppl. K.-G. (Ėד $\alpha \dot{\alpha} \chi \theta \eta \nu$ Morse) $702-710$ suppl. e.g. Austin (2011) [Г] $\mathrm{m}^{\mathrm{k}}$ in marg. M suppl. Gronewald 703 vel $\tau \tilde{\nu} \nu$ £̇ $\mu \varphi \rho o ́ v \omega \nu$ Austin $(2001,21)$ coll. [Liban.] char. epist. 73 (IX p. 41, 4 F ) हैк


$704=$ fr．179c K．－Th．$=$ monostich 464 Jäkel 705 in．vel tamaĩ suppl．K．－G． 706 aıદı M，corr．Gronewald kúpıóls hou K．－G．taũt＇ôvou Gronewald：kavӨ́́pou／бкıó




 Gronewald：［．．．mpòs 入ú夭Iv．．．］Arnott 709 Gronewald 710 〈 $\delta^{\prime}$ ’ ins．Stoevesandt，van
 owitz Паифí入n leg．Sudhaus 717 афıı C，corr．van Leeuwen 718 －720 Sudhaus
 fin．т！$!$［vi］Martina 749 ante hunc v．«тoútou đкótєı〉 Sudhaus 752 ［8］ń Sudhaus： ［8］ís Jensen 753 è $\lambda \theta \omega \dot{\omega}$ v Sudhaus où $\delta \grave{\text { è Wilamowitz }}$




 suppl. Gronewald 789 suppl. Römer 790 aủtì Bathrellou: aủtñı Römer tóтє? O ${ }^{23}$




 iam Gronewald 801 кaí, mátтє Römer ( $\pi \alpha ́ \tau \varepsilon \rho ~ i a m ~ G r o n e w a l d) ~ \pi \varepsilon ா \lambda \alpha \sigma \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta \nu ~$





$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { غ́ாยі ס] }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { тव́крі] } \beta \text { ह́s oi то }
\end{aligned}
$$

[^7]```
k\alpha\\\omegãs é\El \muOI tout[
\varepsilonỉ \delta' है\sigmat' \alphaै\delta\eta\ov тоũт[०
T\alphaũT' \varepsilonis Toו\alphaũ0' \eta`\zetaou [\sigma\alpha
```



