

ANDREAS KATSOURIS

MENANDER'S *MISOUMENOS*: PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION

Tyche, the New Comedy goddess, has recently made another miracle; working through human agents, as is usually the case with New Comedy plays, in this case through Professor Turner, revealed to us about ninety lines of the first Act of Menander's *Misoumenos*¹.

With the new find some problems are solved and others are created. I shall try here to point out the difficulties and to offer an interpretation of this play, under the light shed upon it by our new fragment.

The play opens with a short but excellent monologue, a combination of invocation and lamentation, by Thrasonides (A1 - A14) followed by a lively dialogue between Getas and his master (A15-A100). Thrasonides addresses the Night², a most appropriate address, for two reasons, first, because Night has the greatest share in Aphrodite (=love-making)-and love seems to be Thrasonides' main problem-, and secondly, he is actually soliloquising in the middle of the night (A8)³. In this soliloquy Thrasonides also informs the audience that he feels as the most miserable and wretched person on earth; he walks up and down (περιπατῶ τ' ἔνω κάτω)⁴ in front of his house (ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ)⁵ at mid-night, thus indicating both the locale and the time; he could be asleep or in bed, καθεύδειν

1. See E. G. Turner, *The Lost Beginning of Menander's Misoumenos*, from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, London, vol. LXIII 1977.

2. For other parallels see A. W. Gomme - F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary*, Oxford 1973, on *Misoum.* A1-A16 (Eur. *Andromeda*: Schol. Arist. *Thesm.* 1065, Pap. Antin. 15, Eur. *El.* 54, Plautus *Merc.* 3-5: cf. also *Med.* 57f, Men. fr. 678 K-Th).

3. The only other «misoumenos» in Greek Drama who went out of his house in the middle of the night (ἄκρας νυκτός) is Aias (see Soph. *Aj.* 457-9, 285).

4. Cf. fr. 246 (*PSI* 847) 11 πῶς οὖν περιπατεῖς; (this fragment is identified by Ch. Dedoussi with Ter. *Eun.* 303ff); *Georgos* 25, *Theoph.* 21, and *Misoum.* A 17, A21, O 19 fr. C v. 6. For a similar motif cf. Arist. *Lys.* 706-9, where Lysistrate is ἄθυμος and σφουβρωπός and walks up and down in front of the house (περιπατεῖν τ' ἔνω κάτω 709).

5. Cf. Hegesippus fr. 1. 23 στενωπός οὔροσι, and Plautus, *Pseud.* 960, 971 «angiportum». It is interesting to note that in the Cypriot dialect is called τὸ στενόν.

τὴν ἐρωμένην ἔχων, that is, holding his beloved girl in his arms¹, and this is exactly what he would very much desire, but he does not do it; instead, while the girl is inside his house, he would prefer to stay outdoors, for all the winter storm, quivering and chattering. This soliloquy is, somehow, a παρακλαυσίθυρον. In our case, however, the young lover is not excluded from the house of his beloved, but to be outdoors is his own choice². The main point is that there is a great tension between Thrasonides and the girl he loves and also that he is desperately in love with her. So far Thrasonides' soliloquy confirms the testimonies of Arrianus (fr. 2 S ...πρῶτον μὲν ἐξελλήλυθε νυκτός...) and Diogenes Laertios (vii. 130 τὸν γοῦν Θρασωνίδην, καίπερ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἔχοντα τὴν ἐρωμένην, διὰ τὸ μισεῖσθαι ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτῆς).

After Thrasonides' soliloquy there follows a conversation between Getas and Thrasonides. Getas comes out of the house to look for his master. He opens his speech with a proverb appropriate to the situation (οὐδὲ κυνὶ νῦν ἐξιτητόν ἐστιν)³, thus revealing his unwillingness to come outdoors at this time of the night⁴. But his master, he adds, as if it were mid-summer (θέρους μέσου is linked with μεσοῦσης σου A8), is walking about φιλοσοφῶν. With this word, he actually expresses some dislike and irony for his master's behaviour⁵. Getas' displeasure is also obvious in his ἀπολεῖ μ' and σύ μ' ἀποκναίεις περιπατῶν. His δρῦνός may refer to himself and mean «I am not tough (to go through these difficulties)» or to Thrasonides and mean «Isn't he tough?» The tension of Thrasonides' soliloquy is slightly lowered down by Getas' jokes, who urges his master to go inside to sleep. It appears from περιπατῶν in A21 that Thrasonides continues to walk up and down and does not pay attention to Getas' words; that

1. Cf. also Arist. *Ecl.* 938 εἶθ' ἐξῆν παρὰ τῆ νέα καθεύδειν, and *Thesm.* 1193 τί οὐ κατεύδει παρ' ἐμέ.

2. See also Turner E. (Menander and the New Society of his Time, *CE* LIV, 1979, 109), who rightly argues that reversing the «paraclausithyron» motif is a good method to produce comic effects.

3. His use of proverbs seems to be a characteristic trait of his style. Cf. 160f τὴν ὄψιν ὅς, 166f ἐπὶ πᾶσιν... δικαίους, 295 ὄνος λύρας and 303 ὅς ὄρει. See also Del Corno, *Gnomon* 42, 1970, 258.

4. Cf. *Misoum.* fr. 2 S:... ὅτε ὁ Γέτας οὐ τολμᾷ ἐξελεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ προσηναγκάζετο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πῶλλ' ἐπικραυγᾶσας καὶ τὴν πικρὰν δουλείαν ἀπολοφυράμενος ἐξῆλθεν.

5. Cf. Theognetus, *Phasma* or *Philargyros*, 7ff (Meineke 4, 549) ἐπαρίστερ' ἔμαθες, ὦ πόνηρε, γράμματα / ἀνέστροφέν σου τὸν βίον τὰ βιβλία. / πεφιλοσόφηκας γῆ τε κούραν ᾧ λαλῶν, / οἷς οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἐπιμελές τῶν σῶν λόγων; Anaxippus, fr. II (Meineke 4, 465) οἴμοι, φιλοσοφεῖς. ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε φιλοσόφους / ἐν τοῖς λόγοις φρονοῦντας εὐρίσκω μόνον, / ἐν τοῖσι δ' ἔργοις ὄντας ἀνοήτους ὄρω; anonym. (Meineke 4.690) 145 ληρεῖς ἐν οὐδέοντι καιρῷ φιλοσοφῶν.

is why probably Getas asks to wait for him, if he is not walking in his sleep (A22; cf. A26)¹. Thrasonides' remarks in A24f and A27 also sound hilarious, especially after the seriousness of his soliloquy². From this conversation we also learn that (i) Thrasonides has returned home just the day before, after a long absence (ἐχθές γὰρ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν / ἐλήλυθας τὴν ἡμετέραν σὺ διὰ χρόνου A31f) and that Getas did not accompany him³; (ii) Thrasonides had sailed away from his camp⁴, that he was ordered, as a man of courage (read ὡς εὐψυχος A34)⁵, to escort the spoils, which very

1. Cf. the employment of the same technique in the scene with Getas and Kleinias (284ff).

2. This is similar to the opening of the *Aspis*, where after a serious monologue by Daos, there follows a dialogue in which Smikrines' comments lower the seriousness to a more light-hearted tone. See A.E. Katsouris, *Menander's techniques for lowering tension*, *LCM* 8.2, 1983, 30-31. For a comparison between the initial scenes of the *Misoum.* and the *Aspis*, see F. Sisti, *L'inizio del Misoumenos e il cosiddetto prologo posticipato*, *Helikon* 13/14 1973/4 485-91.

3. McBrown (reviewing Turner in *CR* 30, 1980, 5) assigns A 31-32 to Thrasonides, and not to Getas (Turner), because they contradict, as he says, with lines A 37ff. But, I think, the fact that Krateia was given all these does not prevent Thrasonides from being away for a long time in a campaign in Cyprus; cf. e. g. Demeas and Chrysis in the *Samia*. McBrown reconstructs the antecedents to the plot as follows: Thrasonides left his own personal spoils in charge of Getas (cf. *Aspis* 34ff) with the order to escort them home, while he himself and Krateia have come straight home and have been living together for some time; Getas is the one who returned home the day before bringing the spoils, which included the sword; Krateia caught sight of it just then and since then it appeared the tension between her relationship with Thrasonides.

This suggestion, interesting though it is, creates some problems; (i) the assignment of the speakers in lines A28-A36. The first half of A 28, εἴσελθε κἀν νῦν, ὃ μακάριε is spoken by Getas. For the following we cannot know for certain. A31-A32 could, theoretically, be spoken by Getas or Thrasonides. If we accept McBrown's view, then A33-A35 should be assigned to Getas. There are three objections to these: a) this cannot be an explanation of διὰ χρόνου (as McBrown argues); and, besides, Getas could not be presented as giving information to Thrasonides, which is already known to him (Handley, in Turner, *loc. cit.*); b) εὐψυχος cannot refer to Getas, but only to Thrasonides. This word is used once again in 400, also in connection with Thrasonides; c) the connection between these lines, if spoken by Getas, and the question τὶ δὲ τὸ λυποῦν σ' and Thrasonides' distress is rather abrupt. We could probably add a further point: it is probable that Thrasonides returned after a long absence to his house and he found complications with the woman he regarded as his wife, a motif we also find in P. Ghôran II, Men. *Samia* and Plautus' *Amphitruo*.

