

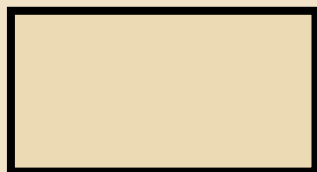
PROCEEDINGS OF THE 27TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PAPYROLOGY

WARSAW | 29 JULY – 3 AUGUST 2013

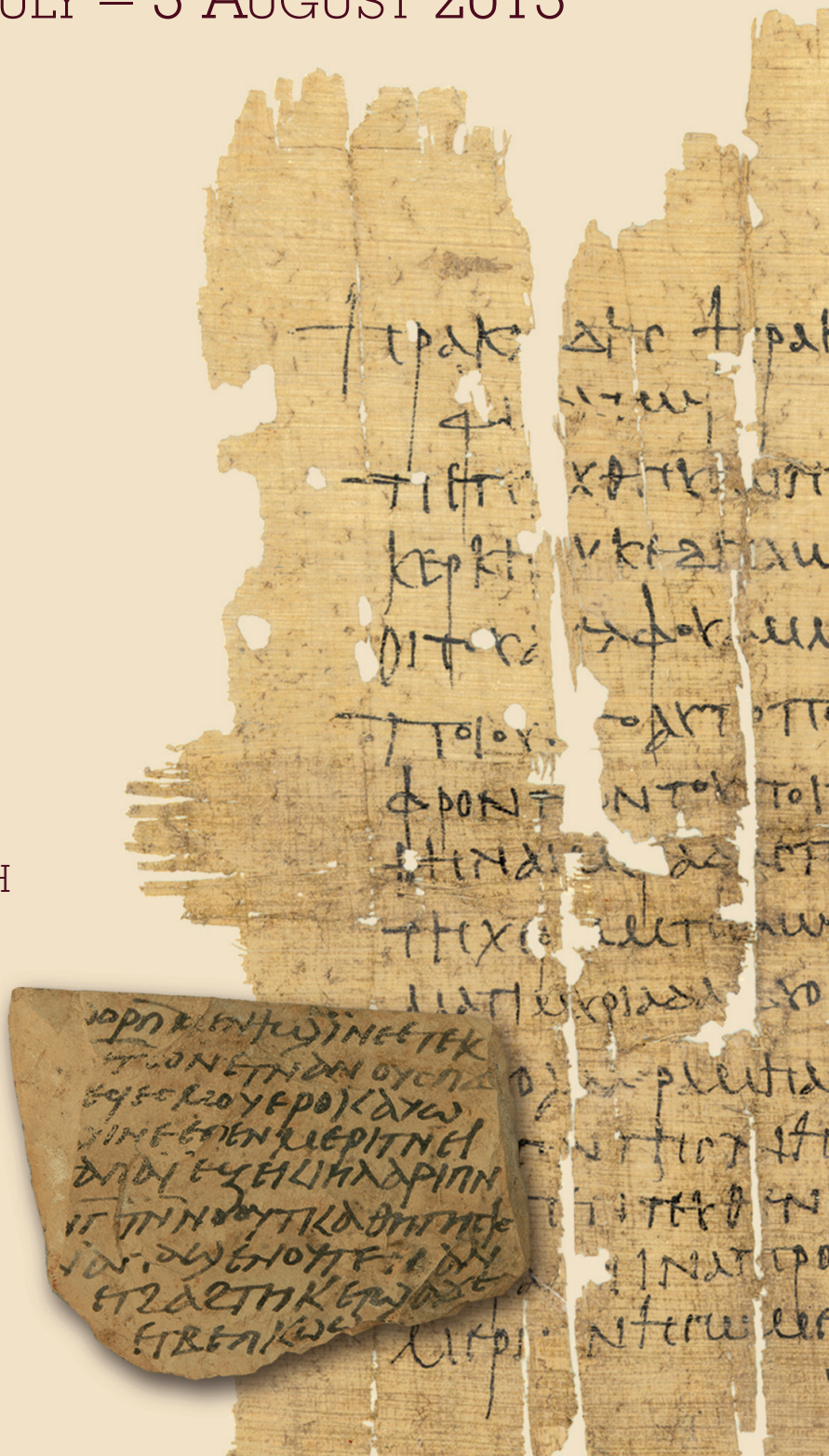


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FACULTY OF LAW AND ADMINISTRATION
CHAIR OF ROMAN AND ANTIQUE LAW



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María Paz López Martínez
Consuelo Ruiz Montero

**THE PARTHENOPE'S NOVEL:
P. BEROL. 7927 + 9588 + 21179 REVISITED**

THE NOVEL of *Metiochos and Parthenope*, probably *Parthenope*, like the *Calirrhoe* of Chariton, has been transmitted to us through a series of papyri which are dated from the first half of the second to the third century AD.¹ Moreover, an ostrakon has survived from the first century AD.²

* We wish to express our sincere thanks to the anonymous reviewer of this paper for his/her useful suggestions.

¹ The papyri of this novel are as follows: (1.) **P. Berol. 9588 + P. Berol. 7927 + P. Berol. 21179** (TM 63381 = LDAB 4588 = MP³ 2622). Edition and commentary by: H. MAEHLER, 'Der Metiochos-Parthenope-Roman', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 23 (1976), pp. 1–20 (Maehler); S. A. STEPHENS & J. J. WINKLER, *Ancient Greek Novels. The Fragments. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Princeton 1995, pp. 81–89 (Stephens-Winkler), and María Paz LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, *Fragmentos papi-ráceos de novela griega*, Alicante 1998, pp. 121–132 [micro-fiche edition: Alicante 1994], where are quoted the readings before MAEHLER (*edd. pr.*, ZIMMERMAN, etc.). Photo is available at: <<http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/02329/>>. (2.) **P. Oxy. III 435** (TM 63938 = LDAB 5153 = MP³ 2623). For this papyrus, see STEPHENS & WINKLER, *Ancient Greek Novels* (see above), pp. 97–99; LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, *Fragmentos papi-ráceos* (see above), pp. 133–134, and R. KUSSEL, *Papyrusfragmente griechischer Romane*, Tübingen 1991, pp. 165–167. Photo is available in G. CAVALLO, 'Veicoli materiali della letteratura di con-

Several references to the characters also remain in other literary and iconographic sources from the Empire, along with quotes in Persian narrations, such as the collection of narrative *Dārāb-nāmāh*, and, especially, the epic poem *Vāmiq u 'Adbrā* by 'Unṣūrī, from the eleventh century – of which almost 400 verses have been kept – which is very useful when it comes to reconstructing the plot of this novel.

