

**AKTEN
DES 21. INTERNATIONALEN
PAPYROLOGENKONGRESSES
BERLIN, 13.-19. 8. 1995**

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
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B. G. TEUBNER STUTT GART UND LEIPZIG 1997

**ARCHIV FÜR PAPYRUSFORSCHUNG
UND VERWANDTE GEBIETE**

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**BEIHEFT 3
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The Greek Novel: A Case of Opera Aperta. Suggestions for a Catalogue of Novel Fragments

María Paz López Martínez (Alicante)

To Olympia and Raquel

The storylines of the five completely preserved novels and of the two only known through Photius' summaries are very similar in structure: In all of them we are told of the adventures and dangers faced by the two young lovers who have been separated, and we follow their fates until the faithful two are finally reunited in a happy end. Papyrological finds have served to confirm this concept of the Greek novel on some occasions, but at the same time they have compelled us to widen our view not only of this particular genre but of the whole of ancient literature. We aim to pose a methodological question in our discussion¹: which papyri can be easily labelled as fragments of novel and which create problems. The nature of the criteria we have applied to include the material dealt with under the said literary genre tends towards flexibility. Our experience after the study of texts has taught us to change the initial omission of those papyri which we could only ascribe to this genre with a certain reserve. Please refer to the catalogue of fragments at the end of this paper.

It is easy and not at all problematic to include in the genre all those fragments which clearly match the pattern present in the works wholly preserved. This occurs especially, when we have more than one fragment of a supposed novel. Such is the case with *the Ninos Romance*, *Metiochos and Parthenope* and *the Sesonchosis Romance*. Within this group we would have to mention the couple of papyri which some specialists relate to the Latin novel *Apollonius King of Tyre*.

Several other fragments which unquestionably belong to the genre are: *Kalligone*, *Herpyllis*, *Olenius* and the so called *Found*. The latter has been related to the fragment known as *Chione* which could once be read in the *Codex Thebanus* now lost. Lastly, we can include in this group the fragment entitled *Antheia*, which some specialists identify with the original of Xenophon's *The Ephesiaka*, since they believe that the text which came from the *Codex Florentinus* from XIII century is only a summary of the original.

Some fragments are unanimously accepted as members of the genre, although they have nothing to do with the idealized world described in the novels of love

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to my friend Sally Pezarro Sijes and to Professor J.A. Álvarez Amorós, University of La Coruña who helped me translate this paper into English.

and adventure. To classify these as vulgar is to speak mildly. We are referring to the remains of Lollianus' *A Phoenician Story* or to the fragment entitled *Iolaos*. A detail which adds interest to the papyrus from Cologne is that the title of the work and the name of its author figure in it. The fragment entitled *Iolaos* also contains information of great significance for the study of Greek narrative fiction, since it proves that the satiric element of the Latin novel is not something entirely alien to Greek nature, as was believed until the finding of this papyrus.

We will go on to list the fragments which are not difficult to classify along with the novels. (See list II). Despite that, they are still not usually included in the chapter dealing with fragments of any current translations or general studies about the Greek novel, which are being published at present. The reasons which justify their inclusion in the genre are, among others: a narrative style or a combination of narrative and dialogue; they are written in prose, or in prose combined with verse; and they refer to typical scenes from a novel.

In number one, *Dream*, the narrator describes his dream vision of a ghost. Episodes which tell of apparitions of this kind are very common in novels. However, we cannot completely rule out that this could be a real dream, or a short macabre tale.

In *Description of Magic Powers* the protagonist is a wizard who boasts of his powers but who, nevertheless, has to admit that he is incapable of something as apparently simple as finding a cure for love sickness. Although nowadays nobody questions this being narrative fiction, we should not forget that magic is a very common theme in the preserved novels. The possibility has therefore been discussed that it should be considered as being a text from a book of magic recipes.

Tinouphis refers to a text published only very recently. Perhaps for this reason it is still not usually present in general bibliographies of the ancient novel. It can be catalogued almost without hesitation. It is written in *prosimetrum*, (the mixture of prose and verse which we find in Petronius's *Satyricon*). The prophet Tinouphis is condemned to be entombed alive, but the executioner who is to build the tomb is persuaded by a woman to build it in such a way that Tinouphis will be able to escape.

In *Staphulos* the author resorts to melodramatic themes such as the abandoned baby and his eventual adoption, thereby guaranteeing an end charged with pathos. Another motif which functions as a literary topos is the baptism of the protagonist with a name which speaks for itself. In this particular case, σταφύλη is the bunch of grapes. Staphulos, the newly-born babe left by his mother in a vineyard, is found by one of the king's servants and brought up as a prince in the palace.