4. Fr. 5 S informs us that he was in Cyprus, doing very well, in the service of one of the kings of Cyprus. From Cyprus comes also Krateia's father (see 230-4).

5. Cf. εὐψυχος ἀνὴρ Eur. *Rhes.* 510, εὐψυχότατοι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιέναι Thucyd. II.11; and *Misoum.* 400, very probably in Thrasonides' monologue.

probably was a difficult and dangerous job to do, that's why probably he regards himself humiliated - this should be a slave's job, as in the *Aspis* (ἔσχατος Μυσῶν)¹.

From line A36 onwards begins a very important section for the interpretation of the whole play and the right understanding of the plot. Getas asks Thrasonides 'τί τὸ λ]υποῦν σ' <έστ' >; or τί δὲ τὸ λυποῦν σ'; (= what is making you upset?). The conversation goes on as follows:

ΘΡ. ἐλείν' ὑβρίζομαι.

ΓΕ. ὑπὸ τίνας; ΘΡ. ὑπὸ τῆς αἰχμηκλώτου· πριάμενος
πε]ριθεις ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς οἰκίας

δέσποιν]αν ἀποδείξας, θεραπαίνας, χρυσία,

A40 ἱμάτια δο]ύς, γυναῖκα νομίσας. ΓΕ. εἶτα τί;

πῶς οὖν ὑβ]ρίζει; ΘΡ. καὶ λέγειν αἰσχύνομαι

]αιναν. ΓΕ. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σ' ὁμως φράσον.

ΘΡ. μισεῖ] με μῖσος.

The first question which arises is this: is there any connection and, if yes, what is it, between what Thrasonides says in A34f and A36f, that is between his taking charge of the spoils and the insult said to be done to him by the woman-captive, who cannot be other than Krateia? And, secondly, what kind of insult is it, of which Thrasonides is ashamed even to talk about? (A41 καὶ λέγειν αἰσχύνομαι). From the way he compares her insult to what he has done to her, it sounds as if her insult was the worst kind of ingratitude shown by her towards Thrasonides, her benefactor². But there is also the extraordinary hatred by Krateia. What did it cause it? Choricus (fr. 1 S) brings Thrasonides as an example showing ὡς ὑπέρογκόν τι καὶ σοβαρὸν καὶ πολλή τις ἀλαζονεῖα στρατιώτης ἀνήρ, who στρατιωτικὴν γὰρ φησιν ἀηδῖαν νοσοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἀπέχθειαν αὐτῷ κινῆσαι τὴν ἐρωμένην. What is this στρατιωτικὴ ἀηδία and how could it cause Krateia's hatred? The only meaning possible here is that it refers to Thrasonides' boastfulness, a typical characteristic trait of New Comedy soldiers, which, however, is absent at least in the extant fragments of *Misoumenos*. But that cannot be probably excluded³, and it is more pro-

1. This proverb means that somebody is the most worthless of men. Cf. Magnes *Poastria* (Meineke 2,11), Men. *Androgynos*, fr. 50 K-Th, *Ephesios* fr. 175 K-Th, *fab. inc.* 778 K-Th, and Philemon, *Sikelikos* fr. III (Meineke 4, 25). Cf. also Plato, *Theaet.* 209b, *Gorg.* 521b, Eur. fr. 704.

2. Cf. Men. *Samia* 382ff. As in the *Samia* Demeas' accusations are based on false evidence, so in all probability in the *Misoumenos*.

3. Turner, however, argues that Choricus is not a reliable source, for he might have been misled by the soldier's name, and Thrasonides is not at all braggart, but «a nervous, anxious, scrupulous and introverted man» (*loc. cit.*, 110).

bable that it manifested itself mainly in the preliminaries of the dramatic action. There are two more pieces of information, the first from Photius, who explains the word *σπαθᾶν* (fr. 10 S) with τὸ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι, which could refer only to Thrasonides, and the second from Arrianus (fr. 2 S) who says about Thrasonides that πάλιν μικρὰ εὐήμερήσας ἐπαίρεται (which would have taken place during the action of the play). But let us follow further the conversation¹. Then, how should we interpret Getas' ὦ Μαγνητῆς; Turner translates «Oh, she's the magnetic stone!» But it is difficult, at least to me, to see the connection between this and the previous lines. Line A44 is attributed by Turner to Thrasonides, translating «Nonsense! an absurd notion. This conduct is truly human and...» Here there are two possible lines of interpretation. The first is to take Getas as trying to give Thrasonides a plausible explanation of Krateia's behaviour, by saying to his master that her behaviour is truly human and that what he, that is Thrasonides, suspects is absurd. Indeed it would be difficult to see how Thrasonides, who is enraged by Krateia's behaviour, would say about her conduct that ἦ ἄνθρωπινον...τ' εἶναι τόδε². The second interpretation would be to take Getas as expressing suspicions about Krateia's fidelity and insinuating that probably the reason of her hatred is that she has a secret affair with someone else. This is supported, moreover, by the misunderstanding scene (208ff) and especially by Getas' οὐκ ἐγὼ ἄλεγος; / ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τόνδε τὸν ζητούμενον / ἔχω. γέρον οὗτος γε πολὺς φαίνεται, /... (217ff). It is more than obvious what Getas means. Getas, and in all probability his master, held the suspicion that Krateia had a secret affair with someone, not an old man anyway (cf. Turner, *op. cit.*, 124). In this context Getas' ὦ Μαγνητῆς would mean that she has the power of a magnetic stone and she has attracted to her somebody³.

1. Krateia is referred to by Thrasonides as τὴν ἐρωμένην (A9), τῆς αἰχμαλώτου (A37), φιλιτάτη (A85) and Κράτεια φιλιτάτη (308); in A 37-A40 Thrasonides says that he bought her, he treated her as a free woman (cf. McBrown, *CR* 30, 1980, on A38. Getas' οὐκ ἂν ἀπέλυσ', 315, however, does not suggest that she was not given her freedom) and as his wife, cf. 306f, but officially she was not his wife (cf. 297f, and the official marriage arrangements at the end of the play, 444ff). McBrown's argument, moreover, that τῆς αἰχμαλώτου is «a term which suggests that her capture was fairly recent (*loc. cit.*, 4) cannot be valid, provided that this term is used in abusing someone who became captive many years ago (e. g. Soph. *Aj.* 1228, Eur. *Andr.* 932).

2. For a discussion of the role of this notion in Menander see now Turner, *loc. cit.*, 107, 119ff, 123, 126. The word is also used in *Epitr.* fr. 10 S, *Perikeir.* 137, *Samia* 22; cf. also *Aspis* 166, 260. The nearest example to our case is, I think, *Samia* 21f (συνέβη) Σαμίτας ἑταίρας εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν τινὰ / ἔλθειν ἐκείνον (i.e. Demeas), πρᾶγμα ἴσως ἀνθρώπινον.

3. Whenever the word «magnetic stone» (μαγνητῆς λίθος or simply μαγνητῆς) is used, literally or metaphorically, denotes attraction and even dependence; some-

Thrasonides would deny it by ἄτοπ]α γὰρ ὑπονοεῖς. But again the interpretation of ἧ ἠθροπῶνον is difficult. Another point is introduced by the phrase οὐδὲ κυρία (A45)¹. Thrasonides goes on to relate what happened:

[τηρῶ τὸν Δία]
 ὄντα πολλῶ νυκτὸς [οὔσ]ης, ἀστραπάς,
 βροντάς, ἔχων αὐτὴν δὲ κατὰκειμ'. ΓΕ. εἶτα τί;
 ΘΡ. κέραγα 'παιδίσκη, βαδίσαι γάρ', φημί, 'δεῖ[
 ἦδη με πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα <μ>': 'εἶπας ὄνομα τί;
 -πᾶσ' ἂν γυνὴ δὴ τ[ο]ῦ [τὸ γ']εἶποι - 'τοῦ Διὸς
 ὄντος, ὃ τάλαν; [μέθεες τρ]όπον τινά

