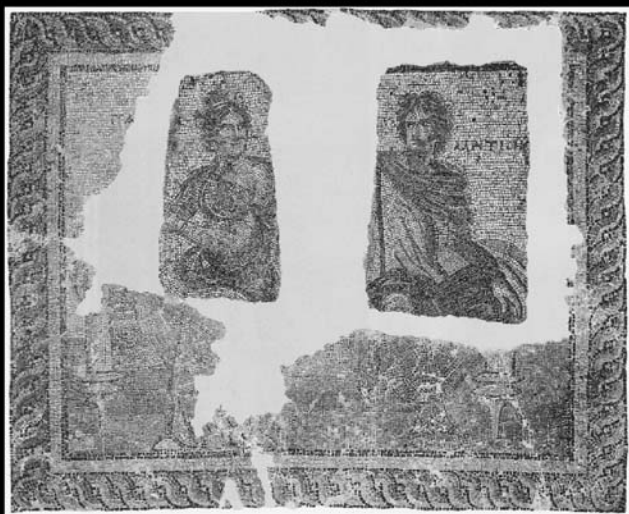


The Virgin and her Lover

FRAGMENTS OF AN ANCIENT GREEK NOVEL

AND A PERSIAN EPIC POEM



BY

TOMAS HÄGG & BO UTAS

THE VIRGIN AND HER LOVER

BRILL STUDIES IN MIDDLE EASTERN LITERATURES

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VOLUME XXX



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AND A PERSIAN EPIC POEM

BY

THOMAS HÄGG

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BO UTAS



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ABBREVIATIONS

AH	Anno Hijra, in the year of the Hijra (AD 622) (Muslim calendar)
AHQ	Anno Hijra Qamarī (Arabic & Iranian Muslim calendar, moon-years)
AHSh	Anno Hijra Shamsī (Iranian Muslim calendar, sun-years)
Akh. Tat.	Akhilleus Tattios (Achilles Tattius), <i>Leukippe and Kleitophon</i>
Ant. Diog.	Antonios Diogenes, <i>Wonderful Things beyond Thule</i>
A-R	Alvares & Renner 2001 (see Bibliography)
Arab.	Arabic
comm.	commentary
DN	<i>Dārāb-nāmāh</i> , see Ch. IIIb
ET ¹	<i>Enzyklopaedie des Islams</i> , I–IV. Leiden 1913–34
ET ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , New ed., I–. Leiden 1960–
EIr	<i>Encyclopædia Iranica</i> , I–. London 1985–
Eust. Makr.	Eustathios Makrembolites, <i>Hysmine and Hysminias</i>
fr.	fragment
GF1.1 (etc.)	Greek Fragment No. 1, line 1 (etc.), see Ch. IIa
GT1.1 (etc.)	Greek Testimonium No. 1, line 1 (etc.), see Ch. IIb
Hdt.	Herodotos (Herodotus), <i>The Histories</i>
Hld.	Heliodoros (Heliodorus), <i>Aithiopika (Aithiopian Tales)</i>
Iambl.	Iamblikhos (Iamblichus), <i>Babyloniaka (Babylonian Tales)</i>
JASB	<i>Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> , Calcutta
K-A	Kassel & Austin 1991, 1986 (see Bibliography)
Kaladze	Kaladze 1983 (see Bibliography)
Khar.	Khariton (Chariton), <i>(Khairias and) Kallirhoe</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)</i> , Zürich & München 1981–1997
Long.	Longos (Longus), <i>Daphnis and Khloe</i>
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , Oxford 1940
MOS1 (etc.)	Mosaic No. 1 (etc.), see Ch. IIc
M&P	<i>Mētiokhos kai Parthenopē</i>
MSP	<i>The Martyrdom of St Parthenope (alias Bartānūbā)</i> , see Ch. II d
Pack ²	Pack 1965 (see Bibliography)

PBerol	Berlin papyrus
Pers.	Persian
PF1 (etc.)	Persian Fragment, verse 1 (etc.), see Ch. IIIa
PMich	Michigan papyrus
POxy	Oxyrhynchus papyrus
PT1 (etc.)	Persian Testimonia, verse 1 (etc.), see Ch. IIIc
S-W	Stephens & Winkler 1995 (see Bibliography)
<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums- wissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart 1893–1980
Shafi	Shafi 1968 (see Bibliography)
Steingass	Steingass, F., <i>A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary</i> , London 1892 etc.
<i>V&A</i>	<i>Vāmiq u ‘Adhrā</i>
Xen. Eph.	Xenophon of Ephesos, <i>Ephesiaka</i> (<i>Ephesian Tales</i>)

* before a name denotes reconstructed form

TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEMS

a. Persian and Arabic

b. Russian (Cyrillic)

Consonants:

ا	ʾ				
ب	b			а	а
پ	p			б	б
ت	t			в	в
ث	th (<u>T</u>) ¹	Pers. pron. s		г	г
ج	j			д	д
چ	ch (Č)			е	е
ح	ḥ			ж	zh
خ	kh (X)			з	з
د	d			и	и
ذ	dh (<u>D</u>)	Pers. pron. z		й	ј
ر	r			к	к
ز	z			л	л
س	s			м	м
ش	sh (Š)			н	н
ص	ṣ			о	о
ض	ḍ	Pers. pron. z		п	р
ط	ṭ			р	р
ظ	ẓ			с	с
ع	ʿ			т	т
غ	gh (Ġ)			у	у
ف	f			ф	ф
ق	q			х	kh
ک	k			ц	ts
گ	g			ч	ch
ل	l			ш	sh
م	m			щ	shch
ن	n			э	è

¹ Capitals are used in consonantic transliteration only.

و	v (W, Arab. w)	Ю	ju
ی	y	Я	ja
Vowels:		Ъ	‘
َ	a	Ь	’
ِ	i		
ُ	u		
ا, آ	ā		
ای, ی	ī, ē		
او, و	ū, ō		
Diphthongs:			
و(ا)	au	ی(ا)	ai

c. Greek

α	a
β	b
γ	g
δ	d
ε	e
ζ	z
η	ē
θ	th
ι	i
κ	k
λ	l
μ	m
ν	n
ξ	x
ο	o
π	p
ρ	r
σ (ς)	s
τ	t
υ	u
φ	ph
χ	kh
ψ	ps
ω	ō

PREFACE

The present work, the result of a close cooperation between a Classical philologist stationed in Bergen (Hägg) and an Iranist stationed in Uppsala (Utas), has been long in the making. Between our discovery, back in 1983, that the Persian epic poem *Vāmiq and 'Adhrā* builds on the Greek novel *Metiokhos and Parthenope*, both only transmitted in fragments, and the edition, translation and discussion contained in this volume, lie both years of joint work on the project and long periods when other duties prevented one or both of us even to think of the virgin and her lover. For Utas a research semester at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences, Uppsala, gave the time necessary for finalising crucial parts of the work.

On completing the task, we wish to express our sincere thanks to all who have helped us along the way. Specific mention, however, should be made of Richard Holton Pierce (Bergen), who contributed the English translation of the Coptic fragment presented in Ch. II.d and, in addition, checked the English style of Chs. I, II, V and VI; Judy Josephson (Göteborg), who checked the English of Chs. III and IV; Antonio Stramaglia (Cassino) and Janine Balty (Bruxelles) who read and commented on Ch. IIa–b and Ch. IIc, respectively; Günter Poethke (Berlin) who checked some papyrus readings; and Mikael Persenius (Uppsala) who read and commented on our translation of the Arabic version of *The Martyrdom of St Parthenope*.

A few words should be added about the character of the translations from Greek, Persian, Arabic and Coptic contained in the book. Since they will serve as the basis for further comparative research, we have chosen to adopt a literal rather than literary style. This procedure should not mislead readers to undervalue the rhetorical qualities of the different texts.

The transcription chosen for texts in Arabic script is a fully differentiated, but somewhat simplified, scholarly system which is based on Classical Arabic and Persian pronunciation. The modern Persian pronunciation of names and quoted words/terms may be abstracted from remarks found in the transcription table.

For rights of publication of illustrations we are grateful to Ashmolean Museum, A Turizm Yayınları & Friends of Gaziantep Museum, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, British Library and Mr Jørgen Strüwing, Copenhagen.

Finally, we are grateful to Brill Academic Publishers and Professor Suzanne Stetkevych for accepting our work for publication in the series “Brill Studies in Middle Eastern Literatures” and to Professors Stetkevych and J.T.P. de Bruijn for valuable last minute remarks on our manuscript.

Bergen and Uppsala, March 2003
Tomas Hägg and Bo Utas

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The temple of Hera on Samos. Photo 1987: Jørgen Strüwing.
2. Parthenope and Metiokhos. Mosaic from Zeugma-Belkis (ca. AD 200), now in Gaziantep Museum. Photo: Suat Eman. Reproduced from M. Önal, *Mosaics of Zeugma* (Istanbul 2002), p. 55, with the permission of A Turizm Yayınları & Friends of Gaziantep Museum.
3. ‘Adhrā (second woman from the right?) and her sisters in misfortune tell their life stories to the Greek merchant Hiranqālīs. Persian miniature from *Dārāb-nāmāh* manuscript (Brit.Mus. Or. 4615, 16th cent. AD, fol. 59b). Reproduced with the permission of British Library.
4. Ostrakon fragment with passage from *Metiokhos and Parthenope* (Tait, *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library* No. 2175 = Bodl. Gk. Inscr. 2722, early 1st cent. AD?). Reproduced with the permission of Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.
5. Papyrus fragment with passage from *Metiokhos and Parthenope* (PMich 3402 verso, 3rd cent. AD). Reproduced with the permission of the Papyrology Collection, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, The University of Michigan.
6. Facsimile page from the Persian manuscript fragment of ‘Unşurī’s *Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā* (early 12th cent. AD?). After Shafī 1967, Pl. 2.

ILLUSTRATIONS 1-6

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Fig. 1. The temple of Hera on Samos. Photo 1987: Jørgen Strüwing.



Fig. 2. Parthenope and Metiokhos. Mosaic from Zeugma-Belkis (ca. AD 200), now in Gaziantep Museum. Photo: Suat Eman. Reproduced from M. Önal, *Mosaics of Zeugma* (Istanbul 2002), p. 55, with the permission of A Turizm Yayınları & Friends of Gaziantep Museum.

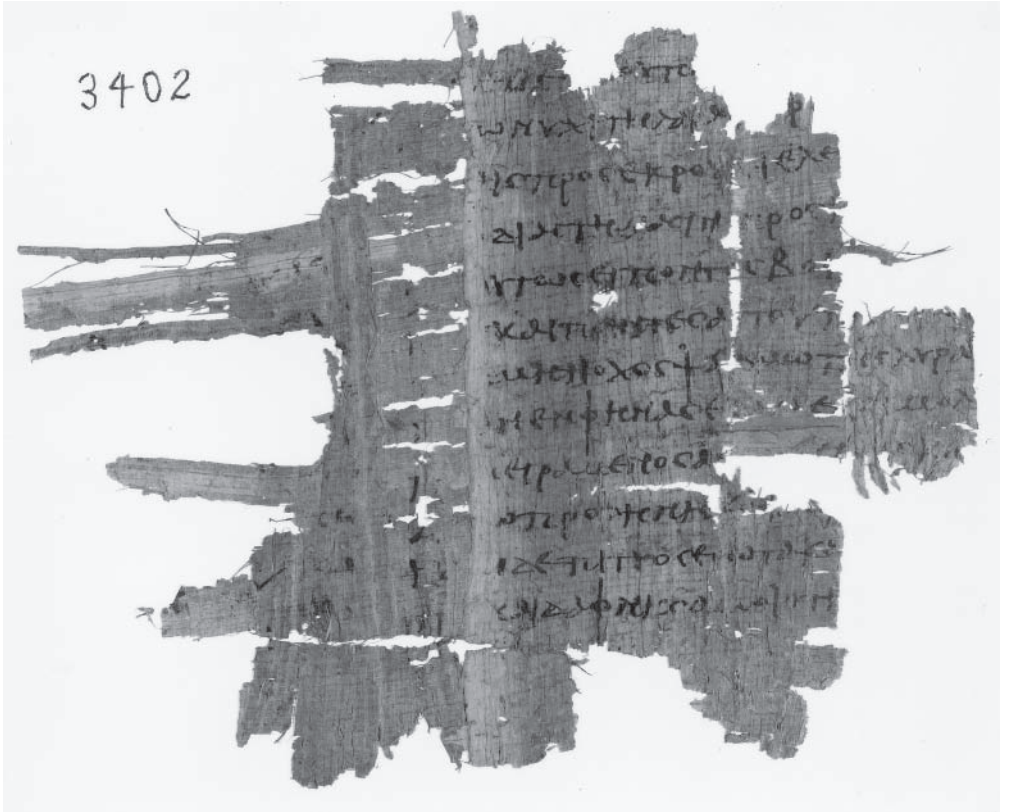


Fig. 5. Papyrus fragment with passage from *Metiokhos and Parthenope* (PMich 3402 verso, 3rd cent. AD). Reproduced with the permission of the Papyrology Collection, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, The University of Michigan.

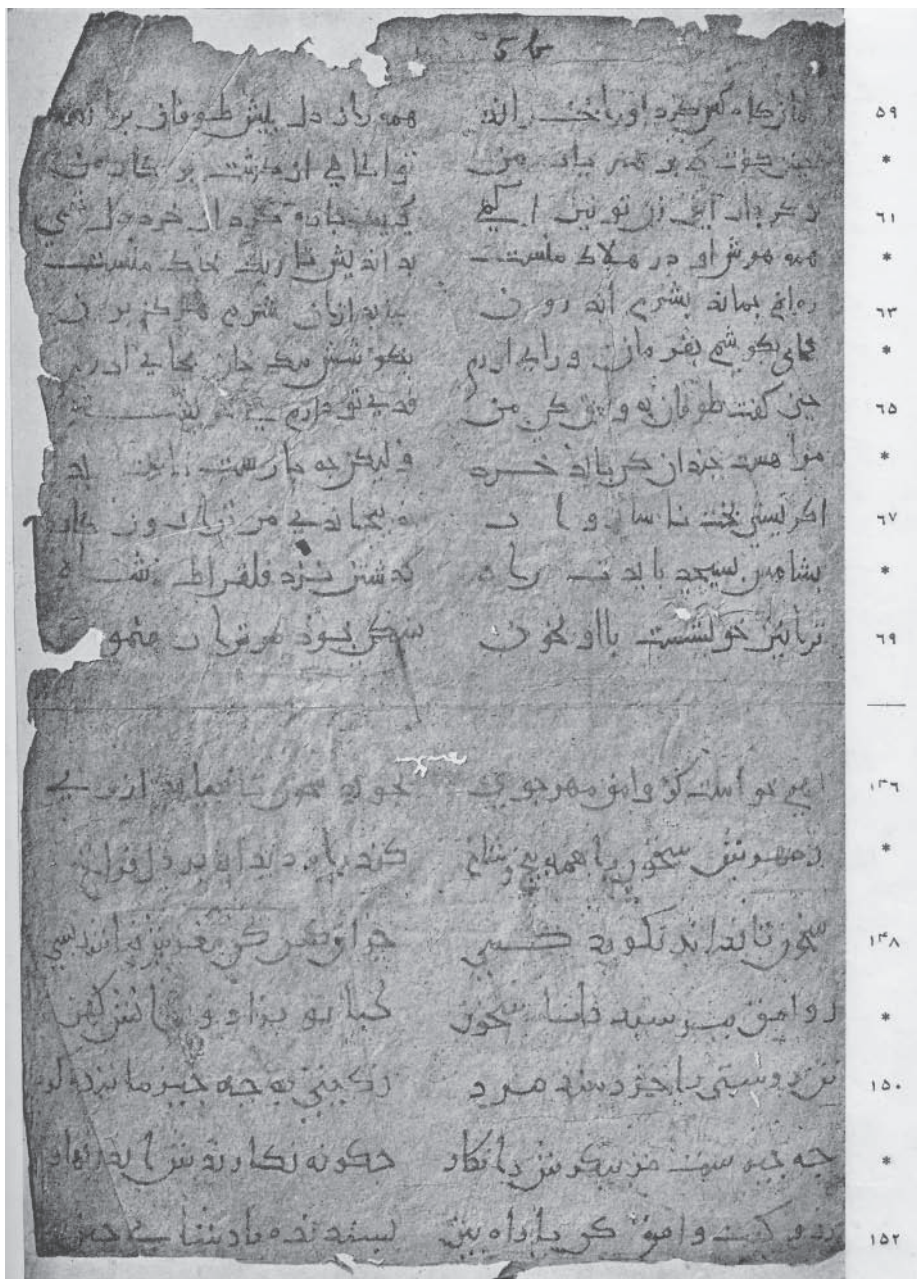


Fig. 6. Facsimile page from the Persian manuscript fragment of 'Unşuri's *Vāmiq and Adhrā* (early 12th cent. AD?). After Shafi 1967, Pl. 2.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The ancient Greek novel of *Mētiokhos kai Parthenopē* (hereafter: *M&P*)—its original title may have been just *Parthenopē*¹—was, to all appearances, one of the very first prose novels in Western literary tradition, perhaps written as early as the first century BC.² Of the original Greek text only little has survived, primarily in a major papyrus fragment of the second century AD; in addition, references to it in Greek literature of the Roman period and the depiction of its protagonists in a couple of mosaics of ca. AD 200 confirm that it continued being read and appreciated several hundred years after it was composed.³ Yet, this was only the beginning of its remarkably long and widespread literary afterlife, as has recently become evident by the appearance of a large manuscript fragment of the Persian verse epic *Vāmiq u 'Adhrā* (hereafter: *V&A*), composed by the court poet 'Unṣurī in the eleventh century AD. Comparison between the Greek and Persian fragments shows beyond doubt that 'Unṣurī, by whatever intermediaries, constructed his epic with the thousand-year old Greek novel as his model; and 'Unṣurī's work, in turn, is just an early instance of a rich tradition of stories about *The Lover and the Virgin* in Muslim literature. The original author, whose name we do not know, had obviously created a plot of exceptional attraction and adaptability.

¹ See Hägg 1987:182 n. 1. Since the present study focuses on the afterlife of the novel, we refer to it by the double name *M&P* by which it was no doubt traditionally known. For detailed discussion of the various forms and specimens of the ancient Greek genre of the novel, see Schmeling (ed.) 1996; for shorter introductions to the genre, see Hägg 1983, Morgan & Stoneman (eds.) 1994, and Holzberg 1995.

² Albrecht Dihle, on linguistic and ideological grounds, argued for a date as early as the middle or latter part of the first century BC (Dihle 1978). Others have preferred the first century AD; but Dihle's assessment now seems to be confirmed on paleographical grounds, if Guglielmo Cavallo is correct in dating the *M&P* ostracon (our GF3) in the first decades of the first century AD (Cavallo 1996:29, and Stramaglia 1996:123f.). Cf. below, p. 188.

³ For a concise exposition of the available source material, see Morgan 1998: 3341–3347.

In the present introduction, we shall first describe the scope of our own study, before we turn to the intriguing story of the gradual reappearance of first the Greek novel, then the Persian epic poem, in the last hundred years.

THE PRESENT STUDY

The object of the present study is, first and foremost, to provide a complete critical edition of the primary material, that is, the Greek papyrus fragments (including an ostrakon) and the Persian paper fragment, which with its 380 extant double verses (*abyāt*) is many times larger than the surviving Greek text. In addition, we print the text of 151 isolated double verses quoted in Persian lexical works, which presumably derive from the same epic poem (or another one by ‘Unṣurī in the same metre). (For short, we shall refer to these as “lexical verses”.) The textual material is accompanied by an English translation that aims at literalness rather than elegance, as well as by critical and explanatory notes. This part of our study is meant to provide a basis for further scholarly work; we therefore present the material as clearly and objectively as we can, with a minimum of supplements and subjective interpretation. Since we have a mixed audience in mind—orientalists, classicists, historians of literature and culture—our translations and explanations attempt to compensate, as far as this is feasible, for direct access to the primary texts in their original languages. What seems trivial to one group of users may be indispensable to another.

Our second object has been to search the surrounding literary (and artistic) context for supplementary material directly pertaining to each of the two compositions, the novel and the epic poem. The testimonia proper for *M&P* are limited in number and have been collected and studied earlier (but not as fully presented as here), whereas the corresponding Persian material offers greater challenges and has more diffuse contours, as will be explained more in detail below. To claim completeness in that area would be foolish. We have limited our presentation mainly to testimonia that may be attributed with some probability to our texts by the appearance of a proper name (of a person or a place), a peculiar motif or a specific combination of motifs, or (in the case of *V&A*) a specific metre, leaving aside, at this stage, items more loosely attributable to them.

It is obvious, once the popularity of *M&P* over the centuries has been established as a fact, that it may have influenced numerous narrative works in Graeco-Roman and Christian literature (later novels, apocryphal acts of apostles, hagiography) as well as original compositions in Coptic, Syriac, Arabic and other Oriental languages (*The Thousand and One Nights*, etc.). Likewise, the reception history of *V&A* will of course not have been limited to works exhibiting the same (or just homonymous) hero and heroine. Given the fragmentary state of our primary sources, extensive reading of such literature might well yield further clues to the reconstruction of the two works; but we have deliberately restricted ourselves to the less speculative connections.

On the other hand, it seemed important, at this stage, to probe as far as possible into the history of the text between its Greek original version and the extant Persian poem. By what intermediaries—if any—did the story arrive at the court of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna and its poet laureate? Did it pass through an Arabic version, and perhaps also a Syriac and/or Pahlavi stage? Or does the fact that so much of the Greek story and environment remain recognizable in the New Persian text—and, specifically, that many Greek proper names have undergone only a superficial transformation—rather suggest that ‘Unṣurī was somehow able to read the Greek text for himself? If so, it remains to make sense of the various references in Arabic and Persian sources about a story of *The Lover and the Virgin* in the centuries preceding ‘Unṣurī. These complex problems have to be tackled from the other end as well: how far and in what contexts can we follow the Greek text on its way into late antiquity? The whole discussion, apart from shedding light on the Oriental reception of Greek texts generally, is also relevant for the sifting of Greek from Persian in the epic. To decide what may have been there in the original of the main plot, the inset stories, the motifs, the characterization, and the descriptive details, one needs to have formed an opinion about the number, date and nature of potential intermediary stages.

Finally, we attempt to reconstruct the plots of the Greek novel and the Persian epic poem, using the fragments, the testimonia and the insights gained about the transformations the text may have undergone in between. The tentative nature of such an undertaking will be obvious to everyone. In our short concluding chapter, “Problems and challenges”, we point out loose ends and remaining problems.

What we present in this book is, hopefully, only the basis and beginning of a scholarly exchange about the fascinating story of the virgin and her lover, an exchange that will need the participation of experts in several different fields.

THE MODERN RECOVERY OF *METIOKHOS AND PARTHENOPE*

In 1895, Fritz Krebs reported that in a collection of Coptic, Greek and Arabic manuscripts acquired in the previous year by the Berlin Museum he had found a fragmentary Greek text in which the names *Mētiokhos* and *Parthenopē* appeared (Krebs 1895). It was written on the back of a papyrus roll that had, on its recto, been used in the Fayyūm in Egypt to document an economic transaction. Combining the evidence provided by the proper names with a comment by the Byzantine scholar Eustathios (12th century) referring to two lovers so named (our testimonium GT1c), Krebs drew the correct conclusion that the fragmentary Berlin text belonged to a love story in literary form. Two colleagues who added an appendix to Krebs' article, Georg Kaibel and Carl Robert, completed the identification: this was a *Romanfragment* (Krebs 1895:148). In spite of the short compass and fragmentary state of the text (only Col. II of our fragment GF1), it was also possible to see that it contained part of a discussion on Eros, though it was mistakenly supposed that there were three interlocutors (it was not realised that *tou xenou* [GF1.69] refers to Metiokhos) and that the argument took place in a school of rhetoric—an idea no doubt inspired by the view then prevailing that the ideal Greek novel itself as a literary genre was a creation of the rhetorical schools of the Early Roman Empire.

The view that the Greek novel was a school product had been argued by Erwin Rohde in his influential *Der griechische Roman* which first appeared in 1876.⁴ Paradoxically, Rohde himself now rejected the identification of the new fragment; in his view, it looked more like part of an erotic dialogue in the manner of the pseudo-Lucianic *Erotos*.⁵ However, after Ulrich Wilcken, in a characteristically insight-

⁴ Rohde 1974; cf. Hägg 1983:104–107, 109.

⁵ Rohde's remark appeared in 1900 in a footnote to the 2nd ed. of his book (= Rohde 1974:569f. n. 2; cf. also 40 n. 1).

ful short note, had demonstrated that both motifs and rhetoric were indeed typical of the Greek novel (Wilcken 1901:264–267), such doubts faded away and the text was firmly placed among the growing number of fragments of lost Greek novels that the sands of Egypt yielded.⁶

As long as only this fragment of *M&P* was known, commentators kept rather close to the lines of interpretation proposed in the first publication and in Wilcken's perceptive analysis. The idea of a school setting, however, was replaced by the suggestion that this conversation on love took place in front of a statue or picture of Eros, as in other novels.⁷ The reading of the text was gradually improved, as skilled papyrologists devoted their attention to it;⁸ many new supplements of its lacunas were suggested; but the true identity of the novel's hero and heroine and the actual location and nature of the scene so enigmatically glimpsed in the fragment remained hidden. The Italian scholar Bruno Lavagnini came closest to the truth when he brought into the same discussion both an ancient scholion specifying that the Parthenope of the love story came from Samos (GT1b) and a reference in Lucian to Polykrates' unnamed daughter who wandered to Persia (GT2b); but he did not make the decisive combinations (Lavagnini [1921b] 1950:85 n. 3).⁹ To his mind, the love story of the papyrus was a local Neapolitan legend, based on the myth of Parthenope the Siren (who was buried and celebrated in Naples) and developed into a novel presumably called *Kampanika* (ibid., 88). So when, in 1922, Lavagnini produced the first collection of the papyrus fragments of Greek novels, *Eroticorum Graecorum fragmenta papyracea*, there had been no real break-through (Lavagnini 1922:21–24).¹⁰

Fresh primary material was needed to solve the riddles. Already in 1909 it had been announced that Wilhelm Schubart had identified

⁶ On the stages in the exploration of the Greek *Romanpapyri*, see Kussl 1991:1–7.

⁷ Eustathios Makrembolites 2.7ff., Longos *prooem.*, Akhilleus Tatios 1.1; cf. Wilcken 1901:266; Garin 1920:170.

⁸ Wilcken 1901:264–265; Wilhelm 1909:134–135; Garin 1920:168–170; Lavagnini 1921a:203–204.

⁹ Perhaps he was prevented from seeing that the two were identical by Pausanias 7.4.11 who speaks of a Samian Parthenope as the daughter of Ankaïos. Kerényi (1927) 1962:59f. n. 60 finds that Lavagnini's hypothesis that the origin of the Greek novel is to be found in local legends, hindered him from a correct assessment of the sources and testimonia for *M&P*.

¹⁰ The *status quaestionis* is well summed up in Rattenbury 1933:237–240.

another fragment of the same novel in the Berlin Museum.¹¹ It was not until 1933, however, that it was published by Franz Zimmermann.¹² Though acquired in Egypt two years later than the other fragment, it had belonged to the same papyrus roll; it was more mutilated, however, and contained only 12 lines at all readable. Again the text conveyed part of a discussion, it appeared, now between two men. Some talk about “marriage” and a “father’s contempt” confirmed the attribution of the whole papyrus to a novel. Most importantly, one of the speakers addresses a king—who is evidently Parthenopē’s father! No further certain information could be extracted, however; though Zimmermann suspected that the letters *Kherro*[(GF1.3)] should be supplemented *Kherro*[*nēsītēs*], “a man from the Khersonesos” (in Thrace), he did not see the possible connection with Metiokhos. Moreover, since he could detect no physical join between the two fragments, he decided their sequence simply from their supposed contents. The new fragment was placed after the old one—wrongly, as would emerge only some forty years later when a third Berlin piece was added to the jig-saw puzzle.

Meanwhile, Zimmermann had attributed to *M&P* one more papyrus fragment, this time from Oxyrhynchus, which its original publishers (in 1903) had thought belonged to an unknown historical work (our GF2).¹³ The little damaged scrap described a scene on the island of Kerkyra (Corfu); again, the word “marriage”¹⁴ and what could be supplemented to form the name *Parthenopē* (alternatively, *parthenos* “young girl, virgin”) indicated to what genre and what work it might have belonged. Zimmermann suggested that while the rhetorical scene of the Berlin papyrus was close to the beginning of the novel, the new fragment testified to a later stage in the plot, perhaps near the end, and to the travel motif characteristic of the Greek novels. This was the state of affairs, then, that was codified in the new collec-

¹¹ Wilhelm 1909:135.

¹² Zimmermann 1933a, with additional comments and supplements in Zimmermann 1935b. The same scholar also published further textual and interpretative notes on the larger fragment (1933b, 1935c) and a translation of both fragments in boldly supplemented form (1935a).