```
\alphai<\sigma`0ń\sigma\varepsilonт' \varepsilonƯvouv OŨ\sigma[\alpha\nu 830
T!ب̣\tilde{v Ėк\varepsilonív\etav \varepsilon.[}]
. . . \omegav`ötav \gammaà\rho \pi\rhoос¢[
```




[— gap of 17 or 18 lines perhaps containing fr. 8 -]
Fr. 8 K.-Th.



| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) |  | 860 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ( $\quad$ ) |  |  |
| [ $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ] |  <br>  <br>  |  |
| ( $\Pi$ ) |  $\lambda] \alpha \beta$ и̃бの; |  |
| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) |  <br>  | 865 |
| $\begin{aligned} & (\Pi \alpha) \\ & (A \beta p) \end{aligned}$ |  <br> тробєптопба́ $\mu \eta \nu$, <br> oủx iv' á $\delta_{\text {Iкń }}$ <br>  <br>  |  |
| ( $\Pi \alpha$ ) | tívos ס' $^{\text {éotiv matpós; }}$ | 870 |
| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) | Xapıoíou. |  |
| (Па) |  |  |
| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) |  <br>  |  |
| (Па) | vaıxí. |  |
| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) | $\mu \alpha$ ка̣ía үúvaı, <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  | 875 |
| Ov |  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  غ̇ $\lambda$ á $\lambda \varepsilon ı$ т | 880 885 |

[^8]
































920





 interrog. Arnott



## ]

$\top \mathrm{O}^{4}$
]ß̣áaßß̣ọos

925











[Ov]
 935
$\alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda^{\prime} \alpha \dot{\rho} \rho t i \omega s$ ह̇ $\xi \tilde{\eta} \lambda \theta o v$.
$[X \alpha \rho] \quad \alpha[\ldots ..] \lambda \alpha \theta \varepsilon \tau \nu$




$\beta \rho o v t \omega ̃ v t ̣$.


( $X \alpha \rho$ ) тís вic..]. $\alpha$ ư. Eĩc.[
$(A \beta \rho) \quad$ oủk aiọ $[\theta \alpha \dot{\alpha}]$ ب̣[ $\eta$ i;
(X $\alpha \rho$ )

(X $\alpha \rho$ ) oúk ñv oó[v; 945

| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ( $\mathrm{X} \alpha \rho$ ) |  |  |
| (??) |  |  |
| (??) | ¢[.] $]$ ıı[ |  |
| (X $\alpha \rho$ ) |  | 950 |
| ( $\mathrm{O} v$ ) |  |  |
| (X $\alpha \rho$ ) |  |  |
| ( $A \beta \rho$ ) |  <br>  touti] $\gamma[\alpha \dot{]}]$, oủk $\alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$ ótpıov. |  |
| (X $\alpha \rho$ ) |  |  |
| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) |  |  |
| ( $\mathrm{X} \alpha \rho$ ) |  | 955 |
| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) | Tiva; tòv] ${ }^{\text {a }} \lambda \eta \eta \theta \tilde{\eta}$. |  |
| ( $\mathrm{X} \alpha \rho$ ) | Пан ¢í入ns tò maıסíov; |  |
| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) | *ã $\rho$ ' oủk] énóv; kaì oóv ү’ óuọị̣́s. |  |
| ( $\mathrm{X} \alpha \rho$ ) | Панрілпз; <br>  [- (gap of 10-13 lines) -] |  |
|  | ]¢̣! Yà ${ }^{\text {c }}$. |  |
| ( $\mathrm{A} \beta \mathrm{p}$ ) |  <br>  | 970 |
| (X $\alpha \rho$ ) |  |  |
|  | o $\mu \mathrm{ol}$ : <br>  |  |
|  | ]öนตs | 975 |
|  | то]ب̣̣̃o ס̀̀ |  |
|  | ] $\beta$ ои́入ouaı |  |
|  | ] $\mu \boldsymbol{\alpha} \boldsymbol{\tau}$. |  |
|  | [XOPOY] |  |


 Sudhaus in. $\varepsilon$ हैєı $\sigma[$ Sandbach 950 'Ovńбıu'Sudhaus fin. Jensen 951 in . Sudhaus [kaì $\theta \varepsilon]$ oús Jensen 952 in. Sudhaus: tí oú $\mu \varepsilon$ Jensen. 953 Wilamowitz 954 in.


 suppl. Furley $974 \dot{\alpha} \beta \dot{\beta} \lambda]$ ]tepe Jensen 976 vel toıo]ũto $978 \pi \rho \alpha ́ \gamma] \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ Jensen

## Act Five


 $982 \eta \delta \varepsilon$ C，corr．Sudhaus đкєाт $\varepsilon$［ $[0 v]$ Jensen 983 suppl．Ellis 984 тот’ Jensen， Guéraud oıc日a C，corr．von Arnim in comm．Ėotí tou Wilamowitz 985 Sudhaus：

 Sandbach т［ク̀̀ $\psi \alpha ́ \lambda \lambda \tau \rho ı \alpha \nu$ Schwartz：т［aútnv évi］Webster $988 \alpha \cup \tau \eta \nu$ potius quam

 Sudhaus 1007 e．g．Sıaı［T－ 1008 oủ kpí［vouaı Sudhaus，vel oủk ọi［ $\delta$－Guéraud

```
    ह̇ா’ aủtò [
    ővTLs. \(\beta[\)
    ब̀ \(\lambda \lambda^{\prime} \dot{\varepsilon} \xi \alpha \pi \alpha \tau[\)1020
Ov áméの
```