The use of the word τηρῶ² indicates that Thrasonides actually had a plan in his mind. If we accept McBrown's view that Getas is the one who returned the previous night with the spoils (and the sword), it is difficult to see how and why Kratea had even before this night changed her behaviour towards the soldier, something which probably gave the motivation to Thrasonides to test her love! The only other explanation is to accept that his jealousy was the first step towards a series of misunderstandings. Another problem is whether this night, about which he talks in this passage, is the same one with the night of his opening monologue. The fact that in both we have a winter storm is an indication that it is the same one. Anyway, Thrasonides with his plan intended to find out something concerning Kratea. Probably we have an indication of

times this power of attraction is viewed as a divine power: Eur. fr. 567 N² (*Oeneus*) τὰς βροτῶν / γνόμας σκοπῶν ὥστε Μαγνήτις λίθος / τὴν δόξαν ἔλκει καὶ μεθίστην πάλιν; Plato, in the *Ion* 533d, probably referring to this passage, says the following: θεία δὲ δύναμις, ἧ σε κινεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ λίθῳ, ἣν Εὐριπίδης μὲν Μαγνήτιν ὀνόμασεν... καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἢ λίθος οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς τοὺς δακτυλοὺς ἄγει τοὺς σιδηροὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύναμιν ἐντίθησι τοῖς δακτυλοῖς, ὥστ' αὐτὸν δύνασθαι ταῦτόν ποιεῖν ὅπερ ἡ λίθος, ἄλλους ἄγειν δακτυλοὺς, ὥστ' ἐνίστε ὄρμαθὸς μακρὸς πᾶν σιδήρων καὶ δακτυλίων ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἤρτηται· πᾶσι δὲ τοῦτοις ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς λίθου ἢ δύναμις ἀνήρτηται. οὕτω καὶ ἡ Μοῦσα ἐνθέου μὲν ποιεῖ αὐτὴ, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐνθέων τούτων ἄλλων ἐνθουσιαζόντων ὄρμαθὸς ἐξαρθάται. Cf. Porphyrius, *de abstin.* IV 20; Dioscurides, *de mat. med.* V. 130; Cicero, *de divin.* 1. 39.86. In Eubulus' *Orthanes* fr. II (Meineke 3, 245) this power of attraction is attributed to a Cypriot loaf of bread (δεινὸν μὲν ἰδόντα παριπτέυσαι Κυπρίους ἄρτους· μαγνήτις γὰρ / λίθος ὡς ἔλκει τοὺς πεινῶντας).

1. Thrasonides gave Kratea her freedom (A38) and viewed her as his wife (A 40). With γυναῖκα νομίσας he argues on the same lines as Polemon in the *Perikeiromene* (see 487-9). As in the *Perikeir.*, Glykera is εαυτῆς κυρία (497; see also 490ff) and she can leave Polemon whenever she wants, so it is also the case with Kratea, and applies to her what Pataikos says to Polemon about Glykera: ἤρσκαες αὐτῇ τυχὸν ἔσωσ, νῦν δ' οὐκέτι· / ἀπελήλυθεν δ' οὐ κατὰ τρόπον σου χρωμένου / αὐτῇ (491-2).

2. τηρῶ with a participle means «watch for» a person or thing, e. g. Soph. *OT* 808, Thucyd. I. 134, VI. 2, Demosth. 53. 17; with accusative only, cf. Thucyd. I. 65 ἄνεμον τηρῆσαι, 3.22 τ. νύκτα χειμέριον, Demosth. 59.103 νύκτα καὶ ὕδωρ τ.

this «trial» in the mutilated line A48] περι...¹ In any case, he watched for a stormy night, when it was heavily raining, lightning and thundering; he was lying in bed with Krateia (and not, as Turner, «and there I am at her side». Cf. also Ter. *Eun.* 515f *ipsa accumbere mecum*; and McBrown, *loc. cit.*, 5). Then he called out loudly the maid, saying that he had to go out without any delay to see someone. The reason why he said what he said in a loud voice very probably was that he wanted to attract the attention and the reaction of Krateia. Thrasonides expected that she would ask for the name of the man, «something which every woman (or rather wife) would say», and would express her surprise why he should go out in such a weather, trying to dissuade him. But very probably she remained silent, thus revealing her true feelings. At this crucial point the text unfortunately breaks off. Why did Thrasonides choose the worst possible weather and the night time to execute his plan? What was his intention? Who was the man (if he did exist outside the soldier's pretence), whom he had got to see immediately, and what his role could be? Did this man have any relationship with Krateia? One thing is clear, in my view: until this moment, at least, the relationship between Krateia and Thrasonides seems to be superficially harmonic. Krateia's hatred must have originated in some earlier time; the same is true of Thrasonides' suspicions that something was not going well in his relationship with Krateia. It is clear, however, that until this moment the tension had not erupted. In the very little we get in the following lines (from A 57 to A87) there is mention of a wall (ὁ τοῖχος οὗτος A79). What can the significance of this wall be? A wall and a hole played an important role in Menander's *Phasma* and Plautus' *Miles*. In the former, the hole in the wall, disguised to a shrine, was a device used by a woman to call and see her daughter, who probably was the result of a rape; in the latter, the hole in the wall was also connecting two neighbouring houses and it was a device to enable the lovers, Pleusicles and Philocomasium, to meet and thus to escape the notice of the soldier Pyrgopolynices and his slaves, who kept her contrary to her will in his house. But to assume something similar in the *Misoumenos* is rather improbable, for we see in the final Act that Krateia consents to marry Thrasonides (439). It is not clear, at least to me, what Turner meant with his translation «a talking wall». In A81 someone (Thrasonides?) says «not plausible» or «not reasonable»; in A84 ὑπερ-επι-υπερ-ῶσα may refer to Krateia and very probably

1. Cf. *Theoph.* 24 πείραν ἔξεστιν λαβεῖν, Pap. Did. I 33 λήψει πείραν, fr. 324 πείραν ἔχομεν, fr. 629 πείραν... εἰληφώς.

is spoken by Thrasonides (cf. his account in A38-40)¹. But the possibility could not be excluded that it was spoken by Getas in reference either to Krateia or Thrasonides. The next lines are in all probability also spoken by the soldier; he probably relates what he had said to Krateia, which is a most passionate plea not to let him down, otherwise she would cause φιλονικίαν, πόνον, μανίαν. Getas expresses his compassion for his master's bad luck. The only thing Thrasonides desires most is to be called 'dearest' by Krateia. It is highly probable that in this section Thrasonides gave more details about this event and his suspicions about Krateia were explicitly expressed. Lines A85-A87 very probably are direct quotations in his narrative. Probably A89 too. The expression πρόσσεχε... τὸν νοῦν ἐμοὶ does not mean here only «pay attention to», but, as it is obvious from παρορομένω, it means «to take care of» (δίνω σημασία of modern Greek), Cf. Ar. *Plout.* 149-152 and Alciphron 1. 37, referred to by Austin and McBrown respectively (CR 30, 1980, on A85). For the expression θύσαιμι πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς in similar circumstances, cf. *Samia* 386.

Lines A90-A100: It is clear that neither Getas nor Thrasonides can give a reasonable motivation of Krateia's hatred. Getas tries to find some: he appears to support his suggestion that she has attracted someone else and for this reason she hates Thrasonides, saying that, although Thrasonides is not absolutely repulsive in appearance, nevertheless the fact that he is a soldier makes him unsympathetic (cf. *Sikyoniōi* fr. 2 S εὐλοιδόρητον, ὡς ἔοικε, φαίνεται / τὸ τοῦ στρατιώτου σχῆμα...), and also the fact that he is not very young. In other words, Getas suggests that Krateia has got an admirer younger than Thrasonides and more attractive. For this reason, Getas is surprised with the age of the man (= Demeas) who embraces Krateia in the recognition scene (219).

τί <τοῦτ'> ἂν εἴη τὸ κακόν; οὐδὲ γὰρ σφόδρ' εἶ
 ἄκρως ἀηδῆς ὥστε γ' εἰπεῖν· ἀλλὰ σο[ι
 τὸ μικρὸν ἀμέλει τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ [βλάβη·
 ἀλλ' ἔψιν ὑπεράστειος· ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄγ[εις
 τῆς ἡλικίας ποθεν[

'You are not utterly and completely ἀηδῆς', he says, 'so that one could really say so'. Turner translates ἀηδῆς as «rude». But this is not satisfactory, for it fails to refer to the facial appearance. ἀηδῆς could generally mean 'unpleasant', but here it is more probable that it refers to the facial expression and means 'bad-looking'. Thrasonides, according to Getas,

1. Cf. Alciphron, I. 37, where a woman complaining about her lover says: γραμματίδια μὲν οὖν καὶ θεραπαινίδιον διαδρομαὶ καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μάτην διήγυσται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὄφελος, δοκεῖ δέ μοι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τούτων τετυφῶσθαι καὶ ὑπερεντραφεῖν ἡμῖν.