¹³ Zimmermann 1935d. Some scholars before Zimmermann had already suggested that this was a novel fragment (refs. in Zimmermann 1935d, 194 n. 4), but the supplement *Parthe*[*nop*]ēs and thus the ascription to *M&P* were his.

¹⁴ Kussl 1991:165 n. 1 lists those who prior to Zimmermann, on account of the word *gamos*, suspected that this fragment belonged to a novel.

tion of *Griechische Roman-Papyri* that Zimmermann himself published in 1936 (Zimmermann 1936:52–63).¹⁵ This work, it may be added, with its extreme (but seemingly solidly founded) supplementation of the lacunar texts, was proven massively wrong by later finds¹⁶ and deserves to survive as a warning to overconfident editors of literary papyri.

In the same year, as it happened, Princeton University excavations of a villa at Daphne (Harbie) outside Antioch-on-the-Orontes in Syria had uncovered splendid floor mosaics, one of which, dated around AD 200, depicted two standing figures, a woman addressing a man; over their heads were written the names *Parthenopē* and *Mētiokhos* (our testimonium MOS1).¹⁷ Later, another mosaic (in two pieces) showing the same couple, now sitting with their backs turned to each other, appeared in an American art collection without indication of its provenance (MOS2). (Excavations in the 1990s at the twin towns of Zeugma on the upper reaches of the Euphrates were to unearth the Roman villa from which the two pieces had been robbed, also revealing that the couple was depicted sitting on a couch.)¹⁸ That both mosaics illustrated the novel of *M&P*—or possibly a theatrical adaptation of the story—was evident thanks to the added proper names, but the scenes depicted did not clearly coincide with any extant in the textual fragments, and the mosaics gave no further clues as to the identity of the hero and heroine or to the chronological and geographical location of the plot.

The breakthrough finally came in 1974 when Herwig Maehler, at the international papyrological congress in Oxford, made public his

¹⁵ The attribution of the Kerkyra fragment to *M&P* did not command general assent, cf. Lavagnini 1950:222–224 and Ziegler, *RE* 18:2b (1949), 1935f.; more recently also Maehler 1976:4 n. 13 and (less categorical) Stephens & Winkler 1995:95f.; but it is again defended by Kussl 1991:165–167. Cf. below, pp. 21 and 37.

¹⁶ In GF1.13–21, where the new fragment published by Maehler 1976 added some 12–20 letters to each line, not a single one of Zimmermann's supplements proved to be correct. In GF1.66–71, where previously only 4–5 letters were missing at the beginning of each line, the new fragment confirmed two old supplements (taken over from Kaibel-Robert by Zimmermann) but proved the remaining four (by Zimmermann himself) to have been wrong. In consequence, Zimmermann's translation (1935a:298) of his "Fragment B" (= GF1.1–21), presented without reservations, is largely a figment of his imagination. Kussl 1991:4 n. 19 lists contemporary critical assessments of Zimmermann's collection.

¹⁷ See Levi 1944, and, for further references, Maehler 1976:1 n. 4, and below, Ch. IIc.

¹⁸ See Campbell, Ergeç & Csapo 1998:121–128 and below, p. 61.

discovery that a third Berlin fragment fitted in between the two fragments previously known, if only these were combined in the reverse order (Maehler 1976).¹⁹ The result was a continuous, though still partly fragmentary, text of 71 lines (GF1). Several lines of the old fragments now appeared in a more complete form, others were entirely new,²⁰ and, most importantly, three more proper names could be read: *Hēgēsipyilē*, *Polykratēs* and *Anaximēnēs*. It became evident that the discussion on Eros took place not in a school-room or before a painting, but at a symposium on the island of Samos, at the court of its celebrated sixth-century tyrant, Polykrates, and with the philosopher Anaximenes of Miletos acting as symposiarch; so this was an historical novel, like Khariton's *Khaireas and Kallirhoe*. Furthermore, Parthenope turned out to be the daughter (anonymous in our historical sources) of "king" Polykrates himself. Metiokhos, in turn, could be identified as the son of the famous Athenian general Miltiades, who had assumed rulership over the Thracian Khersonesos and remarried with a Thracian princess, Hegesipyle; it was as a fugitive from there that the young man appeared on Samos, and the love story could begin.

Maehler was also the first to exploit fully the external literary evidence for the novel. He realised that Parthenope, while a traditional name on Samos (Pausanias 7.4.1), might have been chosen by the novelist also as a significant name—suggesting virginity—for Polykrates' anonymous daughter who, according to Herodotos (3.124), had agreed to remain unmarried for a long time if her father returned safely from a dangerous mission (GT3a). Metiokhos the stepson, too, was a motif whose kernel is found in Herodotos (6.39–41; GT3b). Moreover, following other testimonia (GT1), Maehler suggested that the novelist had his Parthenope travelling both westward, to the tyrant Anaxilaos of Rhegion and to Campania (Dionysios Periegetes 358 with scholia), and eastward, to the Persian king (Lucian, *Salt.* 54), presumably searching for Metiokhos, while defending her virginity

¹⁹ The discovery was no doubt delayed by the fact that the fragments were physically separated: the new fragment had landed in Ägyptisches Museum in West Berlin, while the old ones had remained in the museum in East Berlin (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).

²⁰ Using the present numbering of columns and lines, the new fragment supplied the left half to three-quarters of what remains of lines 13–21 and the whole of what remains of lines 22–33 in Column I, as well as the first 3–4 letters of lines 66–71 in Column II.

against many men. He also tried to explain the fact that Metiokhos is called “the Phrygian” or “from Phrygia” in some testimonia; this indicated, he suggested, that the novelist had also followed Herodotos in letting Metiokhos be expelled from the Khersonesos together with his father Miliadiades, due to some internal political upheaval, and flee first to Asia Minor, before arriving at Samos “from Phrygia”.

This last speculation could have been prevented, and much positive information added, had Maehler known about the Persian fragment of *V&A* that had already been published in Pakistan in 1967 (or even just the summary in a London publication of 1957).²¹ Still, his reconstruction from the available Greek material was a brilliant achievement, and it promoted *M&P* to one of the most interesting and important of the fragmentarily surviving Greek novels, on a par with the *Ninos Romance* and the (then) newly discovered *Phoinikika*.

The new reconstruction led to further research and discoveries. Albrecht Dihle both contributed to the textual criticism of the Berlin papyrus and, on the basis of lexical, grammatical and stylistic features of the text, dated the novel in the late Hellenistic period (Dihle 1978). Michael Gronewald revisited an ostrakon—an inscribed potsherd—which its first publishers had described as a “literary text of uncertain character” (Tait & Préaux 1955:388), and found that the names *Parthenopē* and *Mētiokhos* could be easily read there (Gronewald 1977); in the short text, which Gronewald suggested was a letter from the novel, Metiokhos complained to his beloved about how he missed her (GF3). Furthermore, in an article called “The *Parthenope Romance* decapitated?”, Tomas Hägg advanced the hypothesis that what had been known as the *Martyrdom of St Bartānūbā* was in fact partly built on *M&P*. As long as this martyrdom of a young Christian girl who takes her own life rather than losing her virginity was known only in Arabic, other Greek names had been suggested as corresponding to *Bartānūbā*: *Prōtonikē*, *Partheneia*; the one scholar who, in an unexpected context, had suggested *Parthenopē* was not heard, at least not by people conversant with Greek novel fragments. But with the appearance of a Coptic fragment of the martyrdom and René-Georges Coquin’s publication of the whole textual material (Coquin

²¹ In Shafi 1957:161 it is concluded that the heroine of the Persian novel “is a daughter of . . . Polycrates son of Aeaces, the tyrant of Samos . . .”.

1981), it was clear that *Parthenopē* was indeed the underlying name. With this as his point of departure, Hägg then tried to show how the novelistic motifs that, in a more or less veiled form, appeared in the martyrdom could be tentatively combined with the Greek fragments and testimonia of *M&P* to constitute a plot resembling that typical of the early Greek novel. Much, of course, had to remain purely speculative; the martyrdom could be expected to have utilised only selected parts of the novel.

In a postscript to his article, however, Hägg could announce “the surprising discovery that Metiokhos and Parthenope did in fact enjoy a prosperous *Nachleben* in the east right through the middle ages” (Hägg 1984:83). A retrospect will give the background for this discovery.

THE REAPPEARANCE OF *VĀMIQ* AND *‘ADHRĀ*

The Greek themes that once must have been current in the Near East did not fare well in Muslim literatures, be they Arabic, Persian or Turkish. On the whole, it is rare to find indisputable traces of Greek motifs in these literatures.²² Reasons may vary, but it is obvious both that Greek names were easily distorted and even made unrecognisable in Arabic writing, and that certain plots, especially love stories, were alien to the Islamic ethos that soon became dominant also in literary enterprises. (Greek medical, scientific and philosophic works are, of course, another matter.) One of the few instances of Greek stories referred to in Classical Persian literature is the romance of *Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā*, “the ardent lover and the virgin”. Already the anonymous twelfth-century Persian compilation *Mujmal at-tavārīkh va’l-qīṣaṣ* (“Summary of the histories and the stories”) notes that the story of *V&A* took place in ancient Greece (*yūnān-zamīn*) at the time of Dārā b. Dārāb (i.e., Darius son of Darius, the last Akhaemenian emperor, alleged half-brother of Alexander) or that of his father.²³ Similarly, the fourteenth-century Persian *Tārīkh-i guzīdah* (“Selected history”) of Ḥamdu’llāh Mustaufī mentions *Vāmiq* and *‘Adhrā* as two lovers contemporary with Alexander the Great.²⁴

²² Cf. Hägg 1986 with further refs.

²³ Quoted after Tarbiyat 1310/1931:520.

²⁴ Ed. Browne 1910–13, I:100.

As a matter of fact, a number of Persian verse romances with the title of *V&A* were known and referred to in literary-historical works, the oldest being a seemingly lost work by the Ghaznavid court poet Abu'l-Qāsim 'Unṣurī (AD c. 970–c. 1040). However, little was made of the possible Greek background of the story until around 1930. A first guess in this direction is found in an entry by V.F. Büchner on 'Unṣurī in the first edition of the *Enzyklopaedie des Islams*,²⁵ where it is remarked that the theme of his lost poem *Vāmiq u 'Adhrā* is obviously the final union of two lovers after all kinds of obstacles, which is “das Hauptthema der hellenistischen Romane der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte” (“the main theme of the Hellenistic novels of the first centuries of the Christian era”) and that such a novel could be the original source of Persian romances like this.²⁶ Simultaneously, the great Russian Iranist E.Ė. Bertel's turned his attention to the epic poems of 'Unṣurī, as witnessed by his article “Stil' ëpicheskih poëm Unsuri” (“Style of the epic poems by 'Unṣurī”, Bertel's 1929). In that context he did not comment upon the origin of *V&A*; but in his somewhat later “History of Persian-Tajik literature” (written in the 40s, but not published until 1960), he makes a number of interesting remarks on possible relations between Greek romances and Persian epics (Bertel's 1960:239, 313–316). Among other observations, he points to the fact that both the Greek and the 'Oriental' romantic stories have the names of two lovers as their title and that the Greek novels have plots related to the East. He continues (Bertel's 1960:239f.):

If one also remembers that, when the ancient Greek authors still were not even thinking of novels, the Sakas and the Massagetae, according to the testimony of the historians, already created epic stories of a 'romantic' character, then from all this it is possible to draw two important conclusions. The first of those would be that the Greeks, coming in contact with East Iranian tribes, borrowed from them the idea of a 'romantic' poem and created their novel, broadly using, of course, themes familiar to themselves. The second would be that the idea of an epic poem praising two lovers does not appear with Firdausī but was created by East Iranian tribes at least fifteen hundred years before Firdausī.

²⁵ Vol. IV, 1924–34:1107–1108.

²⁶ Ibid. 1108.

This is an interesting note worthy of serious attention, since it was written by a leading expert on Iranian literature. It is strangely vague, however. The “testimony of the historians” showing that “the Sakas and the Massagetae . . . created epic stories of a ‘romantic’ character” is left unidentified. Perhaps Bertel’s just thought of the story of Zariadres and Odatis which, according to Khares of Mytilene as recorded by Athenaios (13.575; third century AD), was highly appreciated by the Iranians in the time of Alexander the Great. Zariadres was supposedly a Median prince and Odatis a Scythian (i.e., in a way, Saka) princess. This certainly points to the early existence of romantic epics among the Iranians, while the idea of an early Greek borrowing remains highly speculative.

In 1935, another Russian scholar, K.A. Chajkin, had also suggested Greek parallels (Chajkin 1935:41–52). About the same time, the Iranian scholar M.‘A. Tarbiyat published a comprehensive article on *V&A* in the journal *Armaghān* (Tarbiyat 1310/1931). There he discussed various possible sources for the story and adduced nineteen verses ascribed to ‘Unṣurī found as citations (*shavāhid*) in old dictionaries, containing obviously Greek names, e.g. *Karūnīs* (the native place of Vāmiq), *Makdhīṭīs* (the father of Vāmiq), *Afranjah* (the native place of the mother of ‘Adhrā) and *Afrāṭish* (the father of ‘Adhrā’s mother).²⁷ He concluded that these verses must derive from ‘Unṣurī’s epic poem *V&A* and that the story it tells must have a Greek origin.

The article by Tarbiyat was also important for listing and describing no less than fifteen epic poems in Persian and Turkish entitled *V&A*, following in time after that of ‘Unṣurī. As Tarbiyat showed, the stories of all these poems are virtually different, giving no clue to what could have been the original plot, if there ever was one. However, the analysis of the Greek elements in the testimonial verses continued. In 1948, with the help of a Classical philologist, Clemens Bosch, the renowned German Orientalist Hellmut Ritter, in a review of an edition of the collected poems (*ḍivān*) of ‘Unṣurī by Yaḥyā Qarīb (Tehran 1323/1945), published an analysis of twenty-four lexical verses containing some thirty names of more or less obvious Greek origin. He concluded, without hesitation, “dass ‘Unṣurī’s epos Wāmiq u ‘Adhrā auf einen hellenistischen abenteuer- und liebesro-

²⁷ Tarbiyat 1310/1931:522–524; our vowelised reading of these names is only tentative; see below (pp. 184–187) for an analysis of them.

man zurückgeht” (“that ‘Unṣurī’s epic Wāmiq und ‘Adhrā is based on a Hellenistic novel of adventure and love”; Ritter 1948:139).

In spite of all these efforts, it proved difficult on the basis of lexical quotations alone to draw any precise conclusions regarding the type of Greek background this epic could have had. Quite unexpectedly, however, a substantial part of the poem by ‘Unṣurī came to light. Some time around 1950 the Pakistani scholar Mohammad Shafi made an exciting discovery. Glued as stiffening into the binding of an old theological handbook in Arabic, *al-Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar min Kitāb al-waqf*, he found some re-used book leaves. On them some lines of Persian poetry were visible, including the name ‘Adhrā. When he had the leaves taken out and separated, they proved to contain a sizable fragment of a Persian poem about the loving couple Wāmiq and ‘Adhrā. A check against the lexical verses extant in the old dictionary *Lughat-i furs* of Asadī (11th century AD) showed that this was actually a part of the poem by ‘Unṣurī which had not been seen by anyone for centuries. And it was an old manuscript at that. The theological work hosting these leaves was copied and obviously also bound already in 526 AH (i.e. AD 1132), constituting a *terminus ante quem* for the ‘Unṣurī manuscript. This *Wāmiq u ‘Adhrā* was thus copied less than a century after the death of the poet.

Mohammad Shafi announced his important discovery at the Twenty-Third International Congress of Orientalists, held at Cambridge in August, 1954.²⁸ During the last years of his life Shafi worked eagerly on a comprehensive publication of this material. Unfortunately, his death in 1963 prevented him from finishing this task. However, his son, Ahmad Rabbani, saw to it that his father’s work was made available in print in 1967. The edition appeared with the Panjab University Press (Shafi 1967) and included extensive introductions in Urdu and Persian, with an abridgement in English. It is to be regretted that the Persian introduction was never completed by Shafi himself, but was supplemented by the editor(s) through translation from the Urdu introduction; it is partly confused and repetitive.

Still, Shafi’s book remains an important publication. It contains photographs of all the recovered fragments, Shafi’s reading of the

²⁸ Cf. the announcement printed in the Proceedings of the congress (Shafi 1957). It is fascinating to learn that Bertel’s himself was the chairman of the session, and Bertel’s and Ritter participated in the discussion. Unfortunately, however, the contents of their discussion are not reported.

372 more or less complete double verses (*abyāt*) he found in them, and a list of 143 lexical verses in the metre *mutaqārib*²⁹ ascribed to ‘Unṣurī. Furthermore, Shafi turns our attention to a short but elucidating recapitulation of the story of *V&A* found in a Persian work called *Dārāb-nāmah* ascribed to a certain Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarsūsī³⁰ and possibly written already in the twelfth century AD. This is a collection of legendary narratives concerning the last Akhaemenid emperor Darius III and his alleged half-brother Alexander the Great (see further below, pp. 144–149). Following Tarbiyat, Shafi also lists the various epics in Persian, Turkish and Kashmiri known under the title of *V&A* and describes the contents of seven of them in detail. His conclusion is the same as that of Tarbiyat: they all tell completely different stories, and the original version, that of ‘Unṣurī, seems to have been lost already in the fourteenth century AD. Thus ‘Abd ur-Raḥmān Jāmī, in his *Bahāristān* composed in 897 AH/1491 AD, asserts that he has seen no trace of it.³¹

After this publication there existed for the first time in our age a possibility of assessing the Greek character of the Persian story. The posthumous book by Shafi really made the necessary material available, even in English. The English introduction, albeit an abridgement of the Urdu one, told enough to make an identification with *M&P* possible. There was even a map of the Greek archipelago on the flyleaves of the book to help the associations of the reader. As we shall see, that map was to be the immediate reason for the present authors’ discovery that the Persian *V&A* really told the same story as the Greek *M&P*.

Unfortunately, the work of Shafi on the rediscovered ‘Unṣurī fragment did not receive the attention one could have expected. This was the case even in Iran, in spite of the fact that the influential literary historian Muḥammad Ja‘far Maḥjūb already in 1967–68 published two extensive articles on the subject in the journal *Sukhan* (Maḥjūb 1347/1967–68). Maḥjūb carefully recapitulates vital parts of Shafi’s book, only adding some further material on later epics with the title *V&A* (twenty of them by then); but still in 1993–94

²⁹ A quantitative metre on the pattern ◡---◡---◡---◡--- for each half-verse; in the epic genre the half-verses rhyme internally according to the pattern *a, a; b, b; c, c; . . .* (so called *mathnavī* form); cf. below, p. 79.

³⁰ Or Ṭartūsī or Ṭūsī; cf. *ET*² I:152.

³¹ Shafi 1967: Pers. introd. 9.

Iqbāl Yaghmā'ī, in a study on “Love stories in Persian literature”, could maintain that “only scattered verses of this work have remained” (Yaghmā'ī 1373/1993–94:93).

True to its Russian traditions, Soviet philological scholarship, on the other hand, was always careful about bibliography. Shafi's book was reviewed, very positively, by V.A. Sakhranov in *Narody Azii i Afriki*,³² and a Georgian scholar, Inga Kaladze, utilised the book thoroughly in a monograph published in Tbilisi in 1983, entitled *Epicheskoie nasledie Unsuri* (“The epic heritage of ‘Unšurī’”; Kaladze 1983). This work was the most advanced attempt so far at summarizing our rather scanty knowledge about the epic works of ‘Unšurī and, consequently, about the most original version of *V&A* in Persian. We are not directly concerned here with ‘Unšurī's two other epic poems, *Shādbahr u 'Ain ul-hayāt* and *Khing-but u Surkh-but*, although they probably share the same obscure *Überlieferungsgeschichte* as *V&A* (cf. below, pp. 196–199). In her book, Kaladze does not add anything to the textual basis of the study of *V&A*. She just reproduces in facsimile the 372 verses as read by Shafi and lists as well the same 143 lexical verses as Shafi; but she adds a number of interesting identifications and interpretations in the comments to her Russian translation of all the 415 available verses of ‘Unšurī's *V&A*.

Kaladze (1983:30–40) also makes a valiant attempt at defining the Greek sources of *V&A*, but her results are inconclusive: the origin must be a still unknown Hellenistic romance occupying an intermediary position between the works of Khariton and Akhilleus Tatios. She even weighs (ibid. 37–39) the possibility of *M&P* being the model, as apparently suggested by V.A. Sakhranov in 1973,³³ but unaware of Maehler's (1976) new reconstruction of the plot of *M&P*, she rejects the connection between *V&A* and *M&P*, because she finds the idea presented in the Persian epic of the two forms of Eros, the youth and the old man, irreconcilable with the corresponding discussion in *M&P*.

For the next stage in this history of discovery we shall move to Turkey. The Turkish version of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam, İslam Ansiklopedisi*, has one entry on ‘Unšurī (publ. in 1979) and one on

³² 1971:1, pp. 218–219.

³³ “Persidskaja versija grecheskogo romana”, *Internacional'noe i nacional'noe v literaturakh Vostoka*, Moscow 1973 (not available to the present authors).

Vāmik ve Azrā (publ. in 1982), both written or finalised by Nazif Şahinoğlu. Both go into detail as regards *V&A*, using especially Shafi (1967) and Maḥjūb (1347/1967–68) as sources. In the entry of 1982, however, the number of known *V&A* poems had grown to 24; but the discussion of possible Greek origins still provided the same vague references as before.

THE CONJUNCTION OF *M&P* WITH *V&A*

The decisive step was taken in Uppsala in the autumn of 1983, when the authors of the present volume happened to be discussing possible Greek themes in Islamic literature and, in particular, the possibility that the ancient Greek novels might have had some kind of Oriental afterlife, comparable to the influence the genre exerted in twelfth-century Byzantium and in Western Europe during the Renaissance and the Baroque period (Hägg's *The Novel in Antiquity*, in which this Western *Nachleben* is described, had just appeared). Utas happened to own a copy of Shafi's book, acquired in 1969, and remembered the map of the Aegean displayed inside its covers. So, through a happy coincidence, presumably not an uncommon event in the two-thousand-year survival history of *M&P/V&A*, the Oriental and Greek traditions met again.

We immediately agreed to work together towards a joint publication of all the available material. However, while the main Greek fragments were available in reliable editions, it soon appeared that much more philological groundwork had to be done on the Persian material, and more difficult problems solved, before the reconstruction work proper could begin. The appearance of Kaladze's book (which we obtained in the summer of 1984) did not change this situation. As published by Shafi, the Persian fragment consists of twelve more or less complete leaves with space for eleven verses on each side, thus looking like half-size pages glued together in various ways. The difficulty is that, with regard to the coherence of the text, the two sides as given in Shafi's photographs do not always seem to match (it is perhaps of relevance that Shafi himself did not live to supervise the production of his book). This circumstance, combined with the fact that the photos are at times only barely readable or even unreadable (cf. Shafi 1967: Pers. introd. 2), would make a renewed study of the original manuscript fragment desirable. Repeated

attempts by Utas, through the years, to gain access to these twelve leaves have unfortunately been in vain. The reasons are not quite clear, but it appears that the private collection of Professor Shafi, after his son Ahmad Rabbani also passed away, is the object of legal proceedings and locked up by the court of law. The vicissitudes of this long-lived story are obviously not yet over.

Meanwhile, both of us separately published preliminary studies based on the comparison of the available fragments of the novel and the epic poem. Hägg in 1985 discussed the historicity of *M&P* and was able to add to the material available to Maehler (1976) some new historical figures whose names are more or less securely to be read in the Persian fragment and testimonial verses: Ibykos the poet, Maiandrios (Polykrates' secretary) and Syloson (Polykrates' brother), who in turn ruled Samos after the great tyrant's death, and perhaps Nanis, the daughter of Kroisos, who might figure as Parthenope's mother in the novel. Thereby, it was maintained, "the story is more consistently and diligently put into a coherent historical framework—Polykrates, Maeandrius, Syloson—than is any of the ideal Greek novels we previously knew" (Hägg 1985:97). In the same article, the overlapping parts of the Persian and Greek main fragments—the symposium scene with the discussion on Eros—were scrutinised and their striking coincidences and puzzling divergencies pinpointed.

Hägg also published a more general discussion of the Oriental reception of the ancient Greek novels, under three headings: translations, adaptations, and creative borrowing (Hägg 1986). In the first category, *M&P/V&A* was central as the only secure example of a Greek novel of love and adventure that was translated into an Oriental language (the *Alexander Romance* is a different matter), and Hägg tentatively discussed the possible intermediaries between the Greek prose novel and the Persian epic poem (Hägg 1986:106–112). In another article (Hägg 1987), based on a contribution to a London conference in 1986 on "The Greek novel AD 1–1985", he tried to situate *M&P* typologically, comparing it to Khariton's novel and finding that both satisfy the basic criteria for what is today called an "historical novel".

Utas, in his turn, summarised the Persian tradition of *V&A* in an article entitled "Did 'Adhrā remain a virgin?" which appeared in 1986 (Utas 1984–86). There he challenged the prevalent conception of the transmission of the story of Vāmiq and 'Adhrā from a Greek original, possibly through a Syriac intermediary, to an alleged Middle

Persian version that would have been the source of a celebrated but lost poem by the Ghaznavid court poet Abu'l-Qāsim 'Unṣurī (AD c. 970–c. 1040), possibly also preceded by Arabic prose versions by Sahl b. Hārūn ad-Dastmaisānī (d. AD 830), director of the Khizānat al-Ḥikma of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, and the great scholar al-Bērūnī (AD 973–c. 1050). This reconstructed line of transmission was supposed to end in a Turkish poem by the Ottoman poet Maḥmūd Lāmi'ī of the sixteenth century, the only full story of the adventures of our lovers, Vāmiq and 'Adhrā, that was widely known. Only when, through the efforts of Mohammad Shafi, a sizeable part of 'Unṣurī's poem was again available after centuries of oblivion and could be compared to the corresponding Greek fragments, it became possible to scrutinise this reconstruction, and Utas argued that any Syriac or Middle Persian intermediary between the Greek and Persian versions was inconceivable. In fact, parts of 'Unṣurī's poem were found to be almost verbatim translations of corresponding passages in the Greek fragment.

Furthermore, a great number of strange looking names could be traced back to Greek originals, reshaped in Arabic-Persian writing in such a way that they must have been taken directly from some Greek source. A letter-by-letter analysis showed that this was true not only for obvious correspondences, like FLQR'Ṭ for Polykrates and MLDYṬS for Miltiades, but also for seemingly differing forms, like M'ŠQWLY(H) for Hegesipyle, MJYNWS (or MXSNWS) for Anaximenes and RNQDWS (or DYFNWS) for Ibykos.³⁴

The title of the article, "Did 'Adhrā remain a virgin?", referred to the difficulty of reconstructing the whole plot of the epic poem, when existing fragments all belong to the early part of it. As shown by Utas, the short prose version of the adventures of 'Adhrā found in *Dārāb-nāmāh* brings us quite some way further in the plot but leaves us with 'Adhrā still travelling towards unknown destinations in search of her lover. In order to find a solution to this problem Utas turned to the many later poetic stories with the title of *V&A* found in Persian, Turkish and, in one instance, Kashmiri literature—however, on the whole in vain. He found that there is generally no resemblance between the various stories with this title and that they do not seem to have even a scrap of a plot in common.

³⁴ See below, Ch. IIIe, for a complete list of Greek-Persian correspondences.

In an article called “Hermes and the invention of the lyre: An unorthodox version”, Hägg (1989) investigated the story told by Vāmiq in the Persian fragment about the wise man Hurmuz who builds a stringed instrument (*barbat*) from a tortoise shell (PF198–235). Though this story differs significantly from the version told in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* and other classical sources about how the god Hermes constructed the lyre, it could be shown that some of the diverging details do in fact appear in Greek and Roman tradition as well, though hidden in the shadow of the “orthodox” version. This, in turn, means that contrary to what one would believe at first sight, much of this story, as it appears in *V&A*, has a fair chance of being faithfully reproduced from the original, with mostly superficial changes (Hurmuz the man for Hermes the god, etc.). To the overlapping symposium scene was thus added another test case of importance for the history of the text.

Gotthard Strohmaier in 1995 discussed the new findings about *M&P/V&A* and especially the way the story had wandered from Greece to Persia. He proposed a new explanation of the curious fact that three almost identical book titles, among them *Vāmiq u Adhrā*, are credited to both ‘Unşurī and his contemporary al-Bērūnī (see Ch. IV below). In his opinion, al-Bērūnī’s books are most probably Arabic prose versions of ‘Unşurī’s epic poems, with the kind of satirical bent known from other retellings of popular stories by his hand. In that case, al-Bērūnī the potential intermediary and model would turn into the first known reader and critic of *V&A*.

Also in 1995, Utas returned to the question of the *Nachleben* of *V&A*, in particular to the Turkish version of Lāmi‘ī and the German translation and re-use of that version by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. This seventeenth-century poem may be regarded as the most successful of the many Oriental *V&A*’s, not least through the agency of von Hammer. He gave it a prominent place in his influential *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, retelling the whole story with much detail, even giving long passages in verse translation (von Hammer-Purgstall 1836–38, II:45–63). Looking again at this story, Utas reconsidered his previous view that it could have nothing in common with the poem by ‘Unşurī, in spite of the fact that Lāmi‘ī himself in his introduction writes that he has refurbished the old story by ‘Unşurī. By transposing the roles of heroine and hero it becomes, in fact, possible to find many similarities in the set-up of the two stories, at least as far as the ‘Unşurī fragment goes.