Metiochos and Parthenope are mentioned by Herodotus,³ the former as the son of Miltiades of Thracian Chersonese, and Parthenope as the daughter of Polycrates of Samos, which means that this is a historical novel similar to that of *Ninus* and also that it belongs to the earliest stage of Greek love novels. The study by Hägg and Utas, listed here, can be consulted for all testimonies.⁴

The novel plot probably followed the structural pattern of later love novels.⁵ However, in this case, it is Parthenope that seems to be seeking her husband or fiancé, whom she was going to find after many misadventures – that is why a *happy ending* appears as the most likely outcome.

sumo. Maniere di scrivere e maniere di leggere', [in:] O. PECERE & A. STRAMAGLIA, *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo Greco-Latino*, Cassino 1996, p. 17. (3.) P. Mich. inv. 3402v (TM 67622 = LDAB 889I = MP³ 2622.11). Edition by J. ALVARES & T. RENNER, 'A new fragment of the *Metiochos and Parthenope* romance?', *PapCongr.* XXII, I, pp. 35–40, pl. I.

² *O. Bodl.* II 2175 (TM 65585 = LDAB 6836 = MP³ 2622.1 = Pack 2782). STEPHENS & WINKLER, *Ancient Greek Novels* (cit. n. 1), p. 94, and LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, *Fragmentos papiráceos* (cit. n. 1), p. 135.

³ Hdt. III 124 (Polycrates' daughter, here unnamed); VI 39–41. See the commentaries *ad locum* by W. W. HOW & J. WELLS, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, I: *Books I–IV*, Oxford 1928 (repr. 1979), and D. ASHERI, A. LLOYD, A. CORCELLA *et alii*, *A commentary on Herodotus. Books I–IV*, Oxford 2007.

⁴ All the sources about this novel are available in the study by T. HÄGG & B. UTAS, *The Virgin and Her Lover. Fragments of an Ancient Greek Novel and a Persian Epic Poem*, Leiden – Boston 2003, pp. 21–22 (Hägg–Utas), who have edited and translated all the texts. About this novel, you can see also: D. DAVIS, *Pantbea's Children: Hellenistic Novels and Medieval Persian Romances*, New York 2002; T. HÄGG, *Parthenope*, Copenhagen 2004, and T. HÄGG & B. UTAS, 'Eros goes East: Parthenope the virgin meets Vāmiq the ardent lover', [in:] I. NILSSON (ed.), *Plotting with Eros: Essays on the Poetics of Love and the Erotics of Reading*, Copenhagen 2009, pp. 153–186.

⁵ C. RUIZ MONTERO, *La estructura de la novela griega. Análisis funcional*, Salamanca 1988.

The fragments about to be analysed belong to the beginning of the plot. Maehler noticed in his excellent edition that P. Berol. 9588 belonged to the same papyrus as P. Berol. 7927 and P. Berol. 21179, and that all three fragments formed two consecutive columns of the same papyrus. The text has equally been edited by Stephens and Winkler, López Martínez, and Hägg and Utas (see above, n. 4), though practically all of the editors have maintained Maehler's readings in their editions.

The papyrus checked by us in Berlin's Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung was so badly damaged that the assistance offered by Dr. Fabian Reiter – to whom we want to express our thankfulness publicly – became essential. This gratitude also goes to our colleague Haila Manteghi, University of Alicante, for the review of the Persian text by 'Unṣurī: in her opinion, the Persian poem was composed in pre-Islamic times, starting from a Pahlavi Persian text – probably in prose, from the fifth century – which was versified by the poet.⁶

The novel is written on the papyrus verso. An account register can be seen on the recto. Our text – ascribed by Cavallo⁷ to the first half of the second century AD – combines two types of writing: a small-module and a bigger-sized one. Perhaps it is a rather careless piece of professional work with mistakes of all sorts and signs *supra lineam*, for instance:⁸ probably confusion of voiceless and voiced consonants (υψηλοντερον instead of υψηλοτερον in line 8; perhaps δ instead of τ in μαντενομαι, line 33) and confusion of vowels (ολειγωρια in line 6, perhaps εμαι instead of εμε line 19, αυτωνομεια instead of αυτονομια in line 29, and ημειν instead of ημιν in line 31). Perhaps, sign ¨ could sometimes reflect a mistake which had been deleted as well (line 15); it must be added that the treatment of *scriptio plena/scriptio elisa* shows irregularities too (lines 5, 11, 14, 17, and 25).

The first column has preserved 33 lines, whereas the second one has 38. Each line contains between 30 and 35 letters. For reasons of space, our attention here will be focused on the first column, which is also the worst preserved one.

⁶ See also HÄGG & UTAS, 'Eros goes East' (cit. n. 4).

⁷ Cf. CAVALLO, 'Veicoli materiali della letteratura di consumo', pp. 31–32 (cit. n. 1).

⁸ Here we are referring only to the first column of the text.

Col. I

. . .

-].[.]ολ[.].[
] «τίς», εἶπεν, «ὦ [.
]ασαι; πῶς Χερρο[νησίτης] ..
 4 ἐπά]γαγκες εἰς γάμον; εἰ μὲν [. . . .
].ς ἕξη<ι> καὶ φίλος, εἰ δ' ἐπήλ[θεσ
].ος τοῦ πατρὸς ὀλ<ε>γωρία<ι> [. . . .
]ηνα διορθώσομαι τὸ λοι[πόν]».
 8 κ]αταστήσας εἰς ὑψηλό[ν]τερον
 τόπον ἵνα κα]ῖ μᾶλλον γένηται τῆ<ι> Παρθενό-
 πηι». «Ὁ] μὲν πατήρ», εἶπεν, «βασιλεῦ, μα[κρον]
 12 δημαγω]γ<ε>ῖαι καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δώ<ι>ησαν αὐτῶ<ι>
 ὀχλ]οπόη<ε>ιν· φ[ι]λότεκνος γὰρ ὡς
 δυν]ατώτατον [εἰ]ς ἐπιβουλήν θη-
] τα ἀπὸ Θρ[άκ]ης καὶ κατὰ προ-
]α [.] Ἡγησι[πύ]λη [.] τῶν ἑαυτῆς
 16 π]αίδων οἱ [δι]ὰ νεότητα κτη-
 βασι]λείας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὀχλ[οπ]όησιν κατ'
] καίπερ ἀνηλε[ῶς π]άσχων
] ἀλλ' ἐμὲ γὰρ τῶ<ι> πα[ν]τὶ στάσιν
 20 ψε]υδεῖς αἰτίας ἐπέ[.]ι[.]εν οὔτε .ο
 ἦ]ρξατο κακῶν ἐπιβουλή[ν
]ν ἐνήδρευεν μ<ε>ῖα[
] τὸν σὸν οἶκον καὶ τὴν [πόλιν
 24 κατ]ηγαγον». πάντων δὲ τῶ[ν] ε[. .
 θαν]μασάντων τὸ εὐθαρσές καὶ
 τῶν] λόγων ὁ Πολυκράτης ὑπερ-
]ν», ἔφη, «[ω] τέκνον, πότου καιρὸς
 28 ἀπαλλάτ]τειν χρῆ τὰ λυποῦντα μέθη<ι>
 α]ῦτονομ<ε>ῖα<ι> χολάζομεν». .
]των εἰς τὸν Ἀναξιμένην οἰ-
]... ἡμ<ε>ῖν», ἔφη, «σήμερον ἀ-