is not completely a bad-looking man and, therefore, he is not completely unattractive. This interpretation is supported, first, by the parallels we have from (i) Alexis, *fab. inc.* xv (Meineke, 3.512) οὐδὲν γ' ἔοικ' ἀνθρωπος οἴνω τὴν φύσιν· / ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπογῆρας ἀηδῆς γίγνεται / οἶνον δὲ τὸν παλαιάτατον σπουδάζομεν· / ὁ μὲν δάκνει γὰρ, ὁ δ' ἰλαροὺς ἡμᾶς ποιεῖ (here referring both to an old man's bad looks and character); and (ii) Menander, *Perikeiromene*, where Moschion talking about himself says οὐκ ἀηδῆς ... εἴμ' ἰδεῖν (302) and he repeats it in 309 οὐκ εἴμ' ἀηδῆς; secondly, the natural sequence of Getas' speech is οὐδὲ γὰρ σφόδρ' εἰ ἄκρως ἀηδῆς... ἀλλ' ὄψιν ὑπεράστειος¹. These remarks by Getas should not be taken seriously, but only as jokes. Well, if Thrasonides is not repulsive in his appearance, what causes him all this trouble? Getas implies that Krateia has got another lover and rejected the soldier for two reasons: (i) undoubtedly (ἀμέλει) τὸ μικρὸν... τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, which very probably cannot mean «the meagreness of your service pay» (Turner), because it appears that Thrasonides had acquired enough property from his participation in the military campaigns (cf. fr. 5 S, A38ff. For this view see now also Turner, *loc. cit.*, 109). More probably this has to do with the usual characteristic trait of the soldiers in New Comedy, their boastfulness, rudeness and unattractiveness in their manners, which usually made them repulsive as lovers (e.g. cf. Thraso in Ter. *Eunuchus*). (ii) Thrasonides' age. Probably he is not young anymore. Thrasonides reacts swearing at Getas and adding that they must try to find some reasonable explanation. But Getas continues on the same lines and he adds another point: μικρὸν τὸ φῦλόν ἐστι, δέσποτα² (probably refuted by the soldier). But this is what Getas really believes (A98ff), which is another aspect of the employment of the misunderstanding motif by Menander. Another important point in his speech is his *συχάζει τέ σε* (A99). Should we explain it as 'scrutinize' or 'κνίζειν ἐρωτικῶς'? With the latter meaning is given by Strattis and Hesychius³. In my view, the former meaning seems to be more appropriate here; what Getas says is that she 'scrutinizes' him, in order to test his love. This is something an hetaira could do, and for Getas, at least, all women, the whole of the female race is *μιαρόν*, and Krateia is not excluded. With this meaning *συχάζειν* is also used by Aristainetos, I.22, an author whose indebtedness to Menander both in language and

1. Notice the repetition of ἀλλά by Getas (A91; A93 twice, the second time with μήν.

2. For *μιαρός* in reference to women cf. Arist. *Lys.* 253.

3. Cf. Strattis, *Atalante* fr. I (Meineke 2, 764); Hesychius, *συχάζειν*: τὸ κνίζειν ἐν ἐρωτικαῖς ὁμιλίαις. Plato the comedian (Meineke 2, 691 36) and Menander, fr. 917 K-Th, also use *σοχοφαντῶ* with the same meaning.

situations is well attested¹. Aristainetos never refers to the author by name in any way, and usually the names of the persons or the situations in which these expressions are used, are slightly or completely different than in the originals. So this could be another instance where Aristainetos borrows from Menander and in particular, from his *Misoumenos*, A99.

O 19 fr. C is assigned by Turner between A57 and A85. But this is rather improbable for two main reasons: (i) Getas' (or even Thrasonides') exit is unlikely at this moment, in which Thrasonides continues his narrative of what had happened; and (ii) the phrase *λωποδύτας...τούτους τε φεύγων* is probably part of the announcement of the chorus at the end of the first Act (cf. *Aspis* 145ff, *Dysc.* 230ff, *Epitr.* 169ff, *Perik.* 261). Consequently, the most appropriate place for this fragment is at the end of Act I. If this suggestion is true, this is the first time where a chorus in New Comedy consists not of drunken men, but of *λωποδῦται*. It is clear that here we have a dialogue between Getas (see line 2) and Thrasonides. There is mention of a woman 'going away' (*ἀπιόσασα* 3); this is probably Kratea, who very probably decided to leave the house, a reaction similar to Glykera in the *Perikeiromene*. Another interpretation is to take it as conditional, a fear in Thrasonides' mind, something that it could be done. If she has left the house, then this could explain Kleinias' words in 270-5. There is also mention of Thrasonides' soldierly action (4).

The structure of the first Act so far is, a short soliloquy by Thrasonides followed by a dialogue between Getas and Thrasonides, 14 and 86 lines respectively. The dialogue continued for a little, as it seems most probable². Because of the many complications in the relations between the characters, a delayed divine expository speech is very probably delivered by a deity³ (perhaps by Aphrodite, Night, Tyche or Plemos; the latter is suggested by Turner, *loc. cit.*, 126), as is the case with *Perikeiromene* and *Aspis*.

1. For instance, he borrows several expressions from Menander's *Dyscolus* (46, 58-9, 62, 112, 155, 192f, 214, 225-6, 310, 316, 341f, 345, 764, 788-90, 824, 842f, 861-2, 919), *Epitr.* 765, *Leukadia* fr. 260, *Misoum.* (A84, A43, A99), *Samia* 655. See W.G. Arnott, Aristainetos and Menander's *Dyskolos*, *Hermes* XCVI, 1968, 384; and O. Mazal, Aristainetos und Menanders *Dyskolos*, in *Studi Classici in onore di Q. Cataudella*, vol. II 1972, 261-4. What is remarkable is that all these quotations and debts from the *Dyscolus* are spread in letters of Aristainetos, they are not concentrated in one or a few letters.

2. The length of the first Act in the *Aspis* is 249 lines, in the *Dyscolus* 232 lines, and in the *Samia* no less than 215 lines.

3. Cf. also Sisti F., L'inizio del *Misoumenos*, *Helikon* 13/14, 1973/74, 487f; and Jacques J. - M., Le début du *Misouménos* et les prologues de Ménandre, in *Musa Jocososa* (Festschrift A. Thierfelder, Hildesheim. New York 1974), 77.

The length of the second Act varies as we can see, from 145 lines in the *Aspis* to approximately 247 lines in the *Epitrepontes*¹. The section contained in the *Pap. Oxyr.* 2657 is said by Turner to belong no later than

1. A comparison between the *Aspis*, *Perikeiromene* and the *Misoumenos* regarding their structure would help us to form an idea how the structure of the first Act of the *Misoumenos* would be like: *Aspis* 1-18 an emotional soliloquy by Daos; 18-96 dialogue between Smikrines and Daos; 97-148 divine expository monologue by Tyche; 149-215 a soliloquy by Smikrines is immediately followed by a dialogue between Smikrines and Daos; 216-249 a dialogue between the 'mageiros', Daos and the 'trapezopoiis'. The last couple of lines is a preannouncement of the entrance of the chorus, as is usually the case. *Perikeiromene*:?? very probably a short soliloquy by Glykera (see line 127f) followed by a dialogue between Glykera and a maid of hers, or a dialogue between Glykera and Polemon. The latter seems more probable, if we take Agnoia's words in 128f ἐραστοῦ γενομένου τε τοῦ σφοδροῦ / τούτου νεανίσκου as referring to the young man the audience had seen just before; 120-171 a divine expository speech by Agnoia; 172-266 after a short soliloquy by Sosias there follows a dialogue between Doris and Sosias. Another dialogue scene between Sosias and Daos might have followed. The Act ends with Daos' preannouncement of the entrance of the chorus. *Misoumenos*: A1-A14 an emotional soliloquy by Thrasonides: A15-A100 a dialogue scene between Thrasonides and his slave Getas; ?? very probably a divine expository speech explaining the complications of the plot and probably hinting at the future development, followed by two dialogue scenes, as is the case both with the *Aspis* and *Perikeiromene*.

It is therefore probable, if we proceed by analogy, that the length of the first Act of the *Misoumenos* would be approximately 230-250 lines. A delayed divine prologue could follow after the exit of Thrasonides and Getas, which probably occurred only a couple of lines after our text breaks off, e.g. at line A105. The length of the divine prologue in the *Aspis* is 52 lines; 52 lines or a little more was also the length of Agnoia's speech in the *Perikeiromene*. The divine speech in the *Misoumenos* would be of the same length, that is approximately 50 to 55 lines. The length of the dialogue scenes after the divine expository speech in the *Aspis* is 101 lines; in the *Perikeiromene* it is approximately 95 to 100 lines. The dialogue scenes that in all probability followed after the divine speech in the *Misoumenos* would have the same length, that is about 100 lines. This means that we would have 150 to 155 lines after our text breaks off before the end of the first Act, bringing the total number of lines of the first Act to 250 to 255.