```
    . . \(\alpha\)
```

                                    [— gap of between 10-14 lines -]
                                    ] \(\overline{\mathrm{C} \lambda \alpha}\).[ 1035
    т]ouṬ[..]..[..].
    
]. ои какка
]. o.... [
A]ß̣p̣ótovov 1040
]. $\omega 1$
] $\uparrow \in$ [
] $\gamma$ [
] $\alpha v$. . . oov
]..........
1045
]ọute...... .
To]ṹT' à $\lambda \lambda \alpha \dot{\alpha}$ où
]. 5 tout[o]vi
]. [
[— gap of max. 4 lines -]
$\alpha \dot{\alpha} \pi \alpha]$ Ṭ $\omega \mu$ ह́vov:
T]ọ̀v $\Delta i ́ \alpha$
]aủtoũ Tต̃ı oфóסpa



[- gap of max. 3 lines -]



1019 [A] $\beta$ [рótovov Lefebvre, Guéraud 1021 ou $\lambda[\lambda \alpha \beta$ oṽ $\sigma \alpha$ Sudhaus




Tòv xpпoтòv aủtñs a̛v









кєк $\lambda \varepsilon є \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta ~ \gamma \alpha ́ \rho ~ \varepsilon ̇ \sigma т ı . ~ \pi \alpha i ̂ \delta \varepsilon \varsigma, ~ \pi \alpha ı \delta i ́ o v . ~$


 П̈к$\omega \nu$.

єौ $\gamma \omega \gamma \varepsilon$, трібката́patє.

 $\theta$ @umaotòv oĩov.

Oi̋ะı TO


$\lambda \varepsilon ́ \gamma \varepsilon ı S$ סz̀ Tí;



 $\pi \omega ̃ \varsigma ;$



$1065 \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \pi \varepsilon \rho ı \mu \varepsilon \nu \omega$ C, corr. Croenert: $\dot{\alpha}^{\alpha} \lambda \lambda^{\prime} \tilde{n}^{\prime} \pi \varepsilon \rho I-$ Wilamowitz 1069 Coppola:
 1074 бع: coı C, corr. von Arnim 1082 cтov $\delta \eta \cdot$ C 1083 deest interpunctio 1091 Lefebvre 1092 von Arnim 1093 suppl. Sudhaus



```1095
```






```
(\Sigma\mu) \varepsilonĩ0' oú\muós, i\varepsilon\rhoó\sigmau\lambda\varepsilon, vũv т\rhoómos тo\varepsilonĩ
1 1 0 0
    \alpha}\mu\alpha0\varepsilońs тı
(O\nu) \sigmauvт\rhoí\beta\varepsilonו \sigma\varepsilon.

```

    \alpha`\gamma\alpha0òv \sigmaù k\rhoív\varepsilonıs, \Sigma\muık\rhoív\eta;
    

```
(Ov)
    Tò kakòv áva\gammak\alphaĩov \lambdao\gammaí\zeta&0' oú[\tau] Ooí.
```



```
    k\alphaì vũv \mu\varepsiloǹv ó\rho\mu\omegãv\tau' \varepsilońmì mov\eta\rhoòv m\rhoã\gamma\mu\mu\alphá \sigma\varepsilon
    T\alphaỦTó\mu\alphaTOv \alphámO\sigma\varepsiloń\sigma\omegaK\varepsilon, к\alphaì кат\alpha\lambda\propto\mu\beta\alpháv\varepsilonı\
```



```
    \alpha\cup̃0ıs \delta' öт\omegas \mu\età \lambdań\psiо\mu\alphaí \sigma\varepsilon, \Sigma\muık\rhoív\eta,
    т\rhoот\varepsilonтп̃ \lambda\varepsiloń\gamma\omega \sigmaol` vũv \delta\varepsiloǹ T\omegãv \varepsilon่\gammaк\lambda[\eta]\muִ\alpháT\omega\nu
    \alphá\varphi\varepsilonĨ\sigmaO TOÚT\omegav, Tòv \delta\varepsiloǹ Өu\gamma\alphaT\rhoı\deltaOũv \lambda\alpha\betaん\iotav
    \varepsiloňv\deltaO\nu п\rhoó\sigma&וா&.
(\Sigma\mu) Өu\gamma\alphaт\rhoı\deltaоũv, \mu\alpha\sigmaтı\gammaía;
```