32

]τ[ο]υ παιδὸς ἤκοντος ἐν ω-
]μαντεύομαι μούσαν, προτι-

Col. II 1 [θεὸς τ]ῆν φ[ιλ]οσόφου ζήτησιν κατὰ τύχην τ[

2-3 [φίλοι, δύναιτ' ἂν περὶ τούτου] Maehler || 3]ασαι vel]εσει dub. scripsimus : δικ]άσαι Maehler | Χερρον[ησίτης Maehler : Χερρ[όνησον Bowie (ap. Stephens-Winkler) | [κατέλιπε] Bowie (ap. Stephens-Winkler) || 4 ἐπά]γαγκες Maehler :]ν... κ c Stephens-Winkler || 5] c ἐξη(ι) Maehler :]... ση ceteri edd. | ἐπήλ[θεε supplevimus : ἐπηλ[υε Maehler || 6 in init. [ὑπὸ τῆς] Stephens-Winkler |]... ος scripsimus :]... ceteri edd. | ὀλιγωρία (dativus) editavimus : ὀλιγωρία P : ὀλιγωρία[c] Stephens-Winkler || 7]ῆνα scripsimus :]μένα Maehler (qui ἐσφαλ]μένα vel ἡδικη]μένα dub. pos.) | λοι[πὸν Maehler (qui λοι[δόρημα dub. pos.) || 8 in init. [αὐτὸν] Maehler | κ]αταστήσας edd. | ὑψηλότερον edd. : ὑψηλότερον P ubi scriba primum v delevit || 9 [τόπον] Merkelbach (ap. Maehler) : [ἀξίωμα] Maehler | ὕνα κα]ῖ supplevimus : ὕ]α Maehler :]... edd. | τῆ(ι) edd. | τῆ P || 9-10 Παρθενό[πη Maehler || 10 'Ο] Maehler : μακρὸν P ubi κρον scriba delevit || 11 in init. γεια P : δημαγωγ]γία (dativus) supplevimus | δώ(ι)ησαν αὐτῶ(ι) edd. || 12 ὄχλ]οσφίην supplevimus : ἐπη]σειν P ubi o supra lineam scriptum : παιδ]οπ' ο' ἔσειν 'scheint kaum möglich zu sein' Maehler pos. : διαν]όησιν Hägg-Utas | φ[ι]λότεκνος edd. || 13 δυν]ατώτατον Maehler (qui χαλε]πώτατον dub. pos.) | [εἰ]ε Maehler || 13-14 θη[λὸν γένος Maehler || 14 ἀπὸ Θρ[άκ]ης Maehler || 14-15 κατὰ προ[αίρεσιν Maehler (qui κατ' ἀπρο[εδόκητον vel κατὰ πρό[νοιαν dub. pos.) || 15 ἡ]μητρυ]ὰ Maehler | Ἥγησι[πύ]λη Maehler || 16 [γνησίω]ν vel [προνοουμένη] Maehler dub. pos. | π]αίδων edd. | [δι]ὰ edd. || 16-17 κτῆ[σιν supplevimus || 17 βασι]λειάσ supplevimus | ὄχλο[σφί]ην Maehler || 18 ἀνηλ[έ]ωσ vel ἀνηλ[έ]ησ dub. supplevimus : ἀνηλ[έ]ασ vel ἀνηλ[έ]α Maehler dub. pos. | π]άσων edd. || 19 [ἀλγηδόνας Maehler | ἐμ]έ Maehler : ἐμ]αι P | τῶ(ι) πα[ν]τὶ edd. || 20 [ἐκ τίνος οἶδεν] Maehler | ψε]υδεῖς supplevimus : οὐ]δεῖς edd. | ἐπέ[ρρ]ι[ψ]εν supplevimus : ἐπε[ρ]ρ[ι]ψ[εν] Maehler : ἐπε... εν Stephens-Winkler | ο]τε ο scripsimus : ο. εδ. Maehler qui ὅτε δὴ (vel δὲ) dub. pos. : ... Hägg-Utas || 21 ἡ]ρξαστο edd. | ἐπιβουλή]ν supplevimus || 23 κατέφυγον ἐπ]ὶ Maehler : ἡ]κειε εἰς] Hägg⁹ | [πόλιν Stephens-Winkler : [σὴν ἐστίαν Maehler qui [σκέπη]ν vel [σωτηρίαν] dub. pos. || 24 [ἔξεν] Maehler | κατ]ήγαγον supplevimus : ὕ]πέ[λ]αβον Maehler | τῶ]ν edd. | ἐ]ν (vel ἐπ]ὶ τῶι δειπνω]ι supplevimus : ἐ[πιδημούντων vel ἐ[ταίρων Maehler dub. pos. || 25 θαν]μασάντων edd. || 26 [τὸ γενναῖον] Maehler | τῶ]ν ceteri edd. || 26-27 ὑπερ[ησθεῖς Maehler | [πρὸς τὴν Παρθενό]πην vel [ταῦτ' εἰς αὐριο]ν vel [πρὸς αὐτῆ]ν vel [νῦν μὲν οἶ]ν Maehler dub. pos. || 28 [ἀπαλλάτ]τεω supplevimus : [ἀπά]γειω Maehler | μέθ]η(ι) vel μεθ]η[σομένους] Maehler dub. pos. || 29 [ἔως ἔτι ἐν] Maehler | [α]ὐτονομία(ι) Maehler qui [τού]των ὁμοία dub. pos. : αυτονομία P || 30 βλ]έπων vel κκώ]πων Maehler dub. pos. || 31]ξας Maehler | ἡμ]ῖν edd. : ἡμ]ειν P || 31-32 ἀπὸ Χερρονήσου Bowie tempt. (ap. Stephens-Winkler) || 32]τ[ο]υ edd. || 32-33 ενω edd. plerique : ἐν ᾧ Stephens-Winkler || 33 [ἔρωτικὴν] Maehler || 33-34 de προτι ad initium secundae columnae προτι[θεὸς τ]ῆν Maehler

The scene shows a banquet at the court of Polycrates of Samos attended by the king, his daughter, the philosopher Anaximenes – whose name appears at first column, line 30, and in the Persian version, vv. 145-146 – and

⁹ T. HÄGG, 'Metiochus at Polycrates' court', *Eranos* 83 (1985), pp. 92-102.

the main character, Metiochus, who is accompanied by a loyal friend probably called Teophanes, Ṭūfān according to the Persian text.¹⁰ In that version a group of noblemen and Nanis,¹¹ the queen of Samos, are also present at the banquet.¹²

