

Die buchtechnisch sehr sorgfältig produzierte Monographie wird abgeschlossen mit einem ausführlichen Literaturverzeichnis (635-53)<sup>11</sup> und drei hilfreichen Registern. Das erste Register “Stellen (in Auswahl)” blank ist das ausführlichste (655-86), während das zweite zu Sachen und Personen (686-7) und insbesondere das dritte zu Sprachlichem und Stilistischem (687-8) doch (zu) knapp bemessen sind. Leider wird nicht erklärt, nach welchen Kriterien Quellenstellen (und noch auffallender bestimmte Namen, Orte und Begriffe) aufgenommen oder weggelassen wurden.

Zajonz’ insbesondere aus philologischer Perspektive ausgezeichnete, gelehrter Kommentar stellt eine willkommene Bereicherung der jüngeren Kommentare und Forschungen zu einzelnen Reden des Demosthenes und insgesamt zur attischen Rhetorik des 4. Jh. v. Chr. dar. Diese Monographie ist allen Philologen und Althistorikern, die sich mit Demosthenes’ Reden und der Politik und dem Gerichtswesen Athens in der Ära des Eubulos befassen, nachdrücklich zu empfehlen.

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RUDOLF KASSEL, STEPHAN SCHRÖDER, *Menander. Dyscolus et fabulae quarum fragmenta in papyris membranisque servata sunt*, Poeti comici Graeci VI.1, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022, lxxi+ 458 pp., 220€, ISBN 978-3-11-01092-3.

The appearance of *PCG* VI-1 containing the fragments of Menander transmitted on papyrus or parchment is to be welcomed in itself and as marking the completion of the *magnum opus* begun—and nearly completed—by Kassel and Austin.<sup>1</sup> Now neither of the original editors survives. Austin died in 2010<sup>2</sup> and Kassel continued the work in collaboration with his pupil Stephan Schröder. In fact Austin and Kassel had parted company on the *PCG* project some years earlier according to the biographical memoir of Colin Austin by Richard Hunter and Peter

<sup>11</sup> Nachzutragen wären mehrere Beiträge in G. Martin, Hg., *The Oxford Handbook of Demosthenes*, Oxford 2019.

<sup>1</sup> Minus Volume III 1, the manuscript plays of Aristophanes.

<sup>2</sup> 13.08.2010.

Parsons.<sup>3</sup> Then Kassel, too, succumbed in 2020<sup>4</sup> and now Schröder (Erlangen<sup>5</sup>) has undertaken the task of seeing that the nearly completed volume saw the light of day finally. In the preface he says he has changed little of Kassel's manuscript, making some corrections and additions in the light of new publications and added a section of *addenda et corrigenda* on previous volumes (IV, VI-2, and VII).<sup>6</sup>

The original *PCG* editors had decided to separate their two volumes of Menandrian fragments, saying that a single volume would be too unwieldy.<sup>7</sup> I recall Austin saying in conversation that they wished to await publication of new fragments which were then in the pipeline.<sup>8</sup> In itself, that seemed sensible, but since new fragments continue to appear, the waiting is never over and they might have done better, in hindsight, not to delay. The main plays of Menander are, after all, the most significant and sizeable of all the texts contained in *PCG*. It is to be welcomed that the present editors were granted access to the new Leipzig fragment of the *Georgos* by Daniela Colomo as well as new fragments of manuscript M of *Epitrepontes* by Cornelia Römer, prior to publication. Only the recently discovered Menander-Palimpsest (cod. Vat. Syr. 623), which is thought to contain parts of the hitherto unknown comedy Τίτθη ('Wet Nurse') is missing.<sup>9</sup>

Always committed to the highest standards of scholarly professionalism, and coming after Austin's *magnum opus*, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*

<sup>3</sup> "Colin François Lloyd Austin, 1941–2010", *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy* 14, 2016, 3-12 (here p. 9): "we no longer saw eye to eye about matters big and small", wrote Austin, "and the timing and format of the principal Menander volume was certainly one of those issues."