In regard to the length of the five Acts of the *Misoumenos* in relation to the structure of other Menandrian plays, the following statistics may help to get a better idea:

	<i>Misoum.</i>	<i>Aspis</i>	<i>Epitr.</i>	<i>Dysc.</i>	<i>Perik.</i>	<i>Samia</i>
Act I	?250	249	232		?250	215+
Act II	93+ ?	145	194	?247	?199	135+ ?
Act III	169	?283	183	?278+	?244	?215+
Act IV	128+ ?		163	?265	120+?	195
Act V	48+ ?		185			121

Act II, and even earlier (see *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXXIII no. 2657). We get 102 badly mutilated lines, and consequently we can learn very little about the development of the plot. One thing which is at least clear is that we have **two** dialogue scenes. The conversation in the first scene is between Getas and his master, and this is made clear from the vocatives δέσποτα (8) and Γέτα (9). But who are the speakers in the second scene? One of them is certainly Demeas, whose identity is clear from several points in the dialogue. He must be the one addressed as ξένε (24, 27, 31) and γέρον (38), and who is asked where he comes from and whether he came to ransom someone (cf. 297f). But it is not clear who the second person is. If we suppose that Kleinias had some old acquaintance with Demeas, he must be excluded. Could he be a slave of Kleinias? But there is also another question to be asked in regard to this section: does it belong to the second Act, to the first Act, or to both, and if so, which part belongs to each?¹ The answer is, of course, difficult, for in the remaining lines the sign ΧΟΡΟΥ is not anywhere traced. From the extant plays of Menander, it appears a tendency to open the second Act with a new character, engaged in conversation with a character who played some role in the first Act: so, Chaerestratos talks with Smikrines in the *Aspis*, 250ff, Gorgias with Daos in the *Dyscolus*, 233ff, probably Syriskos and Daos with Smikrines in the *Epitrepontes* (although not at the very beginning of the Act, but after a soliloquy by Onesimos), Moschion with Daos in the *Perikeiromene*, 267ff. In the *Samia*, on the contrary, the second Act opens with Demeas and Moschion, two persons who had appeared in the first Act, but did not meet; thus, the two lines of action, represented separately in the first Act through Moschion and Demeas, meet at the beginning of the second Act. By analogy, the second Act in the *Misoumenos* could open with a new character, and probably this was² Demeas. If this suggestion is correct, then lines 1-13/4, that is the remains of a dialogue scene between Thrasonides and Getas, should be the final lines of the first Act. But it is more probable that the old man Demeas appeared towards the end of the first Act, a technique often employed by Menander², and, therefore, the whole section of the *Pap. Oxyr.* 2657 belongs

1. Contrary to Turner's and Sandbach's view that this section probably belongs to the second Act, Del Corno argues that it belongs to the fifth Act. For his arguments see *Gnomon* 42, 1970, 259f.

2. A new character is introduced towards the end of an Act at 216 of the *Aspis* (a «mageiros»), 189 (Knemon's daughter), 393 (Sikon), 402 (Getas), 574 (Simiche), 775 (Kallippides) of the *Dyscolus*, 142 (Habrotonon), 382 (Onesimos) in the *Epitrepontes*, 261 or shortly before (Daos), 397 (Doris) of the *Perikeiromene*, 189 (Parmenon), 399 (Nikeratos), of the *Samia*, 259 (Thrasonides), 270-only six lines before the end of the Act-(Kleinias) of the *Misoumenos*.

to the second half of the first Act, after the divine prologue speech. In this case the length of the first Act would increase to about 250 lines; this would mean that we are left without any text of the second Act.

What do we learn from this section? In the first scene between Thrasonides and Getas: if we read εἰσιῶν (9), Getas or more probably Thrasonides goes inside; γεγενημένον (6) could be a back-reference to the previous action, but it could also be e.g. κύριον γεγενημένον¹, the subject being Thrasonides and referring to Kratea; ἀνεφωγγέμενον (12) could have some connection with fr. 10 S Λακωνική κλεις ἐστίν ὡς ἔοικέ μοι / περιοιστέα, which probably is an indication that the soldier intended to lock the door of his house, thus preventing Kratea from going away or just going out of his house². At this point probably enters Demeas and the second scene starts.

In the second scene (13ff), between the ξένος (=Demeas) and an unidentified person, there is mention of a letter (17, 25)³. one So, (=Demeas) brings a letter from someone; the other one asks (aside?) what she or he wants (τί βούλεται; 19); in the next two lines the door and house (of Thrasonides?) are mentioned (20,21); κόψαντί σοι (22) certainly refers to the knocking at the door⁴. It also indicates that the second person is also engaged in conversation. Demeas must be the one who brings the letter, for he is the one who comes from abroad. But who wrote this letter, to whom was it addressed, and what is the significance of this letter for the plot, is impossible to know. Probably it was given to Demeas by some of Thrasonides' acquaintances in Cyprus and it was to be delivered to him. But it could also be a letter of introduction to Kleinias, given to Demeas by some of his acquaintances in Cyprus. In the next lines the conversation is more intelligible. One says οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν; a question follows: ποδαπός εἶ, ξένε; Demeas answers that he comes from Cyprus. He is then asked whether he came with the intention to ransom someone (σῶματ'] οὖν λυτρούμενος ἦκεις 31f). This question reveals that the person talking with Demeas knew that Thrasonides had been in charge of the war-spoils (cf. A34ff) and that among them were captives⁵. Who

1. Cf. *Epitr.* 306.

2. After Thrasonides has left the stage (line 9), Getas remains on stage. At this point a new character appears, the ξένος, who probably soliloquizes for a while (lines 12-18), before he is actually engaged in conversation with Getas. So, τί βούλεται is probably spoken by Getas aside. At lines 20-21 the new scene begins.

3. As it is rather improbable to have two letters, one from a woman and one from a man, I would not accept the conjectures ἐκέ[]νης or ἐκέ[]νου.

4. Cf. *Dycs.* 97, 267f, 476, 482, 899, *Misoum.* 188, 194.

5. Cf. *Aspis*, 1ff. Daos brings a band of captives as well (89f, 239f).

could be the person talking with Demeas? Getas must be excluded, because he first sees Demeas in 216ff. Thrasonides is also excluded for other reasons. Anyway, Demeas denies strongly that the purpose of his journey was to ransom someone. He goes on to give the reason of his trip in the next lines (34f). Line 36 is probably a question by the other person. Both γενομένης (34) and αὐτή (36) make it clear, in my view, that a woman is the subject of their conversation. The person asking the question in 36 wants to know more details about this woman. Demeas answers in 37 and asks the other person's cooperation and help. One says he is *ιχνεύων πάλλιν* (read *πάλλαι*, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 20), which probably is a reference to Demeas' long search to find his lost daughter. In the next lines someone is called *σωτήρ* (40), and is probably spoken by Demeas. The other one asks the name (of the girl). Demeas gives her name: Krateia. From these points it seems probable that Demeas came in search of his lost daughter, not knowing that she was a prisoner of war, that's why he strongly refuses that he came to ransom anybody. We do not know, however, how long ago he had lost his daughter. Were she lost together with her brother or nurse? The war was, anyway, the cause of their separation. But it is not clear how long ago this fact took place. Demeas would be travelling from place to place in search of his children, or his daughter anyway. The recognition proves that Krateia, when she was lost, was of an age that Demeas could still remember and recognize her without the need of recognition tokens, but only by memory, and the same is true of Krateia. The second person reveals to Demeas, as soon as he learns the girl's name, that a girl named Krateia is kept captive in Thrasonides' house. This causes Demeas' astonishment (*ὦ Ζεῦ τροπαίε, ἀπροσδόκητον* 45f), because it was something he did not expect. Sandbach's suggestion¹ that Demeas probably prays to Zeus not to allow his own children to become captives goes along with our line of interpretation. But more probably it expresses Demeas' astonishment and disbelief on hearing something wholly unexpected (cf. the use of *Ἄπολλον ἀποτρόπαιε* in similar circumstances in Ar. *Ploutos*, 356-61, 850-5). The conversation continues in lines 65-93. Here we learn very little again about the plot. Something is said to be terrible (67); one asks the other to bring (or fetch) something or someone (Krateia?) into the front (*εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν* 69), probably into the street, which is rejected by the other (*γελοῖον* 69)², who probably suggests to the other to go and find (him or her?) inside or he refuses to go himself into Thrasonides' house, fearing that he might meet

1. See *Commentary*, on *Misoum.* 45.

2. Cf. *Perikeir.* 325, *Samia* 578f; see also 654, *fab. inc.* 53, and *Georgos fr.* 4.

him inside (τουτονι certainly refers to Thrasonides). And the other one decides to do something immediately, probably to go and find Thrasonides, and find out where (he or she) is. εὔρομεν (76) indicates that the other person agreed to co-operate with Demeas and assist him to find his daughter. There is then a reference to the notion of gratitude (εὖ παθῶν... χάριν 77) and to the woman¹.

From this passage it is made clear, in my view, that Demeas came in search of a woman, who cannot be other than Krateia. He learns that a captive girl named Krateia lives in Thrasonides' house and he decides on the course of action he is going to take, asking at the same time the help of the other person, who probably is a young man, the supposed rival of Thrasonides, provided that he cannot be either Getas or Kleinias. Could he be Krateia's brother? In such a case, one should accept that father and son could not recognize each other by memory. The situation would resemble the one in the *Perikeiromene*. The young man's willingness to co-operate with Demeas, that is his father, for the freedom of Krateia, his sister, would create a really Menandrian irony.

In the third Act we have the following scenes:

- 101-155 a dialogue scene between an old woman, very probably Krateia's nurse, and another woman (Chrysis?).
- 156-175 a soliloquy by Getas
- 176-204 /5 after a short soliloquy by an old woman, Kleinias' servant, there follows a dialogue scene between this old woman and Demeas.
- 206-258 a recognition scene between Demeas and Krateia, and a misunderstanding scene (216-237 Getas - Demeas, Krateia).
- 259-269 Thrasonides (talking to Getas).
- 270-275 Kleinias (talking to a cook).