Retelling the two stories in parallel and pointing at the possibility of a switch of roles, Utas considered it likely that the poem by Lāmi'ī could be of use in the reconstruction of the original plot. However, the transformations are many and the entanglements numerous and stereotypical, and he found it far from easy to draw any definite conclusions. Utas also called the attention to another work by von Hammer, a small verse romance with the title *Wamik und Asra, das ist der Glühende und die Blühende. Das älteste persische romantische Gedicht, im Fünfteil abgezogen von Joseph v. Hammer* (Vienna 1833), in which the two lovers seem to be used as substitutes for the Orientalist himself and a certain Viennese *Dame du Palais*, Flora von Wrba. The couple is said by the poet (von Hammer) to correspond to Amor and Flora. Also here the lovers are finally transformed into celestial bodies: Virgo and Arcturus.

Basing himself on Hägg's article on "Hermes and the invention of the lyre" (Hägg 1989), Utas also developed the Iranian implications of this story in an article entitled "The invention of the *barbat* according to 'Unsuri's Vamiq-u-'Adhra'". This study was first presented in Dushanbe, Tajikistan in a Russian version (Utas 1989) and then in an enlarged English version in Iran (Utas 1997). Here Utas translated and presented the Persian story of the invention of the instrument called *barbat*, obviously a loan from Greek *barbitos*, and accepted its origin in a conflation of the Greek stories about the god Hermes and the lyre and the invention of the *barbitos* by the Lesbian musician Terpan-dros. Utas suggested that the fact that Hermes is Persianised as Hurmuz instead of the more usual Hurmus might include an association with the old Iranian god Ormuz(d), and that his helper Hazrah-man could simply be a translation of Terpan-dros (Persian 'of pleasing mind' for Greek 'man of delight').

The Greek names that are confirmed in *V&A*, or appear uniquely there and not in the Greek fragments or testimonia of *M&P*, provided new material also for Classical studies. Thus Francesca D'Alfonso (1995–98) used the presence of the name of Anaximenes in *M&P* and the identification of this name (written MXSNWS etc.) and that of Ibykos (written RNQDWS etc.) in *V&A* for a discussion on these figures' possible presence at the court of Polykrates on Samos. She recapitulated the classical testimonia and, combining them with the new evidence, concluded that the likelihood that Ibykos really was present on Samos has been strengthened, while the presence there of Anaximenes remains more enigmatic.

With the long expected appearance, in 1995, of Susan Stephens' and Jack Winkler's collection *Ancient Greek novels: The fragments*, the recent advances in our knowledge about *M&P* were "codified", like the previous stages had been through the corresponding collections of Lavagnini (1922) and Zimmermann (1936). Rolf Kussl's collection of *Papyrusfragmente griechischer Romane* (1991) had not included *M&P*, except for the discussion of one of the potential fragments, the Oxyrhynchus papyrus (GF2); here Kussl (1991:165–167) defended Zimmermann's (1935d) attribution of this fragment to *M&P* (against Maehler 1976:4 n. 13 and other doubters), suggesting, among other things, that the name Demoxenos, which Ritter (1948:138) had identified in one of the lexical quotations from *V&A*, might be supplied in the Greek text. Ruzena Dostálová, in her *Il romanzo greco e i papiri* (1991), likewise made use of the identification of *M&P* with *V&A* in her interpretation of the fragments and reconstruction of the plot (Dostálová 1991:35–41); but her booklet offered no new text or translation.

The generous format of Stephens & Winkler (1995) includes both a critical edition of the text of the fragments (though it is not stated to what extent it rests on new readings of the papyri), a facing English translation, commentary, and a literary analysis. In deliberate contrast to the "exuberant supplementation" in Zimmermann's collection—characterised as "now hopelessly out of date" (Stephens & Winkler 1995:ix)—the present edition is generally more cautious in accepting or suggesting supplements of the lacunae. To be able to take full account of the Persian fragment and testimonia, the editors have had access to an English translation of Kaladze's book (1983) made for the purpose; their quotations from *V&A* are thus English renderings of Kaladze's Russian translation of Shafi's Persian text. The general discussion of the history of the text and the relationship between *M&P* and *V&A* is succinct, well-informed and sensible, but does not present any new conclusions or suggestions of importance.³⁵

Another collection of the fragments, *Fragmentos papiráceos de novela griega*, by María Paz López Martínez (based on her Alicante dissertation of 1993), was published in 1998. Here, readings and supplements

³⁵ A shorter account, largely based on that in Stephens & Winkler 1995, appeared in Stephens 1996:657–660. Other brief discussions are to be found in Sandy 1994:132, 135–137, and (with more consistent use made of *V&A*) Holzberg 1995:48–50.

for the papyri of *M&P* were recorded and attributed more completely than in any of the other collections (López Martínez 1998: 121–144). Another acute and bibliographically detailed account of the *status quaestionis* was made available the same year in John Morgan’s *Forschungsbericht in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (Morgan 1998:3341–3347). But further advance in the study of the original character and the transformations of this novel is clearly dependent on a more complete and reliable presentation of all the textual material at our disposal; the present edition attempts to provide that basis.

In addition, of course, further advance may well come through the recovery of new textual fragments in either language. That this is not merely wishful thinking was demonstrated when, in July 2000, the present writers presented our ongoing publication enterprise in a joint communication to the International Conference on the Ancient Novel at Groningen (ICAN 2000). Jean Alvares then graciously handed over to us, in proof form, his and Timothy Renner’s forthcoming publication of another Greek papyrus fragment that undoubtedly belongs to *M&P*.³⁶ Not only that, it also seems to fit in remarkably well in a lacuna in the principal Persian fragment (see below, GF4). This is, so far, the end of the story.

³⁶ Now published as Alvares & Renner 2001.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GREEK SOURCES

a. THE FRAGMENTS¹ (GF)

The Greek fragments of *M&P* will be presented here, beginning with the most important one, the three Berlin papyrus pieces as combined into one coherent text by Herwig Maehler (GF1). Then follow the Oxyrhynchus papyrus that Franz Zimmermann tentatively attributed to the novel (GF2), the Oxford ostrakon that Michael Gronewald identified (GF3), and the most recent addition, the Michigan papyrus scrap published in 2001 by Jean Alvares and Timothy Renner (GF4). For the history of discovery, see Introduction; for the papyrological details, see Stephens & Winkler 1995:81–100, and López Martínez 1998:121–135; and, for GF4, Alvares & Renner 2001. Our edition is not based on new inspection of the primary material.² Most of the fragments have by now passed under the eyes of several highly qualified papyrologists; thus, renewed scrutiny is not likely to give substantial returns. Our text differs from that of Stephens & Winkler mainly in the supplementation of lacunas, and our critical apparatus is selective.

GF1. *Metiokhos at Polykrates' court*

PBerol 9588+21179+7927 (Pack² 2622). 2nd cent. AD. Zimmermann 1935c (Pl. I: PBerol 7927); Zimmermann 1933a (Pl. p. 55: PBerol 9588); Zimmermann 1936:52–61; Maehler 1976 (Pl. III: PBerol 9588+21179); Dihle 1978; Stephens & Winkler 1995:81–93; Ioannidou 1996:109–111 (Pl. 37: PBerol 21179); López Martínez 1998:121–132.

¹ Dr. Antonio Stramaglia (Cassino) generously shared his time and expertise to read and comment on an earlier version of this section. Though we have not followed his advice on every point, our text, apparatus and translation have improved greatly in precision and readability through his vigilant revision.

² With the exception of a few points in the Berlin papyrus that (on the initiative of Dr. Stramaglia) Prof. Dr. Günter Poethke (Berlin) most kindly checked for us.

Column I [5–6 lines missing]

-] . [..]ολ[.] . [
] τίς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ [
]ασαι; πῶς Χερρο[νησίτης]
 4]ν...κ.ς εἰς γάμον, εἰ μὲν [...]
]...ση καὶ φίλος, εἰ δ’ ἔπηλ[υς]
]...τοῦ πατρὸς ὀλιγορία[...]
]μὲνα διορθώσομαι τὸ λοιπ[όν.]”
 8 κ]αταστήσας εἰς ὑψηλότερον
] . μᾶλλον γένηται τῇ Παρθενό-
 [πη “ὁ μὲν πατήρ,” εἶπεν, “βασιλεῦ, μα-
]γειαι καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δόψαν αὐτῶ
 12 διαν]όησιν· φ[ι]λότεκνος γὰρ ὡς
] τῷτατον [εἰ]ς ἐπιβουλήν θη-
]τα ἀπὸ Θρ[άκ]ης καὶ κατὰ προ-
]α Ἑγησι[πύ]λη τῶν ἑαυτῆς
 16 π]αίδων, οἱ [δι]ὰ νεότητα κτη-
]λειας· ἐμοὶ δὲ ὀχλ[ο]π]όησιν κατ’
] καίπερ ἀνηλέ[ας π]άσχων
] ἀλλ’ ἐμὲ γὰρ τῶ πα[ν]τὶ σ[τά]σιν
 20 ο]ὔδεις αἰτίας ἐπε[.] . [.]εν
] ῥξατο κακῶν ἐπιβουλη[. . .] . [.]
]ν ἐνήδρευεν μεια[.]
] τὸν σὸν οἶκον καὶ τὴν [.]
 24 ὑ]πέ[λ]αβον.” πάντων δὲ τῶ[ν] ε[.]
 θαυ]μασάντων τὸ εὐθαρσὲς καὶ
 τῶν] λόγων ὁ Πολυκράτης ὑπερ
]ν,” ἔφη, “τέκνον, πότου καιρὸς
 28]γειν χρὴ τὰ λυποῦντα μεθη
 α]ὔτονομία χολάζομεν
]ων εἰς τὸν Ἀναξιμένην οἱ
] . . . ἡμῖν,” ἔφη, “σήμερον α-
 32]τ[ο]ν παιδὸς ἥκοντος ἐνω
]μαντεύομαι μοῦσαν, προτι-

Column II

- [θεὸς τ]ῆν φ[ι]λοσόφου ζήτησιν κατὰ τύχην τ[. . . .].”
 [καὶ ἐταράχθ]ησαν οἱ δύο τὰς ψυχὰς λαβ[όν-]
 36 [τεσ τοῦ]ου πάθους ἀνάμνησιν. ἐφο[ινί-]

- [χθη δὲ . . . ὁ] Μητίοχος ὑποτιμησάμεν[ος
 [. εἰ]κότα ἢ μάθῃσιν πρέπουσ[αν
 [. . .]. [διαλέ]ξει. “βωμολόχοι μὲν,” εἶπεν, “α[
 40 [. . ὄ]σοι τῆ[ς ἀλ]ηθοῦς παιδείας ἀμύητοι ἀρχ[αί-]
 [αίς] μυθ[ολο]γίαις ἐπακολουθοῦσι ὡς ἔστ[ιν]
 [ὁ Ἔρ]ως Ἄφρο[δι]τίης υἱὸς κομιδῆ νέος ἔχω[ν]
 [πτερ]ὰ καὶ τῶ [ν]ώτῳ παρηρητημένον τόξον κα[ὶ τῆ]
 44 [χειρὶ] κρατῶν λαμπάδα τούτοις τε τοῖς ὄπλοις ὠ[μῶς]
 [. . . .] *blank* τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν [νέων]
 [τιτρῶ]σκει. γέλωσ δ’ ἂν εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο· πρῶτον μ[ὲν]
 [ἐντεκ]νωθὲν αἰῶσι καὶ ἀφ’ οὗ συνέστῃ[εν]
 48 [. . .]ον χρονοῦν βρέφος μὴ τελειωθῆναι, κ[αὶ]
 [εἰ τὰ ἀ]πὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεννώμενα [ἄμα]
 [τοῖς] χρόνοις τῆ ἡλικίας προβαίνει, τὸν [θείας]
 [μειο]βραμένον φύσεως καθάπερ τοὺς ἀναπ[ήρους]
 52 [ἀεὶ] ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μένειν τὰ πο[. . .].
 [εἴη δ’] ἂν κάκεινο παντελῶς ἀπίθανο[ν, εἰ]
 [βρέφ]ος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἔρως, περινοστειν αὐτ[ὸ]ν ὄ[λ]η[ν] τῆ[ν]
 [οἴκου]μένην, τοξεύειν μὲν τῶν ὑπαντῶν-
 56 των, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθέλη, καὶ πυρπ[ο]λεῖν
 [ῶσ’] ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῶν ἐρώντων ψυχαῖς ἐγγίγνε-
 [σθαι] ἱερὸν πνεῦμά τι οἷον θε[ο]φόροις· ἴσα-
 [σι δ’ οἱ] ἤδη τοῦ παιδὸς πάθους εἰληφότεσ πείραν. ἐγὼ
 60 [δέ γ’ οὐ]πω—μηδὲ πειραθείην τὸ σύγολον. Ἔρως
 [δ’ ἔστ]ιν κίνημα διανοίας ὑπὸ [κ]άλλουσι γινόμε-
 [νον] καὶ ὑπὸ συνηθείας αὐξόμενον.” ῥύδην ἐβού-
 [λετ’ ἄ]ν λόγον περαίνειν, καὶ ὁ [Ἄ]ν[α]ξιμένης δι-
 64 [ελέγ]ετο πρὸς τὴν Παρθενόπην ἀντιλαβέσθαι
 [τῆς ζ]ητήσεως· κάκεινη
 δ[ι’ ὀ]ργῆς ἔχουσα τὸν Μητίοχον διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμο-
 λογῆσαι μήπω οὐδεμιᾶς ἐρας-
 68 θῆναι (καὶ εὐξάτο μηδὲ μέλλειν)· “μὰ τόν”, ἔφη,
 “κενὸ[ς] ὁ τοῦ ξένου λῆρος κα[ὶ οὐ] δοκεῖ μοι[ο] ὅτι
 ἡμ[ῶν] ἐπὶ παιδείας θύραν καὶ
 ποιηταὶ καὶ ζωγράφοι καὶ π[λάστα]ι τοῦο

Col. I: 3. Χερρο[νήσιος] Zimm., Χερρό[νησον κατέλυες:] Bowie (in S-W)
 5. ἔρη? Maehler 7. λοι[πὸν] Maehler (= “die Schulden”), S-W (“the future”)
 9. [τόπον . . ἴ]α Merkelbach (in Maehler) 12. [δια]νός[ε]ιν Zimmermann,
 ? S-W (in comm.),], ποησειν S-W (in text), εποιησειν or εποιησειν Maehler

13–14. δυν[ατώτατον [εἰ]ς ἐπιβουλὴν θῆ[λυ γένος] ? Maehler (cf. Hld. 10.4.5)
 14. ἀπὸ Θρ[άκ]ης ? Maehler, ἀποθρ[. . .] c S-W 17 ὄχ[λοπ]όησιν Maehler,
 ὄχλ[οπ]όησιν Stramaglia 23. [κατέφυγον ἐπὶ] Merkelbach 23–24. τὴν
 [ᾠτηρίαν ἔξεν ὑ]πέ[λ]αβον ? Maehler 28. [ἀπά]γειν Merkelbach μέθη
 or μεθη[ρομένους] ? Maehler 29.]υτωνομεια S-W, ἐν αὐτωνομιά Merkelbach,
 τοῦτων ὅμοια ? Maehler 30. βλέ[π]ων or κώπ[τ]ων ? Maehler 33. [ἐρωτικὴν]
 μαντεύομαι μοῦσαν ? Maehler

Col. II: 35. ἐταράχθ]ησαν Zimmermann, ἔθορυβήθ]ησαν Kaibel-Robert 35–36.
 λαβ[όν]τες ? Maehler 36. [τοῦ καιν]οῦ Maehler 36–37. ἐφο[ινίχθη δὲ . . .
 ὁ] Hägg (cf. Akh.Tat. 2.6.1; Hld. 1.21.3; 10.24.2), ἐφο[ινίχθη δ' αὐτίκα (ὁ)]
 ? Stramaglia, ἐφο[βεί]το μὲν γὰρ ὁ] ? S-W, ἐφο[βή]θησαν (or ἐφο[βοῦ]ντο)
 γὰρ . . . ὁ] Maehler, ἐφ' ο[ἴ]c . . .] Kaibel-Robert, Wilcken 38. (τὸ?) μὴ
 ἔξεν λόγον εἰ]κότα ? Maehler 39. [διαλ]έξει Merkelbach 39–40. ἀ[ληθ]ῶς
 Merkelbach, ἀ[π]αντες Kaibel-Robert 40. [ῥ]ο[ι] Zimmermann 40–41.
 ἀρχ[αίαι]c Maehler, ἀρχ[αίαι]c Poethke 44. ὁ[μ]ῶς Kaibel-Robert 45.
 [νέων] Kaibel-Robert 46. [τιτρώ]κει Krebs 47. [ἐντεκ]γῶθεν Bowie (in
 S-W), [τοῖς ᾗ]νωθεν Kaibel-Robert 48. [τὸ πρῶτ]ον M. Maehler (in Maehler)
 49. ἀ]πὸ Dihle, ὑ]πὸ Kaibel-Robert [ᾗμα] Dihle, [τέκνα] Merkelbach 50.
 [δὲ θεία]c Kaibel-Robert 51–52. ἀναπ[ή]ρους | ἀεὶ] Merkelbach (52 [ἀεὶ]
 Kaibel-Robert), ἀναπ[λά]στους] Dihle 52. τὰ πό[ρρω] M. Maehler 58.
 ἱερὸν ? Maehler, [νο]ερὸν Kerényi 58–59. θε[ο]φόροις· ἴσα[ι δ' οἱ] ?
 S-W, θε[ο]φορητοῖς ατ[. . . οἱ] Maehler 61. ὑπὸ [κ]άλλους Maehler, ὑπὸ
 [π]άθος Wilcken 62. ρ. γ S-W, ρυτιν or ρυτην = ρύδην ? Maehler (“reich-
 lich”, “ausführlich”), ρυτην Poethke 62–63. ἐβού[λι]ετ' ᾗ]ν Stramaglia,
 ἐβού[λι]ετο τὸ]ν Maehler, ἐβου[λι]ετο]ν by haplography for ἐβού[λι]ετο τὸ]ν ?
 S-W 63–64. δι[ελέ]γετο Zimmermann 68. “μᾶ τόν” M. Maehler 69.
 κα[ι οὐ] Maehler 70. ζυγγραφεῖς ? Maehler

Translation of GF1³

Column I

[. . .]
] “Who”, he (Polykrates) said, “O [
] . . . ? How [. . .⁴ from the] Kherso[nesos]⁵

³ Previous translations: H. Maehler in Kytzler 1983:727–731; G.N. Sandy in Reardon 1989:813–815; Stephens & Winkler 1995:83–89; López Martínez 1998: 135–136.

⁴ “How [did you escape] from the Kh. . . .?” (Bowie), or “How [can a man] from the Kh. . . .?” (Zimmermann)?

⁵ Miltiades, Metiokhos’ father, ruled the Thracian Khersonesos (mod. Gallipoli Peninsula), the narrow peninsula on the European side of the Hellespont (Dardanelles), cf. below, GT3b.

- 4] ... for marriage, if on the one hand ...
] ... and guest, if on the other a stranger
] ... your father's contempt⁶ ...
] ... I shall set right from now on."
 8] placed [him?] at a higher
] so that [he?] would be more ... to Partheno-
 [pe. "My] father", he (Metiokhos) said, "O king, ...
] ... , and may the gods give him
 12] wisdom (?), for he loves his children ...
] most ... for scheming ...⁷
] ... from Thrace⁸ and ...
] Hegesipyle ... her own
 16] children,⁹ who through their youth ...
] ... , but for me ... [riot] ...
] Although suffering ruthless
] but me completely a revolt
 20] no one ... reason(s) ...
] scheming started evil ...
] laid snares ...
] your house and the ...
 24] I assumed." As all those [in]
 ...¹⁰] marvelled at the courage and
] of his words, Polykrates ...
] said: "My child, it is time for drinking
 28] intoxication (?) should ... our sorrows
 in] independence (?)¹¹ ... we are at leisure ..."
] ... to Anaximenes ...
] "... us", he¹² said, "today

⁶ Through his stepmother's slander Metiokhos came to be despised by his father Miltiades, cf. PF46, 50, 94, 116.

⁷ As a transition from Metiokhos' conciliary mention of his father to his denunciation of his stepmother, a gnomic phrase like that conjectured by Maehler ("But the female sex is most powerful in scheming") would fit well; cf. the similarly misogynic verses in the Persian fragment (PF47-48).

⁸ Hegesipyle, Miltiades' second wife and Metiokhos' stepmother, was a Thracian.

⁹ The historical sources are divided as to the number of children Miltiades got in his second marriage, one or several; for refs., see Hägg 1985:94 n. 8.

¹⁰ A word for "dining-hall" should perhaps be supplied here.

¹¹ It is unclear what *autonomia*, if that is what should be read, has to do in this context; Maehler (1983:730), following a suggestion by Merkelbach, translates: "(solange?) wir in Unabhängigkeit Muße haben, ...".

¹² It is uncertain whether Polykrates himself continues his speech or Anaximenes

- 32] . . . since the boy (Metiokhos) has come . . .
] I envisage a . . . muse,¹³ pro-

Column II

- [posing as topic] a philosopher's inquiry¹⁴ . . . by chance . . .¹⁵
 [And] the two [got confused] in their souls, re-
 36 calling their [. . .] experience.¹⁶
 Metiokhos [flushed red . . .],¹⁷ professing
 [to have no] reasonable [. . .] or proper knowledge
 [for such an argument]. "They are fools", he said,
 40 ["indeed, all those who] uninitiated in true education
 [. . .] adhere to the [old] tales that
 Eros is Aphrodite's son and quite young, having
 [wings] and a bow hung on his back and
 44 holding [in his hand] a torch,¹⁸ and with these weapons he
 [cruelly
 . . .] wounds the souls of the [young].

takes over. Since "philosopher" in line 34 has no definite article, the latter alternative is perhaps the most likely one (though Zimmermann 1936:53 thinks this is an instance of a possessive genitive lacking its definite article).

¹³ "Muse" presumably metonymic for competition within the area of the Muses (musical, poetical . . .), perhaps with the qualification "erotic" lost at the beginning of the line: "a contest on the subject of Eros".

¹⁴ The following inquiry (*zēlēsis*) on the traditional Eros is structured as a rhetorical school exercise (*progymnasma*) of "refutation" (*anaskeuē*: Metiokhos' part) and "confirmation" (*kataskēuē*: Parthenope's part); cf. Reitzenstein 1906:167f. and Stramaglia 1996:124.

¹⁵ If "by chance" belongs to the preceding sentence, something like "(proceeding) by chance (round the table)" may be implied (S-W: "as chance would have it"). Maehler refers the words to the next sentence: "Durch diesen Zufall ergriff Verwirrung . . .".

¹⁶ ? recalling their [novel] experience.

¹⁷ Blushes indicating emotional turmoil are common in the ancient novels, see Lateiner 1998:174–183; the same verb as is conjectured here, φοινίσσομαι, occurs in Akh.Tat. 2.6.1 and Hld. 1.21.3; 10.24.2 (cf. [Theokr.] 20.16).

¹⁸ This is, according to Quintilian (2.4.26), a typical subject for school exercises: *'cur armata apud Lacedaemonios Venus' et 'quid ita crederetur Cupido puer atque uolucer et sagittis ac face armatus' et similia*. Reitzenstein 1906:167f., adduces parallels from both Middle Comedy (Euboulos and Alexis in Athenaios 13.562c–d = Eub. fr. 40 and Alex. fr. 20 K-A; comments in Hunter 1983b:131–134 and Arnott 1996:109–111) and Roman elegy (Propertius 2.12). Lasserre (1943:126 n. 1) compares New Comedy, Dostálová (1991:35) Galenos, Vol. 18.2, p. 19 Kühn. The traditional picture of Eros is mostly accepted without question in the novels; for a list of passages, see Maehler 1976:16 n. 35. Cf. also Maehler 1990 and Alperowitz 1992:89–116, 181–184.

Such a thing would be ridiculous: firstly, that
 a baby generated in primeval times and ageing
 48 ever since he [first] took form, should not reach maturity,
 [and]
 [that, if those] born of men [with]
 time reach adulthood, the (child) who shared in [divine]
 nature, should like the [retarded]
 52 [always] remain at the same age [. . .].¹⁹
 It would also [be] altogether incredible, [if]
 Eros is a [baby], that he should traverse the [whole]
 world, hitting with his arrows whomever he wishes
 56 of those that encounter him, and inflame them,
 [so that] in the souls of lovers there arises
 a kind of holy breath,²⁰ as in the inspired. [They] know
 [who] have already experienced the boy's torment. As for me, I
 60 [have not] yet—and may I never experience it at all!²¹ Eros
 [rather is] an agitation of the mind occasioned by [beauty]
 and increasing with familiarity.²² He would have liked to
 round off his speech eloquently,²³ but now Anaximenes

¹⁹ Cf. Eros in Longos 2.5.2: “I am not really a boy, even though I look like one, but I'm even older than Kronos and the whole of time itself” (trans. Gill in Reardon 1989). Wilcken 1901:267 also adduces Eust. Makr. 2.10.1; Plat. *Symp.* 195b–c; Lucian *Dial. deor.* 2.1; Apuleius *Met.* 5.31. See further the discussion and parallels in Hunter 1983a:31–36.

²⁰ The *pneuma* of Love is a topos from Plato (*Symp.* 179b; *Phaidr.* 255c) on; cf. Kerényi (1927) 1962:203 n. 114; Maehler 1976:17 n. 36; Sandy 1994:137. Stephens & Winkler 1995:72f. suggest that this is “an oblique reference” to Anaximenes' doctrine of “air” as first principle (comparing Anax. fr. 13[3]B2 D–K).

²¹ Cf. Eust. Makr. 2.10 Μηδὲ γυγνώσκουσίν μοι, and Hld. 4.10.3, 6. Cf. also, for Metiokhos' Hippolytos-like attitude to Eros, Habrokomes in Xen. Eph. 1.1.5; 1.4.1–5 (and Kharikleia in Hld. 2.33.4–5).

²² The same two stages, with the same words (*kallos, synētheia*), in Khar. 5.9.9. For love as “a divine or demoniac *kinēma* in the soul” (θεῖόν τι κίνημα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ δαυμόνιον), see Plutarch, *Moralia* fr. 135 Sandbach, quoted in Maehler 1976:17 n. 37.

²³ We owe the restoration and interpretation of this vexed passage to A. Stramaglia (personal communications to Hägg, 2001–12–03 and 2002–02–04). Stephens & Winkler (1995:92) suspected haplography or other corruption to accommodate what seemed to be the general sense (“[In such a way] he desired to finish his speech and A. urged” etc.). In Stramaglia's interpretation, the καί in line 63 becomes a καὶ *adversativum*. On the restored ῥύδην (cf. Eunapius *VS* 489B), he comments: “The adverb ῥύδην (“copiously”) was so typical of *speaking* that later rhetoric even issued a (par)etymology, according to which ῥητορικὴ/ῥήτωρ were so named ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥύδην λέγειν: cf. Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata*, p. 3, 13–14 Felten; *Prolegomenon Sylloge* (ed.

- 64 told²⁴ Parthenope to pick up in her turn
 [the] inquiry. And she,
 who was angry with Metiokhos for not admitting
 that he had fallen in love yet with any woman
 68 (and he prayed that he would not either), said: “[By god],²⁵
 our guest’s speech is idle nonsense, and I do [not] think that
 to us, at the door²⁶ of education, . . . [and]
 poets and painters and [sculptors]²⁷ . . . this . . .

Comments on GF1

Whereas Column II is well enough preserved to allow reasonably safe restorations at most places and a correspondingly coherent translation, Column I, with ca. 10–15 letters missing from the beginning of each line, poses much greater problems. The best we may hope for is to establish the general structure of the text and to guess at the topics treated in it, using single words and identifiable phrases as our point of departure. The readable part opens with a passage in direct discourse, no doubt beginning immediately before the reporting verb *eipen* in line 2 and apparently ending already with line 7. Then follows a narrative interlude of two lines (8–9), before a new passage of direct speech begins in line 10. That speech ends before the participial acclamation (a typical feature immediately after direct speech in Greek narrative) in line 24: “As all . . . marvelled . . .”. A third passage of direct speech begins immediately before *ephē* in line

Rabe, Lipsiae 1931), pp. 16, 7–12 (with further references *in apparatu*); 127, 3–4; *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. ῥήτωρ.”

²⁴ Zimmermann (1936:57, stating διαλέγομαι = κελεύω) and Maehler (1976:10, translating “vereinbaren”) refer to Thukydides 5.59.5 and Diodoros of Sicily 18.51.3 for parallels to this use of διαλέγομαι (though the verb is not construed with πρός in those instances).