<sup>4</sup> On 26<sup>th</sup> February, according to Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, "Erinnerungen an Rudolf Kassel", *Eikasmos* 33, 2022, 347-54 (here 354). Nesselrath says that of Kassel & Austin, Kassel was the 'senior editor'; senior by a few years, certainly, but not in importance for the *PCG* volumes. Kassel (in Berlin) was in fact Austin's co-director of studies, with Hugh Lloyd-Jones, at Oxford for one year when he was a graduate student.

<sup>5</sup> Nesselrath ("Erinnerungen") says that Schröder had been collaborating with Kassel on the volume after Austin's death; as far as I can discern, Schröder has only published one paper independently hitherto on Menander: "Die Lebensdaten Menanders: (mit einem Anhang über die Aufführungszeit seines Ἐαυτὸν τιμωρούμενος)", *ZPE* 113, 1996, 35-48.

<sup>6</sup> Nesselrath (see note 4) p. 353 says that Kassel sent him a note shortly before his death saying that he had completed his work on the Menander volume. The *addenda and corrigenda* are, presumably, notes which Kassel had been making before his death.

<sup>7</sup> See R. Kassel, "Aus der Arbeit an den *Poetae Comici Graeci*", *ZPE* 114, 1996, 57-9. Kassel announced that VI-1 was going to appear after VI-2: "Bis danach (sc. the appearance of VI-2) VI-1 druckfertig ist ... wird es noch eine Weile dauern" (57): it turned out to be a 'while' of twenty-four years!

<sup>8</sup> For confirmation of this see the 'Biographical Memoirs' by Hunter and Parsons (above n. 3) p. 9: "Austin knew, for example, that there were important papyri still to be published."

<sup>9</sup> Nesselrath ("Erinnerungen", p. 353) notes that the Vatican was not prepared to make the text available to the editors prior to publication. I was present at the conference convened at the British Academy in London on December 10<sup>th</sup> 2007 for Francesco D'Aiuto's first airing of the palimpsest. Only Colin Austin had had time beforehand to examine the text and he had many suggestions for the decipherment of the original Greek text. It is extremely difficult to read. Since then no parts of the palimpsest have been published.

in *Papyris reperta* (CGFPR)<sup>10</sup> which set the standard and most of the format, *PCG* represented a bastion of learning with its meticulous presentation of the fragments, all comment, *apparatus, subsidia interpretationis*, reduced to a kind of concentrate of learning—in Latin.<sup>11</sup> Excellent as a reference work and encyclopedia, impenetrable for the learner and interested outsider.<sup>12</sup> Now, this last, culminating volume—which clearly had to stick to the format and style of its predecessors—is undoubtedly a tower of the same bastion, whose austere grandeur one can still admire but whose bare and, in many places, crumbling ruins nowadays look pretty inhospitable.<sup>13</sup> The presentation may not win new converts to Menander, but will, like its older siblings, serve as an invaluable and reliable *Nachschlagewerk*. A surprising omission in this respect is the complete lack of registers or indexes at the end: no register of Greek words or names; no index of passages cited in the *testimonia*; no register of papyri by collection and number. In this respect the revised edition of Koerte-Thierfelder (Pars Prior, third edition Leipzig 1953-1955) will, with its comprehensive indexes, still have its uses.

What we have then is the most complete and detailed edition of Menander's main fragments on papyrus and parchment in existence. People will want to read these remains of a great dramatic poet: will they choose *PCG* over another edition? It is certainly better documented, more up-to-date, better printed and presented and more complete than Sandbach's revised *OCT* (1990) but heavier and more expensive (around 200 Euro). If the planned new *OCT* materializes,<sup>14</sup> it may be serious competition for *PCG* VI-1. Readers needing a facing-page translation, will prefer either Blanchard's very complete three-volume Budé (2009-2016) or Arnott's Loeb (1979-2000), which is, for most people, still the go-to English language Menander reader (although now lacking some important new fragments).<sup>15</sup> So the *PCG* volume will represent the standard reference work for Menander specialists (who don't mind deciphering scholars' Latin) for years to come, even if most copies will have to be consulted in libraries.