Theano's mother (number 5), on the contrary, can not bear to be separated from her son, who has been carried off by the Skythians. She sets off for Athens, following the instructions of Goddess who appeared to her in a dream (

Asclepios has proved to be more problematic. Tagged for many years as a "religious" or "historiographic" text it is once more regarded as a novel fragment. This is probably a confessing of sins, like that of the fragment entitled *Yolao*.

The *Story of Panphylus and Eurydike* can be catalogued without any great difficulty along with other novelistic texts, since the vocabulary used refers to the goddess Aphrodite, love, a journey and possibly to an apparent death, all of these being typical themes of a novelist's repertory. It is also being considered that it may be a rhythmic text.

Lastly, we take the liberty of including fragment number 8, *Philosopher*, in this section. Its text may seem too short to identify its nature with the relatively wide safety margin we are giving it. The fine drawing which embellishes the papyrus makes up for the limited information which can be acquired from the text. We believe the context is that of a banquet, because of the references made to a golden goblet and to food. In our opinion this is confirmed by the mention of an actor ὑποκριτής, and of a philosopher, as we have to bear in mind that there were all kinds of entertainment at these banquets, from music and dance to mime shows and erudite discussions. As far as the philologist is concerned we suggest a comparison to the banquet described in the novel *Metiochos and Parthenope* where a discussion revolves around the philosopher's study of Love². To back up the interpretation of τὸ χρυσεῖον as a golden goblet, we refer to chapter 53 of the *Golden Ass* by Lucian where this same word is used in a banquet where food is offered and wine is served in gold goblets by handsome young men: καὶ παῖδες ἡμῖν παρειστήκεισαν οἰνοχοοὶ καλοὶ τὸν οἶνον ἡμῖν χρυσεῖω διακονοῦμενοι,³ *by our side, several handsome fellows poured out our wine into a golden goblet*. On the other hand, the drawing⁴ which accompanies the text can also be interpreted in this way. The figure on the far right especially could be one of those handsome young men with fine curls, who figure in chapter II of the Latin novel *The Golden Ass* by Apuleius, to which Lucian's work is always related: *diribitores pulchre indusiati gemma<s> formatas [s]in pocula vini vetusti frequentier offerre*⁵, *some young men who were more than splendidly dressed offered tasty dishes with affected elegance; boys with curly locks handed round mellow wine in goblets studded with precious stones*. For these reasons we do not believe that it is too much of a risk to keep *Philosopher* in a catalogue of novel fragments.

In the following section we include the fragments which can be catalogued only with uncertainty.

The group formed by 9, 10, 11 and 12 consists of very short papyri. The scant remains of text which have been preserved seem to indicate episodes from novels: sea voyages, missing people, farewells, etc., but they could suggest many other possibilities. There have been attempts to link the last one, *Parents*, with papyrus number 26 from the next section of fragments which are difficult to catalogue with any certainty. We later will explain the reasons for relating the two.

² P. Bcröl. 7927 l.1.

³ M.D. Macleod, *Luciani Opera II*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 306.

⁴ See A. Bayer/J. Strzygowski, "Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik", *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, 1906, p. 176, plate 26.

⁵ R. Helm, *Apuleius I, Metamorphoseon libri XI*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1968, p. 40.

We are told of slaves and burns in *Punishment*. This vocabulary reminds us of the difficulties the protagonists of novels usually go through. It could also refer to a more horrifying context such as the mystic initiation in *Iolaos* or the band of criminals in Lollianus' *A Phoenician Story*. It could alternatively be catalogued as a fragment of a historical text.

The protagonist of number 14 could be a proper name or a brave soldier who gets his reward. If we opt for the latter interpretation it is tempting to classify the text as a mere rhetoric exercise. However, in *The Ninos Romance* the hero is also a brave soldier who asks for his reward to be granted, when, in a fine speech, he asks his aunt Dercia for his cousin Semíframis' hand in marriage. The description in the *Rise of the Nile* could also be a rhetoric exercise. However, some novelists pepper their works with detailed descriptions of landscapes and animals.

The subject-matter in number 16 is how a person called Daulis attacks the sanctuary of the god Apollo in Delphi. This character confronts the god's prophet and interpreter of the messages transmitted by the Pythia. He reproaches him for the falseness of his predictions and declares that he is going to kill him. Because of the combination of mythology and baroque rhetoric we can include this piece along with the fragments of novel, but it could also be interpreted as an aretalogy of the God Apollo.

Number 17 was first thought to be notes by a grammarian on a poetic work, since hermeneutical observations concerning a wind instrument are made here. More recently though it has been interpreted as the scene of a sacrifice with music in the background like those celebrated in Longo's novel.

Crocodiles is an enigmatic fragment. It speaks about men devoured by crocodiles and snakes. It also mentions strange atmospheric phenomena. Although the mention of a ἱερογραμματαεὺς makes us think of a prophecy, it could fit into the framework of a novel.