In this Act there are also many problems: (i) who are the speakers in lines 101ff? The one is a woman, as is clear from τάλαν (132)². If we accept that ἀμεινον οἶδε τὰ γ' αὐτῆς τινος (136) refers to Krateia, she must be excluded. This woman very probably is Krateia's nurse (the τηθία of line 211) and she is the one to speak line 204. She might have spoken li-

1. In the much mutilated lines that follow someone is called κάκιστος ἀνδρῶν (85), and there is again a reference to a woman (89) and the gratitude (90). Professor Dedoussi has suggested to me that probably the man who promises to assist Demeas asks him to agree to give him his daughter as his wife in gratitude for his assistance.

2. Cf. αἱ τάλας (177) and τί μ' ἐνοχλεῖς, τάλαν (189) of another woman's speech. But this section it could also be a reported dialogue scene with direct quotations (Handley). For the employment of τάλας by women, see Ch. Dedoussi, *Studies in Comedy*, *Ἑλληνικά* 18, 1964, 1-6.

nes 194b-205. Both ποτε (197) and ἐνθύμιόν μοι τοῦτο γέγονεν ἀρτίως (204) are in all probability scraps of an aside soliloquy spoken by the nurse, in which - after she had watched from aside the scene between Demeas and the old woman, probably Kleinias' servant in 176-194-she remembered probably Demeas' face or something else related to Demeas (his sword?), she realized that he was Krateia's father, and she went immediately in to inform Krateia about it (this is clear from lines 211f, 228f). All these points are in support of our suggestion that Krateia was lost some years ago, and not recently, probably along with her own nurse. The second speaker could be Getas or more probably a second woman, as Turner suggests¹. (ii) what is the subject of their conversation? There is mention of an ἐκτεργία, a suppliant's branch (122, 132, cf. 153); the other person - who, judging from the woman's reaction, seems to be in angry mood - says that he (Thrasonides?) lives a terrible and miserable life, although he was blessed and envied. The answer is that she knows better than anyone her own business (cf. *Perik.* 749 ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μ' ἄριστα spoken by Glykera). Consequently, they talk about Thrasonides and Krateia. The one seems to be more interested for Thrasonides, the other for Krateia. A whispering is heard from a certain person, and the one urges the other to leave (139ff). Then there is mention of a ring (146), garments (149), of a woman stamping on the ground (151), of libation (152) and suppliant's branches (153). ἀπίωμεν (155) suggests that probably the persons at this point leave the stage².

Getas' soliloquy might have started at line 156, probably by expressing his displeasure for another person's behaviour at dinner. This reminds us of the servant in Euripides' *Alkestis*³ who came out Admetos' house complaining about the behaviour of Admetos' guest, Heracles. But who is this guest? Thrasonides is excluded, for Getas suspects this man of planning something evil against his master⁴. Could he be Klei-

1. The interlinear *nota* between 147 and 148 could be read]AC, and this could be the last two letters of the name ΓΕΤΑΣ; but it could also be ΓΡΑΥΣ, which is more probable. Provided that Getas comes on stage on 156 and delivers a monologue, he is excluded from the previous scene.

2. They do not seem to go indoors as Turner suggests. Cf. Del Corno, *Gnomon*, 42, 1970, 256.

3. Lines 747ff. In both cases, the servant's displeasure is probably caused by a misunderstanding; the guest in both plays is drinking and singing.

4. But Thrasonides could probably be the second one. As Del Corno observes, Thrasonides might have acted like Polemon in the *Perikeir.*, that is decided to drink down his sorrows with his friends; and out of jealousy he sent Getas to spy on Krateia (see 174f).

nias? There are two objections to this: (i) lines 168f. Getas speaks about the guest's arrival to his master's house as something worth hearing, that is he was expected and welcomed (*ἀγαθὸν ἄκουσμα ἦκεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς*); and (ii) Kleinias appears in the last few lines of the Act giving instructions to a cook about a meal, telling him also which persons would participate. It would be rather strange to find him drinking and singing in Getas' report and then see him here giving instructions for a meal. What about Demeas, then? There are also some difficulties to accept that the singer was Demeas. For one reason, Getas in 216ff seems never to have seen before this man. And secondly, Demeas is in all probability the *ξένος*, one of Kleinias' guests for the meal the cook would prepare (270-5).

Another problem related to the above is the following: where did the drinking and singing take place? It is certain that it did not take place in Thrasonides' house. Getas in 237, after the recognition, says *δραμὼν δέ σοι τὸν δεσπότην ἤδη καλῶ*, which suggests that Thrasonides is not in his house, but he is not far away, for he appears with Getas after 20 to 22 lines, and they both go inside to Thrasonides' house (264, 266). For the reasons we mentioned above, Kleinias' house must also be excluded. The possibility which remains is that the drinking and singing took place in a third house¹. Two persons were there (this is clear from *αὐτῶν θάτερρος* 164) and Getas was with them. This is probably what is meant by Getas' *κατέλειπον* (160). He might have said 'I left them inside there eating and drinking'. Could they be Thrasonides with some «stranger»? This man, anyway, is described by Getas as ugly or stupid (*παχὺς* meaning *ἀμαθής*, stupid; *παχύδερμος*, is also met in Arist. *Clouds* 842 and *Wasps* 288. The point here is that this man is both ugly and stupid, *παχὺς* referring to *ἄνθρωπος*, cf. *ἄνῆρ παχὺς Wasps* 288, and having a swinish face, *τὴν ὄψιν ὄς*), a real pig, who was drinking and singing (*ἤσεν* is thrice repeated: 160, 164, 167; *πίω* 167), but he had shown some awkward behaviour, at least so it seemed to Getas, who by now probably is trying to find out the reason of Krateia's hatred; he has something to do with watching the women from outside (162) and he is also said to be preparing to go and then he comes back again. *διδούς τὰς συμβολὰς* is, however, not clear what it means; probably it means 'contributions to a common meal'². *τὸν δεσπότην καλέσαντα* (172) is a further indication that Thraso-

1. Turner also accepts the possibility of a third house (or else of a central shrine) with a respectable matron as householder (see *BICS* suppl. 17, 1965, 11, 12). It is certain that there are at least two houses on stage, belonging to Thrasonides and Kleinias respectively; a third house probably belongs to a woman, perhaps to Chrysis.

2. Cf. Plautus, *Stichus* 438f *symbolam dabo*, etc; Arist. *Ach.* 1211; cf. also Plutarch, *Agis* 9 *συμβολὰς δίδοναι τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεγίστας*, and Aratus 11 *συμβολὰς τῷ κοινῷ*

nides might be the one of the persons in Getas' report. Getas is thinking to invite him to dinner (171). The «stranger», therefore, must have some connection with Thrasonides, he might be his guest.

In line 173ff Getas decides to go indoors, in his master's house, not back into the house where the two men were drinking. His intention probably was to keep watch on what was done and said inside the house, his main concern being, of course, Krateia, as we understand from lines 216ff¹. It is not improbable that he was ordered to do so by his master. His first words ἐξῆλθεν ἐξω indicate clearly that he had kept watching Krateia, since he went in.

The most interesting point in the next scene between the old woman² (=Kleinias' servant) and Demeas is the interest shown by Demeas for the swords of the neighbours, that is of Thrasonides, which for some reason were brought into Kleinias' house. The reason for bringing them there it was to prevent Thrasonides from committing suicide³. Anyway, this was a most important clue for Demeas and indirectly it led him to recognize his daughter. It is obvious that Demeas had spent a long time examining the swords (180), and finally he recognized one as his own (τὴν ἐμὴν τούτην ὀρώ 193). What is the significance of this sword, we do not know for certain⁴. What is certain is that Demeas' interest was so great, that he wanted to go at once into the neighbours' house, probably to find out from the owner, under what circumstances the sword came in his possession. His intentions are made clear, first, when he asks from the old woman to knock upon Thrasonides' door on his behalf - something which creates another problem, namely why did he not want to knock at the door himself. The old woman refuses to do so and she asks him to do it himself. She might have left after 194. Demeas prepares to knock upon Thrasonides' door. An aside soliloquy, spoken by Krateia's nurse very probably followed,

μεγάλας δεδωκώς; Pollux 6,12 ἀπὸ συμβολῶν, ἀφ' ὧν οἱ Ἀττικοὶ μακρὰς διδόναι συμβολὰς ἔλεγον ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγάλως. But it could also mean a seal with a ring, used as token of genuineness (cf. e. g. Plautus, *Pseud.* 1001, 1092), or even a letter sealed with a ring.

1. Del Corno rightly observed that Getas went in secretly.

2. That this person is an old woman there is no doubt (cf. 276ff).

3. For the suicide motif in Menander cf. Polemon in the *Perikeir.* 504ff, 976; Alcesimarchus in the *Cistellaria* 639ff, etc. See also my article in *Dodone* IV, 1975, 222ff.