All editions of texts involve multiple choices and decisions according to the priorities of editors, readers and publishers. *PCG* VI-1 is aimed at (and attains)

<sup>10</sup> Berlin 1973.

<sup>11</sup> Only scholars' names are—mercifully—not Latinized. Nesselrath, "Erinnerungen", 352 n. 16 gives a digest of the positive reviews greeting the volumes of *PCG*.

<sup>12</sup> A good example is the note on the Pompeian illustration of *Theophroumenē* on pp. 207-8: only the initiated will be able to decipher all those Latinized abbreviations.

<sup>13</sup> By 'crumbling' I refer to the state of preservation of most of the papyrus/parchment fragments of Menander. That marks a distinction from VI-2 and other volumes of *PCG* which contain many 'book' fragments; these are usually preserved whole, even if on occasion adapted to the context of their citation.

<sup>14</sup> This is the volume which was being prepared by Colin Austin, then Peter Parsons, and now has been taken over by Lucia Prauscello. Following Austin's death a volume appeared *Eleven Plays* (Cambridge Classical Journals Supplement, vol. 37, 2012, edited by R. Hunter and P.J. Parsons) with Austin's work on the shorter plays.

<sup>15</sup> In the Aris and Phillips series of classical texts with facing-page translation only *Dyskolos* (Stanley Ireland, Warminster 1995) and *Aspis* with *Epitrepontes* (*idem* 2010) have appeared to date.

the most professional possible standards. The fragmentary remains of Menander's plays—nineteen of them, in (Greek) alphabetical order—are meticulously documented, not omitting any dots or brackets where there is doubt. The editors state their intention in the preface of fully recording scholars' conjectures and supplements. This mostly holds true, although some recent editions receive scant attention.<sup>16</sup> The corollary to that is that the text itself is conservative in nature, avoiding supplements and guesses which are open to doubt. Theoretically that means that the reader who wants to *read* a passage of Menander has to take in the printed text then digest the choice of supplements and conjectures for the gaps which are collected in the *app.* and return to the main text with his/her supplement of choice in mind: in fact an impossible mental process. This does not invalidate the presentation as a work tool—far from it—but does mean that the Menander of Kassel-Schröder is not a reader.

The *prolegomena* contains useful bibliographies up to 2021, divided into editions and commentaries on Menander, then articles, monographs and *varia*, followed by a *conspectus* of manuscript fragments (papyrus and parchment), then detailed remarks on the more significant of these. Below the Greek text itself there follow collected *testimonia* (if any), below that by far the fullest *apparatus* of existing editions.<sup>17</sup> Speaker names are helpfully given in bold print. Lunate sigma is standard. There are many marginal indications of which manuscript is the source of the printed text. Line numbers in the *apparatus* are helpfully set in bold print. Where one ms. does not have a reading it is noted as e.g. [L].<sup>18</sup> All fonts are large enough for comfortable reading, and spacing on the page is generous. In the sections I read, I noticed virtually no typos (one accent missing in *Dis Exapatōn* line 61 καλῶς τε μοι; Barigazzio *app.* on *Sik.* line 205). What follows are a few observations and reservations about points of detail, concentrating on new suggestions in this volume.<sup>19</sup>

**Georgos.** Useful to have preview of readings from the new papyrus P. Lipsiensis 402 (1-71), ed. Daniela Colomo. P. Genav. now begins at 44.