²⁵ This exclamation (as restored by M. Maehler in Maehler 1976:11) is a typically Attic euphemism, omitting “god” or the name of a specific god; on such ellipses, cf. F. De Martino & A.H. Sommerstein (eds.) 1999:53f. (M. Caroli) and 102 (De Martino) (ref. by A. Stramaglia).

²⁶ For similar metaphorical use of *thyra*, “door”, Zimmermann 1936:58, pointed at Acts 14.27 (“opened a door of faith”). Cf. Rev. 3.20 ἔσθηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν καὶ κρούω.

²⁷ For this enumeration, cf. Khar. 1.1.3; 3.8.6; 4.7.6 (concerning Eros). There is overwhelming support for Parthenope’s statement in the extant Greek artistic representations of Eros from the 6th cent. BC onwards; the lists in *LIMC* III:1:850–942 (with ills. in III:2:609–668) exhibit no “old” Eros and only three, out of a thousand, of the *apteros* “wingless” type.

27. The new *ephē* in line 31 may either mean that the same speech is resumed after a parenthetical stage direction, or mark a new speaker.

It is clear that the third passage of direct speech (27ff.) is uttered by Polykrates (nominative *Polykratēs* [26], vocative *teknōn* [27]); the second and most substantial one (10–24), then, must belong to young Metiokhos addressing Polykrates (confirmed by vocative *basileu* [10]). In all likelihood we may thus ascribe the first speech (2–7) as well, beginning with the two short questions (*tis*, *pōs*), to Polykrates. The fourth one (31–34) may be Polykrates continuing after (for instance) “[look]ing at Anaximenes” (30), or it may be the latter taking over (“[pass]ing [the word] to A.”).²⁸

What, then, is contained within this dialogic structure? We already find ourselves in the dining-hall, since there is no room for a change of locality before the sympotic conversation on Eros starts in Column II. In his second short question, Polykrates refers in some way to Metiokhos’ adopted homeland, the Khersonesos (Chersonese) (3). In spite of earlier proposals,²⁹ it is impossible to guess what the phrase “for marriage” (4) refers to. Polykrates cannot refer to Metiokhos’ potential marriage to his daughter Parthenope; at this early stage, the boy and girl have not even disclosed to each other that they have fallen in love (as is evident from the discussion on Eros below as well as from the Persian fragment and *Dārāb-nāmāh*). In the following, Polykrates seems to characterize the young man as appearing in two contrasting roles (the *men/de* construction in 4–5), on the one hand as “[a relative ?]”³⁰ and guest(-friend) (*xenos*), on the other as a newcomer on the island, “a stranger” (cf. PF93). Next, it appears that he already knows that Metiokhos has experienced his “father’s contempt” (6), and he wants to compensate for that himself (7).³¹

²⁸ Polykrates continuing: Maehler 1983:730; Anaximenes speaking: Stephens & Winkler 1995:91 ad l. 34.

²⁹ “Warum sollte ein Chersonesier notwendigerweise zur Heirat ungeeignet sein?” Maehler 1976:12, “Wieso sollte ein Chersonesier als Schwiegersohn nicht in Frage kommen?” Maehler 1983:730; similarly already Zimmermann 1935:298. Zimmermann 1936:59 suggested a competition of suitors. Kussl 1991:167 interestingly points at the structural similarities with Odysseus at the court of the Phaeacians; but this is not enough to support the idea that Polykrates should address the newcomer as a possible suitor for his daughter. Cf. further Hägg 1985:101.

³⁰ Cf. PF69–70 with comments.

³¹ This shows (as does the Persian fragment in a more explicit manner) that the novelist, like Herodotos (see below, GT3a), painted a positive picture of Polykrates

Either the conversation has already gone on for a while when our fragment starts, or Polykrates has this piece of information through his wife and daughter who first talked to Metiokhos (PF91ff.; cf. further below, Ch. V).

The short narrative interlude (8–9), hardly more than a stage direction,³² no doubt refers to Polykrates moving the young man to a higher position at the table, to bring him closer to Parthenope. The Persian fragment says that Polykrates treated him well and “made him sit in a very honoured seat” (PF134).³³

In his reply, Metiokhos apparently refers to his father in conciliatory terms, perhaps wishing him wisdom (namely, to see through his wife’s machinations),³⁴ describing him as (at bottom?) *philoteknos*, “loving his children” (12), and blaming his present negative feelings towards his son on some “scheming” (13), apparently on the part of his stepmother, Hegesipyle (15), who promotes (?) the interests of “her own . . . children” (15–16). What is said specifically about these and their “youth” (16) escapes us, as does the context in which the words “[riot]”, “suffering ruthlessly [. . .]” and “revolt” (?) stand in the following lines. It would have been tempting to connect the two political terms *okhlopoiēsis* (the attractive restoration in line 17)³⁵ and *stasis* (19) with what Herodotos tells us about the political upheaval that forced Miltiades and his son to leave the Khersonesos (see below, GT3b). The Persian fragment, however, has no trace of such a reason for Metiokhos’ departure from home (there is, it is true, a major lacuna between PF49 and 50),³⁶ and the word *stasis* may well occur

(with a correspondingly negative picture of his successor Maiandrios); on the pro- and contra-Polykratean traditions, see Hägg 1985:95–97 with further refs.

³² The less probable alternative that these lines too belong to Polykrates’ speech, is discussed by Maehler 1976:13, and chosen for his translation (Maehler 1983:730): “. . . werde ich . . . ihn in einen höheren (Stand?) erheben, damit er für Parthenope eher annehmbar wird.” At this stage, Polykrates has no match-maker intentions.

³³ Maehler 1976:13 already, without knowledge of the Persian fragment, tentatively suggested as much. For a discussion of this expression in relation to the rules of seating at Greek symposia, see Eric Csapo in Campbell, Ergeç & Csapo 1998: 124–126.

³⁴ With a suitable attribute, Zimmermann’s *dianoēsīn*, though suggested with the opposite relationship in mind (the father wishing his son *sōphrosynēn te kai dianoēsīn*, “Selbstbeherrschung und einen verständigen Sinn”), might possibly do the job (Stephens & Winkler 1995:90 also incline to this solution rather than the future infinitive of the verb “to do” that they print and translate).

³⁵ For this rare word, see Maehler 1976:14 with n. 27.

³⁶ Stephens & Winkler 1995:89 (like Maehler 1976:14, 18) believe that political

here in one of its non-political senses. “Laid snares” (22) again clearly refers to the private sphere. In the Persian version of the story, the evil Hegesipyle both slanders her stepson, hardening his father’s heart (? PF46; see below, p. 221 n. 7), and eventually plans to poison him (PF43–56); perhaps this last dramatic turn of her “scheming” (again in 21) is concealed in our badly mutilated lines 17–22 (cf. PF56 “upheaval”). The last sentence of the speech (23–24) may have been a conclusion like “[Therefore I took refuge in] your house and expected [to find safety here]”.³⁷

Metiokhos’ speech is met with general admiration (25–26), and the symposium³⁸ proper is started by Polykrates’ formulaic exhortation, no doubt addressed to Metiokhos,³⁹ about drinking and letting the sorrows pass away (27–29).⁴⁰ The following short piece of direct speech (31–34), whether uttered by Anaximenes or Polykrates, first refers to the boy’s arrival the same day, then announces (on account of his arrival?) that a philosophical inquiry is to take place; it may also have contained the topic for the discussion: “an [erotic] Muse” (33)?⁴¹ It is difficult to see where that announcement would otherwise have been placed. The Persian poem’s apposite description of Anaximenes watching the young couple’s behaviour, suspecting that

troubles had been among the reasons mentioned for Metiokhos’ departure; in the Persian version, they suspect, these have been supplanted by additional misogynic utterances.

³⁷ Thus the supplements of Merkelbach and Maehler; cf. PF122. For other possibilities, cf. Hägg 1985:102; Stephens & Winkler 1995:90.

³⁸ Symposia, often with erotic implications, are a standard ingredient of the Greek and Byzantine novels; but this seems to be the only instance of a regular sympotic discussion of Eros à la Plato’s *Symposium*; cf. Jouanno 1996:161f.

³⁹ The suggestion in Maehler 1976:15 and (more cautiously) Stephens & Winkler 1995:91 that *teknon* should refer to Parthenope, is to be rejected. It is true that Parthenope does participate in the dinner and symposium together with the men (cf. Leukippe in Akh. Tat. 1.5; Hld. 6.6–8; Eust. Makr. *passim*), but that the admonition to drink should be addressed to her specifically is absurd. As we now know (cf. comments on PF70, PT107f.; Hägg 1985:94f.), Polykrates addresses Metiokhos as *teknon* not as his prospective son-in-law (cf. Khar. 8.7.4), but as his young relative (cf. Akh. Tat. 8.4.3).

⁴⁰ In the tradition from Alkaios fr. 335, 346 etc.

⁴¹ “De amore certamen poeticum praenuntio” Maehler 1976:9, “sage ich einen (erotischen?) Musenwettstreit an” Maehler 1983:730. (For *manteuomai* similarly “ironically” used, Maehler 1976:16 n. 32 refers to Khar. 2.5.6 and 8.6.6.) Stephens & Winkler 1995:91, translating Maehler’s restored text, “I divine an erotic muse”, comment: “This could be a sly reference to the newly kindled passions of Metiokhos and Parthenope, or—restoring a different adjective—a compliment to Metiokhos’s skill at speaking.”

they are in love, and then proposing Eros as a topic to test them (PF144–153), is curiously absent in our Greek fragment; was it placed earlier in the description of the dinner-party, or is the Greek fragment from an abridged version, alternatively abbreviated *ad hoc*?⁴²

The first eight lines of Column II (34–41) are also, at their beginnings, lacunose enough to cause some difficulties in restoration and interpretation. The young couple obviously react emotionally at the prospect of being asked to discuss Love in public (35–36); the reason stated, it seems, is that they recall their recent “experience” (or “suffering”, *pathos*). From the Persian fragment we know that each of them, immediately after their first meeting at the temple of Hera, in private experienced the topical symptoms of love (cf. Khar. 1.1.7–8; Xen. Eph. 1.3–5; Hld. 4.5ff.). Metiokhos perhaps also flushes red; anyway, he starts his speech by using the conventional rhetorical topos that he is too ignorant of the subject (37–39). This disclaimer (paralleled in direct speech in PF155–157) is reported indirectly; then follows the rest of his detailed contribution in direct speech (39–62).

Metiokhos first denounces as absurd the traditional Eros of mythology, Aphrodite’s young son, equipped with wings, bow and torch, who effects love by shooting his arrows (39–46); only those “uninitiated in true education” (40) would believe this. His main argument against this picture is Eros’ old age: if humans grow and mature, why should a god remain a baby (46–52)? Second, how could a baby travel around the world like this, inflaming lovers with “a kind of holy breath, as in the inspired” (53–58)? Then a personal declaration is inserted (58–60): those who have experienced love know of “the boy’s torment”—“but I have not yet, and may I never experience it at all!” Finally comes the definition of love that Metiokhos obviously shares with the truly educated (60–62): Eros is “an agitation of the mind occasioned by [beauty] and increasing with familiarity”.⁴³

Metiokhos intends to finish with a formal peroration, but Anaximenes the toastmaster immediately passes the word on to Parthenope (62–65). The narrator first explains that she has reacted with anger to Metiokhos’ personal rejection of love (65–68), then lets us hear her contribution to the discussion in directly quoted speech, presumably

⁴² Cf. Hägg 1985:98f., and further the discussion below, pp. 189f., 227, 252.

⁴³ On Metiokhos’ rationalistic attitude, see Wilcken 1901:267; Kerényi (1927) 1962:202f. (with n. 116); Maehler 1990:6, 10, 12; Sandy 1994:137.

starting with the emotional exclamation “by god” (68–71). The general drift of her argument seems clear, as far as it goes. She rejects their guest’s view of Eros as utter nonsense, and expresses emphatically her own view that [the picture of Eros] that writers and artists have presented to us from the very start of education [cannot be wrong]. There our fragment breaks off.

GF2. *Parthenope and the Kerkyrans (Corcyrans)*

POxy 435 (Pack² 2623). 2nd/early 3rd cent. AD.⁴⁴ Zimmermann 1935d with Pl. (photo also in Cavallo 1996:17). Zimmermann 1936:62–63; Kussl 1991:165–167. Stephens & Winkler 1995:97–100. López Martínez 1998:133–134.

Column I

[. . .]μηι. οί δὲ Κερκυραίοι ταῦ-
 [τ’ ἄκο]ύσαντε[ς] τὸν μὲν Δημό-
 [ξενο]ν ἐπή[ν]ουν καὶ δι’ εὐθυ-
 4 [μία]ς εἶχον, ἔδοσαν τε τὸ τά-
 [λαντ]ον προθύμως καὶ κα-
 [. . .]ον αὐτὸν τῆς Παρθε-
 [νόπ]ης φύλακ[α]. τῷ δ’ εἶναι
 8 [. . .]οντο. . .υ[. . .]ιαγ καὶ
 [. . . .]θηναι [. . . .] τοῦ γάμου
 [. . . .]έλησαν. [. . .]θεντο δὲ
 [. . . .]αλεξα[. . .] τὰ ἄλλα
 12 [.]νεκα καὶ
 [. . . .]ς λαν[.]θος
 [. . . .]ω δι[.]ε
 [. . . .] καὶ θυ[.]κα
 16 [. . . .]ε. c[.]

⁴⁴ Cavallo 1996:15 dates it to the 2nd cent., López Martínez 1998:133 end of 2nd or beginning of 3rd, while Stephens & Winkler 1995:97, referring to Grenfell-Hunt’s “close of the second or in the first half of the third century”, “are inclined to the later date”.

Column II

νωτερα γενο[μεν
 αν ἤκουσας π[
 .]μην[. .]πα.[
 4 .]οι[

Col. I: 2–3. Δημόι[ξενο]ν Kussl, S-W, Δημοί[χάρη]ν Zimmermann 5–6. καί[. . .]αξδεξ Grenfell-Hunt, καί[. . .]αξ δ' ἐξ López Martínez, καί[τέλι]αβον Zimmermann, Kussl, καί[τέλι]προν ? S-W, καί[τέττηα]ν ? Hägg 6–7. Παρθει[νόπ]ησ Zimmermann, Kussl, παρθει[ν . . .] S-W, παρθει[νου . .]τ . Grenfell-Hunt 7. φυλακ[.] S-W (but cf. Kussl) 8. [κύρι]ον Rehm (in Zimmermann) τὸν Ἐϋ[φ]ρανίαν Zimmermann 11. [καὶ τῶ] Ἄλεξά[νδρω] Zimmermann (Ἄλεξά[μενῶ] Rehm in Zimmermann)

Col. II: 2. αν ἤκουσας Zimmermann, ανηκουσας S-W

Translation of GF2

Column I

[. . .] When the Kerkyrans
 heard this, they praised
 Demo[xenos]⁴⁵ and were well-
 4 disposed towards him,⁴⁶ and willingly gave
 him the talent and [made]⁴⁷
 him the guard of Parthe-
 [nope]. [. . .]

⁴⁵ This supplement is inspired by PT13, where Demoxenos (as already suggested in Ritter 1948:138) is the closest Greek equivalent to Damkhasimūs (cf. Kussl 1991:167 n. 7; Stephens & Winkler 1995:95). Thus the otherwise attractive candidates Dēmokharēs (a name known from Ant. Diog. p. 109a14) and Dēmokēdēs (the doctor at Polykrates' court, see below GT3c) must yield.

⁴⁶ Gronewald 1993:199 rightly interprets the verbal phrase as transitive and translates: “sie waren ihm wohlgesonnen”, instead of Zimmermann's (1935d:196) intransitive “waren wohlgenut” (or, 1936:63, “waren guter Dinge”, repeated by Kussl 1991:165), and Stephens & Winkler's (1995:99) “were expectant”.

⁴⁷ This must be the general meaning of the missing verb; for suggestions, cf. the critical apparatus. *Katalambano* meaning “verpflichten”, “bind” (Thuk. 4.86.1 etc.; LSJ s.v. V:3), as suggested by Zimmermann 1935:199, would need the support of a word for “oath” or sim. in the dative case.

- 8 [. . .]⁴⁸ and
 [. . .] the marriage
 [. . .]. And they [. . .]
 [. . .]⁴⁹ the rest
- 12 [. . .] and
 [. . .]
 [. . .]
 [. . .]
- 16 [. . .]

Column II

- having becom[e] more [. . .]
 you⁵⁰ heard [. . .]
 [. . .]
- 4 [. . .]

Comments on GF2

The fact that the name Parthenope and what may be supplemented as the name Demoxenos appear together in this mutilated papyrus scrap satisfies every reasonable demand for identifying it as a fragment of *M&P*.⁵¹ But to what part of the plot does it belong? The mention of “the Kerkyrans” is not in itself proof that the scene takes place on that island. The author was well read in Herodotos (see GT3), who in retrospect (3.48) tells the interesting story of 300 Kerkyran boys who were sent by Periandros of Corinth to be castrated in Lydia but were granted asylum on Samos. Yet, in spite of that Herodotean connection between the two islands (one generation before Polykrates), the context discerned in the fragment makes it almost certain that “the Kerkyrans” there really refer to “the people

⁴⁸ Perhaps [E]u[phran]ias, as suggested by Zimmermann 1935d:199–201, who reports that the reading was “so gut wie gesichert” through C. Bradford Welles’ inspection of the original at Yale. The name is uncommon (it occurs as the name of an historian in a list in Photios’ *Bibliothēke* cod. 167 on Stobaios, p. 115b11). His possible role in this episode is totally obscure.

⁴⁹ Perhaps Alexa[ndros] or Alexa[menos] (Zimmermann 1935d:201). But the letters need not be part of a name.

⁵⁰ 2 pers. sing.

⁵¹ For a judicious weighing of the arguments *pro et contra*, see Kussl 1991:165–167.

4 [Μ]ητιόχου λήγμων
 [ε]ῖ; ἐγὼ μὲν, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας
 [ἀ]πῆλθε, ὡπερ ἀνα-
 κερκολλημένων ἰξῶ
 8 τῶν ὀμμάτων ὑ-
 πνον οὐκ [ἔχων . . .]
 [. . .] . . . [

2. -ας εἶπεν ??? Parsons (in Gronewald) 6. [ἀ]πῆλθε S-W, [ἀπῆλθ]ε Gronewald 9. οὐκ [ἔχων . . .] Parsons, οὐκ [ἔχω . . .] Gronewald 9–10. [ἔχω· σὺ | δὲ - -] ? Stramaglia

Translation of GF3

Are you [. . .],⁵³ Parthenope, [he said], and forgetful⁵⁴ of your⁵⁵ Metiokhos. For my part, from the day you [went away],⁵⁶ I [. . .]⁵⁷ and [can]not sleep,⁵⁸ my eyes wide open as if glued with gum.⁵⁹

Comments on GF3

This ink inscription on a small pottery fragment is probably a private copy of a quotation from the novel, either produced in a scholastic context or just a memorable phrase that somebody wanted to preserve. It seems less likely that, as Stephens & Winkler (1995:93)

⁵³ Perhaps [sound asleep]?

⁵⁴ Alleged, feared or denied forgetfulness is a topos in the love psychology of the Greek novels, e.g., Khar. 4.4.10; Xen. Eph. 5.14.3; Akh. Tat. 5.18.3. The word *lēsmōn*, however, does not occur in the extant novels.

⁵⁵ Gronewald 1977:22 n. 1 points to parallels to the possessive pronoun in letters in Khariton: “I am your Khaireas” (4.4.9), “remember your Kallirhoe” (8.4.6).

⁵⁶ With only the last letter clearly read, the word ἀπῆλθε is of course highly uncertain and rather to be characterized as a supplement than a reading. One would rather, in the case of the heroine of a Greek novel, have expected a verb in the passive: “was carried away” (ἀπήχθηε?). Parsons (in Gronewald 1977:21), however, finds that “[t]he trace does suit εε better than αε, though it is very faint; before that I can read nothing”; eta, of course, is palaeographically far from epsilon.

⁵⁷ Perhaps [lie in bed tormented]?

⁵⁸ Sleeplessness for love or longing is another topos of these novels (e.g., Khar. 2.4.2–10; 6.1.6–12). On this topic generally in ancient literature, see the material and bibliography in Drago 1998:215 n. 13 (ref. by A. Stramaglia).

⁵⁹ Apparently referring to the habit of gumming the eyelashes together to prevent single lashes from turning inwards and irritating the eyeballs (Gronewald 1977:22 n. 2).

suggest, it is “a derivative composition, perhaps related to rhetorical exercise, or a quotation of a famous line from a stage performance”. In particular, if Guglielmo Cavallo (in Stramaglia 1996:123f.) is correct in dating the ostrakon as early as the first decades of the first century AD, this seems too early for the kind of theatrical afterlife of the novel to which our testimonia of the mid-second century AD testify (below, GT1b, GT2). Antonio Stramaglia (1996:122–124), who regards the ostrakon as the product of a school exercise, concludes from its refined style (“stile ricercato”) and avoidance of hiatus that it is, even in that case, rather the transcription of a passage from the novel itself than any kind of free “progymnastic” elaboration of a set theme more loosely inspired by the novel.

If we suppose that it is a real quotation, it remains to decide the character and context of the passage. Gronewald (1977:22) suggested that it is (part of) a letter⁶⁰ written by Metiokhos to Parthenope while the couple is separated, and has been followed by most scholars; there are several parallels in the extant Greek novels.⁶¹ Still, it is perhaps more likely that we have to do with a soliloquy spoken in a corresponding situation, as, for instance, in Khariton 3.10.4–8. This would also suit Peter Parsons’ (admittedly very tentative) suggestion of *eipen*, “he said”, in line 2. The hero, we may imagine, lies sleepless, addressing *in absentia* his beloved who—he fears—has forgotten him and is sound asleep. Some words at the beginning describing her imagined tranquillity of mind and a contrasting elaboration of his own plight at the end could have been placed in the unreadable lines 1 and 10 (and further lost lines), respectively, making up a nice rhetorical unit worthy of quotation.⁶² But this is just a possibility, the only undoubtable facts being that Metiokhos is sleepless and fears Parthenope may have forgotten him.

⁶⁰ Already C. Préaux, in the *editio princeps* of the ostrakon (in Tait & Préaux 1955:388), suggested that it contained “quelque lettre, telle qu’on en trouve insérées dans les romans grecs”. For embedded letters in the Greek novels, see now Rosenmeyer 2001:133–168.

⁶¹ E.g., Khar. 4.4.7–10. Stephens & Winkler (1995:93) oppose the idea with a strange argument: “Given what we know about the plot, it is difficult to imagine why Metiokhos would have written such a note, and how he imagined that it could have been delivered.” Stramaglia (1996:122–124, 153), in contrast, makes a strong case for identifying the text as a letter. He stresses that its character of a fictitious letter was the main reason for copying it at all in a school context, in an age when such compositions were particularly popular (pers. comm. 2001–12–03).

⁶² The rare word *lasmōn* and the (medical?) metaphor of the glued eyelashes will also have contributed to the quotability. The particle *men* in line 5, if correctly read,

The possessive expression “your Metiokhos” may be taken to indicate that the scene does not belong to the initial stage of the love story (cf. Habrokomes and Antheia lamenting in their sleeplessness in Xen. Eph. 1.3.4–1.5.2), but rather to the separation-and-travel part of the plot. One is reminded of Ninus lying on his bed in the two mosaics from Daphne/Antioch and Alexandretta, apparently contemplating the portrait of his beloved Semiramis; the other bed is empty.⁶³ The wording “from the day you [went away]” (if correctly supplemented) may indicate that Metiokhos is still on Samos when he speaks his soliloquy; but this is not a necessary conclusion. If, on the other hand, we do not lay such great weight on the possessive “yours” and find the supplemented “went away” too uncertain, there is the possibility that Metiokhos utters these complaints when isolated from his beloved in separate quarters in the palace on Samos; there is a context in the Persian fragment (PF258–288) where his words would be dramatically quite effectful (see further below, p. 235).

GF4. *Metiokhos sings to the lyre* [Fig. 5]

PMich 3402 verso. 3rd cent. AD. Alvares & Renner 2001 (with Pl. I).

Column II [lower left part]

. . . [. . . .] [. . . .]
 φ . . [.] ουτο [.]
 . [.] ωνυχι τῆ λαϊῶ . [.] ρ . [.]
 4 . . .] ης προσέκρουεν ἐλε[φαντίνω πλήκτρῳ ?
 . [.] διαστήμασιν προση[.]
 . [.] οὔτως εἰπόντος βοή[σαντες
 . [.] καὶ πάντες α[ι]τοῦντες αὐ[τὸν
 8 . [.] Μητίοχος ψαλμῶ τῆς λύρα[ς
 . [.] νενφηνασε . . . λε . . . μολ[.]
 π[ε]πειραμένος ἀλ[. . .] ἐνησκα[⁶⁴
 α . [.] ω προσηνη κ [.] .

indicates that the soliloquy (letter) does not end where the ostrakon fragment breaks off; presumably, the contrast with Parthenope’s assumed present situation was further elaborated.

⁶³ Levi 1944; illustrated also in Hägg 1983:19. Cf. below, Ch. IIc.

⁶⁴ “Some kind of supralinear writing was inserted between lines 9 and 10 . . . , but its nature can no longer be discerned” (Alvares & Renner 2001:36).

12 ηδ[.]. δὲ Πίτυος ἔρωτα κα[
 .[. .] καὶ Δάφνης ὁμοιοτη[

Col. II: 4. ἔλε[φαντίνω πλήκτρω ? A-R 6. βοή[σαντες ? A-R 7. ἀψ[τὸν ? Hägg 9. ἐ(μ)φήνας ? A-R μόλ[ις ? A-R, μολ[π- ? Hägg 11. ἀψ[τ]ῷ προσηνῆ ? A-R 12. ἦδ[ε]ι or ἦδη ? A-R κα[ὶ Πανὸς ? Hägg

Translation of GF4

Column II

[. . .]
 [. . .]
 [. . .] *onyx* with (his) left (hand) [. . .]
 4 [. . .] (he) struck⁶⁵ [with the] ivo[ry plectron?] against [. . .]
 [. . .] with intervals [. . .]
 [. . .] when [. . .] had said so, they sho[uted . . .]
 [. . .] and all asked h[im to . . .]
 8 [. . .] Metiokhos to the sound of the lyre⁶⁶
 [. . .] he exhibited (?) [. . .]
 experienced [. . .]
 [. . .] gentle [. . .]
 12 and he [sang of]⁶⁷ the love of Pitys an[d Pan? . . .]
 [. . .] and of that of [Apollo?] and Daphne [. . .] likeness [. . .]

Comments on GF4

This text was written on the back of a papyrus sheet that on its recto side had been used to list names and amounts of money, “probably prior to the end of the third century” (Alvares & Renner

⁶⁵ As Alvares & Renner (2001:37) note, the compound *προσκρούω* is not registered in the dictionaries in this sense, while the simple verb *κρούω* is. It occurs, e.g., in the corresponding scene in Akh.Tat. 1.5.4 (*bis*: first with the bare fingers, then with the plectron).

⁶⁶ Alvares & Renner suggest “with a strumming of the lyre”.

⁶⁷ The context would call for a verb of that meaning; but according to a personal communication from Tim Renner (2000–11–06, to Hägg), ἦδ[ε]ι can unfortunately not be read at the beginning of line 12 (“just prior to δὲ and immediately following a damaged area there is an upright stroke which must be from eta or iota—and epsilons in this hand are totally different, looking pretty much like lower case epsilons in today’s Greek fonts”). The alternative (supported by A. Stramaglia, pers. comm. 2001–12–03) would be to read ἦδ[ε]ι and translate “he knew”, i.e., they were on his repertoire.

2001:36). Like GF1, it is thus a copy made for private use. It was written in “an experienced, relatively rapid, and informal book hand”, compatible with a date in the third century AD (ibid.). Like the account on the recto, this text too was written in two columns, with very little space left between them; obviously, the writer tried to squeeze as much text as possible into the restricted space available. Of Column I, only “a few illegible traces” (ibid.) are left of its lower right; of Column II, the lower left is preserved: twelve half lines are more or less readable there (a couple of letters are missing at the beginnings of most lines and, according to the editors, some 25 letters or even more at the ends). This state of preservation resembles that of Column I in GF1 and thus allows no continuous translation.

Though many of the details are necessarily uncertain, it is clear that the text is part of a narrative with Metiokhos in the centre. At least from line 8 on, he is the subject, he sings to the lyre, and his song is about the love stories of Pitys and Daphne. He may however be the subject already from the start of the fragment, taking the lyre (?) with his left hand and striking the strings with the plectrum (?) (in his right hand?). It is uncertain whether the spoken intervention referred to in line 6 belongs to him or someone else; anyway, all persons surrounding him (at the symposium?) ask him to sing.

Before discussing the details, we offer a few comments on attribution and placement. Alvares & Renner (2001) show great circumspection in their discussion about whether this new fragment really belongs to the novel (or rather to some historical text on Miltiades’ son, some discussion of the novel, or a mime dependent on it). Their own analysis of the nature of the text, however, and the parallels they adduce make an attribution to *M&P* virtually certain. Metiokhos is no common name, and his singing to the lyre fits well into what is known about the novel from the other fragments. The burden of proof surely lies with whoever wants to question the attribution.