In the scenes previous to the banquet the hero, Vāmiq, and his friend, Ṭūfān, had run away from their country because of the intrigues of Vāmiq's stepmother and take refuge in Samos, because of the kinship between Metiochus and the king of the island. In Samos they met 'Adhrā and her mother in front of its famous temple (Hera's temple). The girl 'asked about his lineage, about his state and circumstances, and he tells that he was run away from an oppressor and has attached himself to the benevolence of Fuluqrāt' (Polycrates, vv. 92–94). Both heroes fall in love. Afterwards the mother tells the king the story of Vāmiq: 'he has come to Samos for the protection of the king' (v. 122). 'Adhrā's mother speaks with her husband, and Fuluqrāt invites him to a banquet, in which the sage Nakhminūs (Anaximenes) has observed the love between the two youngs, and asks Vāmiq about the appearance of love (vv. 147–149). He answers that he has no personal experience of love, but describes him in a way comparable to the speech of Metiochus at the second column of our papyrus. The girl interrupts his words and tells an opposite speech on love. After this erotic *controversia*, Īfuqūs (Ibycus), the minstrel of the king, sings a song with the *barbat* (*barbiton*), and the same seems to do the hero who also narrates an aitiological tale about Hurmuz (Hermes) and the invention of the lyre.¹³ As a result, tears arise from 'Adhrā, and her mother takes her away. The banquet takes from v. 134 to v. 245. We return to our papyrus.

¹⁰ For a reconstruction of the scene, cf. HÄGG & UTAS, *The Virgin and Her Lover* (cit. n. 4), pp. 30–35. In the Persian literary tradition 'Vāmiq' means 'Lover' in general, here 'Metiochus', and 'Adhrā' is the 'Virgin', here 'Parthenope'.

¹¹ The name Nanis appears in Parthenius XXII 1, as daughter of Croesus.

¹² About banquets in Greek novels, see C. JOUANNO, 'Sur un *topos* romanesque oublié: les scènes de banquets', *Revue des Études Grecques* 109/1 (1996), pp. 157–184.

¹³ HÄGG & UTAS, *The Virgin and Her Lover* (cit. n. 4), p. 140. For the Greek papyrus with the same scene, see P. Mich. inv. 3402v (HÄGG & UTAS, *The Virgin and Her Lover* [cit. n. 4], pp. 41–45).

1. The text starts with Polycrates questioning Metiochus about the reason for his arrival in Samos. These questions are missing in the Persian text. Nor there is any word about the kinship with Samos in this version, although in v. 142 the king says to the hero: 'you have come to your own home and city', which could presuppose that the king knows it in any way.¹⁴

On the fact that Vāmiq has told Adhrā his name and country, there is no evidence in the Persian text, neither in vv. 93–96, nor in vv. 122 ff., although some verses are lacking. It is worth noting that in the main hypotext of this scene, the *Odyssey*, the hero tells his name and country only in the third banquet offered by the king Alcinous and his wife Arete in IX 19, although he has been asked in two previous banquets about his country by Arete at VII 238 and about his misfortunes by the king at VIII 572 ff. In this late case Odysseus is asked by Alcinous because of his tears, a scene echo of which we have in the quoted Persian version.

3. The previous editors' *αζαι* reading is possible, but *εξει* cannot be discarded either. In the first case, they thought of an aorist infinitive ruled by some type of optative construction with *ἄν* (conditional), without any possibility to be more precise. The second form could be a dative.

On the same line we follow the *Χερρονησίτης* reading proposed by Maehler. It is an Attic form – not the only one in the text, as we shall see.

The form *πῶς* could be seen as dependent on the preceding verb but, according to our interpretation, it opens another interrogative sentence parallel to that of *τίς* (line 2), as it is common in such rhetorical texts as the one examined here. This series of questions are a *topos* in the *Odyssey* and appear also in later texts. Cf.: *Od.* I 170–172: *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆς; | ὀπποίης τ' ἐπὶ νηὸς ἀφίκεο: πῶς δέ σε ναῦται | ἤγαγον εἰς Ἰθάκην;* Moreover, VII 238: *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆς;* X 325; XIV 187; XV 264; XIX 105 and XXIV 298. See XVI 57–59: *ἄττα, πόθεν τοι ξείνος ὄδ' ἴκετο; πῶς δέ εἰς ναῦται | ἤγαγον εἰς Ἰθάκην; τίνες ἔμμεναι εὐχετόωντο; | οὐ μὲν γάρ τί ἐπέζον ὄτομαι ἐνθάδ' ἰκέσθαι;* Ps.-Luc. *Am.* XLVI 1–4: *τίς οὐκ ἂν ἔραστής ἐφήβου γένοιτο τοιούτου; τίνι δ' οὕτω τυφλαὶ μὲν αἰ τῶν ὀμμάτων βολαί, πηροὶ δὲ οἱ τῆς διανοίας λογισμοί; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀγαπήσαι τὸν ἐν παλαίστραις μὲν Ἑρμῆν.*

Consequently, there would be a strong pause before *πῶς* and the sentence would finish with *εἰς γάμον*.

4. The adverb *ἐπάναγκες*, already proposed by Maehler, is a sound reading which provides some sense to understand this *γάμος*.¹⁵ However, which *γάμος*

¹⁴ HÄGG & UTAS, *The Virgin and Her Lover* (cit. n. 4), p. 225, prefer this interpretation. On p. 226 they add that in both versions there is a banquet after the arrival of the hero, but since the Greek fragment breaks off, we can't decide whether there was one or several symposia.

¹⁵ It appears in Hld. VI 13, 6, and X 9, 7.

does the text refer to? Is it the marriage of Miltiades or that of Metiochus? Was the hero forced to marry someone?¹⁶ Did the hero object to a possible wedding with Parthenope, just like Ulysses refused to wed Nausicaa in the *Odyssey*?¹⁷ Does he not consider himself good enough for her? Or, similarly to fragment of *Nimus*,¹⁸ is there some type of custom or law typical to Chersonese in relation to marriage?

4–7. They contain two parallel and antithetical sentences coordinated by μέν/δέ. Maehler suggested ἐπηλυς in line 5 – as opposed to an ἀυτόχθων – but Polycrates and Metiochus are relatives and the king could be aware of it, as has been said above. Therefore, our proposal is reading ἐπηλθεε and giving a new interpretation to this passage. The apodosis in the first conditional might have said something like οἰκεῖος καὶ φίλος – a formulation that is particularly frequent in Plutarch. Cf. Th. I 57, 3, 1: ξύμμαχος πρότερον καὶ φίλος ὢν; Plu. Ages. XXXVII 5, 5: σύμμαχος γεγονὼς καὶ φίλος; Cor. X 5, 1; Pel. XXVIII 7, 3; Marc. XIV 12, 2: συγγενῆς ὢν καὶ φίλος; Dio. XXV 12, 2: ξένος ὢν καὶ φίλος Δίωνος; Brut. X 9, 1; De sera numinis vindicta 563, B, 11: Πρωτογένους οἰκεῖος καὶ φίλος; 559, B, 9: ἂν τις οἰκεῖος ἢ φίλος ἐντυχῶν; Luc. XL 3, 1: Κάτων δ' ἦν αὐτῷ φίλος καὶ οἰκεῖος; Comp. Dionis et Bruti III 5, 1: οἰκεῖος μὲν ὢν Διονυσίῳ καὶ φίλος; Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat 37, B, 4: εὐμενῆς καὶ φίλος καὶ οἰκεῖος.