**Dis Exapatōn 57** ὄ[περ εἰ]ς Schröder<sup>20</sup> perhaps marginally better than Handley's τὸ δὲ πρὸς (because of repetition of πρὸς). || P.Oxy. 4407 lines 64-88

<sup>16</sup> William Furley's updated edition of *Epitrepontes* to include the new fragments published by Cornelia Römer (London 2021), and his new edition of *Misoumenos* (London 2021) appeared after Kassel's death, and receive only sporadic mention in this volume of *PCG*, presumably for that reason. On the other hand, it also holds true for Furley *Perikeiromene* (2015) so perhaps that is not the sole reason.

<sup>17</sup> Particularly good for the early editors of the Cairo Codex of Menander—the 'old heroes', as E. Handley used to call them.

<sup>18</sup> Personally I am not familiar with the abbreviation 'subs.' frequently used in the *app.* (e.g. *Aspis* 468 'ap. Austin subs. p. 104'), nor is it listed in a full list of common abbreviations used in textual criticism.

<sup>19</sup> Numbers are line numbers of the plays, not page numbers.

<sup>20</sup> Schröder's suggestions are given in the *app.*

Handley in P.Oxy. LXIV 1997 (not in Arnott or Sandbach) are now included in *PCG* (and Blanchard).

**Dyskolos** 91-5 none of Kassel's suggestions in *ZPE* 114 on these lines is adopted in the main text (but recorded in the *app.*). Kassel's suggestion there for 94-5 ἐξώλ[εις ἄρα, / Σώστρατ', ἀπολο[ύμεθ'] now appears as ἐξώλ[ης ἄρα / [Σώ]στρατ', ἀπολο[ίμην]. || 724 Kassel's suggestion for this line in *ZPE* 114 «καὶ προσιέναι ('auch nur') is now adopted in the main text.

**Epitrepontes.** Bibliography not included: R. Ireland's Aris and Phillips edition (with *Aspis*) 2010. || A.H. Sommerstein, *Menander: Epitrepontes*, Bloomsbury Ancient Comedy Companions, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021. || W. Furley, "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), Firenze: 2014, 25-39. 210 Schröder's suggestion δεινῆς does not match clear lamda (δειλης) of Π. || 211 fin. προσκ[όπει σύ γε Schröder (cf. 752 σκόπει τὸ σόν) possible. || 498 K-S omit Furley's (2009) supplement οὐ νῦν [δ]ρα[μεῖ;] at line end. || 576 τούς, τὸ δεῖν' K-S now incorporates Kassel's suggestion in *ZPE* 114; Furley's (2021) τούς ἰδόντας (i.e. 'eyes', for ms. ὀδ[ο]ντας) is ignored. || 786 ἐπιβουλαί Schröder, a possibility. || 787 K-S overlook the objection to αἰτουμένη μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν / ἐνέγκασθαι (Gronewald) (should be μηδὲ). Gronewald later suggested οὐσίαν at line end to counter that objection, but it is palaeographically unsatisfactory. Furley's reading ληξομένη is ignored. || 792-3 Schröder's suggested punctuation ... σχῆμα, κατακεκλειμένη / ἐνταῦθα, παραλύσει σε is perhaps possible, but (i) why should 'having the appearance of a wife' be something negative? (ii) The assumption of 'nominativus pendens' in σὺ δέ κτλ. is risky. || 799-823 little consideration of Furley's (2021) reconstruction, in particular line 813, which has now been satisfactorily restored. K-S give Furley's ὁ τυχόν without crediting it. || 809 τίθει Schröder possible. || 818 [μηκέτι Furley wrongly cited (should be μηκέτι]). 819 αὐτῶι προίδωμ' (Furley) uncredited. || ἄτοπον σύ με νοῦ[θετ]εῖς. [ἐγὼ] Schröder ignores 714 where ἄτοπον is clearly Charisios. || 912 ἔδειξ' if this is 3 p.s. (subj. τὸ δαμόνιον), it cannot be a verb of saying.

**Herōs** 6 why a question-mark at end of line?

**Theophoroumenē.** K-S do not give an opinion on whether lines 31-57 (PSI 1480) were correctly attributed to the play by Handley. They give no information on the divergent metre of 36-41, 50-7, nor the character of the lines as integral to Mētēr worship.