The obvious place for the new fragment would be a symposium at the court of Polykrates of the kind we already know from GF1 and PF (according to the summary in *Dārāb-nāmāh*, several symposia took place there after Metiokhos’ arrival). There is even a particular place in the Persian poem into which the fragment might fit. On festive occasions, we are told, Fuluqrāt/Polykrates would ask his minstrel Ibykos to sing to the *barbat* (PF185–188). Now he sings to the beauty of Parthenope and Metiokhos (190). He then puts the *barbat*

aside (191), whereupon Vāmiq/Metiokhos quickly rises “with captivated heart” (192). The narrative continues: “he stretched out and took—”—here the fragment breaks off. When it resumes again after some fifteen missing verses, there is a discussion going on about the instrument itself. Someone asks, “Who made the *barbat* first of all?” (193a), Polykrates expresses his bewilderment (194–195), and then Vāmiq/Metiokhos tells his detailed story of how Hurmuz/Hermes invented the lyre (198–235).

Into that lacuna, GF4 would fit well: Metiokhos eagerly takes over the lyre from Ibykos, begins to play on it and perhaps offers to perform. Met with loud approval, he chooses to sing about Pitys and Daphne. Like Ibykos’ song, that of Metiokhos is just reported, not quoted, and both performances serve as a background for the discussion of the wonderful instrument itself. This reconstruction is of course hypothetical, and there may have been several other occasions for such a performance in the novel; but there is indeed a fair chance that the two fragments just barely escape overlapping at this point—a line more in the Persian fragment, and we could have been sure.

Some details remain. Line 3, *onyx* (in the dative case) has a long initial vowel, which would mean that it is the latter part of an adjectival compound, and there are too many such to allow speculation.⁶⁸ If, on the other hand, the simple word is meant (with *ω* written for *ο*), it is possible that reference is to (Metiokhos’) “nail” used in playing the instrument: “with the nail”; cf. the citharist in Akh.Tat. 1.5.4 (see below) first using his fingers, then the plectron. The editors’ suggestion that an “ivory plectron” is specified in line 4 is indeed tempting, though there are of course many other options for supplementing *ελε-*. The “intervals” mentioned (in the dative case) in line 5 may, or may not, be musical. In a generally musical context, *μολ-* in line 9 may be the beginning of *μολπή*, “song”, or one of its derivatives, rather than the suggested *μόλις*, “hardly”. The word for “experienced” in line 10, *ππειραμένον* (in the nominative case), must refer to Metiokhos; though we cannot know for certain, reference is probably to experience in love, taking up the motif from GF1.59–60 (either again with some negative qualification: “though not yet”, or positively, in the authorial voice: “who had just for the first time”).⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Alvares & Renner (2001:37) count “nearly 20 such words, plus several more nouns and adjectives in which the original *ο* is not changed to *ω*.”

⁶⁹ A. Stramaglia (pers. comm. 2001–12–03) aptly refers to Hld. 3.17.3 *πρῶτον*

The love stories of Pitys and Daphne are aptly told together, having in common that in order to escape the pursuing gods (Pan and Apollo) the two nymphs are transformed into trees (pine and laurel).⁷⁰ Pan's lust for Pitys is referred to three times in Longos' *Daphnis and Khloe*: when the old Philetas tells the two children about Eros' power over the whole of creation (2.7.6), when Khloe warns Daphnis against swearing fidelity by the promiscuous god Pan (2.39.3), and—of particular interest in our context—as the subject of a song performed by a young girl with her herd of cows as the attentive audience (1.27.2).⁷¹ The story itself is not narrated, however, either here or anywhere else in the surviving novels. When, on the other hand, the corresponding story of Apollo and Daphne is the subject of a song performed to the *kithara* by a servant boy in Akhilleus Tatios' *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, its main outlines are duly recorded (1.5.5). Exactly as in our scene, the song is part of the symposium entertainment after dinner; but the hero, instead of singing it himself as Metiokhos does, only listens and feels his own nascent love for the heroine being kindled. The moral, to that novel's hero, is that if even gods succumb to passion, why should he be chaste (1.5.7); in our novel, the songs performed seem primarily to have provided an occasion for relating a mythological story about the invention of the accompanying instrument. Whether, in addition, the erotic song's effect on Parthenope was recorded before that discussion, escapes us.

b. THE TESTIMONIA (GT)

The texts collected here for easy reference in the study of *M&P* relate to the novel in three different ways: GT1a–c are testimonia proper to the novel, GT2a–c are testimonia to theatrical performances related to the novel, and GT3a–b are historical texts that presumably inspired the novelist.

καὶ τὰτα πειρώμενον ἔρωτος “that had never felt love before now” and Aristainetos, *Erotic Letters* 2.18.22 Vieillefond ὠμολόγει νῦν πρῶτον ἔρωτος πειραθεῖσα “she admitted this was the first time she had experienced love”.

⁷⁰ The love stories of Pitys and Daphne are similarly coupled in Nonnos' *Dionysiaka* 2.108 and 16.363.

⁷¹ The story of Pitys and Pan is the subject of song in Nonnos 42.258–261 as well.

GT1. *Dionysios Periegetes*, “*Guide to the Inhabited World*”

(Oikoumenēs periēgēsis), v. 358, with ancient and medieval comments

Dionysios of Alexandria (first part of second century AD), surnamed “the Periegete” (guide), composed in Greek a didactic description of the known world in 1186 epic hexameters. It became a standard textbook on geography in the Greek and Roman world, used throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, even until the eighteenth century; it was translated into Latin, paraphrased in Greek, and copiously commented on.⁷² Our first testimonium is an extract from the poem itself at the point where the description reaches Campania and Naples, the city of the Siren Parthenope. The next two are explanations of the name Parthenope in Dionysios’ v. 358, which are preserved in medieval sources: an anonymous ancient scholion (marginal note) transmitted (in slightly varying versions) in several Middle Byzantine manuscripts, and a passage of a commentary on Dionysios’ poem by the Byzantine scholar Eustathios, Metropolitan of Thessalonica (12th cent.).

1a. Dionysios Periegetes, v. 357–361. Ed. K. Brodersen, *Dionysios von Alexandria, Das Lied von der Welt*, Hildesheim 1994, p. 64f.

Τῆ δ’ ἐπὶ Καμπανῶν λιπαρὸν πέδον, ἦχι μέλαθρον
ἀγνῆς Παρθενόπης, σταχῶν βεβριθὸς ἀμάλλαις,
Παρθενόπης, ἦν πόντος ἐοῖς ὑπεδέξατο κόλποις.
Πρὸς δὲ νότον, μάλα πολλὸν ὑπὲρ Cειρηνίδα πέτρην,
φαίνονται προχοαὶ Πευκεντίνου Cιλάρου.

Next (*scil.* after Rome) the rich soil of Campania, where the pure Parthenope’s dwelling is, laden with sheaves of corn—Parthenope, whom the sea received in its bosom. To the south, far beyond the Siren’s cliff, appears the mouth of the Peucetian⁷³ Silaros (the River Sele).

1b. Scholion on Dionysios Periegetes, v. 358, ed. K. Müller, *Geographici Graeci Minores*, Vol. II, Paris 1861, p. 445.

Παρθενόπης δὲ μέλαθρον] οὐχ, ὡς τινες ὀρχητικῆ προέχοντες ἱστορία ὑπενόησαν, Παρθενόπης λέγεσθαι τῆς Cαμίας, ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα ζητοῦσα Ἄναξιλαον <καὶ . . . καὶ . . .> περιήει, ἀλλὰ μιᾶς τῶν Cειρήνων, ἥτις λέγεται ἐκεῖσε αὐτὴν

⁷² See Bowie 1990:70–79 and the introduction to the text and translation by Kai Brodersen (1994), with further refs.

⁷³ The Peucetii were a people in Southern Apulia.

δικεῦσαι. Ἡ δὲ ἱστορία κεῖται ἐντελής παρὰ τῷ τῆν Ἀλέξανδρον γράψαντι Λυκόφρονι.—Παρθενόπη λέγεται διὰ τὸ πολλοῖς ὑποπεσοῦσα ἀνδράσι φυλάξαι τὴν παρθενίαν. Ἀπὸ δὲ Φρυγίας ἐρασθεῖσα Μητιόχου καὶ ἀποτεμοῦσα τὰς τρίχας εἰς Καμπανίαν ἦλθε καὶ ἐκεῖ ὄκησεν.⁷⁴ Οἱ δὲ μίαν τῶν Σειρήνων φαί μετὰ τὸν παραμῶν ἐκβρασθῆναι ἐκεῖ καὶ ὡς θεὸν νομιθῆναι. . . .

Parthenope's dwelling] not—as some have supposed with a pantomime plot in mind—referring to Parthenope of Samos, who searching for her husband wandered around to Anaxilaos <and X and Y>,⁷⁵ but to one of the Sirens, who is said to have thrown herself (into the sea) there. The story is available in its entirety in Lykophron, the author of the *Alexandra* (v. 712ff.). Parthenope is so named because she preserved her virginity (*parthenia*) in spite of falling into the hands of many men. From Phrygia, having fallen in love with Metiokhos and cut off her hair, she came to Campania and settled there. According to others, it was one of the Sirens who after the *sparagmos*⁷⁶ was cast ashore there and honoured as a god. . . .⁷⁷

1c. Eustathios, *Commentariū in Dionysium Periegetem* ad 358, ed. K. Müller, *Geographici Graeci Minores*, Vol. II, Paris 1861, p. 280.36–42.

. . . Ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ Παρθενόπης οὕτω λέγουσι· Παρθενόπη πολλοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα, καὶ τὴν παρθενίαν φυλάξασα, εἶτα Μητιόχου Φρυγὸς ἐρασθεῖσα, τὰς τε τρίχας ἔτεμεν ἀκομίαν ἑαυτῆς καταψηφιζομένη, καὶ εἰς Καμπανοῦς ἐλθοῦσα ὄκησε· καὶ τάχα διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην σφοδρόνην ἀγνὴν ὁ Διονύσιος τὴν Παρθενόπην ὠνόμασεν. . . .

⁷⁴ The same information in a slightly varied wording in other manuscripts (ELQH and others): ἀπὸ Φρυγίας γὰρ ἐρασθεῖσα Μητιόχου εἰς Καμπανίαν εἰσῆλθε καὶ ἐκεῖ ὄκησεν ἀποτεμοῦσα τὰς οἰκείας τρίχας, “Having fallen in love with M. (who came) from Phrygia she went to Campania and settled there having cut off her own hair.”

⁷⁵ As it stands, the Greek text would most naturally be translated “. . . who went about searching for her husband Anaxilaos.” This is obviously wrong. Maehler tries to reconcile the scholiast’s words with what is otherwise known about the plot by translating: “. . . die auf der Suche nach ihrem Mann zu Anaxilaos gelangte” (cf. Stephens & Winkler 1995:77: “. . . who in search of her husband wandered to Anaxilaos”). But his parallels for περιέναι and περιέρχεσθαι + acc. meaning “aufsuchen, gelangen zu” are weak, see Maehler 1976:3 n. 10, referring to Hdt. 4.71.3; Lys. 8.8; Dem. 18.44 and 150–151; in all these places περι- is meaningful, in none is the direct object a person in the singular. Either the scholiast has misunderstood something in his source, or (as we suggest in our translation) there have originally been more than one destination specified. Anyway, the Anaxilaos mentioned is probably identical with the tyrant of Rhegion in South Italy (Reggio di Calabria) 494–476 BC, see GT3c and PT79 with comm.

⁷⁶ The word *sparagmos* means “tearing, rending, dismemberment”; it is unclear what it may refer to in the story of the Sirens as told by Homer and Lykophron.

⁷⁷ The scholion goes on to narrating how Odysseus managed to escape from the Sirens’ song (*Odyssey* 12) and how the Siren Parthenope went mad and drowned herself (ἑαυτὴν κατεπόντισεν). The other two Sirens, we are told, were called Leukosia and Ligeia.

... Others say this about Parthenope:⁷⁸ Parthenope was the object of many men's scheming but preserved her virginity. Then she fell in love with Metiokhos the Phrygian, cut off her hair condemning herself to ugliness, and came to Campania and settled there. Perhaps it is because she showed such chastity that Dionysios called Parthenope "pure". . . .

Comments on GT1a-c

GT1b-c convey more or less the same information. Eustathios clearly builds on the scholia tradition and there is nothing to indicate that he had direct access to *M&P* or any other independent tradition. Calling Metiokhos "the Phrygian" he has probably just made a false inference from the scholion's "(coming) from Phrygia", which he referred to Metiokhos and took as implying nationality.⁷⁹ The addition "condemning herself to ugliness" may be his own conjecture (perhaps from similar incidents in hagiographical literature he had read),⁸⁰ or he had before his eyes a slightly fuller version of the ancient scholia tradition than the ones our printed editions happen to present (more than 130 medieval manuscripts of Dionysios have survived).

The scholia tradition, in turn, probably goes back to the very first centuries of the poem's textual history.⁸¹ One indication of the ancient origin of GT1b is the reference to pantomimes which would hardly make sense in a Middle Byzantine context;⁸² it would seem natural to locate this scholion in about the same period as the testimonia from Lucian (GT2a-b). There is thus no reason to infer from the scholia that, like Dionysios' poem, *M&P* was read or known in

⁷⁸ Eustathios has first narrated the story about the three Sirens, who "after their defeat in despair threw themselves into the sea, drowned and were cast ashore at different places. One of them, Parthenope, was buried near Naples, the wealthy city of Campania, and is honoured there. He calls the city 'the Siren's cliff' and 'the pure Parthenope's dwelling' . . ." (p. 280.20-25).

⁷⁹ Cf. Maehler 1976:19, who recognizes Eustathios' mistake about nationality, but still refers the prepositional phrase to Metiokhos rather than to Parthenope, as Stephens & Winkler 1995:77 do.

⁸⁰ For examples of this motif in ancient and early Christian literature, see Maehler 1976:3 n. 12. For other motifs for hair-cutting in the novels (Xen. Eph. 5.1.7; Iamb. *Bab.* 74b9; 76b1), see Kerényi (1927) 1962:59-61; Stephens & Winkler 1995:78. Cf. also below, p. 243.

⁸¹ According to Tsavari 1990:13, the scholia are anyway older than the fifth century AD.

⁸² Cf. Roueché 1993:28: "the forms of entertainment that demanded space, scenery, and musical support, such as the pantomime, appear to have withered away after the end of the sixth century."

Byzantium; the scholia genre accumulated and transmitted factual knowledge through the centuries in a largely closed learned tradition. In our case, the original commentator, while referring to Parthenope of the pantomime for the popularity of the figure, in his outline of the plot no doubt drew on the novel itself (or possibly on an outline of the story presented as an introduction to the pantomime performances, cf. below on GT2c).

The scholiasts' and Eustathios' main concern, in the case of Parthenope in v. 358, was to distinguish between the Siren Parthenope and Parthenope of Samos; it is implied in GT1b that the latter—i.e., the heroine of the novel and play—was the one best known in the period when the explanation was first formulated.⁸³ Neither scholiasts nor Eustathios, however, manage fully to disentangle the two figures from each other. The confusion actually goes back to Dionysios himself (GT1a), who seems to have contaminated them in his text: the epithet “pure” or “chaste” can hardly refer to the Siren,⁸⁴ while on the other hand the remark that “the sea received [P.] in its bosom” seems out of place for the Samian Parthenope (not to mention “the Siren’s cliff”). Strictly speaking, then, Parthenope’s epithet in verse 358 of Dionysios’ poem is a testimonium to the novel; the poem is dated in the reign of Hadrian (AD 117–138), probably between AD 130 and 138,⁸⁵ which makes it the earliest testimonium we possess.⁸⁶

GT2. *Lucian on Parthenope and Metiokhos in theatrical performances*

Lucian (Loukianos) of Samosata in Syria (born ca. AD 120) is best known for his satirical writings in Greek. He was active as a rhetor,

⁸³ On the rich Greek and Latin tradition of the Siren, from Lykophron on, see Lavagnini 1950:81–89.

⁸⁴ Some evade the problem by translating “holy” (e.g., Stephens & Winkler 1995:77); but this is hardly an appropriate epithet for a Siren either. For some probably secondary connections between Sirens and maidenhood, see *Scholia ad Od.* 12.39.

⁸⁵ For the date, see Bowie 1990:77.

⁸⁶ Perhaps the same confusion of Siren and novel heroine explains why Antonios Diogenes, in his novel-inspired travel story (Phot. *Bibl.* 109b13), lets his heroine Derkyllis during her wanderings (*planē*) visit “the Siren’s tomb” at Naples; cf. Rohde 1974:262 n. 1; Kerényi (1927) 1962:239 n. 45; trans. in Stephens & Winkler 1995:123. But *The Incredible Things beyond Thule* is not securely dated, cf. *ibid.*, 118f. (first or second cent. AD?).

travelled widely, and provides us with invaluable information about social and cultural life at the height of the Roman Empire. In his essay “On dance” (*Peri orkhēseōs*, *De Saltatione*) he happens to mention “Parthenope” at one place and the (unnamed) daughter of Polykrates at another. Likewise, in “The mistaken critic” (*Pseudologistes*), “Metiokhos” occurs in some kind of theatrical context.

2a. Lucian, *De Saltatione* 2, ed. M.D. Macleod, *Luciani Opera*, Vol. III, Oxford 1980, p. 26.

... κάθηται καταλούμενος, θηλυδρίαν ἄνθρωπον ὀρῶν ἐθέσει μαλακαῖς καὶ ἄσμασιν ἀκολάστοις ἐναβρυνόμενον καὶ μιμούμενον ἐρωτικά γόναια, τῶν πάλαι τὰς μαχλοτάτας, Φαίδρας καὶ Παρθενόπας καὶ Ῥοδόπας τινάς, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ὑπὸ κρούμασιν καὶ τερετίσμασι καὶ ποδῶν κτύπῳ . . .

(What man, well educated and philosophically minded at that—a critic of dance asks—would give up his moral and literary pursuits) to sit enthralled by flute-playing, watching an effeminate fellow, who indulges in soft clothes and lewd songs, impersonate oversexed females, the most lecherous ones of ancient times, such as Phaidra and Parthenope and Rhodope, and all this accompanied by beating and humming and stamping of feet?

2b. Lucian, *De Saltatione* 54, ed. M.D. Macleod, *Luciani Opera*, Vol. III, Oxford 1980, pp. 43f.

Κἄν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πάλιν διαβῆς, πολλὰ κάκει δράματα· ἡ γὰρ Σάμος εὐθὺς καὶ τὸ Πολυκράτους πάθος καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ μέχρι Περσῶν πλάνη.

If you cross over again to Asia (Minor), there are many plays that are set there too: first Samos, with Polykrates' calamity and his daughter's wanderings as far as Persia.

2c. Lucian, *Pseudologista* 25, ed. M.D. Macleod, *Luciani Opera*, Vol. III, Oxford 1980, p. 144.

Ἐγὼ σε, ὦ ἀχάριστε, πένητα καὶ ἄπορον παραλαβοῦσα καὶ βίου δεόμενον, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐποίησα, νῦν μὲν Νίνον, νῦν δὲ Μητίοχον, εἶτα μετὰ μικρὸν Ἀχιλλέα τιθεῖσα . . .

I (*scil.* your tongue) picked you up, my ungrateful friend, when you were down and out and destitute. First I made you popular in the theatres, putting you on now as Ninos, now as Metiokhos, and not long afterwards (even) as Akhilleus.

Comments on GT2a–c

The context of GT2a makes it clear that we are concerned with the pantomimic dance performances that were so popular in the Imperial period.⁸⁷ In them, a solo dancer impersonated a mythological or literary figure, accompanied by music and choral song. Obviously, it was not only a classical figure like the notoriously love-stricken step-mother Phaidra of Sophokles' and Euripides' tragedies (and several later literary adaptations) that was picked out for such treatment, but also heroines of the ideal novels, like Parthenope.⁸⁸ This testifies to the popularity of the figures,⁸⁹ but the fact that Lucian's interlocutor describes these scenic figures as "lecherous" must not be taken as evidence for how they were actually characterized on the stage. Pantomimes, as distinct from mimes, were basically serious performances, and we may expect our romantic characters to have been portrayed using the full sentimental and tragic potentials of the plot.

The other two passages are less clear as to the type of performance Lucian is alluding to. GT2b may again be a pantomime with Parthenope at the centre; in that case, the episode specifically mentioned will first have been outlined by the leader of the company when he introduced actors and play to the audience,⁹⁰ and then acted out in dance (and perhaps poetically echoed in the accompanying choral song). GT2c may refer to precisely such a spoken introduction, since it is difficult to see that the "tongue" who is there addressing its owner could have boasted of the mute pantomime performance itself; another alternative would be that Timarkhos had served as a speaking assistant to the pantomime soloist (did the former play Metiokhos, the latter Parthenope?). But it has also been suggested that reference is rather to a rhetorical performance delivered in the theatre, or even to some kind of more traditional theatrical piece with a spoken dialogue.⁹¹

⁸⁷ For a recent discussion, see Roueché 1993:15–30.

⁸⁸ Maehler 1976:2 n. 7, also points at Akhilleus Tatios' heroine Leukippe appearing in a barber-shop scene in a papyrus fragment (PBerol 13927 Kol. I = Pack² 2437).

⁸⁹ Who this Rhodope is, escapes us (perhaps another heroine of a lost novel?); for suggestions cf. Lavagnini 1950:85f. n. 3.

⁹⁰ On such a practice, see Kokolakis 1959:46.

⁹¹ See Kokolakis 1959:46–51 and Quet 1992:138–140 for further discussion and references.

Whatever the exact kind of performance, it is important to note that GT2c is explicitly placed in Syria, from where the mosaics depicting Metiokhos and Parthenope also derive (below, Ch. IIc). As for GT2b, it adds an eastern dimension to Parthenope's travels whose western extension (Rhegion) was discerned in GT1; and it makes Polykrates' death, narrated by Herodotos (GT3a), a potential part of the novel's plot as well.

GT3. *Herodotos on Polykrates' daughter and Miltiades' son*

M&P is an historical novel;⁹² its action is imagined to have started in the 520s BC. The novelist borrowed the historical background of his plot from the historian Herodotos, making Polykrates of Samos (reigned ca. 535–522) the heroine's father and the Athenian Miltiades (ruler of the Thracian Khersonesos ca. 523(?)–493) the hero's father, and featuring other figures known from Herodotos as well. The relevant passages of Herodotos are reproduced in translation here.

3a. Herodotos 3.124, ed. K. Hude, *Herodoti Historiae*, Vol. I, Oxford 1926; trans. R. Waterfield, *Herodotus, The Histories*, Oxford 1998, pp. 220f.

Oroites, the Persian satrap of Sardes, has tricked Polykrates into visiting him to receive money:

Polykrates now made ready to go there in person, despite the fact that he had often been advised not to by both oracles and friends. Moreover, his daughter had seen her father in a dream high up in the air being washed by Zeus and anointed by the sun. After this dream she tried everything to stop Polykrates travelling to Oroites; she even went as far as speaking words of ill-omen when he was on his way to the pentecoster (ship with fifty oars). When he threatened to make her stay unmarried for a long time if he came back alive (πολλόν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύεσθαι), she prayed that it would come to pass, saying that she would prefer to be single for a long time (παρθενεύεσθαι πλέω χρόνον) than to lose a father.

Polykrates ignores her advice and goes to Oroites in Magnesia, where he is murdered and his body crucified. "With Polykrates' crucifixion, his daughter's dream came true in all respects . . ." (125). Herodotos

⁹² On the use of this concept for ancient literature, and with specific reference to *M&P*, see Hägg 1987.

does not mention Polykrates' daughter again. Maiandrios, Polykrates' secretary (123), whom he had left in charge of Samos on his departure, succeeds to power (142). Though basically well-intentioned, he makes himself unpopular with the people, deceitfully imprisoning a number of them; Maiandrios' brother Lykaretos accidentally has the prisoners killed (142–143). So when (ca. 521 BC) King Darius of Persia sends his general Otanes to capture the island in order to hand it over to Polykrates' youngest brother, Syloson, who once did Darius a favour (139–141), the Persian invaders at first meet no resistance among the population (144). But a sudden counter-attack—instigated by another of Maiandrios's brothers, Kharilaos—provokes them, and Otanes, against Darius' instructions, starts a massacre (145–147). Maiandrios himself escapes, and the island is handed over “uninhabited” to Syloson, only to be repopulated later by Otanes (148–149). Maiandrios and Syloson, as Polykrates' successors in power, also seem to have belonged to the historical background of the novel's plot, to judge from the Persian lexical quotations (PT48 with comm., and 50).⁹³

3b. Herodotos 6.39–41, ed. K. Hude, *Herodoti Historiae*, Vol. II, Oxford 1927; trans. R. Waterfield, *Herodotus, The Histories*, Oxford 1998, pp. 365f.

A contemporary of Polykrates of Samos and Kroisos of Lydia, the Athenian Miltiades the elder (ca. 590–after 528 BC)—who “traced his ancestry back to Aiakos and Aigina” (Hdt. 6.35.1)—became the colonizer (*oikistes*) and ruler of the Thracian Khersonesos (the modern Gallipoli Peninsula; Hdt. 6.34–37). When he had died without an heir, his kingdom went to Stesagoras, the son of Kimon his half-brother on his mother's side (38), and on Stesagoras' death to another half-nephew, Miltiades the son of Kimon (39). This Miltiades—the younger—presumably assumed his rulership ca. 523, according to others ca. 516 BC:⁹⁴

[39] . . . When Miltiades arrived [from Athens] in the Khersonesos he stayed at home, ostensibly as a way of honouring his brother Stesagoras. Once the people of the Khersonesos found out what he was doing,

⁹³ On the historical Polykrates and his successors, see Hägg 1985:95–98, with refs. to texts and modern discussion.

⁹⁴ On the Miltiades family, see Hägg 1985:92–95.

the chief men from all over the region convened from their various towns and came together to join him in mourning—whereupon he imprisoned the whole lot of them. Miltiades maintained power in the Khersonesos with the help of a force of five hundred mercenaries he kept, and he married Hegesipyle, the daughter of the Thracian king Oloros.

Afterwards, Miltiades has to flee from a Scythian incursion; he is brought back to power, but two years later there is another dramatic series of events:

[41] 1 So Miltiades now heard that the Phoenicians had reached Tenedos (493 BC). He manned five triremes, put all his property on board, and set sail for Athens. Starting from Cardia, his course took him through the Black Gulf, and he was just about to leave the Khersonesos behind when the Phoenician fleet attacked. 2 Miltiades himself managed to escape to Imbros with four of his ships, but the fifth ship was captured by the Phoenicians during the chase. It so happened that this ship was under the command of Metiokhos, who was Miltiades' eldest son (and whose mother was not the daughter of Oloros of Thrace, but another woman). 3 So Metiokhos fell into the Phoenicians' hands along with his ship. When they found out that he was Miltiades' son, they took him up to the [Persian] king at Susa. They were sure that they would get a great deal of substantial gratitude, since it had, after all, been Miltiades who had advised the Ionians to fall in with the Scythians' request that they should dismantle the pontoon bridge and sail back home. 4 But when the Phoenicians arrived with Miltiades' son Metiokhos, so far from doing him harm, Darius heaped him with benefits. He gave him a house, property, and a Persian wife. This Persian wife bore him children who are regarded as Persians. Meanwhile, Miltiades left Imbros and reached Athens.

This is the last we hear of Metiokhos in Herodotos. Miltiades, of course, reappears to become the victor of Marathon in 490 BC (6.103–117) and to die, wounded and in disgrace, after an unsuccessful attack on Paros (6.132–136). Of Metiokhos' half-brother Kimon, Miltiades' son by Hegesipyle, we get only short impersonal glimpses (6.136.3; 7.107.1).⁹⁵

The novelist seems to have confounded the two homonymous rulers of the Khersonesos, Miltiades the elder (the contemporary of Polykrates) and his half-nephew Miltiades the younger (who had a son Metiokhos and a second wife Hegesipyle). Polykrates died in

⁹⁵ In addition to Herodotos, our historical sources on Miltiades' family life include Marcell. *Vita Thuc.* 2, 10–12, and Plut. *Cim.* 4.

522/521 BC and the historical Metiokhos must have been born some time between 528 and 516/515; so they cannot have feasted together on Samos as prospective father- and son-in-law. The liberty with chronology in the novel may have been the author's deliberate choice; but it is perhaps more likely that the confusion is due to the Herodotean narrative style, with its frequent leaps to and fro in time, its complicated synchronisms, and the paucity of its chronological markers.⁹⁶ Other post-classical authors as well, among them the Roman biographer Cornelius Nepos (*Milt.* 1–3), perhaps drawing on the fourth-century historian Ephoros, similarly presented a “combined” Miltiades.⁹⁷

3c. Anaxilaos of Rhegion and other potential loans from Herodotos

The historical décor of *M&P* does not consist entirely of loans from the Herodotean gallery of characters. Anaximenes the philosopher whom we discern in GF1 and Ibykos the poet who appears in PF181ff. are not to be found in Herodotos' *Histories*.⁹⁸ But the fact that Anaxilaos of Rhegion appears in GT1b and PT79, and Polykrates' successors as rulers of Samos, Maiandrios and Syloson, turn up in PT 48 and 50, shows that there is reason to suspect that further Herodotean characters may have been part of the action. The following discussion will first briefly present the figures we know (or think we know) have appeared in *M&P*, then just give a sample of other potential actors.