4. Turner's suggestion that it might have changed owners is quite possible. This would be a good reason for the misunderstanding. In Soph. *Thyestes* and Eur. *Aegeus* a son is recognized by his father by the means of a sword (see Turner, *BICS* suppl. 17, 1965, 15). Cf. also W. Kraus, *RhM* 114, 1971, 25; T.B.L. Webster, *GRBS* 14, 1973, 292, and *Introduction to Menander*, 164-6; U. Treu, *ZPE* 14, 1974, 175-7; and Gomme-Sandbach, *Comment. on Men.*, 439-41.

and then the nurse went into the soldier's house, where she informed Krateia about her father, that she had recognized him and that he was standing outside. Demeas knocks upon the door (206), but he retreats, as he understands that someone inside is about to come out (206f). Demeas' intention was, of course, to meet Thrasonides and ask him about the sword he had recognized as his own (cf. 276ff). At this time, however, Krateia comes out of the house, accompanied by her nurse, impatient (208) to meet her father. A recognition scene between father and daughter follows. Demeas recognizes her daughter as soon as he catches sight of her and expresses his astonishment (210). Krateia recognizes her father soon after. This is a comparatively short but very emotional recognition scene. At 216 Getas, whom we saw going secretly into his master's house after 175 in order to watch what was going on inside, having noticed that Krateia left the house, he followed her and he comes out too. An amusing scene follows¹, in which Getas, catching sight of Demeas and Krateia embracing each other, misunderstands the whole situation and makes it fit his own preconceptions, taking the old man to be Krateia's lover (οὐκ ἐγὼ 'λεγον; / ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τόνδε τὸν ζητούμενον / ἔχω 217f). Explanations are given to the disbelieving Getas, who finally is persuaded and goes to fetch his master. In 231-6 we learn that Demeas had come from Cyprus, that Krateia is the first of his own family members (and not 'most valued of my possessions' Sandbach) to be found and recognized²; that war has caused the separation of his family and carried them away one here and one there. Getas confirms that indeed Krateia has fallen to the soldier as a captive. After Getas' departure (237), the conversation turns to another point: Krateia's brother. She might have asked her father about her brother, and he might have answered that he is dead. Of course, this is a false conclusion drawn from a misleading clue, as it happens in the *Aspis*, where Kleostratos' battered shield was taken to mean that he had been killed too. In line 246 Krateia asks her father, how does he know it, who told him so, thus expressing some last hope, but Demeas' answer does not leave any doubt about it, and Krateia expresses her sorrow and despair in the following lines. Lines 249-250 are interesting, because Demeas appears to be certain, not only about the death of his son, but also about the identity of the killer of his son. This person is described by Demeas as ὄφ' οἷ γ' ἤμιστ' ἐχρήν

1. After the emotion and the tears, a smile follows. This seems to be one of Menander's great techniques. Cf. my article in *LCM* 8.2, 1983, 30-31.

2. With these words Demeas anticipates the recognition of his son, which very probably followed in the fourth Act (cf. Del Corno, *Gnomon* 52, 1970, 257).

(249); this person, therefore, had or has some connection with Demeas' family (he must be a friend or a relative), and because of this connection he had an obligation not to murder his son¹. This cannot be other than Thrasonides, and this is proved by Demeas' and his daughter's conduct towards Thrasonides soon after. The interpretation of the following lines is difficult. There is need of serious thinking, one says (256). Finally they leave the stage and go into Thrasonides' house, where the scene described by Getas in 284ff will take place, after the soldier was fetched by his slave and went into his house (259-269). He is very anxious to meet Demeas, for he is certain that his future depends absolutely on Demeas: ἡ μακάριον ἢ τρισαθλιώτατον / δείξεις με τῶν ζώντων ἀπάντων γεγονότα (260f). Finally he goes inside his house ὀκνηρῶς καὶ τρέμων, 'reluctantly and trembling with fear' (266), for he is foreboding that something bad would happen.

Soon after Thrasonides' and Getas' entry into the house, Kleinias appears, probably from the marketplace - in anyway not from his house -, bringing a cook, giving him instructions and ordering him into his house. This is another indication that Kleinias was not one mentioned before in Getas' soliloquy (160ff) as drinking and singing. The few lines spoken by Kleinias before the end of Act III create new problems. Namely, in his instructions to the cook, Kleinias says ξένος ἐστὶν εἰς, μάγειρε, κάγω καὶ τρίτη / ἐμή τις (270f). The cook is hired to prepare a meal for these three persons. The «stranger» is, in all probability, Demeas. This is supported both by the old woman's, and also Kleinias', reference to him as ξένος (in 176, 286, 325) and by the action that follows in Act IV, but more in particular by Kleinias' identification of the ξένος with Demeas in lines 300-301. But who is the woman, whom he calls ἐμή τις²? He

1. These lines are called by W. Kraus the «Angelpunkt» for the understanding of the play (*RhM* 114, 1971, 1-27). The assignment of the speakers in 246ff is difficult and varies according to the *a priori* interpretation of the plot. Some argue that it is Demeas who informed Krateia about the death of his son, others argue vice versa. Del Corno suggests that there is a reciprocal information of father and daughter. Anyway, one point is certain, and this is, in my view, the most important, that father and daughter believe that Thrasonides has killed Krateia's brother, and this is supported, at least for father and daughter, by the strongest evidence, the sword, and they form a common front against the soldier. Turner's suggestion that Thrasonides was in position of trust of which he had taken advantage is unfounded (*BICS* suppl. 17, p. 15).

2. Many scholars relying on these lines argue that Kleinias was a rival of Thrasonides, and compare the similar situation in the *Perikeir.*, that he finally was proved to be Demeas' son (see, for instance, A. Borgogno, *RFIC* 99, 1971, 410-7 and 41, 1969, 15-55), or, on the contrary, that he finally married with Krateia, while Thrasonides

expected her to be in his house already (271), and he is actually anxious to see whether she is already inside or not. He shows, anyway, great concern about this matter, because he adds that, if she is not in, the only person who will be at the meal is his guest alone: he himself would run about everywhere to find her. Unfortunately, we do not have enough information to be able to identify her. Could she be Krateia? If Kleinias had invited her to be his guest, he would do this in order to give the chance to Demeas to meet her and find out whether this woman, named Krateia and living in Thrasonides' house, was actually his lost daughter. But why he would call her ἐμὴ τις? Krateia, on the other hand, might have decided to do so, hoping as well to discover her father or to get information from somebody who came from Cyprus about her family. Kleinias at this point, of course, has no idea about what happened meanwhile and in particular about the recognition. However, there is one objection to this, namely that Kleinias does not show great interest in what Getas relates about the dispute involving Krateia in 284ff. It is clear, on the other hand that Kleinias realizes that Getas is talking about his guest only in lines 300-1. Later, after he had heard another section of Getas' narrative, in which Krateia was mentioned by name, Kleinias' comment is τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν; (311) and ἀπροσδόκητον (313), which comments by themselves express some concern, but then he adds, in 323, ἄθροωπε, κατακόψεις με, a joke which is usually referred to a cook. After Getas takes notice of him, Kleinias' first words and questions refer to his guest, Demeas (324f), and not to Krateia. Anyhow, Kleinias leaves the stage after 275 and goes into his house with the cook. A break for a choral song follows.

The first to come on stage in Act IV is Kleinias. He does not say anything about whether the woman he had mentioned in the previous Act was in his house or not. Instead, his speech refers again to his guest, Demeas. He did not find him in his house and he learned from the old woman servant, that his guest had recognized a sword and had gone into his neighbour's house. This takes us back to 176ff. Kleinias does not know why and when this sword was brought into his house. One cer-

was found to be Krateia's brother (see Q. Cataudella, *SIFC* 38, 1966, 137-153 and 41, 1969, 56-60). Kleinias was a young lover in Ter. *Heaut.* and *Andr.* 86, in Men. *Theophr.* (probably) and in Lucian, *mer.* 10. But all these suggestions are pure speculations. I believe that unless some new fragments shed some more light on the plot of the *Misoumenos*, not only the significance of ἐμὴ τις will remain «rätselhaft» (Kraus, *loc. cit.*, 15), but also the complications of the plot will not find a satisfactory solution.

1. καὐτὸς means that someone else was also anxious (probably the woman herself). Cf. καὐτὸς in 296 which gives the same meaning. Del Corno commenting on this

tain piece of information we get is that this sword, first, belonged to his neighbours, that is to Thrasonides, and secondly, it must have been brought in his house only very recently, together with all other swords from Thrasonides' house. During the end of Act III and the beginning of Act IV some time is supposed to have elapsed, during which the dispute related by Getas took place in Thrasonides' house. Getas had accompanied his master in his house (269) and had eye-witnessed what had happened inside.

Getas is indignant at Demeas' and Krateia's behaviour towards his master. He accuses both of them of extraordinary and inhuman cruelty (ὠμότητος ἐκτόπου /...ἀπανθρώπου τε and of αὐθάρδεια (284f and 287). Thrasonides was crying and entreating Demeas to give him his daughter in marriage (κλάων, ἀντιβολῶν 295); but Demeas' reply was always τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ σ' ἄξιῶ / ἤκων ἀπολυτροῦν ὧν πατήρ (297f). Thrasonides turns then to Krateia and with a very emotional speech tries to move her and persuade her not to leave him (305-310)¹. But Krateia's answer was no reply at all (οὐδ' ἀπόκρισις 310); that's why she is characterized by Getas as a barbarian woman and as a lioness (βάρβαρος, λέαινα 311). The only probable reason for this cruel behaviour both of Demeas and Krateia towards Thrasonides is their suspicion that the soldier, who was the owner of the sword which was recognized by Demeas as his own, had killed Krateia's brother. Getas ends his narrative by turning our attention to Thrasonides. We are told that he is in a rage (321-2) and that he will probably try to kill himself.