```
                                    1 1 1 5
```



```
        \varepsiloṅKTొ\rho\varepsiloń\varphiо\mu\varepsilonv.
```



```
(Ov)
```



```
    тoĨs Taupomo\lambdaíois-
(\Sigma\mu)
(Ov) \tau\alphaúт\etav \lambda\alpha\beta\omegàv.
```







``` paragrapho
```

| ( $\Sigma \mu$ ) |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (Ov) | $\nu \grave{\prime}$, | 1120 |  |
|  |  äтаvт' $\alpha \nmid \alpha \theta \alpha \dot{\alpha}$. |  |  |
| ( $\Sigma \mu$ ) |  |  |  |
| (Ov) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| ( $\Sigma \mu$ ) | ti; |  |  |
| ( $\mathrm{O} v$ ) | $\mu \omega ̃ \mathrm{pos} \mathrm{\varepsilon ĩ;}$ |  |  |
|  |  | 1125 |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| ( $\Sigma \mu$ ) |  |  |  |
|  |  OŨTO]ऽ $\lambda$ ย́ $\gamma$ Еા ขบ̃v; |  |  |
| (Ov) |  |  | T M |
|  |  |  |  |
| ( $\Sigma \mu$ ) |  |  |  |
| (Ov) |  | 1130 |  |
| < $\Sigma \mu>$ |  |  | $\perp \mathrm{C}$ |
|  |  $\gamma$ [évoito.] |  |  |
| [ X$]$ ه |  |  |  |
| ( $\Sigma \mu$ ? ) | $[ \pm 5-6]$ |  |  |
| X] ${ }_{\text {a }}$. |  |  |  |
|  | .......]. $\varepsilon[..] \omega[.] \alpha{ }^{\text {c }}$. | 1135 |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| ( $\Sigma \mu$ ? ) |  |  |  |
| (X ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ? $)$ | [...... . $] \alpha \pi \alpha \sigma 1, \Sigma \mu \mu к \rho[i ́ v \eta$, |  |  |
|  | (traces of six more lines) |  | $\perp \mathrm{M}$ |

$1120 \alpha ı \theta \propto v \varepsilon ı \gamma \varepsilon$ : C cum paragrapho $\quad v \eta$ : C: vaí Lefebvre, al: Onesimo tribuit Legrand, Sophronae al. $1121 \nu \cup \nu \delta^{\prime}$ C, corr. Croenert, al. $1122 \alpha \pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha$ т̣ $\gamma \alpha \theta \alpha$ C, corr. von Arnim, al. 1124 tí; Smikr. trib. Sudhaus: :тı $\mu \omega \rho$ осеı $\cdot$ C cum paragrapho: $(\Sigma \mu)$ tí, $\mu \tilde{\rho} \rho \circ$ єĩ; Koerte: totum versum Ones. trib. Sandbach 1126 хо入̄̄̄ C 1128 -1144

 K.-G. ờ Furley: [ $\eta$ X X $\alpha$ ıı́i] $\omega ı$ K.-G. 1133 et 1134 [ $\chi$ ] $\alpha ı \rho \varepsilon$ not. pers. med. in v. habet
 K.-G. 1134 fin. Furley: [ảqp]ooúv[ $\eta$ ] K.-G. 1136 ک] ب̣


## Unplaced Fragments

For the remaining unplaced fragments, whether from papyri or ancient book fragments, see main edition.

## Bibliography

Arnott, W. Geoffrey, 1965: ‘Menander, Epitrepontes 400’, RhM, 108, 290-92.
-, 1978: 'Notes on eight plays of Menander', ZPE, 31, 1-32.
-, 2000: 'Notes on some new papyri of Menander's Epitrepontes', in: E. Stärk, G. Vogt-Spira (eds.), Dramatische Wäldchen. Festschrift Eckard Lefèvre zum 65. Geburtstag, Hildesheim, 153-63.
-, 2004: 'Menander's Epitrepontes in the light of the new papyri', in: D.L. Cairns, R.A. Knox (eds.), Law, Rhetoric and Comedy in Classical Athens: Essays in Honour of Douglas M. MacDowell, Swansea, 269-92.
Austin, Colin (ed.), 1973: Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in papyris reperta, Berlin.
Austin, Colin, 2001: 'L'Arbitrage de Ménandre', Comunicazioni. Istituto papirologico 'G. Vitelli', Firenze, 4, 9-23.