Anaxilaos the tyrant of Rhegion (494–476 BC) first appears in Herodotos (6.23) in connection with the wealthy Samians who after the Persians crushed the Ionian revolt in 494 BC, rather than waiting for the Persians to restore Aiakes the son of Syloson as tyrant of Samos, set out westwards for a kind of colonizing expedition. Anaxilaos now uses the Samian expedition for his own political purposes, persuading them to attack and capture Zankle on Sicily. We next meet Anaxilaos in a family-based intrigue (Hdt. 7.165): married to Kydippe, the daughter of Terillos of Himera, he helps his father-in-law by securing him the military help of the Carthagian

⁹⁶ Modern scholarship too has great difficulties in separating the various Miltiadeses and in establishing their chronology, see Hägg 1985:93f. (with further refs).

⁹⁷ Cf. also Paus. 6.19.6, and see Hägg 1985:93 n. 6.

⁹⁸ On Ibykos and Polykrates, see Hägg 1985:96 with n. 17 (with further refs.); Woodbury 1985; D'Alfonso 1995–98.

king Hamilkar; this he does by handing over his own children to Hamilkar as security. Herodotos allows us only one further indirect glimpse of Anaxilaos (7.170): some years after Anaxilaos' death in 476 BC, a former house-slave of his, Mikythos the son of Khoiros, is responsible for a disastrous Rhegian military adventure.

There are indeed in these brief Herodotean notices potentials for fictional use of Anaxilaos. Exactly what our novelist used, if anything more than his name and position, escapes us. We may further note that Anaxilaos is a contemporary of Miltiades the younger, and consequently a generation later than Polykrates (whose nephew Aiakes, named after his grandfather, the westbound Samians are evading).

Other Herodotean rulers as well may have appeared in the action. Besides the obvious and ever-present Kings of Persia, Kambyses (530–522 BC) and Darius (Dareios, 522–486 BC), and the various satraps that Herodotos mentions (e.g., Oroites, GT3a, and Mitrobates, 3.120; 126), there is also Amasis of Egypt (570–526 BC) with whom Polykrates formed an alliance and exchanged gifts (Hdt. 2.182; 3.39). After hearing the story of Polykrates' ring, however, Amasis broke off their guest-friendship in anticipation of the Samian tyrant's tragic end (3.40–43; 3.125). There are quantities of picturesque material about Amasis to be found in Herodotos' Egyptian logos as well (e.g., 2.172–174). Periandros the tyrant of Corinth (Korinthos) may be too ancient to be part of the action (reigned ca. 627–587 BC); but the fact that he figures (in retrospect) in the same Book 3 of Herodotos as Polykrates and had dealings with the Kerkyrans (cf. GF2) and Samians (Hdt. 3.48) still makes him, his wife Melissa (daughter of Prokles the tyrant of Epidauros) and his son Lykophron possible candidates. Aristophilides of Tarentum (Taras) is another tyrant with indirect Samian connections (3.136).

Among private citizens variously attached to Polykrates' Samos may be mentioned the poet Anakreon of Teos (Hdt. 3.121), Eupalinos of Megara who constructed the tunnel (3.60), and the architect Rhoikos who built the temple (3.60). An intriguing character is Demokedes of Kroton, "the best doctor of his day" (3.125), who first served at Polykrates' court and followed the tyrant on his fatal mission to Oroites, then became Darius' personal physician, before he managed to escape and travelled westwards again, eventually to marry the daughter of the famous wrestler Milo (3.129–137). Could our novelist resist him?

c. THE MOSAICS FROM ROMAN SYRIA (MOS)

In addition to the literary testimonia collected above, scenes from *M&P*—or, possibly, from theatrical performances inspired by the novel—are represented in two floor mosaics deriving from the Roman province of Syria.⁹⁹ Roman Antioch-on-the-Orontes was a centre of mosaic production; no less than about three hundred pavements were unearthed in the Princeton University excavations of 1932–39, some in official buildings, but many also in private villas belonging to wealthy inhabitants of the city.¹⁰⁰ At Daphne, a “lush garden suburb”¹⁰¹ situated close to the Falls of Orontes, one of the villas unexpectedly yielded mosaics depicting the protagonists of two of the Greek novels, the *Ninos Romance* and *M&P*; it was accordingly named the “House of the Man of Letters”.¹⁰² Before that, no representations of scenes from Greek novels had been identified in Greek or Roman works of art, nor had it been expected that this largely unacknowledged literary genre would have received such attention; the identification of the motifs in the Antiochene mosaics was secure, however, thanks to the habit of mosaicists in the late-antique Near East of labelling their figures with inscriptions (legends) in Greek.¹⁰³

The second mosaic depicting Metiokhos and Parthenope, as has only recently become clear, derives from the eastern parts of the province, from the twin towns of Zeugma on the upper reaches of the Euphrates, a city that owed its Roman name and commercial importance to its being situated on both sides of a favoured place of crossing. Its wealth of mosaic pavements has long been known, but only in recent years have systematic documentation and partial excavation taken place, in particular, as intensive rescue work before the completion of the Birecik Dam.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Dr. Janine Balty (Brussels) kindly read and commented on an earlier version of this section and turned our attention to the new evidence from Zeugma.

¹⁰⁰ For a recent general introduction to the mosaics of Antioch, see Kondoleon 2000:63–77.

¹⁰¹ Kondoleon 2000:63.

¹⁰² See Hanfmann 1939:242–246; Levi 1944; Levi 1947 I:117–119.

¹⁰³ Kondoleon 2000:64; cf. Balty 1981:375 n. 171.

¹⁰⁴ See the website <http://www.zeugma2000.com/zeugma.html>. Cf. Wagner 1976:100–107, and Kennedy 1998.

MOS1. *Daphne-Harbie 26-O/P*,
 “House of the Man of Letters”, pavement

Mosaic representing two standing figures, with the names ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΠΗ and ΜΗΤΙΟΧΟΣ written over their heads. 0.95 × 0.95 m. Ca. AD 200. The female figure heavily restored. Formerly in Worchester Art Museum, since 1949 in Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cologny at Geneva. (Levi 1947 I: 117–119; II: Pl. XXc.)

This small square mosaic is a pseudo-*emblema* set in a manifold framework of geometrical designs. On the floor of an adjoining room, the mosaic depicting the hero of the *Ninos Romance* (now in The Art Museum, Princeton University) had the corresponding position. No archaeological data can be adduced for dating the mosaics, but stylistic considerations based on study of the great number of mosaics found in the area place them in the Severan period, that is, the end of the second century AD or the first decades of the third.¹⁰⁵

The ground on which the two figures are standing is marked by a broad grey band; except for that, there is no indication of a setting.¹⁰⁶ The young woman is standing on the left-hand side, the young man on the right, both slightly inclined rightwards. The woman’s face and the upper part of her body have been completely restored (early pictures¹⁰⁷ show a circular void between hair and waist), so nothing can be said of the expression on her face, the exact position of her right arm, or whether she carried jewellery. She wears a long green chiton with a yellow band along its lower hem, and a yellow mantle draped over her left shoulder and around her body. Her hair is short and blond,¹⁰⁸ and she turns towards the man, stretching out her left arm in the direction of his head, with her hand opened in a gesture of lively apostrophe.

The man, whose figure is intact save for most of his right arm, wears a short Roman tunic, white with two blue stripes (*clavi*) running vertically. A violet-grey military cloak (*paludamentum* or *sagum*), fastened around his neck, covers his left shoulder and arm and falls

¹⁰⁵ See Levi 1944:420; Balty 1981:375–377; Quet 1992:127–129.

¹⁰⁶ For detailed descriptions, see Levi 1947 I:118f.; Quet 1992:135f.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., Hanfmann 1938:242 Fig. 5; Levi 1944:425 Fig. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Thus Quet 1992:135. Levi 1947 I:118 mysteriously speaks of her “luxuriant black hair”; the first report of the discovery, Campbell 1938:213, called her “red-haired”.

along his left side down to his shins. He has high boots with crossed laces and carries a sword whose yellow sheath he grasps with his left hand. His head, covered with short brown hair, is bent towards the young woman, his right hand is placed flat against his breast in a gesture of protestation or denial, and the position of his feet seems to indicate retreat.¹⁰⁹

While the identification of the couple as Parthenope and Metiokhos is beyond doubt through the legends, two interconnected problems remain: what scene or moment of the plot is represented, and are there reasons to believe that it was a theatrical performance built on the novel, rather than the novel itself, that inspired the mosaic's patron and artist? In the absence of any concrete setting (vegetation, architecture etc.), the posture and dress of the figures are our only clues for answering these questions. While Parthenope is dressed in an unmarked classical Greek costume, Metiokhos' sword and boots denote him as a soldier, and the *paludamentum*—if that is the kind of military cloak depicted—makes him a general or other high-rank officer (with the artist lending contemporary Roman attributes to the Greek historical figures). This seems to rule out the possibility that the scene would belong to the beginning of the novel, as has sometimes been suggested,¹¹⁰ depicting, for instance, the moment when young Metiokhos arrives as a fugitive to Samos and is addressed by Parthenope at the temple of Hera (PF84–97). The fact that there are only two persons in our picture, while Metiokhos' companion and Parthenope's mother are missing, is of less importance: the artistic conventions for this standard type of Antiochene mosaic of the Severan era favour simple one- or two-person compositions.¹¹¹ It may be that the heroine's (relatively) short hair also speaks against a scene early in the novel; for the Byzantine testimonia (GT1b–c) assert that after falling in love with Metiokhos and before travelling westwards, she “cut off her hair” (“condemning herself to ugliness”, GT1c adds). Why and to what extent she did so, is highly uncertain, so this indication carries less weight than Metiokhos' military costume.

¹⁰⁹ Metiokhos' body language is thus interpreted by Quet 1992:135.

¹¹⁰ E.g., Hanfmann 1939:243: “the decisive scene in which Parthenope confesses her love to Metiokhos”, and Levi 1947 I:119: “Parthenope tries to lure the still reluctant hero”.

¹¹¹ See Balty 1981:375f.

We should, then, look for some point in the later part of the novel when Metiokhos has turned from delicate youth into victorious general, as Khaireas does in Khariton's novel. The amount of battle description found at the end of the Persian fragment as well as in the Persian lexical quotations would support the idea of such a development of the plot. Since these parts of the novel appear to be irretrievably lost, however, except for such disconnected fragments, we have little chance of defining a particular scene that would correspond to Parthenope's excited address and Metiokhos' somewhat reluctant attitude as depicted in the mosaic.

The view that the mosaic represents actors on the stage rather than figures in the novel has recourse to two lines of argument. First, one points to Parthenope's "theatrical" gesture.¹¹² But how could a dramatic episode in a novel be represented in art otherwise than by borrowing the pictorial language developed for scenes from the theatre?¹¹³ The grey band at the bottom of the picture may possibly be read as a stage-like podium instead of the ground, but there is no specific detail that supports such an interpretation, no door or other architectural item to define the area as theatrical. The high boots worn by Metiokhos are no *cothurni*, the figures wear no masks. It is true that there is evidence for theatrical performances without masks,¹¹⁴ but that circumstance cannot amount to proving that these particular unmasked figures represent such actors. Finally, the argument about "theatricality" is weakened if one widens the perspective to include the Ninos mosaic found in the adjacent room as well, not to speak of the other *M&P* mosaic believed to derive from the same artistic context (MOS2 below): Ninos is lying on a bed contemplating a picture, presumably of his beloved, and Parthenope and Metiokhos are sitting silently back to back, their eyes meeting over their shoulders. This expresses, to all appearances, a bookish romanticism, alien (as far as we know) to ancient theatre. That our present mosaic should refer to theatrical performances, the other two to books,¹¹⁵ is hardly a natural supposition.

¹¹² E.g., Hanfmann 1939:244–246; Quet 1992:137f.; contra Levi 1947 I:425f. n. 13.

¹¹³ Cf. Weitzmann 1959:101.

¹¹⁴ See Quet 1992:139f., 155 n. 133.

¹¹⁵ This is suggested by Quet 1992:145: "deux genres différents: le mime pour la mosaïque de la Fondation Bodmer, le roman pour les quatre autres pavements" (referring to MOS2a and b and the Ninos mosaics from Daphne and Alexandretta).

The second line of argument is more persuasive. It draws attention to the passages in Lucian's writings that mention Parthenope's and Metiokhos' names in connection with contemporary (second-century AD) theatrical performances, in particular, pantomimes (quoted and discussed above, GT2).¹¹⁶ It is noteworthy that it is Lucian, the native Syrian, who is our source, and that at least one of the texts (GT2c) apparently places the performances (whatever their exact nature) in Antioch (where the career of the Syrian actor in question started, cf. Lucian, *Pseudologista* 20, 25). This brings plays and mosaics that celebrate this novelistic couple close to each other in time and space. It does not mean, however, that a play necessarily or exclusively should have inspired the mosaic, it may rather point to the popularity of the loving couple actually being fostered in both media (much like film and underlying bestseller may mutually support each other today). But we simply know too little, both about the reading public of the novels¹¹⁷ and about theatrical audiences in the Roman imperial period, to be able to state with any certainty what exactly influenced the owner of this particular villa at Daphne to order his pavements to be decorated with motifs deriving from Greek novels, rather than with the traditional mythological figures.

MOS2. *Zeugma-Belkis, Roman villa ("House at Site D"),
pavement. [Fig. 2]*

Mosaic representing two figures seated on a couch, a woman with the name ΠΑΡ[ΘΕΝΟΠΗ] written to her left and a man with the name ΜΗΤΙΟΧ[ΟC] to his right. Ca. AD 200. Head and torso of the two figures were removed by looters, then acquired by the M n il Collection and for over 30 years exhibited in the Institute for the Arts, Rice University, Houston, Texas. The two panels were returned to the Gaziantep Museum in June 2000, after the remainder of the mosaic had been found in situ in 1993 and its central part transferred to Gaziantep Museum. (Hoffmann 1970:112f.; Campbell, Erge  & Csapo 1998:121–128.)

Like MOS1, this square mosaic was framed by a succession of borders of various geometric designs; the whole mosaic, frames included, measured 3.8 × 3.75 m and filled practically the whole room. It is

¹¹⁶ See, in particular, Quet 1992:138–140.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Bowie 1996.

roughly dated to the same period as MOS1, i.e., the end of the second century AD or the first decades of the third.¹¹⁸ As long as just the two looted panels were extant and their true provenance unknown, considerations of style suggested that they too belonged to the Antioch artistic context (though not a work of the same artist).¹¹⁹ The discovery of the rest of the mosaic *in situ* as far from Antioch as Zeugma does not necessarily disprove the stylistic conclusion: mosaicists from the Antioch workshop travelled and worked at other places, such as Cyprus and Israel,¹²⁰ so there would be no surprise if their range of activity included Syrian Zeugma as well.¹²¹

The couch (*kline*) on which the two figures are seated, has carved legs and cushions (parts of it were lost when the two panels were removed). The young woman is sitting posed three-quarter to the left, with her head slightly turned towards the right side of the mosaic and her eyes intent in that direction.¹²² The fingers of her left hand and the lower part of her right arm are missing. She is dressed in a violet armless chiton that has slipped down to leave her left shoulder bare; part of her outer garment (*himation*) is discernible in the panel, apparently resting on her thighs. Her lower legs and feet, draped in the chiton, as well as the lower part of the *himation* are preserved on the part of the mosaic found *in situ* (though additional damage was caused when it was lifted to be taken to the museum).¹²³ Her hair is chestnut brown, the elaborate *coiffure* being kept together by a diadem. She wears eardrops and has bracelets round both wrist and upper arm.

The young man is sitting in a reverse position, looking intensely to the left. He has short reddish-brown hair and is dressed in a white tunic with two red stripes (*clavi*); a red cloak, fastened round

¹¹⁸ A (late) *terminus ante quem* seems to be implied by the fact that Zeugma was captured and plundered in AD 256 by King Shahpur I of Sasanian Iran, after which “it lacked the financial means to revive the industrial arts” (Wagner 1976:284, cf. 105).

¹¹⁹ Balty 1981:378 found the closest stylistic affinity with some Severan mosaics in the “House of the Buffet Supper” at Daphne (Levi 1947 II: Pls. XXIIIc, XXIV, XXVIa).

¹²⁰ See Kondoleon 2000:65.

¹²¹ The publishers, Campbell, Ergeç & Csapo 1998, do not discuss this possibility.

¹²² Descriptions of the two figures in Balty 1981:378 and (more detailed) in Quet 1992:140f.

¹²³ These elements are best visible in Fig. 7.21 in Campbell, Ergeç & Csapo 1998:122.

his neck, covers parts of his left arm and is draped over his knees. His right arm is missing, his left hand rests flat on his left knee. The cloak reappears, draped around his crossed legs, in the part of the mosaic found *in situ*; he wears sandals.

The dominant feature of this composition is the gaze exchanged between Parthenope and Metiokhos, as they are sitting back to back, turning their heads just enough to be able to catch each other's eyes. The artist has well captured the spirit of the intense love between hero and heroine typical of the idealistic-sentimental type of Greek novel¹²⁴—a kind of romantic love between equals that strikes today's viewers as “modern”, in the novels as well as in the present mosaic.¹²⁵ The pictorial rendering of this love through the gaze and the expressive faces of the lovers appears to be unique in surviving specimens of the art of the period; in the extant novels, on the other hand, there are several passages that develop the Platonic notion of the eyes as the gateway to the soul, declaring them instrumental in transforming shared beauty into reciprocated love.¹²⁶

Was there such a passage in *M&P* too, one memorable and famous enough to be chosen as the motif of a (possibly innovative) mosaic representation? It has been suggested that the symposium scene first documented in GF1 would constitute such a moment, their love at first sight. But we now know through PF that Parthenope and Metiokhos first met and fell in love earlier the same day at the temple of Hera. The discussion of Eros at the symposium is no good alternative, though probably famous enough: the mosaic's topic is silent love, not lovers' discussion and disagreement.¹²⁷ In addition, the two youngsters are seated in an upright position on the couch, not reclining on it as in a symposium proper.¹²⁸ Again, the lost parts

¹²⁴ Cf. Konstan 1994.

¹²⁵ The “modernness” even made Quet 1992:141 question the authenticity of the mosaic panels; the discovery of the rest of the mosaic *in situ* effectively disproves her hypothesis.

¹²⁶ Cf. Quet 1992:145, with refs. to Akh.Tat. 1.4; 1.9; 1.19; 5.13; 6.7 and to modern discussion.

¹²⁷ Maehler 1976:18f. is surely mistaken in interpreting Parthenope's glance in the mosaic as fierce, illustrating precisely her aggressive reaction to Metiokhos' renunciation of Eros.

¹²⁸ See the detailed discussion by Eric Csapo in Campbell, Ergeç & Csapo 1998:124–126. He agrees that at least Metiokhos should have been reclining, whereas “Parthenope's upright posture . . . might be a sign of feminine decorum” (124). His suggestion that the mosaicist “condensed the scene by placing the lovers on the same couch and making them sit upright” (126) is hardly convincing.

of the novel may have housed the episode depicted, perhaps one of erotic temptation, as Parthenope's bare shoulder would seem to imply.¹²⁹ Yet, after all, we do not necessarily have to search for a particular scene; it may be that the artist intended a generic rather than a specific representation, an epitome of the romantic and erotic relationship between the hero and heroine of the novel.

Sheira Campbell, in the publication of the Zeugma mosaic, interestingly suggests that it is "a Roman copy from an earlier Hellenistic work", pointing at "the use of shadows on the floor, the suggested soft texture of the draperies, and the mixture of Greek and Roman elements".¹³⁰ Eric Csapo notes that this possibility is "of some interest to the early chronology of the novel".¹³¹ An extant Hellenistic mosaic depicting Metiokhos and Parthenope would indeed have been sensational; but a possible Hellenistic model for the present Severan mosaic is a different thing. First, the stylistic traits that Campbell refers to and the alleged mixing of Greek and Roman elements, particularly in Metiokhos's dress, may simply mean that the artist was archaizing, much like the author of this historical novel, set in a distant past, who mixes modern and ancient elements and uses a pseudo-classical idiom. The other mosaic referring to *M&P* (MOS1) also dresses its Greek hero in Roman costume. Second, even if there should have been one particular Hellenistic model that the mosaicist "copied", there is no reason to believe that the model, too, depicted precisely Metiokhos and Parthenope; it may have been any young couple from myth or history, and it was no doubt the "copyist" who added the written labels to identify his motif, as was habitual in his own artistic milieu. So we cannot use the hypothesis of a Hellenistic model for the mosaic in the discussion of the novel's date; at most, that possibility should make us still more sceptical about identifying a specific scene of the novel in the mosaic.

¹²⁹ Quet 1992:141 rejects the idea that the derangement of the dress has erotic connotations, pointing to parallels where it apparently has not. But there are also instances of the reverse (cf., e.g., the ill. in Hägg 1983:51); it all depends on context.

¹³⁰ Campbell, Ergeç & Csapo 1998:122.

¹³¹ Campbell, Ergeç & Csapo 1998:124 n. 12.

d. THE *MARTYRDOM OF ST PARTHENOPE* (*MSP*)

Though surviving in its entirety only in Arabic, and fragmentarily in Coptic, the *Martyrdom of St Parthenope* (hereafter: *MSP*) is likely to have been first composed in Greek. The name of the heroine is the primary indication that this Christian text of unknown date may have been adapted from—or, at least, partly inspired by—the novel of *M&P*, but several other details of the narrative would seem to support such a supposition as well.

Yet, as a potential source for the novel it differs in kind from the other literary testimonia; to put it briefly, while its points of agreement with what we already know about the novel from other sources may be tentatively utilized in the attempts to reconstruct the original *M&P*, any differences or additions must be treated with great circumspection, because they may derive from other models or be the invention of the author of the *Martyrdom*. The very nature of his project, to describe the short life and glorious death of a Christian virgin martyr, would of necessity have prevented the author from using more than selected parts of a pagan erotic novel, and gave him complete freedom to rearrange, reshape and reinterpret those parts that he did appropriate.

St Parthenope is not known from any other source than this literary text in its various versions. The name itself, however, was in use for historical persons in Late Antiquity, also for Christians,¹³² so it is not intrinsically impossible to situate a girl by that name in fourth-century Constantinople. Though the story in itself bears every mark of being legendary, we cannot wholly exclude that there really was a martyr named Parthenope, whose death came to be celebrated on the 21st of Tauba, that is, the 16th of January, the date on which we later find this *Martyrdom* in the Sahidic recension of the Coptic-Arabic Synaxarium. In that case, the need to find a story to account for her claim to sainthood and to be read on her feast day may have been the motivation for transforming the novel about Parthenope, the beloved of Metiokhos, into a tale about the bride of Christ who

¹³² Cf. Coquin 1981:345, referring *inter alia* to a Christian funerary inscription in Greek probably from Akhmīm (No. 300 in Lefebvre 1907), commemorating one Parthenope who died at the age of twelve (!). See further Hägg 1984:74f.

chooses death to preserve her virginity. Yet, the edifying story may very well have been written without any such historical point of departure. In the present context, the question of St Parthenope's potential historicity is not essential; our focus is the relationship, if any, between the two literary texts.

MSP has survived in a number of Arabic manuscripts, some of which are Synaxarium manuscripts, others collections of Saints' Lives.¹³³ All the known manuscripts have not yet been investigated. The two existing printed editions, by Jacques Forget (1909) and René Basset (1915), are both based on one and the same 17th-century manuscript, *Paris, Bibl. Nat., arab.* 4869. In addition, René-Georges Coquin (1981) has collated three other manuscripts which he uses, together with the published *Parisinus*, for his French translation of *MSP*. Two of these exhibit more or less the same version as the *Parisinus*; the third (*B = Beyrouth, Bibl. Orientale*, 614, pp. 357–369) deviates considerably, but is regarded by Coquin as adapted and inferior. He considers it unnecessary to edit a new Arabic text, but registers in his footnotes some of the more interesting variants he has come across. Our translation below (by Bo Utas) is based on Basset's edition.¹³⁴ To the chapter numbers we have added, for easy reference, paragraph numbers.

About one fifth of the text is also extant in Coptic in a manuscript fragment published by Coquin (1981); it is preserved in the Institut Français du Caire (*IFAO, Copte* 22, fol. 1^{r-v} 2^r) and has been dated in the 9th or 10th century. In addition to confirming that the name *Bartānūbā* of the Arabic version equals the Greek and Coptic form *Parthenopē* (cf. above, Introduction, pp. 9f.), it also shows that the edited Arabic version is a fairly faithful translation from the Coptic, without either much summarizing or expansion. At Ch. 2.1–5.1 and Ch. 11.5–6, we display an English translation of the Coptic fragment (by Richard Holton Pierce)¹³⁵ in parallel with our translation of the Arabic text (the Coptic version in the left column, the Arabic one in the right).

¹³³ For the details, see Coquin 1981:343, 345f.

¹³⁴ Basset 1915, 653–661.

¹³⁵ The translation is as literal as possible, within the constraints of comprehensibility.

Translation of the Martyrdom of St Parthenope (alias Bartānūbā)

1. [1] On this day [21st of Tauba = 16th of January] there is also the story of a girl called Parthenope (*Bartānūbā*). She lived in the days of the pious orthodox emperor Constantine (*Qustantīn*) and the God-loving queen Helen (*Hilāna*), his mother. Her life ended on the 21st day of Tauba. That was in the days of the pious emperor Constantine, who vanquished his enemies and defeated them through the miracle of the Holy Cross after the arrival of the pure Helen, his mother, at the Holy Mansion (*Bait al-Maqdis*, i.e. Jerusalem) in order to search for the Cross and make it known and contemplate its glory. [2] There was a convent in the neighbourhood of the city of Constantinople (*Rūmīya*, the “New Rome”), in which there were chaste nuns believing in the orthodox faith. With them a virgin (*‘adhwā*) by name of Parthenope, who had reached the age of twelve, took refuge. She was fair of face, perfect in stature, good-looking and very beautiful, both in renown and in looks, perfect in all respects. [3] They received her with great joy and asked her for her name, and she informed them that her name in accordance with her christening was Parthenope. The nuns cut her hair and clothed her, and she stayed (there) obedient and submissive to them. [4] She was perfect in all virtues, and everybody who saw her wondered at the beauty of her figure and stature and her calm, chastity and education, so that the superior of the nuns and all the sisters loved her because of her modesty and beauty.

2. [1] But the Devil, the enemy of everything good, envied her, and he got to know that the emperor Constantine sought a beautiful girl to marry. He let the notice of the blessed Parthenope reach into the palace of the emperor and made him know that on the mountain of the city of Rome there was a convent of virgins and in it a virgin girl, the like of whom was not to be found in any woman of all the women of the whole world because of all her sweetness, beauty,

[. . .] intelligence, firmness and faith.

[2] And he conferred with his magnates, and they told him: “We heard about her that the sight of her is wonderful.” They advised him through the thoughts of the Enemy. He gave orders and they mounted some matrons, eunuchs and senior soldiers of his family. They went to the convent in which St Parthenope was.

intelligence, chastity, vigilance and faith.

[2] And he conferred with his magnates, and they told him: “We heard about her that the sight of her is wonderful.”

His thoughts were agitated by the Enemy, and he gave orders to the eunuchs

and servants and

sent them to the convent in which the virgin was found.

3. [1] They asked for her,
and when they saw her,
they marvelled at her beauty.
They had her mount at once,
while the nuns and their mother
were weeping after her with great
sorrow of heart. Parthenope was
weeping and called out to her
mother and her sister nuns:

“Pray for me that the Lord Jesus
Christ will save me from this evil
trial!”

[2] They made her mount up and
took her to the emperor, while
her thoughts were in heaven and
she was asking them: “What
happened?” They told her: “The
emperor asked for you.” She did
not stop praying in secret,
until they made her stand in the
presence of the emperor.

4. [1] She prostrated herself on
the ground, she arose, she saw
a golden cross above his throne,
and her heart was strengthened.
When he looked, he saw her as it
had been reported, he rejoiced
greatly and ordered that she be
brought to his bed chamber, until
he arrived.

[2] He went in to her and lolled
upon his
bed in imperial splendour.
Parthenope rose and
prostrated herself on the ground
before him, there being no person
with them. She stood up before
the emperor, with her eyes towards
the ground, her heart towards
heaven.

[3] The emperor said: “You are
Parthenope, she of whose honour
they informed me.
I have renounced the
women in all this great world, and

3. [1] When they arrived, they
looked for her with eagerness, and
when they saw her, they marvelled
at her beauty and took her away
at once without consulting the
superior. The nuns ran weeping
after her, and she was also
weeping, and she said to them:

“Pray for me that the Lord
will save me from this evil trial!”

[2] When they were taking
her to the emperor, her
thoughts were in heaven.
She asked them what it was
about, and they told her: “The
emperor asked for you.” And she
did not stop praying in secret,
until they brought her to the
presence of the emperor.