In turn, the second conditional shows the king seemingly willing to redress – in the future – all the injustices suffered by the young man because of his father's contempt, and *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (HART) 18 is a good support also with the future *restituam*: *si desiderio natae meae parueris, quicquid tibi iratum abstulit mare, ego in terris restituam*, where the context is also a banquet.

For us, what Polycrates means is that if Metiochus has voluntarily come to stay, 'he will be a relative and a friend'. Otherwise, if he has arrived from his homeland after being despised by his own father, Polycrates is willing to help Metiochus to recover his former position at any rate, without excluding a possible wedding with his daughter.¹⁹

¹⁶ Several examples of forced weddings can be found in the novels of Ach. Tat. I 7, 4–5, and I 8, 1, and Hld. VII 28, 2–6.

¹⁷ Cf. VI 244–245; VII 313 ff. In the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (HART) 22, the king wants the marriage of her daughter with Apollonius as well.

¹⁸ KUSSEL, *Papyrusfragmente* (cit. n. 1), pp. 13–101; STEPHENS & WINKLER, *Ancient Greek Novels* (cit. n. 1), pp. 23–71; LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, *Fragmentos papiráceos* (cit. n. 1), pp. 37–80.

¹⁹ Interestingly enough in *Od.* IV 312 ff., Menelaos also asks Telemachus for the reason of his visit in this way: τίπτε δέ σε χρεῖω δεῦρ' ἤγαγε, Τηλέμαχ' ἦρωε, | ἐς Λακεδαίμονα δῖαν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης; | δῆμιον ἢ ἴδιον; τόδε μοι νημερτέεσ ἐνίσπεε. And Telemachus replays that *he has come* to get information about his father (ἦλυθον εἴ τινά μοι κληροδῶνα πατρὸς ἐνίσποι).

The theme of a legitimate heir who flees from his homeland due to the plots hatched against him (at times by his stepmother, as is the case here) and takes shelter at the court of a foreign king who welcomes him appears from the *Iliad* to historiography and Greek novel. Examples of such characters include Phoenix in the *Iliad*, Croesus and Adhrāstus in Herodotus, as well as the story of Sesonchosis, cited by Herodotus and the main character of a lost novel.²⁰ Cf. *Il.* IX 447–451: οἶον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα | φεύγων νείκεα πατρὸς Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο, | ὅς μοι παλλακίδος περιχώσατο καλλικόμοιο, | τὴν αὐτὸς φιλέεσκεν, ἀτιμάζεσκε δ' ἄκοιτιν | μητέρ' ἐμήν: *Hdt.* I 35, 12: «ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίου μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμι παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ Ἄδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεινωτοῦ ἀέκων πάρεμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων». Κροῖκος δέ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε: «Ἄνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἕκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἔνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου κυμοφορῆν τε ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλείστον».

In our view, Polycrates here is opposing an adjective such as ἐκῶν in the first protasis to a noun or a participle such as φηγᾶς or καταφεύγων. The contrast ἐθέλων/ἀέκων can also be seen in the *Odyssey* and *Argonautica*. Cf. *Od.* VII 311 ff.:²¹

αἶ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλον,
τοῖος ἐὼν, οἷός ἐσσι, τά τε φρονέων ἅ τ' ἐγὼ περ,
παῖδά τ' ἐμήν ἐχέμεν καὶ ἐμὸς γαμβρὸς καλέεσθαι,
αἴθι μένων· οἶκον δέ κ' ἐγὼ καὶ κτήματα δοίην,
εἴ κ' ἐθέλων γε μένοις· ἀέκοντα δέ σ' οὐ τις ἐρύξει (315)

and *A.R.* III 388–389:

τίς δ' ἂν τόσον οἶδμα περήσαι
τλαίη ἐκῶν ὀθνεῖον ἐπὶ κτέρας

Our suggestion is reading ἐκῶν – very frequent in Herodotus – or ἐθέλων.

As for the verb, the form ἐπήλθεσ would be possible in line 4 and 5, but in line 4 the same aorist without a preposition, or a variant with another preposition, as exemplified in Xenophon of Ephesus IV 1, 3, 5–6: Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μὲν παρήλθον, ἦλθον δὲ ἐπὶ Μέμφιν τὴν ἱέρα, and Antonius Diogenes, *PSI* 1177: καὶ μοι δίδωσκιν ἅμα διανεύουσα τῇ χειρὶ ἐξιέναι. ἐγὼ δὲ λαβοῦσα ἐξήλθον μὲν εὐθὺς οὐδαμῶς.

Such a repetition has precedents in tragedy: Eur. *Supp.* 155–157: μάντιες δ' ἐπήλθεσ ἐμπύρων τ' εἶδες φλόγα; | {*Ad.*} οἴμοι· διώκεις μ' ἢ μάλιστ' ἐγὼ· *cf.* φάλην. | {*Th.*} οὐκ ἦλθεσ, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐνοίαι θεῶν, and subsequently appears in historiographical prose: *D.S.* II 14, 3, 1–3: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τε Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν ἐπήλθε καὶ τῆς Λιβύης τὰ πλείεστα καταστρεψαμένη παρήλθεν εἰς Ἀμμωνα.

²⁰ STEPHENS & WINKLER, *Ancient Greek Novels* (cit. n. 1), pp. 246–266; LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, *Fragmentos papiáceos* (cit. n. 1), pp. 357–375.

²¹ See also IV 372.

7. The traditionally accepted reading *μενα* gives sense to the text (cf. ἡδικημένα or ἐσφαλμένα, proposed by Maehler) but we think that it cannot be maintained as sure. A possible interpretation could be a sentence with ἵνα which appears in the *koine*,²² but other readings with -*να* suffix (plural neuter), such as *ταπεινά*, *ἀλγεινά* or similar, could be suitable as well.

8. The text of the papyrus refers to the positioning of guests in the banquet. This type of detail can already be seen in Homer, when Ulysses arrives at Alcinoos' banquet and sits down next to the ashes, but the elderly Echeneus advises the king to accommodate him in a better armchair. Cf. *Od.* VII 162 ff: «... ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ ξεῖνον μὲν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροῦλου | ἔσσον ἀναστήσας, ...» | αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσ' ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο, | χειρὸς ἐλὼν Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην | ὤρσεν ἀπ' ἐσχαρόφιν καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου εἶσε φαεινοῦ, | υἱὸν ἀναστήσας ἀγαπήνορα Λαοδάμαντα, | ὅς οἱ πλησίον ἴζε, μάλιστα δέ μιν φιλέεσκε.