-, 2008: 'Marriage on the rocks: Pamphile in Menander's Epitrepontes', Acta Antiqua of the Hungarian Academy, 48, 19-27.
-, 2011: "My daughter and her dowry: Smikrines in Menander's Epitrepontes', in: Dirk Obbink, Richard Rutherford (eds.), Culture in Pieces: Essays on Ancient Texts in Honour of Peter Parsons, Oxford, 160-173.
Barrett, W.S. (ed.), 1964: Euripides Hippolytos, Oxford.
Bathrellou, Eftychia, 2014: 'On Menander Epitrepontes 693-701 and 786-823', ZPE, 192, 63-84.
Casanova, Angelo, 2013: ‘Sui nuovi frammenti dell’atto IV degli Epitrepontes: Note sulla rhesis di Panfile', ZPE, 186, 94-99.
Furley, William (ed.), 2009: Menander Epitrepontes, vol. 106 of BICS Supplements, London.
Furley, William, 2013: 'Pamphile regains her voice. On the recently published fragments of Menander's Epitrepontes', ZPE, 185, 82-90.
-, 2014: 'Revisiting some questions in the text of Epitrepontes', in: A. Casanova (ed.), Menander e l'evoluzione della commedia greca: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi in memoria di Adelmo Barigazzi nel centenario della nascita (Firenze, 30 settembre - 1 ottobre 2013), Florence, 25-39.
-, 2016: ‘More new fragments of Menander’s Epitrepontes: C. Römer, ZPE 196,

2015, 49-54', ZPE, 198, 19-21.
Gronewald, M., 1986a: ‘Menander, Epitrepontes 506 S.', ZPE, 65, 36.
-, 1986b: 'Menander, Epitrepontes. Neue Fragmente aus Akt III und IV', ZPE, 66, 1-13, Taf. I.
-, 1987: ‘Drei Konjekturen zu Menander, Epitrepontes', ZPE, 69, 13-14.
-, 1995: ‘Bemerkungen zu Menander', ZPE, 106, 27-30.
Handley, E.W., 2009: 'Menander, Epitrepontes', in: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, London, vol. 73, 25-31.
Kassel, Rudolf, 1996: 'Aus der Arbeit an den Poetae Comici Graeci', ZPE, 114, 57-9.
Koenen, L., 1974: 'Menander, Epitrepontes 251-257 (427-433)', ZPE, 14, 26869.

Koenen, L., Gagos, T., Aug. 20, 2002: 'Menander, Epitrepontes. Neue Michigan Fragmente von Akt III-V', Unpublished lecture handout (SeminarTischvorlage) = K-G.
Koerte, A. (ed.), 1910: Menandrea ex papyris et membranis vetustissimis, Leipzig. 2nd edition 1912.
Koerte, A., 1943: 'Zu Menanders Epitrepontes', Hermes, 78, 285-86.
Nünlist, René, 1999: ‘Ein neu identifiziertes Buchfragment aus Menanders Epitrepontes', ZPE, 128, 54-56.
—, 2003: 'P.Oxy. 4641', in: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, London, vol. 68, 22-28.
-, 2004: ‘The beginning of Epitrepontes Act II', in: Guido Bastianini, Angelo Casanova (eds.), Menandro. Cent' anni di papiri. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi. Firenze 12-13 Giugno 2003, Florence, 95-106.
Parsons, P.J., 1994a: 'P.Oxy. 4020', in: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. 60, London, 27-29.
-, 1994b: ‘P.Oxy. 4021’, in: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. 60, London, 33-35.
Post, L.A., 1941: 'Notes on Menander', AJPh, 62, No. 4, 460-68.
Römer, Cornelia, 2012a: 'A new fragment of end of Act III, Epitrepontes 690-701 Sandbach (P. Mich. 4805)', ZPE, 183, 33-36.
-, 2012b: 'New fragments of act IV, Epitrepontes 786-823 Sandbach (P.Mich. 4752 A, B, C)', ZPE, 182, 112-120.
-, 2014: 'Two Fragments from the Roll of Menander's Epitrepontes', Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 35, 9-13.