4. [1] She prostrated herself on
the ground, she arose, and she saw
a golden cross above his throne,
and her heart was strengthened.
When he looked and saw her as it
had been reported to him, he
rejoiced and ordered that she be
brought to his private room, so
that he could be free to join her.

[2] When he entered, he threw
himself on a magnificent, adorned
and precious bed appropriate
for kings. Parthenope rose and
prostrated herself on the ground

and said to the emperor:
“May you live, o my lord!”

[3] And the emperor said to her:
“O Parthenope, I want to
elevate you and make you noble,
because I have renounced all the
women of the world, and

I asked for you in order that you become my wife, not as a concubine but as a free chosen [woman], and that you be the mistress of gold and silver and wear real (gem)stones and fine pearls [and] choice clothing, and that you bear me sons with your looks and that they rule after me.”

I ask for you in order that you become my wife, not as a slave girl but as an absolutely free lady, and that you possess costly gold and pure silver, and that you cover yourself with robes and precious stones and fine jewels and costly strung pearls, and that you dress in splendid garments and expensive clothes, and that you bear me sons with your looks and your figure to rule after me.”

5. [1] When he ceased speaking, she prostrated herself on the ground again, rose, stood, [but] did not look at him face to face. She said while her eyes were full of tears: “Listen to my speech, my lord emperor! Live for ever! I am your servant, I am in your hands now, and I am in the hands of God. If I express to you my thought and say to you my word [. . .]

5. [1] When the emperor had finished his address to her, she rose to her feet but did not at all lift her face up, and she said with tears in her eyes: “Listen first to my speech, o my lord emperor! I am your slave, but listen: see now, I am in your hands,

since you have promised me honours that surpass my rank. [2] I ask God, who gave the kingdom to David (*Dā'ūd*) and assisted Solomon (*Sulaimān*) to wisdom and whose Holy Cross you see, that he shall protect you on your throne for a long, good time and make the rulers over the earth and the kings of the world humble themselves before you. [3] Tell me first, o my lord emperor, and make me profit from this wisdom: if a man in this world has asked a woman (for marriage) and married her and given her food and clothing and she is under his command and he has decided a time for her to be fetched to his city, and if another person wants to steal her from him with force, how is the law of the Romans disposed to decide about the like of such people?” [4] The emperor said to her: “The one who makes a transgression and acts thus goes astray and is no Christian.” [5] And Parthenope answered him, prostrating herself on the ground: “My lord emperor has spoken with rectitude and has been right in his speech, but if you were to judge with righteousness that this person should die, what do you say to the King of Heaven and Earth, if you have stolen His servant and His bride, when you have humiliated her and defiled her? [6] What pretext will you advance, and what is the reply you will give, when He examines you, the One who gave you this great glory? Then it would have been right, if we had angered him and he had not granted us a respite on earth and no strength to resist his wrath.”

6. [1] But when the emperor heard this, that it was righteous and pious, he wondered at her wit and wisdom and, because he feared God and revered Him, he ordered at once that she should be brought together with the slave girls, the eunuchs and the soldiers to her convent. [2] The mother superior and the nuns met her joyfully, thanking the Lord Messiah who had saved her and returned her without blemish. When the nuns asked her, she informed them of all this and related it to them, and they praised God, the protector of those who have trust in him.

7. [1] But the Enemy, the evil adversary, did not refrain from his fight against this blessed Parthenope. He passed in haste to the land of the Persians (*al-Furs*), where the servants of the idols are found, and spread the renown of this virgin. [2] The renown of her reached the king, an idolater who did not know God but loved the wicked lusts. He sent a troop of soldiers and eunuchs and wrote cunning letters to the emperor Constantine, because he feared that his troops would run across the Romans and they would bring them to the emperor Constantine. [3] He said to his troops: "Pass to the land of the Romans and look for the convent of the virgins, in which Parthenope is found, and when you have found her, seize her and come quickly to me with her! Make haste by travelling night and day, and when you have taken her to me, I shall give you great honours."

8. [1] They departed and marched with anxiety because of the Romans and reached the convent in which the virgin was. They asked for her, (saying) that they wanted to be blessed by her, and when they found her, they were astonished by her beauty and were convinced that she was the one they sought. [2] They abducted her at once with great anxiety and brought her to the king. She was thinking: "What, then, is to be done in this evil struggle, which is worse than the first, when they abducted me to a king who feared God and he did not do anything bad to me? But this time it is a pagan man who does not know God. It may be that I shall find an opportunity truly to become a martyr." [3] And when they brought her to him and presented her, he examined her and watched her with great and evil lust and wondered at her beauty. She did not look at him and did not regard the splendour of his palace, but her mind was in the heavens with her Lord Messiah. [4] However, the king ordered his eunuchs to adorn his reception rooms and to bring the virgin to him in the private apartment. But the virgin held her face turned down and did not want to raise it up. [5] He said to her: "You are Parthenope, the rumour of whose beauty and renown has reached me. I have not been able to sleep for a long time because of her, and to-day I have succeeded in getting what I desire. [6] Look, I transfer thirty towns to you, of which you shall be the master, and entrust in your hands the keys of the treasuries of my riches, so that you shall possess the land of Persia and its precious stones and its costly jewels, and you shall become for me a free wife, and all my slaves and eunuchs shall obey you and be under your command and your authority."

9. [1] She, in her turn, said to him: "If it be that I have pleased you and have been found appropriate for you, I am your servant and I am in your hands. You have granted me all this, and I am glad and pleased with it, but I have become quite tired on the way from the difficult journey. [2] My clothes have become dirty, and to-morrow is the feast of my God. I need a garment and incense and perfume and what is necessary to wash myself, so that I shall be clean and pure as suited to your honour. [3] And I need firewood and a separate and isolated place in private, where there is nobody, in order to perform a sacrifice to my God before I come to you, so that nobody will watch my sacrifice. I also wish that you grant my request in another matter in order to complete all my joy, if I have pleased you." [4] He said to her, with the lust of the Enemy, in happiness and joy: "I shall gladly grant you all that you wish." [5] She said to him: "It has occurred to me and I am wary of a feeling that I shall die before you, and that is my joy and my glory. I want you to swear to me with an oath by your great divinities that the day when I die you order my bones to be brought to my country and transferred to my sisters, so that they may bury me in the graveyard of my ancestors. This is the ultimate favour and generosity that you can show me, and it will make complete what you have done for me."

10. [1] The king stood up with joy and swore to her by his god and divinities that he would fulfil all her wishes. He left her and arranged a feast for his grandees and dignitaries and all his troops. [2] Then he thought of water, ointments, frankincense and fragrant perfumes and had them brought to her, and he placed the firewood in an isolated place, where there was nobody, and ordered that a fire be lit under it. [3] She rose and washed her face, her hands and her feet, and she kept the interior clothing on her body and dressed in an exterior white garment. She stood up and prayed and offered her incense and went into the room with the fire. She locked the door until the fire was kindled, and she humbled herself and invoked her Master, the Lord Jesus Messiah, saying: [4] "O Lord, you have died for me, and I shall also die for you at this moment. Your seal is on my face, stamped on my image. I have become a daughter-in-law and a bride for you. I ask you, o my Lord, to receive my sacrifice from my hand without delay. Receive my soul so that I may prostrate myself for your virgin mother, the Virgin, I with the seal of my virginity!"

11. [1] And she threw herself on the fire and expired. Her clothes stuck to her body and did not burn. The fire did not come near her body, and of the hairs of her head not a single one was consumed. [2] When a long time had elapsed and she had not come out, the eunuchs opened the door, and the servants saw her stretched out dead in the middle of the fire. They were amazed and did not dare inform the king, and they started to cry over her youth and her exile, so that the king heard them and rose up in great worry and came in. [3] When he saw her body dead in the middle

of the fire, he was amazed and clapped his hands together and said: “Verily, this girl has troubled my soul, and she alone has possessed me, having charged me with a heavy burden of swearing oaths to bring her body back to her country.” [4] He immediately ordered that her body be brought out, and they conserved her and shrouded her in royal clothes and perfumes. They carried her as someone sleeping and brought her to her convent. [5] When the mother and sisters were informed, they went out to the Persians who came with her, and they told them about everything that had happened to her. They rejoiced at her virginity, her wisdom and martyrdom. They gave praise to the one to whom all praise is due, our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, life-giving and *homoousios*, now and always, for ever and ever.

[6] Amen.

[6] May God have mercy upon us through her prayers! Amen.

Comments

The following comments will emphasize traits in the story that are typical of the ideal Greek novel and may thus potentially derive from *M&P*.¹³⁶ References in parenthesis are to chapter and paragraph in the translation.

The girl’s exceedingly young age, twelve years (1.2), agrees with that of the heroines of the novels (Khloe in Longos is thirteen, Antheia in Xen. Eph. fourteen). Other important points of resemblance are the initial description of her perfect beauty (1.2) as well as the repeated highlighting of her appearance through the marvel she invokes in those who see her: “everybody”, sister nuns (1.3), the Devil (2.1), matrons, eunuchs and soldiers (3.1), emperor (4.2), troops (8.1), king (8.3). In *V&A*, Parthenope’s age at the beginning of the action is not specified in the extant fragments (she has reached ten before the possible lacuna after PF31). Her perfectness in all respects (1.2, 1.4) is described in PF27–36, her beauty appears from PF23–25, 85–87. Her education (*paideia*?) is a specific point of resemblance (1.4, PF28–30, 34–35), otherwise not a regular feature of the Greek romantic heroines. A curious coincidence is the detail that the nuns

¹³⁶ For more detailed comments and discussion, see Hägg 1984.

cut Parthenope's hair when she enters the monastery (1.3);¹³⁷ the Byzantine testimonia for *M&P* (GT1b-c) also mention her hair-cut, before she starts her wanderings.¹³⁸

Parthenope's fame is an active agent (1.2; 2.1; 7.1; 8.5), as *Phēmē* often is in the novels, especially Khariton (1.1.2; 2.7.1; 4.6.7; 4.7.5; 5.2.6). The role that the Devil plays to get things going (2.1; 7.1) has parallels both in the novels' gods Eros (cf. esp. Xen. Eph. 1.2.1; Khar. 1.1.4) and Tykhe (Fortune) and, more specifically, in the *baskanos daimon*, "envious demon", who repeatedly disturbs the idyll in Khariton (1.1.16; 3.2.17; 6.2.11; cf. Xen. Eph. 3.2.4; Akh. Tat. 2.34.1). This personified Envy would easily lend itself to an *interpretatio Christiana*, since the epithet *baskanos* and the word *daimon* are both used in connection with the Christian Devil.¹³⁹ Furthermore, in the Beirut manuscript of *MSP* which Coquin considers to be a free adaptation (cf. above),¹⁴⁰ the Devil's workings on the emperor's heart (at 2.1) are elaborated in a way that closely resembles how the deadly effects of *pyr erōtikon*, "the fire of love", are described in the novels.¹⁴¹

In the following, there are some more general similarities between *MSP* and the novels, such as the heroine's well-wrought speech before the emperor, with the sophistic trick about her being already someone's bride (5.3), and the joy in the monastery when she returns safe and sound (6.2; cf. 11.5)—the crowd participating emotionally in the ups and downs of the protagonists is a constant feature of the novels. Parthenope relates to the nuns what has happened to her (6.2), and a corresponding account is given by the accompanying Persians when

¹³⁷ If that is what they do (Arab. MSH 'comb', but combined with *saif* 'sword' probably 'cut'). Coquin 1981:351 n. 4 points to difficulties in the Arabic, perhaps the result of the translator misunderstanding the Coptic model.

¹³⁸ For parallels in other novels, see Maehler 1974:3 n. 12; Hägg 1984:90 n. 62.

¹³⁹ See Hägg 1984:87 n. 26.

¹⁴⁰ There is still the possibility that *B* on occasion transmits genuine details from the Coptic that the Synaxarium manuscripts omit, as Coquin states in a personal communication to Tomas Hägg (29.05.1984). He points out 4.2, where *B* has a variant (quoted in Arabic in Coquin 1981:352 n. 2, Eng. "and he and she were alone") corresponding to "there being no person with them" in the Coptic fragment.

¹⁴¹ Coquin 1981:351 n. 8 does not give the Arabic text, but translates the passage: "le diable alluma le feu de l'amour pour elle dans son cœur, au point qu'il allait mourir par la force de sa passion pour elle." For further discussion and parallels in the novels, see Hägg 1984:67f. There are other novel-like details in *B* in 7.1, see Coquin 1981:353 n. 5; Hägg 1984:86 n. 25, and in 7.2, see Coquin 1981:353 n. 6; Hägg 1984:80.

she the second time returns home dead (11.5)—more or less specific recapitulations, addressed to family or gods, are a typical motif in the novels after happy home-coming. The exchange of letters, too, is an ingredient common to our story (7.2) and the novels, and letters are typically deceitful (cf. Khar. 4.4–7).

The heroine's monologue of lament after she has been abducted a second time (8.2), has counterparts in Khariton (6.6.4–5), Xenophon of Ephesos (3.8.6) and others, with the same two sentiments combined: the impending evil is worse than the earlier one(s), and suicide is my only escape. The Persian king complains that he has not been able to sleep ever since he heard about the beautiful girl (8.5); the topos of sleeplessness caused by desire is embroidered in Khariton when Dionysios and Artaxerxes are, in turn, in the same situation (2.4.2–10; 6.1.6–12). The very fact, of course, that precisely the King of Persia is the second prominent suitor in both Khariton and *MSP*, is significant; and the potentate's identity gains further weight through Lucian's testimony that Polykrates' daughter wandered (presumably, as a slave) "as far as Persia" (GT2b).

There is more that reminds one of the novel in the dramatic finale. Parthenope, in contrast to the heroines of the novels, does carry out her suicide (9–11). But the trick she uses and some of the details of the description are strongly reminiscent of Antheia's failed suicide attempt in Xenophon's novel (2.13.6–8; 3.3.7–6.5).¹⁴² Both girls pretend to their powerful suitors that they are willing to marry them; both only ask for a respite (as much as thirty days in Antheia's case); Antheia finally drinks her poison in the bridal chamber and Parthenope throws herself on the pyre in her chambre séparée, whilst their respective bridegrooms are feasting with their friends in adjacent rooms. The moment when household and bridegroom discover the girl's dead body is also described with some common traits. The resolution of the drama is different, of course, according to the generic conventions; while Antheia wakes up from her apparent death in the grave (3.8.1) and Kharikleia in Heliodoros' novel steps down unharmed from the pyre (8.9.14–16), Parthenope really consummates her martyrdom, although the fire miraculously never touches her

¹⁴² In addition, Parthenope's strategy has striking similarities with that used by Kharikleia and Kalasiris against the amorous pirate Trakhinos in Heliodoros (5.26–29); cf. Hägg 1984:87 n. 34.

(11.1; cf. Kharikleia's being saved by an amulet she carried: Hld. 8.10.11). Her body is brought back to the monastery, as the unsuspecting king had promised her (10.1), and received there with joy (11.4–5). But even here a romantic intrigue may perhaps be discerned under the surface: the way the girl makes the king promise to bring her dead body back home if she dies before him (9.5; 11.3) would be suitable for an instance of apparent death as well. It is especially noted that “they carried her like someone sleeping” (11.4)—was there a romantic model in which Parthenope was in reality only asleep? Once the suspicion is raised, one may point at other details that would indicate that the description of an apparent death in a pagan novel underlies that of the Christian martyrdom: the privacy insisted on (a martyr's death should preferably be before witnesses, and not be a suicide),¹⁴³ the duplicated prayers (the first one [10.3] would suffice) and the fire. She never really explains to the king why she needs a fire (9.3); for a pagan sacrifice, of course, no such motivation would be necessary.

In conclusion, there is a series of obvious resemblances to the Greek novels, in particular those of the early, “non-sophistic” type, to which *M&P* presumably belonged. Apart from the name of the heroine (which might, however, be generic, denoting any dedicated virgin), the direct links with what we know of *M&P* are few, but significant. It is in the nature of the evidence, however, that details attested by *MSP* alone cannot carry great weight in an attempt to reconstruct the plot of *M&P*.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ On the rare cases of voluntary martyrdom, see Hägg 1984:88 n. 39 with refs.

¹⁴⁴ For an attempt at reconstruction, using *MSP* and the Greek fragments and testimonia of *M&P* only, see Hägg 1984:81–83; part of it must be dismissed after *V&A* became part of the basis of reconstruction.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PERSIAN SOURCES

a. THE MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENT (PF)

The main manuscript fragment of ‘Unṣurī’s *Vāmiq u ‘Adhrā* consists of eleven more or less well preserved leaves of paper and four additional small paper pieces. They were found by Mohammad Shafi glued as stiffening into the binding of a manuscript containing an anonymous theological work in Arabic entitled *al-Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar min Kitāb al-waqf* (‘The Abridgement of the Book of pausing [in the Qur’ān]’). According to Shafi (1967: English introduction 3), this manuscript was copied on 15 Ramaḍān 526 AH, i.e. 30 July 1132 AD, probably in Herat. A colophon quoted by Shafi (1967: Persian introduction 1) says: “It was written by ‘Abdu’llāh b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad with his own hand for his dear, noble and knowledgeable brother Abū Bakr ‘Aṭīq b. Muḥammad b. Khusrau, may God give him his daily bread!” According to Shafi, it is likely that this Abū Bakr ‘Aṭīq is identical with the theologian Sūrābādī Haravī, author of a famous Qur’ān commentary (*Tafsīr-i Sūrābādī*), but there is some difficulty with the dates here, since that work is supposed to have been composed already around 470/1077–78 (Storey 1927: I, 104).

The size of the Arabic manuscript is given by Shafi (1967: Engl. introd. 3) as $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$ (= 22×15 cm.).¹ If the binding can be considered original, as suggested by Shafi, the date 1132 AD (if reliable) would be the *terminus ante quem* for the copying of the Persian fragment. That is quite an old date for a Persian poetic manuscript, and it would, in fact, take it back to a time less than a hundred years after the composition of the original poem, since ‘Unṣurī died around 1040 AD. The hand in which the fragment is written, a quite primitive *naskh*, confirms a date of the early 12th or even 11th century AD (see for the facsimile *Fig. 6*). On the first photo supplied by Shafi (Pl. 1), showing the back of the last leaf of the theological

¹ The size of the photos supplied by Shafi is actually 21.5×15 cm., i.e. approximately natural size.

manuscript (Shafi 1967: Pers. introd. 1), there is a square piece of paper glued on top of diverse poetic fragments. This piece of paper shows a note, scribbled in an apparently later hand, which seems to be a list of books belonging to a certain Zakī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī ‘Abd ul-Ḥamīd al-Bāmiyānī. A number of poetic Persian works are mentioned, such as the *Dīvāns* of Sanā’ī (d. c. 1130 AD) and Mas‘ūd-i Sa‘d[-i Salmān] (d. c. 1121), but nothing by ‘Unṣurī. It looks like an inventory of some local library. The name mentioned in the first line could imply that this library was situated in Bāmiyān, the town in the middle of the central Afghan mountains (Kūh-i Bābā) known for its two giant Buddhas.

As mentioned above (Introduction, p. 17), it has not been possible for the present authors to examine the fragment itself. Thus the 23 photos published by Shafi (1967: Pl. 1–23) and his edition of 372 verses (*abyāt*) with critical notes constitute the only available textual material. The new edition supplied by Kaladze (1983: 59–86) is only a photographic reprint of the text of Shafi. The arrangement of the photos published by Shafi is problematic in many ways. The numbering of the plates (1–23) does not coincide with the pagination (by a modern hand—that of Shafi?²) found on the photos.² Shafi’s Pl. 1 is thus the above-mentioned last page of the manuscript, showing four pieces of PF glued onto the fringes of the leaf. It contains pieces of some nine verses that seem to belong to the earliest part of the poem preserved in PF (v. 1–9). However, the first two thirds of verses 1–3 are found at the bottom of Pl. 3. Judging from the torn edge of the paper, the top of Pl. 20 also belongs here, without any readable letters, however. The photos on Pl. 2–23 generally show an empty space and a faint line, more or less in the middle of the page, as from the folding or gluing together of two pieces. The top and bottom of the page are occasionally missing. An examination of how these papers are glued together would have been of great importance for a thorough analysis of the manuscript. The two halves of each photographed page contain between three and thirteen lines (= verses) each, with eleven as the most regular number. It is remarkable, however, that the verso of each leaf, as it can be reconstructed by comparison of the edges, runs upside-down in comparison with the recto.

² Pl. 1 has no page number; Pl. 2–23 are paginated in the following order: 3a, 4a, 3b, 1b, 1a, 5a, 5b, 6b, 6a, 2a, 2b, 9b, 9a, 8b, 8a, [10b], 11a, [11b], 4b, 10a, [7b], 7a.

An explanation of this arrangement of the text on the pages could be that leaves with c. 22 lines to the page have been folded double and glued foots together, in order to make stiff pieces of paper to insert into the binding. This seems unlikely, however, since it would mean that at least every second page of the original manuscript ought to be missing, which is clearly not the case in a number of instances. There remains the explanation that the original manuscript to which PF belonged was bound at the top of the leaves, not at the side, forming a kind of small-size volume known as a *safīnah* (or *bayād*),³ with only 11–13 lines/verses (*abyāt*) to the page (with 11 as the regular number). Then these leaves would have been glued together two and two in order to fill the size of the binding of the theological volume. However, to our knowledge such *safīnahs* are only known from later centuries and then generally used for anthologies of various sorts. It is remarkable that this type of binding was used for an epic poem already in the beginning of the 12th century, but this seems to be the only possibility here, and the analysis of the sequence of the verses will be based on that assumption in the text edition given below. This has resulted in a number of rearrangements of the text as compared to the editions of Shafi and Kaladze (see Concordance of verses, p. 184).

In many places, Shafi reads words or even sequences of words that are unreadable in the photos. The most extreme case is found in PF 369–380 (= Shafi 245–256, Pl. 18 & 19), where part of the paper is obviously missing in the photo, while Shafi explains in a note that the paper had been destroyed after he had copied the text (see also Shafi 1967, Pers. introd. 2). Regarding Pl. 17 and 21 (= pag. 10a and 10b), he writes (*ibid.*) that attempts at restoration had damaged the original shape of the letters. On those plates it is also obvious that some pieces of paper have been turned and misplaced. By moving these small fragments around it has been possible to restore a few readings that escaped Shafi. In the text edition below uncertainties in the textual material are referred to in the critical apparatus (with MS referring to what is actually readable on the photos). Conjectures and reconstructions are placed within square brackets and supplementary explanations within parentheses. The orthography is slightly modernised, mainly by distinguishing *pā* (پ)

³ See *ELr* III:886 for more details about this kind of volume.

Persian text

1.....

برفتند بسته بشادی میان	کس از هر جزیره ز یونانیان
پر از مردم (و) ³ جامه وز خواسته ⁴	[بهر] ² جای شد کشتی آراسته
هوا گشت زیشان پر از رنگ (و) بوی بشامس نهادند روی

5.....

کسی را بُد یاد آرام [و خواب] ⁶	بیک هفته از بانگ چنگ و رباب
بدو بد کده شد سرای [پدر]	همی بود نانی ⁷ برای پدر

(5)

8.....

برو حلقه مشک بار آمدش	برخ بر گل نو ببار آمدش
..... ال مهر	[فلقراط را دل بران خوب چهر] ⁹
..... ¹⁰ وای

بدیدار نانی ⁷ نیاز آمدش	چو کار عروسی فراز آمدش
------------------------------------	------------------------

11.....

بنیک اختری راه بگذاشتند	سر ایندگان رود بر داشتند
همی بارگی بر گهر ¹² تاختند	ز بس کندرو گوهر انداختند

(10)

¹ Unknown number of verses missing.

² Thus Shafi.

³ The conjunction و is frequently omitted (will not be noted in the following).

⁴ MS: *خاسته* (this omission of و is frequent and will not be noted in the following).

⁵ Unknown number of verses missing.

⁶ Added by Shafi.

⁷ Emendation; MS & Shafi: *یانی*; probably for *Nānī < Greek Nanis; cf. p. 134.

⁸ Unknown number of verses missing.

⁹ Half-verse as read by Shafi.

¹⁰ Only lower part of letters readable

¹¹ Unknown number of verses missing.

¹² MS: *گوهر*.

Translation

- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (1) People came from every island of the Greeks,
having girded themselves with happiness.
- (2) [In every] place a ship was adorned,
full of people, clothing and riches.
- (3) --- --- they made for Samos,¹
the air became full of colour and scent from them.
--- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (4) During one week, because of the sound of harp and rebeck,
nobody could think of rest [and sleep].
- (5) *Nānī² was ever seeking the counsel of her father;
through her (her) [father's] palace became an idol temple.
--- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (6) On her cheek the fresh rose came into blossom;
her face was framed by locks of musk.
- (7) [Towards that lovely-faced the heart of Fuluqrāt³]
--- --- --- love.
- (8) --- --- oh ---
--- --- ---
- (9) When the wedding-feast opened up for him,
he felt an urge to see *Nānī.
--- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (10) The singers took up (their) instruments,⁴
under a good star they set out.
- (11) Through all the jewels they flung into it (the feast?)
they steered their horses towards the essence.⁵

¹ Pers. *Shāmis*, one of many ways of writing this name; cf. Steingass 725.

² Persian text has Yānī, but Nānī is the most probable reconstruction, <Greek Nanís, cf. p. 134.

³ I.e. Polykrates; one of the few Greek names that has not been distorted in the Persian version.

⁴ Pers. *rūd*, specifically a string instrument (e.g. a harp), occasionally also used for 'singing'.

⁵ Transl. uncertain; a word play on Pers. *g(a)uhar* 'jewel, essence, etc.' which occurs once in each half-verse—something which is not allowed unless it is used with different meaning.

- بکاخ فلقرط دادند روی
 فرود آمدند آن دو آرام جوی
- چو نانی¹ بدید آن چنان دستگاه
 بزرگی و نام فلقرط شاه
- دل (و) جانش با او شد آمیخته
 بچیزی نَبُد² دلش آویخته
- چو آمیغ برنا شد آراسته (15)
 شبی خفته بد شاه فرهنگ یاب
- کی زیتونی اند(در)⁵ میان سرای
 برستی و رفتی هم آنگاه ز [جای]⁴
- رهی هر جزیره نُوستی یکی
 پس آنگاه ز بر بر گذشتی یکی⁷
- پس آنگاه بدان جای باز آمدی
 چو سایه [بسوی]ش⁸ بناز آمدی
- بتختی برش⁹ بالا و پست (20)
 دلش خیره¹² شد بان جواب¹³ خویشتن
- همانا کی فرزند آید مرا
 کزو کارها بر گشاید مـ[را]
- چو زین کار¹⁵ بگذشت یک چند گاه
 یکی دختر آورد نانی¹⁶ چو ماه
- هران گه کزو بوی (و) رنگ آمدی
 جهان بر گل (و) مشک تتگ آمدی
- چو از جامه آن ماه بر خاستی (25)
 بچهره جهانرا بیاراستی
- بیک ماه بالا¹⁷ گرفت آن نهال
 فزون زان کی¹⁸ دیگر درختان بسال¹⁹

¹ MS & Shafi: یانی; see above PF5.

² MS: نبود.

³ = PT136; second half-verse there (A, D, F, I, KA, N, S, SM): دو خفته سه باشند بر خاسته.

⁴ Thus Shafi.

⁵ MS: only ان.

⁶ Thus Shafi.

⁷ Thus MS & Shafi; reading?

⁸ Thus Shafi.

⁹ MS: -; three *morae* missing; Shafi adds: رفت؟

¹⁰ MS: وز.

¹¹ Thus Shafi.

¹² MS: (دلش شد خنک) (thus Shafi, who emends: خنیک).

¹³ MS: (unmetrical!) خواب؟

¹⁴ Thus Shafi.

¹⁵ MS: + یک.

¹⁶ MS & Shafi: یانی; see above PF5.

¹⁷ A, D, DS, H, I, KA, Q, S; MS: یکی مال مالا؟

¹⁸ A, D, DS, H, I, KA, Q, S; MS: فزون ز.

¹⁹ = PT101.

- (12) They turned towards the palace of Fuluqrāt;
these two seekers of rest settled down.
- (13) When *Nānī caught sight of all this wealth,
the greatness and fame of king Fuluqrāt,
- (14) Her heart and soul were mingled with him;
on nothing (else) her heart was set.
- (15) As intercourse between the young was arranged,
when two had lain down, three rose up.¹
- (16) One night the all-wise king was sleeping;
his luminous soul saw this [in a dream]:
- (17) In the middle of the palace an olive-tree
grew up and then moved from its [place].²
- (18) At once it travelled to every island;
then it passed directly over the mainland.
- (19) Then it came back to that place,
like a shadow gently it came down [towards] it.
- (20) Up on a throne - - - high and low;
he saw this and [woke up] from his sweet dream.
- (21) His heart itself became confounded by this response;
he said: this dream [of mine] is not bad.
- (22) Surely, a child will be born to me,
through which things will be solved for me.
- (23) When some time had passed after this event,
*Nānī bore a daughter like a moon.
- (24) Whenever scent and colour rose from her,
the world became narrow for rose and musk.³
- (25) When that moon rose from its couch,
it adorned the world with its face.
- (26) In one month that sprout grew high
more than other trees in a year.