Now we shall go on looking at fragments which leave us in great doubt when cataloguing them. Despite this, we are in favour of listing them along with novel fragments in order to avoid leaving them straggling, unlabelled, and in order to be able to study them with easy access. We prefer this option at least until we have sufficient information to back up other proposals more firmly.

The first of these, *Alexandria*, is extremely short and very badly preserved, which is why reasons to include it in our list do not abound. It is practically the same case with *Misfortune*, *Storm* and *Bindings* where one can hardly read more than what is picked out in their titles.

Number 23 is composed of a pair of texts which are based on two completely different themes. The first is rhetoric praise of modesty, intercalated with quotes from Homer and Hesiod. The beneficial usefulness of this virtue is proclaimed here, since anyone possessing this virtue can escape all evil and fend off his enemies. The second contains the description of a bird which could be the Phoenix. Descriptions of exotic animals are common in the Greek novel. The fact that a *coronis* is drawn at the end of the first fragment, to indicate the end of a theme, leads us to believe that it could very plausibly be an exercise in sophism.

In number 24, the narrator invokes Triptolemos and declares that he has not had the chance to attend the Eleusinian mysteries, but, to make up for it, he has seen the victorious monarchs of the Egyptian Court. We quote this piece with caution and recommend a comparison with other examples of mystic initiation which appear in various novels.

In number 24 the move from direct speech to narrative, the possible reference to Alexander and the Ἑλλην γενόμενος which alludes to the spirit of belonging to the Greek people, all make us think of a story of the type told in *Alexander's Novel*.

In the following text *Amenophis* is a product of conjecture. The character here could be Amenhotep III, the Egyptian king who was identified with the famous Memnon of Greek mythology. This monarch, of certain fame amongst Greek sources, patronised gigantic edifices, such as the famous Theban Colossi of Memnon and he could be the protagonist of a historic novel like *Ninos* or *Sesonchosis*. The uncertain ἄμενυ of this papyrus has been related to ἄμεν in fragment number 12, which we are also unsure about. The hypothetical existence of a Greek novel about king Amenophis remains to be confirmed, and should new fragments be discovered they would provide the necessary basis of the theory, but for the moment the two texts we have at hand have too many lacunae.

Artemis appears in our list due to the fact that metereological problems are the subject matter of the conversation held between the navigators. It has also been tagged as a historiographic text.

Two translations from Demotic are noteworthy and deserve special mention. These have on occasion been quoted among fragments belonging to this genre: *Nectanebo's Dream* and *The Legend of Tefnut*.

Although the fragment known as *Nectanebo's Dream* is not, properly speaking, a Greek novel, but rather a translation into Greek of what Egyptologists call a *Königsnovelle*, we believe it is worth examining. It tells one episode in the life of Nectanebo II, the last Egyptian Pharaoh who was dethroned by the Persians. In answer to a prayer, Nectanebo has a dream in which the goddess Isis appears to him, accompanied by other gods. One of them, Onouris, complains to her because his temple is unfinished. When the King awakes he asks to be informed about this matter and he learns that the inscription in hieroglyphics has not been finished yet. The best craftsman is found to finish off the work as soon as possible and he is paid in advance. However, this character, called Petesis likes his drink and he puts this preference before his duties.

We know the end of this story thanks to a Greek novel called *Alexander's Story* by Pseudo-Kallisthenes. We are told here that on his flight from Egypt, Nectanebo ends up taking refuge in Macedonia where he seduces Olympiade, wife of Philipp. Alexander the Great is the fruit of this affair. As a result, Alexander's father is not Philipp of Macedonia but the Egyptian Nectanebo. In this way, the accession of Alexander of Macedonia to the Egyptian throne is legitimate. Although it is not strictly a fragment of novel, it can be an interesting point of reference for other texts belonging to this genre like the novel by Pseudo-Kallisthenes, or a fragment

we have already referred to: *Tinouphis*. Both texts lend themselves well to comparison for various reasons: they are both written in rhythmic prose; there is an assembly of the king's advisors; the builder is negligent for personal reasons; and the work is being supervised.

However, we are not of the opinion that number 29, based on the legend of the goddess Tefnut, merits as much interest here. It is a story which is fundamentally mythological, where the human factor is of little importance. That is why the chances that it is a fragment of novel, or that its study can help us to understand any of the preserved novels any more easily, are very remote.

In the last place, we list the papyri which are no longer considered to belong to the genre as it is currently defined. We also mention an illustrated papyrus that can be either a fragment of a novel or a fragment of a Christian martyrology.

So far we have given an assessment of what should be included in a catalogue of novel fragments. Since this catalogue aims at comprehensiveness, it may seem superficial. We know that it will soon be outdated because, fortunately, we have just begun to read the initial chapter of a fine story whose dénouement we shall not know for a long time to come.