The conversation between Getas and Kleinias, which started at 323, might have continued until 333. The text is so mutilated that we cannot be certain. Anyway, Getas stays at least up to line 332, as we see from an interlinear *nota personae* after 331. And Κλεινία is probably the last word of 332. The dialogue continues - we do not know, however, who are the speakers - at least for another 16 lines, until 349. εἰσέρχομαι (341) indicates that at this point someone has left the stage. The other one might have left after a short soliloquy. After their exit, very probably into Thrasonides' house, Thrasonides comes on stage to lament at his present situation. It is not improbable that here we had a long monologue by

line says that the other person who was anxious possibly was Krateia; or, probably, Kleinias has heard the last words of the soldier's speech and his remark here catches up with Thrasonides' last words.

1. Thrasonides' τί σοι λυπηρόν ἐστιν τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ shows that until now he has no idea why he is hated by Krateia.

Thrasonides, from line 350 until at least line 403¹. In lines 360-4 the soldier probably expresses his intention to conceal his νόσον (= his passionate love?) from his friends. But then he wonders how this could be possible. By drinking? Drunkenness will reveal his false assumptions. In 369 he refers to his beloved (ἀγαπωμένη) and in 373 he refers to her by name. Some more or less intelligible scraps are: οὐχ ἠρμόσαμεν αὐτὸ 370, δδύνη 371, εἰ ζῆ, προσελθὼν 372, λυπρὰ 374, ἐγὼ 375, ἀπασι 378, ἐξῆλθεν ἐνεκα 386, ὀργῆς 387. It is clear in Thrasonides' speech that he considers committing suicide (394ff). He probably pours abuses to himself (ἰταμὸς εἶ 399), like Charisios in the *Epitrepontes*, 908ff. He regards Krateia's behaviour as ἀθάνατον ὄνειδος (401f) and he is more indignant when he thinks that she should be grateful to him for all the good he had done to her.

How the action developed after that is uncertain². The next scrap of lines we have comes from the fifth Act. Lines 418-427/8 might come from a soliloquy, as there are *paragraphi* in the papyrus. ζηλότυπος (423) very probably refers to Thrasonides, and this might be another clue for Krateia's hatred³. At 428 Getas is talking with Thrasonides⁴, whom he informs that Demeas will give him Krateia to be his wife. This unexpected news makes the soldier suspicious lest he is being mocked (οὐκ ἐξαπατᾶς δὲ 434; cf. *Perikeiromene* 990)⁵. Once more Getas has eavesdropped - this is an indication that Getas went also inside Thrasonides' house after his talk with Kleinias - and now he gives an account of what he heard inside. The father asked his daughter, we are told, if she wants to marry Thrasoni-

1. 54 lines long. If we exclude the prologue speeches, the longest dramatic monologue so far in Menander is delivered by Demeas in the *Samia* 206-282 (77 lines), which is full of direct quotations of others' speech, as is probably the case with Thrasonides' speech.

For the structure - two successive scenes, the first by a slave, the second by his master, and both commenting on something which took place indoors - cf. *Epitrepontes* 558-587 and 588-611 (cf. Del Corno, *Gnomon* 42, 1970, 258).

2. In the lost section the father's and daughter's hatred of Thrasonides has changed to sympathy with the recognition of Demeas' son.

3. For ζηλότυπος with this sense cf. Arist. *Ploutos* 1014-16. Cf. also ζηλοτυπῶ in reference to one's wife in Athen. 532 A.

4. The two scenes seem to have many points in common. Compare *Misoumenos* 418ff with *Perikeir.* 976ff.

5. Fr. 7 S, in which Thrasonides expresses his doubt about the existence of gods, probably, belongs to the beginning of this scene, and might have been Thrasonides' first reaction to Getas' news. This criticism of the gods, which is full of irony, is typical of Euripides. Cf. also A. Barigazzi, *Studi Castiglioni* 1, 53f. For a contrary view, however, see W. Kraus (*RhM* 114, 1971, 1-27), who attributes it to the first scenes of the play.

des; and she replied that she wanted; and that she was very happy and laughing (438-440). It appears then that meanwhile, somewhere between after Thrasonides' long monologue in the fourth Act and before these last scenes of the fifth Act, the misunderstanding was cleared, probably with the recognition of Demeas' lost son, and father and daughter changed their attitude towards the soldier. At 443 Demeas comes out with his daughter and he officially and formally gives his daughter in marriage to Thrasonides.

After this discussion, the question why Thrasonides is hated by Krateia is not finally solved, but I think that the suggestions made could help towards this end: could it be Thrasonides' arrogance (cf. the testimonia of Choricus, Arrianus, and Photius), which could be connected in some way with the sword, or his ζηλοτυπία? A sight into this hatred by Krateia is demonstrated in lines 305-310, where we have, on the one hand, Thrasonides crying and almost supplicating Krateia and, on the other hand, Krateia's cruel silence. It seems probable that Krateia hated the soldier because of her suspicion that he was the murderer of her brother. Thrasonides and Getas, however, could not suspect that; on the contrary, they thought that the reason of her hatred was that she loved someone else. Thus we have a complexity of misunderstandings peculiar to Menander.

There is, in my view, one last indirect help to our problem. Aristainetos, who, as we said earlier, is known to employ several Menandrian passages in his letters as well as situations - with high degree of adaptation, however, at least in regard to the situations - wrote a letter (I. 22), in which his main motif is hatred, a woman's hatred. Apart from the use of μισῶ in I. 27, 16, this is the only place where μῖσος is employed, and one could not believe that Aristainetos did not borrow from Menander's play, in which the same motif was employed as the main moving force of the plot. Indeed several phrases recall the *Misoumenos*, and very probably were borrowed directly from this play. In this letter, a woman cannot stand the arrogance of a young man (μη φέρουσα δὲ τὴν ἀγερωχίαν τοῦ μειρακίου)¹, but she wanted to change his love into hatred (ἤθελε πρὸς μῖσος αὐτῆ μεταβληθῆναι τὸ φίλτρον); the reason was that she loved him very much (αἴτιον δὲ ἦν τοῦ βούλεσθαι μισεῖν τὸ λίαν φιλεῖν); the dialogue between the young lover and the maid of his beloved is also interesting: 'χαίροις, φίλτάτῃ' 'καὶ πόθεν ἂν ἐμοὶ γένοιτο χαίρειν; 'τί δ' ἔστι πρὸς θεῶν; νεώτερόν τι συμβέβηκεν; 'ἢ Γλυκέρρα τοῦ βδελυροῦ Πολέμωνος ἐκτόπως ἐρᾷ, σὲ

1. Cf. 20f τὴν οὖν πολλὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀφείς.

δέ, εἰ καὶ παράδοξον ἔρω, μισεῖ μῖσος ἐξαισίον¹. 'ἄρα λέγεις ἀληθῆ; 'καὶ μάλα ἀληθινά...' There is then a reference to jealousy: πολλοὶ γὰρ ὄν κατεφρόνουν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τοῦ ζηλοτυπεῖν ἠράσθησαν ἐκφανῶς. The young man τὴν οὖν πολλὴν ἀλαζονεῖαν ἀφείδως φθέγγεται ταπεινὸν τε καὶ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ τεθνηκῶς ἀθυμία. And he ἐδάκρυέ τε ἀστακτι...saying 'τί δὴ οὖν ἄκων λελύπηκα τὸ Γλυκέριον; ἐκὼν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ποτε κατ' ἐκείνης ἐπλημμέλουν ἐγὼ...ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ἂν δέξαιτό με καὶ παραιτούμενον συγγνώμην ἔχειν; 'οὐδ' ἂν ἱκετεύων προσπέσω; 'εἰκός γε, ὃ φίλτατε' οὐδέν, οἴμαι, κωλύει συκάζειν τῆς ἐρωμένης τὸν τρόπον, ὅπως ἔχει συμβάσεως περὶ σέ'. Then the young man ran to his beloved and ἐφ' ἱκετείας τραπόμενος καὶ περιτυχῶν αὐτίκα προσπίπτει². A little later he talks about the young man's love as ὁ μανικῶς ἐγκείμενος ἔρωτος. Most of the above material could easily fit into the *Misoumenos*. At least in two occasions, Aristainetos seems to draw from this Menandrian play, in the use of the phrase μισεῖ μῖσος ἐξαισίον, which could be a debt from *Misoumenos* A43, but also from *Perikeiromene* 433, and συκάζειν, which could have been borrowed from *Misoumenos* A99. The rest probably is an amalgamation drawn both from the *Perikeiromene* and *Misoumenos*.

1. Cf. also *Epitr.* 433 θεῖον δὲ μισεῖ μῖσος ἄνθρωπος μέ τι (of Charisios' feelings towards Habrotonon).

2. Probably a reference to *Misoumenos* 101ff.