-, 2015: 'News from Smikrines and Pamphile. Two new fragments of Epitrepontes 786-803 Sandbach-Furley', ZPE 196, 182, 49-54.
-, 2016: 'News from Smikrines and Chairestratos. Verses 645-660 of Epitrepontes Sandbach-Furley', ZPE, 197, 38-41.
Sisti, Franco, 1985: 'Sul testo degli Epitrepontes', SIFC, 3, 239-45.
Slings, S.R., 1990: 'Menander, Epitrepontes, 284', ZPE, 80, 11-12.
Sommerstein, Alan H., 2014: 'Menander and the pallake', in: Alan H. Sommer-
stein (ed.), Menander in Contexts. Proceedings of a Conference in Nottingham in July 2012, London, 11-23.
-, 2021: Menander: Epitrepontes, Bloomsbury Ancient Comedy Companions, Bloomsbury Academic. (also as e-book).
Weinstein, Marcia E., 1971: 'P.Oxy. 2829', in: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Vol. 38, London, 19-27.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ My thanks go to her for providing usable images of the fragments she has discovered and published.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Not 690-701, as Römer takes from Sandbach 1990. ${ }^{2}$ See my 2009 edition for details.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Römer rightly says that the letters－$\eta \mu \alpha \kappa \alpha т-$ are badly damaged in this papyrus．Bathrellou dis－ putes that $\mathrm{k} \alpha \tau \alpha-$ can be read in $\mathrm{O}^{24}$ ，saying that the third letter looks more like sigma．She is right， but the surface of the papyrus may be so damaged that a tau looks like a sigma．

[^3]:    ${ }^{4} \mathrm{As}$ an alternative I tried to retain the sequence $-\kappa \delta \varepsilon$ in $\mathrm{O}^{24}$ with a line such as $\gamma \alpha \mu \varepsilon \tau \eta \pi s$ é $\chi$ Ou $\sigma \alpha$
     but the clear reading of both fr. H of P.Mich. катакє[, and $\mathrm{O}^{24}$ at this point (катакєк-) tells against this. $\quad 5$ Thanks to A. Sommerstein for the reference.

[^4]:    ${ }^{6}$ I considered the following possibilities but found them less appropriate either palaeographically or semantically: катакєка $\mu \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta$ - катака́ $\mu \pi т \omega$ (this seemed to me second most likely),
    
    
    

[^5]:    7 Thanks to Alan Sommerstein for the reference.

[^6]:    ${ }^{8}$ An asterisk beside a *word indicates a change from the 2009 text. Here I can only record the change in the app. as there is no space for commentary.

[^7]:    
    
    
    
    
    
    
     Römer: Túx $\boldsymbol{v}$ edd. priores 808 mópvas Austin: vúupas Bathrellou: má $\xi$ tàs Römer: кópas e.g. K-G: aútàs Gronewald סะútepov K-G 809 тaioxpòv Austin: тడ̃v нoı Gronewald, K-G, Römer tïns Furley: Ėtítis Römer 810 à $\lambda \lambda$ ’ oú
    
    
    
    
    
    
     Día Römer 820 toũ $\beta$ íou Turner kaì tñs túxns Römer 821 入é $\begin{aligned} & \text { Eıs Furley: }\end{aligned}$
    
     Gronewald ap. Römer 824 Gronewald 825 vel-[ [ह́̇Tотє $\pi \alpha \theta \varepsilon i ̃ v, ~ \pi \alpha ́ v \cup] ~ G r o n e w a l d ~$

[^8]:    
    
    
     872 Wilamowitz 878 á̛mouáive日' possis 881 Robert: toıoutoví Lefebvre 882
    
    