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I. Certain

- Ninos Romance* (P.Berol. 6926 [Pack² 2616], PSI 1305 [Pack² 2617], P.Gen. inv. 100 + O.Edfu. 306? [Pack² 2647]). *Metiochos and Parthenope* (P.Berol. 9588 [Pack² 2622], P.Berol. 7927 [Pack² 2622], P.Berol. 21179 [ed.pr. Maehler, H., ZPE 23 (1976), 1-20],

P. Oxy. 435? [Pack² 2623] and *O. Bodl.* 2175 [Pack² 2782]). *Sesonchosis Romance* (*P. Oxy.* 1826 [Pack 2619], *P. Oxy.* 2466 [Pack² 2259] and *P. Oxy.* 3319). *Apollonios King of Tyre?* (*PSI* 151 [Pack² 2624] and *P. Mil. Vogl.* 260) *Kalligone* (*PSI* 981 [Pack² 2628]). *Herpyllis* (*P. Dubl.* C3 [Pack² 2621]). *Olenios* (*PSI* 725 [Pack² 2626]). *Found* (*P. Berol.* 10535 [Pack² 2631] and *P. Berol.* 21234 [Gronewald, M., *ZPE* 35 (1979), 15-20]). *Chione* (*Codex Thebanus deperditus* [Pack² 244]). *Antheia* (*PSI* 726 Pack² 2627]). *Lollianus, A Phoenician Story* (*P. Colon.* inv. 3328 [Henrichs, A., *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos. Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans*, Bonn 1972 (PTA 14) and *P. Oxy.* 1368 [Pack² 2620]). *Iolaos* (*P. Oxy.* 3010 [Parsons, P., *BICS* 18 (1971), 53-68]).

II. Almost certain

1. *Dream* (*P. Univ. Mich. inv.* 3378 [Pack² 2629]). 2. *Description of Magic Powers* (*P. Mich. inv.* 5 [Pack² 2636] and *P. Palau. Rib. inv.* 152 [Daris, S., *Aegyptus* 66 (1968), 110-114]). 3. *Tinouphis* (*P. Turner* 8). 4. *Staphylos* (*PSI* 1220 [Pack² 2625]). 5. *Theano* (*P. Oxy.* 417 [Pack² 2474]). 6. *Asclapios* (*P. Oxy.* 416 [Pack² 168]). 7. *Story of Pamphylos and Eurydike* (*P. Mich.* 3793 [Renner, T., *Proc. of the XVIIth Intern. Congr. of Papyrology*, Chico 1981, 93-101]). 8. *Philosopher* (*P. Lit. Lond.* 198 [Pack² 2640])

III. Uncertain

9. *Boy* (*P. Harris* 18 [Pack² 2633]). 10. *Sea Voyage* (*P. Harris* 23 [Pack² 2827]). 11. *Friend* (*P. Harris* 19 [Pack² 2634]). 12. *Parents* (*P. Freib.* III 47). 13. *Punishment* (*P. Oxy.* 868 [Pack² 2630]). 14. *Aristeos* (*P. Hamb.* 134 [Pack² 2811]). 15. *The Rise of the Nile* (*P. Michael.* 4 [Pack² 2271]). 16. *Daulis* (*P. Berol. inv.* 11517 [Pack² 2468]). 17. *Country Celebration* (*PSI* 516 [Pack² 2902]). 18. *Crocodiles* (*PSI* 760 [Pack² 2639])

IV. Great doubt

19. *Alexandria* (*P. Oxy.* XLV 3218). 20. *Misfortune* (*P. Harr.* 20 [Pack² 2635]). 21. *Storm* (*P. Fouad.* 4 [Pack² 2632]). 22. *Bindings* (*P. Rain.* 46 [Pack² 2869]). 23. *Praise of modesty, Description of a Bird* (*P. Lit. Lond.* 193 [Pack² 2524]). 24. *Triptolemos* (*P. Antin.* 18 [Pack² 2466]). 25. *Education* (*P. Harris* II 173). 26. *Amenophis* (*P. Oxy.* XLII 3011). 27. *Artemis* (*P. Med. inv.* 36 [Pack² 2268])

V. Translation

28. *Nektanebo's Dream* (*P. Leid. U* [Pack² 2476]). 29. *Legend of Tefnut* (*P. Lit. Lond.* 192)

VI. identified and unpublished

P. Tebt. 268: *Dictys Cretensis*. Pack² 338; *P. Lit. Lond.* 194: *Ps. Lucian*. Pack² 2637; *P. Lit. Lond.* 245: *Pseudo-Eusebius*. Pack² 2638; *P. Lit. Lond.* 50: *Alexandrian Mimic Fragment*. Pack² 1743; *P. Harris* 13: *Euripides*. Pack² 2248; *P. Par.* 1294, unpublished, novel or Pack² 2641