The place occupied at the banquet is commented upon once again in the following rhapsody. *Od.* VIII 469–470: ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἐς θρόνον ἴζε παρ' Ἀλκίνοον βασιλῆα. | οἱ δ' ἤδη μοίρας τ' ἔνεμον κερύωντό τε οἶνον. Our reading εἰς ὑψηλότερον τόπον is additionally supported on the Persian text, on *HART* and on other texts. Cf. *Ach. Tat.* I 5, 2: μου κατ' ὀφθαλμοῦς ἀνέκλινε τὴν παρθένον; *HART RA* 15, 2: ... *hic iuuenis, qui contra te in honorato loco discumbit*; *Vita Aesopi* I (136, 5): τοῦ δὲ καιροῦ φθάσαντος εἰς ὑψηλότερον τόπον ὠδὸν ἐγέννησεν ὁ ἀετός.

9. Iota is read before *μᾶλλον*; so our suggestion is *καὶ* or *ἔτι* – both are documented: *Isoc. Antid.* LXVII 2: ἴν' ὑμῖν ἔτι μᾶλλον γένηται καταφανές ὅτι πάντες οἱ λόγοι; *D.H. Lys.* XXII 1: ἵνα μᾶλλον γένηται καταφανές, εἰ...; *Pl. R.* 537, a, 1: ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον οἶός τ' ἦς καθορᾶν...; *Chrys. In Acta apost.* LX 144, 5: ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται.

By other way, *ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον... καταφανής/ἐμφανής* would be the best option but perhaps is too long, because of this an adjective such as *δῆλος* could fit.

10. Continuing with the Homeric model once again, Metiochus uses the optative mood to explain the reasons for his flight, expressing the wish that his father will hopefully be able to control the sedition hatched against him – so it seems. Cf. *Od.* VII 148–150: τοῖσιν θεοὶ ὄλβια δοῖεν | ζώμεναι, καὶ παισὶν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἕκαστος | κτήματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, and VIII 413: καὶ κύ, φίλος, μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν.

12. The first vowel in this line has an uncertain reading. Maehler edits *epsilon* with a point, but an *omicron* cannot be discarded either, which is why our proposal is reading *ὄχλοπόησιν*, a term which appears again in line 17 and, which, according to Hesychius, is a synonym of *δημαγωγία*. This noun can be restored in line

²² Cf. F. BLASS, A. DEBRUNNER & R. W. FUNK, *Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, Chicago 1961, §369.

11, as iotacism. Furthermore, *στάσις* appears in line 19. A verb like *παύω* or *λύω* could be supplemented before *ὀχλοπόησιν*.

On that same line 12, the particle *γάρ* indicates the beginning of a new sentence: Metiochus narrates the plots of his stepmother Hegesypila (below line, 15) who, as a loving mother of her children and showing the proverbial skill of the female sex for machination, is *φιλότεκνος ... δυνατώτατον εἰς ἐπιβουλήν*. The cliché *μήτηρ φιλότεκνος* appears in several authors and is one of the favourite themes in declamations.²³ Cf. Ar.Byz. *Epit* II 300, 2: *ὁ δὲ θῆλυς φιλότεκνος*; Chrys. *De pseudoprophetis* LIX 553: *ὡς μήτηρ φιλότεκνος τὰ ἴδια τέκνα φιλοῦσα...*

13–15. *θηλὸν γένος* could be restored; according to the data from *TLG*, it appears only with an article: Hdt. II 85, 3: *τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν*; Pl. *Leg.* 805, d; Aristotele *epistula ad Philocratem* 250, 3: *θρακύ ἐστιν, ἔφη, τὸ θῆλυ γένος, καὶ δραστικὸν ἐφ' ὃ βούλεται πρᾶγμα...*; Lysim. *Frag.* 12b, 1: *εἰ μὴ παρασχηματίζοιτο εἰς θηλυκὸν γένος, προπαροξύνεσθαι θέλει...* As the expression *θηλυκὸν γένος* appears without article, always referring to grammatical genre, we are doubtful about it.

14. Our choice is *κατὰ προαίρεσιν*. Cf. Arist. *EE* 1224^a: *ἢ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν*.

Ἡγρισιπύλη, who has arrived from Thrace, has managed to strip Metiochus of the legitimate right to his father's throne. Just like so many stepmothers in myth or folklore, she wants power for her children, *τῶν ἐαυτῆς παιδῶν*. Cf. And. *In nov.* III 2: *ἐὰν ἀποδείξω ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ προβουλῆς τὴν τούτων μητέρα φονέα οὐδὲν τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρός, καὶ ... τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐκείνου ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ μηχανωμένην*; IX 3: *τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ θάνατον μηχανωμένην φαρμάκοις*; D.S. IV 47, 1: [*Φρίξον*] *διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μητρικῆς ἐπιβουλὰς ... φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος*.

17. *-λείας* could be *βασιλείας* considering the context and other historical texts we provide. Cf. Th. I 8, 3: *τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι βεβαιοτέρου ὄψκου*; IV 105, 1: *κτῆσίν τε ἔχει τῶν χρυσείων μετάλλων ἐργασίας*; D. XVIII 308: *ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν οὐδενός*; Plb. XXX 20, 2: *εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαιτούμενοι τὴν κτῆσιν*; D.S. XXXI 19, 6, 2–8: *παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ἀριαμνης· συνώκισε τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀριαράθῃ. ὑπάρχων δὲ φιλότεκνος διαφερόντως περιέθετο τῷ παιδὶ διάδημα, καὶ συνάρχει πάντων τῶν τῆς βασιλείας προτερημάτων ἐπ' ἴσῃς μεταδίδωσι. τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος, Ἀριαράθῃς βασιλεύει καθ' ἑαυτόν, καὶ μεταλλάσσων τὸν βίον κατέλιπε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀριαράθῃ τῷ υἱῷ, νηπίῳ παντελῶς ὄντι τὴν ἡλικίαν*; Plb. XVIII 41, 5: *πρὸς βασιλείας κατὰκτησιν*; XXXI 2, 7: *μᾶλλον δὲ κρίνασα συμφέρει τοῖς*

²³ Cf. the data in *TLG*, and D. RUSSELL, *Greek Declamations*, Cambridge 1983, pp. 31, 101, and 123; D. VAN MAL-MAEDER, *La fiction des declamations*, Leiden – Boston 2007, pp. 128–136; P. A. WATSON, *Ancient Stepmothers. Myths, Misogyny, and Reality*, Leiden – Cologne – New York 1995. The same name of the stepmother and her attempts of poisoning him appear in the Persian text, vv. 43–54.

σφετέρους πράγμασι τὴν νεότητα καὶ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ διαδεδεγμένου τὴν βασιλείαν; Hdn. *Ab excessu divi Marci* I 3, 2: μάλιστα ἐτάραττε μνήμη τῶν ἐν νεότητι βασιλείαν παραλαβόντων, τοῦτο μὲν Διονυσίου τοῦ κικελιώτου τυράννου, ὃς ἀνηλεῶς.