**Misoumenos** 88 φίλος ἅπαξ Schröder possible. || 401 what's the point of beginning Turner's original line-numbering here when he also published the prologue subsequently? || 418 π]αράγω (at line end) Schröder, unlikely metrically (split double short in penultimate foot). || 573 in. φέναξ Schröder possible. || 626 [πορευθεῖς] [Mette] 'tūm ὄψομαι τὸν δεσπότην' Schröder, not likely after Getas' question 'where've you come from?' || 650-2 complex distribution of speakers.

I defy anyone to understand issues from K-S' *apparatus*. || 790ff. (Thrasonides' monologue). K-S do not seem to have seen Handley's unpublished paper 'A bow at a venture: Menander *Mis.* 387-403', Institute of Classical Studies. Graduate Summer School in Greek Drama 8-12 July 1996, but cite his suggestions only 'ap. Arnott' or 'ap. Maehler'. Thrasonides' great speech becomes unintelligible presented like this. || 766ff. K-S choose to number the following lines 766a-f instead of renumbering in the light of (their) O<sup>10</sup>.

**Perikeiromene** 5 κάκ τ]οῦ Schröder is all right with τοῦ πολέμου but not with καὶ τῶν Κορινθιακῶν κακῶν / ἀύξανομένων (must be gen. abs.). || Before 976 (398 K-S) Furley's suggestion (following Turner's lead) that P.Oxy. 2658 could be placed here omitted.<sup>21</sup> || 1013 πατέρα ... συνηδόμην Furley ignored.

**Samia** 98-101 K-S give these lines to Demeas (against Sandbach and others) citing Kassel's argument in *ZPE* 114 that πενήτων ἀγαθά is proverbial, and not unlikely to be said by the well-off Demeas. || 698 ἔ[γωγε] Schröder possible.

**Sikyonios** Kassel's own edition appeared in 1965, for which Austin, according to the preface, provided a '*collatio exactissima*' of the Sorbonne papyrus, and his 'prudent advice on many matters', so that work was already an early fruit of their collaboration. Kassel's later suggestions made in *Eranos* 63, 1965, 1-21 (= *Kleine Schriften* 272-90), have partly entered the main text of K-S, e.g. lines 130, 141 φέρω, 142 ἐκείνη. Two contributions by F. Favi (i) "The title(s) of Menander's *Sikyonioi*", *Mnemosyne* 72, 2019, 335-9 and (ii) 'The Staging of Menander's *Sikyonioi*', *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 67, 2021, 51-65, have not been considered (this applies particularly to his analysis of staging in act four). || In the *dram. personae* K-S identify the 'messenger' ('*nuntius*') as '*Eleusinius quidam*' but in the text the speaker is called Ἐλευσίνιος (rather than, say, Ἄγγελος), as if Kassel's own suggestion on lines 187-8 (*Eranos* 63, p. 9) to read γάρ εἰμ', ἐπώνυμος / κληθεὶς Ἐλευσίνιος had been adopted. || Fr. 13 (P.Oxy. inv. 33 4B 83E (8-11)) is included but not placed as Handley tentatively suggested (in act two).

**Phasma** Silence on Cusset's edition (2019); e.g. 9 K-S print a supplement by Koerte τίς ὁ [βίος σου σκοπῶν and omit Arnott's τί σο[ι τὸ δυσχερές;] which is adopted in Cusset's edition; 41 reading δ' ἀχ]θεῖσα Austin *ap.* Cusset omitted; 91 [ἐρή]σομαι Cusset omitted; 85 (106 Cusset) ἐκτρ[οπήν Cusset omitted (likewise ἐκτροπάς Barbieri [2001]).

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<sup>21</sup> The suggestion is contested by L. Prauscello, P.J. Parsons, "P.Oxy. 2658: Menander's *Perikeiromene*? A reassessment", *ZPE* 214, 2020, 25-9.