Our suggestion is to replace a verbal periphrasis, such as *κτῆσιν βασιλείας*, and a negation ... οὐκ ἔχον. Therefore, the translation could be: ‘because of their young age, the children have not achieved royal power’.

A proposal such as *κατ’ ἀρχὰς οἱ κατ’ ἀρχὴν* would fit nicely at the end of line, since the initial vowel seems necessary. But there would also be a possibility for the expression of a feeling of enmity or hate by the stepmother. For instance: *κατ’ ἔχθραν*, or a similar expression would be also possible. A verb like *μηχανέομαι* is frequent in these cases.

18. The form *καίπερ* followed by a participle is a well attested Atticism in the Empire and the phrase could be translated as ‘though suffering without any sympathy’. Maehler proposed *ἀνηλεῶς* instead of an adjective, because it refers to human beings. Cf.: *Od.* VII 224–225: *καί περ πολλὰ παθόντα· ἰδόντα με καὶ λίποι αἰῶν | κτῆσιν ἐμὴν δμῶά τε καὶ ὑπερεφές μέγα δῶμα;* VII 152: *πήματα πάσχω;* IX 17–18: *ἐγὼ δ’ ἂν ἔπειτα φυγῶν ὕπο νηλεές ἦμαρ | ὑμῖν ξείνος ἔω καὶ ἀπόπροθι δώματα ναίων;* *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum* IX 5, 11, 1: *τῷ ἦπατι πάσχων ἀνηλεῶς ἐκρινόμεν.*

19–20. The line contains an infinitive clause with *ἐμέ* as its subject which depends on the periphrasis *αἰτίας* + verb. All the previous editors read *οὐδεὶς* and translated it as follows: ‘But nobody has accused me of [or ‘has given reasons for’] having plotted in some way or other against my father’. But the reading *ψευδεὶς* seems to fit better here and the verb *ἐπέρριψεν* seems a sound proposal. Cf. D.S. XIV 5, 5: *τούτοις ψευδεὶς αἰτίας ἐπερρίπτουν;* XIII 73, 3: *ψευδεὶς αἰτίας ἐπέρριψε.*

As shown in the critical apparatus, a verbal form is suggested which, in accordance with the papyrus reading, could be *ἐπέρριψεν*, with a simplification of geminates, a phenomenon which is documented in papyri from Ptolemaic times.

21. The subject continues to be the stepmother.

22. *Μια*, written with an error due to iotacism, might correspond to the poetic adjective *μιαφόνον* qualifying a noun of the type *πράξιν*. ‘She prepared the trap of a murderous action’, although *μιαφονίας* are widely documented in the Empire. Other adjectives such as *μιαρὰν* or *μιαρωτέραν* (very popular in novels), or other possibilities cannot be excluded either. Cf. J. *Aḡ* VII 208, 1: *μιαφόνον καὶ πολλῶν ἀρχηγῶν κακῶν ἀποκαλῶν;* Plut. *An vitiositas ad infelicitatem sufficiat* 500, B, 6: *τυράννων μιαφονίας;* Ach. Tat. VIII 3, 5: *τί δράσειέ τις ἔτι, τῆς ἀνομίας ὁμοῦ καὶ μοιχείας καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ μιαφονίας κεκερασμένης;* X. Eph. II 6, 1, 3: *«ὦ τολμηρὰ καὶ μιὰρὰ» εἰπὼν «κεφαλὴ...;* Charito IV 2, 9, 4: *ἐπίσταται γυναῖκα μιὰρὰν συμπράξασαν τῷ φόνῳ;* Ael. NA I 54, 7: *ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου θηρίον μιὰρωτέρον καὶ ἀφυλακτότερον γυνὴ φαρμακίς.*

23–24. Metiochus tells Polycrates that he has arrived ‘at your home and your city’, in parallel with the Persian text, v. 42, already quoted in parallel with *Od.* VII 26: οὐ τήνδε πόλιν καὶ γαῖαν ἔχουσιν; VI 175–177: ἐὲ γὰρ κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας | ἐς πρώτην ἰκόμην, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων οὐ τινα οἶδα | ἀνθρώπων, οὐ τήνδε πόλιν καὶ γαῖαν ἔχουσιν; A.R. III 387: ἄστὺ τεὸν καὶ δῶμαθ’ ἰκάνομεν, ὡς ποὺ ἔολπας, οὐδὲ μὲν ἰέμενοι.

Similarly, in line 24, the form ὑπέλαβον does not hold from a paleographic point of view; the most likely reading is a form like ἤγαγον, perhaps κατήγαγον. Cf. Th. II 33, 2: καὶ πλεύσαντες κατήγαγον; D.S. XIII 19, 1: ναῦς ἀναψάμενοι κατήγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν...; X.Eph. III 8, 5: ἐξαγαγόντες αὐτὴν τοῦ τάφου κατήγαγον ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ ἐνθέμενοι σκάφει τὴν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀνήγοντο.

When the hero finishes talking, the absolute genitive expresses the reaction of admiration it arises among those present at the banquet, which can be compared to *HART* and other texts. Cf. *HART* RA 16, 9: *omnes convivae coeperunt mirari dicentes...*; 16, 13: *rex ... gavisus est.*

24–25. Ἐν | ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ | τὴν εὐωχίαν could be supplied between πάντων and θαυμασάντων. Chariton prefers δείπνῳ, but Achilles and Heliodorus combine both nouns, and other papyri contain a number of examples as well.

26. Something like φρόνημα or γενναῖον could be suggested: ‘While everyone present at the banquet admired the courage and nobility/wisdom in the young man’s words, Polycrates, very pleased with him, said’; ὑπερηθεῖς, proposed by Maehler, is a good reading, supported again by *HART* and other texts: J. B⁷ III 504, 1: ὑπερηθεῖς τῇ τε τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρετῇ; Ael. *VH* XII 1, 131: πάντων οὖν, οἷς ἔδειξεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κῦρος, θαυμάζόντων, ὑπερηθεῖς τῷ κειμηλίῳ; Hld. VII 14, 1: ὑπερηθεῖσα πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ... Καὶ «ὦ κάλλιστε νεανίων» ἔφη «οὐκ ἂν εἶποις».

The king takes the floor again to invite the young man to drink and forget his sorrows, as is inherent to a banquet.

28. Maehler read γειν before χρη (so Merkelbach supposed ἀπάγειν), but *tau* is more likely than *gamma* in paleographic terms, which is why our proposal is reading a verb such as ἀπαλλαττεῖν or ἤττεῖν, another Attic form. Cf. Arist. *MM* II 6, 17, 9: ὅταν δ’ ἀπαλλαγῇ τὸ πάθος ὥσπερ ἡ μέθη, for a similar concept.

On the same line, reading a dative, μέθῃ, makes more sense to us than a possible verb.

29. Bringing wine together with politics, as the lyrics had done many centuries before, Polycrates stresses the autonomy, that is, the independence of Samos, which illustrates a political ideology especially defended in fourth-century prose, Isocrates, Aristotle, and others. The concepts of autonomy and freedom often appear side by side, and this reaches Plutarch and later authors. Cf. D. XVIII 305, 1: ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψῆκουν πατρίδας; *Olynth.* I 23, 3: καὶ τὸν Ἰλλυριὸν καὶ ἀπλῶς τούτους ἅπαντας ἡγεῖσθαι χρεὶ αὐτονόμους ἢ διον ἂν καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἢ δούλους εἶναι;

De Halon. XXX 3: τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, ὅσοι μὴ κοινωνοῦσι τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους εἶναι, καὶ ἕαν τις ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στρατεύῃ; Arist. *EN* 1177b, 4: δοκεῖ τε ἡ εὐδαιμονία ἐν τῇ χολῇ εἶναι· ἀχολοῦμεθα γὰρ ἵνα χολάζωμεν, καὶ πολεμοῦμεν ἵν’ εἰρήνην ἄγωμεν; *Pol.* 1326b, 30: ὥστε δύνασθαι τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ζῆν χολάζοντας ἐλευθερίως ἅμα καὶ ἠωφρόνως; Luc. *VH* II 15, 1: Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ μουσικῇ τε καὶ ᾠδαῖς χολάζουσιν; Ael. Aristid. *Aegypt.*, 421, 1: χολάζων μαθήμασι καὶ λόγοις; Hdn. *Ab excessu divi Marci* VII 9, 5, 5; ἑορταῖς τε καὶ τρυφαῖς χολάζοντες αἰεὶ.

30. The subject of the verb seems to be the same one, Polycrates, with an appositive participle, (...των), who addresses Anaximenes and maybe invites him to come in or share the wine. He adds ‘today is a special day for us/we are going to have a party’ or ‘we are going to have a party since the boy has come, in whom I envisage a ... muse’ – an erotic muse, according to Maehler, though other possibilities exist.

31. *σήμερον* appears in *Od.* XVII 186 and in the comedy, according to *LSJ*. Cf. *Ar. Eq.* 68: εἰ μὴ μ’ ἀναπέισετ’, ἀποθανείσθε τήμερον.

The beginning of the verb *προτι-* is continued in the second column where an inquiry about love is proposed by the philosopher. It could be a participle – following Maehler – or a present indicative or subjunctive and start a new sentence. In any case, the suitable meaning seems to be: ‘I propose the inquiry of the philosopher by some chance’. The article ‘the’ indicates that the inquiry has been proposed before the initial questions raised by Polycrates which opened our papyrus.²⁴ The text which comes next is a rhetorical controversy about love. In almost 30 lines, Metiochus explains his critical view of the traditional image assigned to Eros as a child with a bow and arrows and, when she starts to give her own opinion, Parthenope is encouraged to join the discussion – the papyrus is interrupted shortly after.

Once again, Achilles Tatius I 8–10 echoes this passage when he argues about what type of love is better, that of a man or that of a woman, and Pseudo-Lucian will do the same in *Amores* XXVIII. The lexical footprints of Plato’s *Phaedrus* are already quite visible in the second column, together with poeticisms which show the highly rhetorical level of the text, as we shall see in a forthcoming study on the novel as a whole.

²⁴ We are not convinced here by HÄGG & UTAS, *The Virgin and Her Lover* (cit. n. 4), p. 227, when they say that the inquiry by Anaximenes ‘is strangely absent’ in the Greek text. Nor we agree with their conclusion that our papyrus is an abbreviated version of the original. See *ibidem*, p. 189, for similar ideas.

We proceed to summarize the content of our column.

At lines 1–24 Polycrates is welcoming Metiochus to Samos because of their kinship and promises to help Metiochus to recover his former position in the future, referring to a marriage (l. 4) which Metiochus seems to refuse for unclear reasons. But previously Polycrates asks him his reasons for escaping from Chersonese and taking refuge in Samos. Then Metiochus narrates the machinations of his stepmother, Hegesypila, who, as a loving mother and showing the proverbial skill of the female sex for machination (ll. 12–13), began to plot the form by which her children, still too young, could achieve royal power (ll. 15–17); with this goal, she invented that Metiochus provoked a revolt against his father (ll. 17–19). As a consequence of her false accusations, and perhaps condemned by his father, Metiochus decided to escape and to take refuge at Polycrates's home and city (ll. 19–24).

After Metiochus's words, all present at the banquet admired his courage and nobility, and Polycrates, very pleased with him, invites the young man to drink and forget his sorrows, by enjoying their freedom and leisure (ll. 25–29). Then the king addresses Anaximenes and invites him to share the party wine, and to feast the coming of the boy, in whom he envisages an inspired muse; for this reason, he proposes (ll. 30–33) to begin the inquiry of the philosopher, which will be developed in the second column.

It is finally worth highlighting the high literary level of our text, which contains a number of Atticisms and often shows expressions and ideas which are characteristic of classical prose, and clearly reflects a thorough knowledge of the previous literary tradition. The author seems to have merged several banquets from the *Odyssey* – one of his main hypotexts – into a single one, adding elements from the historiographical and rhetorical tradition. His linguistic level corresponds to that of the classicizing Greek and can be compared to that of the *Ninus* papyri as far as the rhetorical sophistication in the text is concerned.²⁵ Perhaps it is not a

²⁵ See the analysis by R. JENIŠTOVÁ, 'Nejstarší román světové literatury (zlomky řeckého romanu o Ninovi)', *Listy filologické* 76 (1953), pp. 30–54; KUSSEL, *Papyrusfragmente* (cit. n. 1), pp. 34–62, and María Paz LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, 'New contributions to some papyri labelled as

coincidence that Lucian quotes both of them in the *De Saltatione*.²⁶ We can remember as well that the ostrakon of our novel²⁷ belongs to a school environment. The chronology of both novels might have been closed too, and they achieved a similar level of success in the Roman Empire.

This novel actually had a huge influence on the story of the genre. Many of the heroine's features are later taken by those of Xenophon of Ephesus and especially the latter Heliodorus in a conscious attempt to embrace the archaism that is typical of the Third Sophistic.

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“incerta” in a corpus of novel fragments’, [in:] G. BASTIANINI & A. CASANOVA (eds), *I papiri del romanzo antico. Convegno internazionale di studi, Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli*, Florence 2010, pp. 110–112.

²⁶ See HÄGG & UTAS, *The Virgin and Her Lover* (cit. n. 4), pp. 50 and 189–191.

²⁷ *O. Bodl.* II 2175. P. PARSONS, ‘Panionis and the culture of culture (*P. Oxy.* LXXI 4811)’, [in:] BASTIANINI & CASANOVA, *I papiri del romanzo antico* (cit. n. 25), pp. 43–49, at pp. 48–49, is right when he observes some similarities between the rhetorical ambiance of our papyrus and that of ‘Panionis’, but to connect both novels, as he suggests, is not only difficult, as Parsons recognizes, but so improbable as his hypothetical assimilation between the Persian name ‘Hiranqālis’ and the Greek name ‘Heroxenos’.