¹ I.e. the bride was pregnant.

² Cf. the dream of Astyages about his daughter Mandane, Herodotos 1.108 (remarked by Kaladze 1983:151)

³ I.e. she surpassed rose and musk.

چو شد هفت ماهه برفتن گرفت
 سخن گفت ده ماهه نیز ای شگفت
 چو دو ساله شد راه آموختن
 گرفت او بدانش دل افروختن
 چو پر هفته¹ شد سال دانش پذیر
 ستاره شمر گشت و چابک دبیر
 بدو هرچ بنمودی آموزگار
 بسنگ اندرون کنده بودی نگار
 چو ده سال² بمیدان چوگان (و) گوی
 بتیر (و) کمان اندر آورد روی
 [.....]³

بنیزه که از جای بر داشتی
 بیولاد بر تیر بگذاشتی
 چنان شد کی از پادشاه زادگان
 جزو کس نبودش ز آزادگان
 چو اندر هنر آموشد پدر
 کلید سخون دید و گنج هنر
 بتدبیر فرزند فرهنگ ساز
 ز دستور فرزانه شد بی دیاز
 چو اورا بفرهنگ همتا ندید
 پدر نام آن ماه عذرا گزید
 نکردی بی او شادمانی بسی
 نکریش پنهان پدر از کسی
 فلقراط [شه]⁴ را گر از هیچ روی
 پدید آمدی دشمن جنگ جوی
 بعذرا سپردی سپه پیش خویش
 فرستادی اورا بدان کار پیش
 گرامی همی داشت اورا پدر
 گرامی تر از جان و (ا)ز⁵ چشم سر
 (40)
 6

¹ Shafi emends: بر هخته.

² MS adds: شد (unmetrical).

³ One leaf = 22 verses may be missing.

⁴ MS: -; added by Shafi.

⁵ MS: وز.

⁶ Probably three verses missing.

- (27) When she was seven months old she started walking;
 ten months old she was also talking, o wonder!
- (28) When two years of age, she took the way of study;
 she started to enlighten her heart with knowledge.
- (29) When the age of that eager student reached seven,
 she became an astronomer and dexterous scribe.
- (30) Whatever her teacher showed her,
 she engraved that picture in stone.
- (31) At ten years of age, she went to polo and ball;
 she turned her face to arrow and bow.
 - - - [one leaf = about 22 verses possibly missing]
- (32) With her spear she moved the mountain from its place;
 with her arrow she pierced steel.
- (33) It turned out that of the royal offspring
 there was none among the noble for him but she.
- (34) When her father examined her in arts,
 he found a key to eloquence and a treasure of virtue.
- (35) In deliberation the cultured child
 became without need of the instruction of the learned.
- (36) When he did not see the like of her in skill,
 her father chose the name of 'Adhrā for that moon.¹
- (37) Her father did not conceal her from anybody;
 he did not make much merry without her.
- (38) If for [king] Fuluqrāt from any side
 a belligerent enemy would come into sight,
- (39) He entrusted 'Adhrā with the army before himself;
 he sent her forth to that task.
- (40) Her father held her dear,
 dearer than his soul and the eye of his head.
 - - - [probably three verses missing]

¹ 'Adhrā, i.e. 'virgin', possibly a reference to 'impregnability'; cf. Utas 1984-86:437; Kaladze 1983:152-153.

.....
 بدا .. ه ... م [ببیند] 1.....

وگر هرچ رفتی ببازار (و) کوی

جوانی [کی خود] 2 مادرش 3 مرده بود

زنی بد کنش هغسقولی 4 بنام 5

زنی بد اگر چون مه روشنست (45)

دلش با پدر کرده بودی درشت

هران مرد کو رفت بر رای زن

برای زن اندر زین سود نیست

ندادی مر اورا زین دستگاه

[.....] 8

ز دست پدر تنگ روزی پسر (50)

ازین کشور بی هنر بگذرم

همان کس کی جان داد روزی دهد

همی بود ز اندیشه یک چند گاه

نگه کرد بی راه ماندنش

ز رایش بواق رسید آگای (55)

¹ Almost completely damaged line.

² MS (= Shafi): خرمند ; emendation metri causa.

³ MS: + ما (crossed out).

⁴ Emendation; all sources: معسقولیه, an apparent distortion for *Higsifilī < Greek Hegesipyle.

⁵ MS & Shafi; D, I, KA, Q, Ri, S: نام .

⁶ = PT106.

⁷ Verse repeated in MS; second half-verse starts first time with اگر, second time with کرا.

⁸ Possibly one leaf = 22 verses missing.

⁹ Thus MS; Shafi emends برد.

¹⁰ Shafi reads بسر .

- (41) - - - - -
 [through?] - - - [he sees?] - - -
- (42) Although whenever he went around in bazaar and town,
 people were astonished by his looks.
- (43) A young man whose mother [herself] was dead;
 his father also had taken another wife:
- (44) A woman of evil deeds by name of *Highsifūlī,¹
 she did not have any aspiration but evil.
- (45) A bad woman, even if she is like the shining moon,
 do not mix with her, because she is an Ahriman!
- (46) She made his/her heart hard against his father;
 she gave him every seed of trouble in the fist.
- (47) Every man who acts on the counsel of a woman
 will be despised in front of those of good advice.
- (48) In the counsel of a woman there is radically no gain;
 if she shows you fire, it is nothing but smoke.
- (49) He did not give him any possibilities at all;
 he did not look towards him with goodness.
 - - - [possibly one leaf missing]
- (50) From the father's hand the destitution of the son;
 the subsistence of the son was made difficult.
- (51) "Let me leave this unvirtuous country;
 perhaps another country will be better for me!
- (52) The one who gave life gives livelihood;
 when he gives livelihood he cheers the heart."
- (53) He spent some time in thought
 on how to seek an escape from revolving fate.
- (54) His ignoble stepmother looked (for a way)
 to bring life out of his breast with poison.
- (55) Awareness of her intention reached Vāmiq;²
 his straight cypress was bent double from pain.

¹ < Greek Hegesipyle; Persian sources write Ma'shaqūlī(yah), but Highsifūlī is the evident reconstruction; cf. p. 202.

² Arab.: 'ardent lover'; no trace of Greek Metiokhos.

- دلش را نبذ جز¹ راه گریز
 بر آتش دلی دید زان رستخیز
- از آغاز هم راه باید گزید
 کسی [را]² کی او راه خواهد برید
-³
- بسی آزموده بناکام⁵ (و) کام⁶
 یکی دوستش بود طوفان⁴ بنام
- پسندیده اندر دل هر کسی
 جهان دیده و کار دیده بسی
- همه راز دل پیش طوفان براند
 همان گاه کس کرد او را بخواند (60)
- تو آگاهی از گشت پرگار من
 چنین گفت کی پر هنر جان من
- کی یک باره کرد از خرد دل تهی
 ز کردار این زن تو نیز آگاهی
- بد اندیش تاریک خاک منست
 همه هوش او در تلاک منست
- نیاید از ان شرم هرگز برون
 روانم بماند بشرم اندرون
- بکوشش مگر جان بجای آورم
 بکوشم⁷ بفرمان و رای آورم (65)
- فد[ا]ی⁸ تو دارم همی خویشتن
 چنین گفت طوفان به وامق کی من
- ولیکن چه چارست با بخت بد
 مرا⁹ هست چندان کی باید خرد
- نه بیچاندی مر ترا روزگار
 اگر نیستی بخت ناسازوار
- گذشتن¹⁰ نزد فلقر اط شاه
 بشامس بسیجید بایدت راه
- بنیکی بود مر ترا رهنمون
 ترا نیز خویشیست با او بخون (70)

¹ Thus MS; Shafi suggests جزکی? probably read *juzz metri causa*.

² MS: -; را added by Shafi.

³ One line left blank—space for a heading?

⁴ Thus MS & A; D, F, I, KA, Q, Ri, S: توفان; T: ترفان.

⁵ Thus D, F, I, KA, Q, Ri, S; MS & T: زتوکام.

⁶ = PT109.

⁷ MS adds first in the line: غای (secondary hand?).

⁸ MS: فدی (*imālah?*); addition by Shafi.

⁹ Thus MS; Shafi emends: ترا.

¹⁰ Probably read with *idāfah*; Shafi adds: به.

- (56) He saw a heart full of fire because of this upheaval;
 there was nothing for his heart but the way of flight.
- (57) The one who is going to travel
 has first of all to choose a companion.
 - - - [one blank line—for a heading?]
- (58) There was a friend of his by name of Ṭūfān,¹
 who had experienced much of fortune and misfortune,
- (59) One who had seen the world and experienced much,
 agreeable to the heart of everybody.
- (60) He made someone call for him at once;
 he told all the secrets of his heart to Ṭūfān
- (61) He said thus: “O, my friend full of virtue!
 You are aware of how my circle is drawn.
- (62) You are also aware of the deeds of this woman,
 who suddenly made her heart empty of reason.
- (63) All her wit is (directed) towards my destruction;
 she is evil-thinking regarding my dark ashes.
- (64) My soul remains in bashfulness;
 it will never rid itself of that shame.
- (65) I shall strive to follow (your) command and counsel;
 by striving maybe I shall save my life.”
- (66) Ṭūfān spoke thus to Vāmiq: “I
 am prepared to sacrifice myself for you.
- (67) I have as much wisdom as one should have,
 but what can be done against an evil fate?
- (68) If it were not for this refractory luck,
 fate would not entangle you like that.
- (69) You must prepare to go to Samos,
 to move on to king Fuluqrāt.
- (70) You are, after all, related to him by blood;²
 he will be a guide for you to a good life.

¹ As written in Pers.; possibly < Greek Theophanes or Thouphanes; cf. p. 222.

² Unhistorically, the novelist seems to have made Polykrates, the son of Aiakes (Hdt. 3.39.1), related to Miltiades, who traced his history back to Aiakos, the son of Zeus (Hdt. 6.35.1); see PT138 and cf. Hägg 1985:95.

بدارد ترا خرم (و) شادمان
 بباشی بی آزار و ایمن بجان
 پسندید و امق هر انج او بگفت
 بسجید راه هم اندر نهفت
 چه شد جامه روز فرخنده چاک
 بر آمد شب تیره گون از مگاک
 بکشتی نشستند هر دو جوان
 شده سخونهایشان¹ ز هر کس نهان
 بشامس رسیدند هر دو بهم (75)
 نشد هیچ دلشان از آن ره دژم
 چه هر دو ز کشتی برون آمدند
 ز دریا سوی شهر شامس شدند
 2

چنان دان کی این³ هیکل از پهلوی
 بود نام بت خانه تا⁴ بشنوی⁵
 بروزان همه مردمان سر بسر
 شدندی بدان هیکل نامور
 همه پیش آن بت شدندی فراز
 بد (و) نیک بردی به پیشش نماز
 ازو خواستندی همه رای خویش (80)
 چنان بود آیین کی شاه و س[پاه]
 بهیکل پیاده شدندی براه
 وگر نام ور تاج داری [بُد]ی
 هرانگه کی در پیش آن بت شدی
 بفرمان شدندی همه راه جوی
 وپس باز گشتندی از پیش او
 چو و امق بنزدیک هیکل رسید
 بدان هیکل اندر یکی بنگرید
 چنان بُد کی عزاز در ناگهان (85)
 برون آمد (و) گشت روشن جهان

¹ Thus MS; Shafi emends unnecessarily: شان سخونها.

² One line left blank—space for a heading?

³ Thus A, D, DS, H, I, KA, N, Q, S; MS & Shafi: آن.

⁴ Thus MS; D, I, KA, N, Q, S: ار; A, DS, SH: مگر.

⁵ = PT151.

- (71) He will keep you prosperous and happy:
you will remain unharmed and your life safe.”
- (72) Vāmiq approved of everything he said;
he thus prepared for his journey in secret.
- (73) When the clothing of the auspicious day was rent,
a dark night rose from the depths.
- (74) The two youths embarked on a ship,
keeping their story hidden from everyone.
- (75) The two reached Samos together;
the heart of neither of them was distracted by the journey.
- (76) When the two got off the ship,
they headed from the sea towards the city of Samos.
- - - [one blank line—for a heading?]
- (77) Know that this temple¹ in Pahlavi
is a name for idol-house, if you listen!
- (78) Daily all people, one after the other,
went to that famous temple.
- (79) All went up to that idol;
good and bad paid homage to it.
- (80) From it all sought advice for themselves,
having taken it as their beloved.
- (81) Such was the rule that king and warrior
had to walk to the temple on foot,
- (82) Even if he were a crowned man of fame,
every time that he went up to that idol.
- (83) As commanded all wayfarers went (there)
and then turned back from it.²
- (84) When Vāmiq came close to the temple,
he at once looked into that temple.
- (85) It happened that suddenly through the gate ‘Adhrā
came out, and the world was illuminated.

¹ Pers. *haikal* is the Arab. word for ‘temple’ (< Akkadian); Pers. *but-khānah* ‘idol-house’ may also be seen as a Middle Persian/Pahlavi word.; on this topos, see Kaladze 1983:153.

² Such a short obligatory visit to the temple on “Samos, the sacred island of Hera”, including sacrifice and prayers, is described in Xenophon of Ephesus 1.11.2. No particular oracle cult, as seems to be implied by PF80, was attached to the Samian Hera. Herodotos (3.60.4) notes only that this is “the largest temple ever seen”.

1.

- نگه کرد بدان روی و امق درنگ
 کزو خیره شد آن بت آرای گنگ
- سر و زلف مشکین او² چون گره
 فکنده بگل کرده بر بر زره
- همی کرد عذرا بوا مق نگاه
 یکی شاه دید از در (و) گاه
- دل هر دو برنا بر امد بجوش
 تو گفتی تهی ماند جان شان ز هوش
- ز دیدار خیزد همه رست خیز (90)
 بر اید بمغز آتش مهر تیز
- چنین گفت عندا³ کی خوب روی
 بدین روی بالا و [این] رنگ (و) بوی
- یکی تو مرا باز گوی از نسب
 بیآگاه مار از حال (و) سبب
- بدو گفت کدبانو⁴ بانوان
 غریبم یکی خسته دل من جوان
- ز بیداد بیدادگر⁵ جسته ام
 بمهر فلطراق⁶ پیوسته ام
- مگر شاه فرخنده ببذیردم (95)
 شمار پرستندگان گیردم
- بنیک اختر از خاک بر داردم
 بزهار ایزد نگه داردم
- بگفت این و [ا] ⁷ تنش بگشاد خوی
 تو گفتی بر آتش نهادست پی
- پس انگشت کرده سوی مادرش
 بدل داده و امق نمود افسر [ش]
- چو نانی⁸ فراز آمد و بنگرید
 شگفتی فرو ماند کورا بدید
- بدو گفت کی رنج دیده جوان (100)
 پدید ست بر تو ره خسروان

¹ Blank space of some five lines—left for illustration?

² MS: او مشکین; emendation by Shafi.

³ MS: + بوا مق (unmetrical).

⁴ Thus MS; Shafi emends: کی بانو.

⁵ MS: + بر (unmetrical).

⁶ Corrected in MS from: فلطراق.

⁷ MS: ز.

⁸ MS & Shafi: یانی; see above PF5.

- [blank space of some five lines—for illustration?]
- (86) Vāmiq stared at that face for so long
that that idol-adorner of Gang¹ became confused by him,
- (87) Her head and musky locks like a knot
tied around a rose, on her breast a coat of mail.
- (88) ‘Adhrā kept her gaze on Vāmiq;
she saw a king worthy of crown and throne.
- (89) The hearts of the two youths began to seethe;
it was as if all sense had left their souls.
- (90) From one glance all upheaval will arise,
the sharp fire of love will enter the mind.
- (91) Thus spoke ‘Adhrā: “O, lovely-faced,
(you) with such exalted looks and [such] colour and scent!
- (92) Tell me at once about your lineage;
inform us about your state and circumstances!”
- (93) He said to her: “Queen of ladies,
I am a stranger, broken-hearted (although) young.
- (94) I have run away from the oppression of an oppressor,
I have attached myself to the benevolence of Fuluqrāt.
- (95) Maybe that fortunate king will receive me
(and) count me among his servants,
- (96) Raise me from the dust to the star of fortune
(and) keep me in the trust of God.”
- (97) He said this, and sweat streamed from his body;
it was as if he had stepped on fire.
- (98) Then she pointed with her finger towards her mother,
showing the enamoured Vāmiq [her] crown.
- (99) When *Nānī came forth and looked,
astonishment overcame her when she saw him.
- (100) She said to him: “O, afflicted young man,
on you are manifest the ways of kings.

¹ Legendary idol temple in Turkestan; cf. *Burhān-i qāṭi* III:1843.

- پذیرم سپاس از تو¹ ای نیک خواه
 بگفت این (و) بگذشت و امق بماند
 همی رفت عذرا بره پیچ پیچ
 بدان تا نداند کی بی دل شدست
 (105) ابا خویشتن³ گفت و امق همی
 کی بخت بد از من نبرک همی
 چه پتیاره پیش من آورد باز
 کی دل را غم آورد (و) دل⁴ را گداز
 که داند⁵ کنون کان چه دل خواه⁶ بود
 پری بود یا بر زمین ماه بود
 همی راند بیجاده⁷ بر سندروس
 همی گفت دل تیره چون آب نوس
 چو طوفان بدیدش د[و]⁸ رخساره تر
 بدوگفت ای مهر پیوند نو⁹ (110)
 بدین کار کندیشه رانی همی
 کی بر موج دریا نشینی همی
 همی گفت (و) و امق همی راند خون
 بیاسخ نبودش همی رهنمون
 سبک پیش بت رفت بردش نماز
 چو طوفان بدانست پوشیده راز
 همی گفت کای مر مرا رهنمای
 ننگه دار آیین پادشایی و جای
 برین دل شکسته غریب جوان
 ننگه دار فرهنگ¹⁰ رای و روان (115)

¹ MS: ازو سپاس (unmetrical).

² MS: بزار دست; Shafi emends: پڑ آردست (for پڑمرده ست?).

³ MS: + همی (crossed over).

⁴ Thus MS; probably a mistake for تن (as suggested by 'Alī Ashraf Ṣādiqī, personal communication)

⁵ MS: که داند (double writing of ه).

⁶ MS: دل خواه.

⁷ MS: بیجاره, emendation by Shafi.

⁸ MS: د; emendation by Shafi.

⁹ Thus MS; Shafi emends: تو.

¹⁰ Shafi adds (و).

- (101) I accept your homage, o well-wisher;
I shall tell your story to the king.”
- (102) She said this and passed on; Vāmiq remained;
he invoked the Creator of the world.
- (103) ‘Adhrā walked away swaying to and fro;
she did not at all turn her face towards her mother,
- (104) So that she would not understand that she had lost her heart,
that the fresh colour of her face had withered.
- (105) Vāmiq spoke thus to himself:
“Bad luck does not ever desert me.
- (106) What misfortune has again befallen me,
that has brought grief to my heart and consumed my
heart?¹
- (107) Who knows now what heart’s desire that was;
was it a fairy or was it a moon on earth?”
- (108) Thus he spoke with his heart darkened like ebony,
letting ruby² fall on his amber³ (cheeks).
- (109) When Ṭūfān saw him with the two cheeks wet,
he understood what had happened to him.
- (110) He said to him: “O, you who are bound in new love,
do not go near the breath of that dragon!
- (111) That thing which you are contemplating
(is) as if you would ride the waves of the sea.”
- (112) Thus he spoke; Vāmiq wept (tears of) blood,
having no guidance as to how to answer.
- (113) When Ṭūfān understood the hidden secret,
he promptly went up to the idol and paid homage to it.
- (114) He said: “O, you who are my guide,
protect this kingdom and throne!
- (115) Protect the wisdom of prudence and life
for this heart-broken young stranger!

¹ Presumably a mistake for body (with reading suggested in a note to the text).

² Pers. *bijādah*, here metonymy for ‘tears of blood’.

³ Pers. *sandarūs*, here metonymy for ‘yellow cheeks’.

بدندان مرگ اندر آویخته	ز بیدادی از خانه بگریخته
دلش گفتی از غم همی باز گفت	چو عنرا ز هیکل سوی خانه رفت
دل افروز (و) فرخ کند اخترش	همی بود بامید ¹ تا مادرش
به ³ پیچید عنرا] ز ⁴ و درد	[چو مادر] ² نکرد
 ⁵
همان ساعت [از وامق آمدش یاد] ⁷	چ[و] ⁶ ف[تاد] (120)
ز وامق سخون پیش او باز گفت	به پیش فلقر اط شد نیک جفت
بدین نامور بارگاه آمدست	بشامس بز نهار شاه آمدست
بگفتار خویش ⁸ پسندیده ام	کی من بر در هیکلس دیده ام
بنفشه دمیده ز خون نذرو	یکی نام جوئی ببالای سرو
سبک داد فرمان بسالار بار	بدانست آن نیک خو شهریار (125)
بدو بر نشان آن جوانرا بیار	یکی باره من بهیکل گذار
روا رو بر آمد ز درگه بماه	بکردند چ(و) تانک فرمود شاه
دو تا کرد بالا برسم نماز	چو آمد بدرگاه وامق فراز
مر آن مستمند دل آزرده را	بپرسید مر وامق خسته را

¹ به امید. MS:

² MS: only last word clear on photo in Shafi, who also reads [در] چو ما in the beginning; perhaps: چو مادر از آن کار یادی نکرد

³ MS: بر?

⁴ MS: two points on top of the letter following ز: تاسه?

⁵ Some four verses missing.

⁶ Little readable on photo of MS; Shafi suggests: عنرا نگاهش فتاد.

⁷ Reading of Shafi, who states that MS was damaged after he copied it.

⁸ MS: خویش.

- (116) He has fled from home because of injustice,
hanging between the teeth of death.”
- (117) When ‘Adhrā returned home from the temple,
it was as if her heart was rent by sorrow.
- (118) She clung to the hope that her mother
would make her star happy and fortunate.
- (119) [When her mother] did not ---,
‘Adhrā wreathed in --- and pain.
--- [some four verses missing]
- (120) When --- - - - - - fell,
at that moment [she came] to think [of Vāmiq].
- (121) That good wife went up to Fuluqrāt,
related to him the story of Vāmiq:
- (122) “He has come to Samos for the protection of the king;
he has come to this illustrious court,
- (123) (The one) whom I have seen in front of the temple,
of whose eloquent speech I have approved,
- (124) A seeker of fame with the stature of a cypress,
a violet¹ blossoming out of a pheasant’s blood².”
- (125) That good-natured ruler understood
and promptly ordered his master of ceremonies:
- (126) “Take one of my horses to the temple;
place that young man on it and bring (him here)!”
- (127) They did as the king had commanded;
proceeding he came up from the court to the moon.³
- (128) When he came forth to the quarters of Vāmiq,
he bowed deeply in paying reverence.
- (129) He addressed the afflicted Vāmiq,
that wretched one with an injured heart.

¹ Pers. *banafshah*, metonymy for ‘beautiful hair’.

² Pers. *khūn-i tadharv*, metonymy for ‘shining face’.

³ I.e. Vāmiq (‘moon’ metonymy for beautiful person).

- (130) بگفتا کی ای خوب چهره جوان
 خردمند روشن دل و مهربان
- بدستوری شاه بر من بیای
 کنون خیز [ازینجا]¹ و ایدر میای
- ابر خاست و امق بفرمان شاه
 برفتش از انجا بدان بارگاه
- فلقراط رفتش پذیره بدر
 بپرسید گرم و گرفتش ببر
- بمجلس گه آورد (و) بئواختش
 بپرمایه تر جای بئشاخنش
- (135) بدو گفت کام تو کام منست
 بدیدار تو چشم من روشنست²
- سوی خانه و شهر خویش آمدی
 خرد را بفرهنگ بیس آمدی
- سر بانوان دست عذرا بدست
 گرفت (و) بیامد بجایی نشست
- بیای اندر آمد . . . م³ نای دم
 بر آمد غریویدن زیر (و) بم
- چو دیدار عذرا بوامق رسید
 چو ماهی بخشکی دلش می طپید
-
⁴
- (140) فلقراط . . . د کز . . . حرد⁵
 بوامق . . . [ی] ژرف بنگرد⁶
- د⁷ آزمون
 کی چون باشد اندر سخون رهنمون⁸
- ازو بشتود هر سخون کژ و راست
 [بدا]ند کی دیدار او تا کجاست
- یکی بود فرزانه پیش دست
 کی بودی فلقراط را هم نشست

¹ Missing in MS but metrically necessary (emendation by Shafi).

² Corrected in MS from روشنس.

³ Two syllables lost in MS.

⁴ MS damaged, only lowest parts of letters visible.

⁵ Mutilated text; Shafi suggests: فلقراط [ای مد کز حـ] [سـ] برد.

⁶ End uncertain.

⁷ Beginning mutilated; Shafi suggests: بپرسد، کند [از جوان].

⁸ The following five verses are written only in the right column, leaving free space to the left—probably for an illustration (later filled with secondary scribble).

- (130) He said: "O, handsome young man,
wise, enlightened and affectionate,
- (131) Come with me on the order of the king;
rise now [from here] and do not stay thus!"
- (132) Vāmiq rose at the command of the king;
he went from there to that court.
- (133) Fuluqrāt went to meet him at the door;
he greeted him warmly and embraced him.
- (134) He brought him to the assembly-room, treating him well,
made him sit in a very honoured seat.
- (135) He said to him: "Your wish is my wish;
through the sight of you my eyes light up.
- (136) You have come to your own home and city;
you have added to wisdom with education."
- (137) The first lady took 'Adhrā's hand in her hand,
and she came and sat down at her place.
- (138) The playing of - - - flute was started;
the clamour of treble and bass arose.
- (139) When Vāmiq caught sight of 'Adhrā,
his heart leapt like a fish on dry land.
- (140) - - - - -
- - - - -
- (141) Fuluqrāt - - - who from - - - wisdom(?)
at Vāmiq - - - looked(?) sharply.
- (142) - - - - - examination,
what a guide he will be in speech,
[the right column of the following ten lines is left blank—
for illustration?]
- (143) To hear from him every word, right and wrong,
to know how far his vision went.
- (144) There was an outstanding sage
who used to sit together with Fuluqrāt,

- (145) جهان دیده (ء) نام او نخمنوس¹ کی دانش همی دست او داد بوس²
 بعغرا نگه کرد بس نخمنوس³ کی شد چشم روشن چو چشم خروس
 همی دید دزدیده دیدارشان ز پیوستن مهر بسیارشان
 همی خواست کز وامق مهرجوی بجوید سخون تا بیابد ازوی
 زمهرش سخون را همه بیخ و شاخ کند راه دیدار بر دل فراخ
 سخون تا نداند نگوید کسی جز ان کس کی مغزش نباشد بسی (150)
 ز وامق بپرسید دانا سخون کبا تو بزاد و بدانش کهن
 تن دوستی را خردمند مرد ز گیتی به چه چیز مانده کرد
 چه چیز ست مر پیکرش را نگار چگونه نگارندش اندر بهار
 بدو گفت وامق کی یا راه بین پسندیده پادشایی چنین
4.
- (155) دل سال خورده⁵ جهان دیده تر بفرهنگ و دانش پسندیده تر
 بجیزی⁶ گران آزمایش مرا نبود ست و نبود [رهایش]⁷ مرا
 اگر چند من زو ندارم نشان همی آید اندر دل من گمان
 کی مر دوستی را خردمند مرد بیگی جوان مرد مانده کرد

¹ Emendation; MS: مجینوس (not easily metrical), may be a mistake for مخسنوس, as in A, D, F, I, KA, Ri, S: بدونام او مخسنوس حکیمی, but both must be mutilations of an original $\text{< Greek Anaximenes >}$ < نخمنوس > ; see p. 227.

² = PT76.

³ Emendation (cf. previous verse); MS: مجینوس.

⁴ Some eight verses missing.

⁵ MS: خروده.

⁶ MS: بحیزی (?); emendation by Shafi.

⁷ MS: ارمایش; emendation by Shafi.

- (145) An experienced man, *Nakhminūs¹ by name,
whose hand was kissed by knowledge.
- (146) *Nakhminūs often looked at ‘Adhrā,
who had become shiny-eyed like the cock’s eye.²
- (147) He saw their furtive glances
of the great love uniting them.
- (148) He wanted to make the loving Vāmiq
speak in order to get from him
- (149) Words about his love, all its roots and branches,
to broaden the road of vision into his heart.
- (150) Nobody speaks until he knows,
except the one who has not got much brain.
- (151) That man of wise speech asked Vāmiq:
“Who was born with you and still old in knowledge?”
- (152) To what in the world did the wise man
compare the effigy of love?
- (153) What does its figure look like,
how do they portray him in the temple?”
- (154) Vāmiq said to him: “O, keen-sighted,
favoured by such a king,
- - - [about eight verses missing]
- (155) An old heart is more experienced in the world;
it is more suitable for culture and knowledge.
- (156) I have not been put to such a hard trial,
and there will be no [escape] for me.
- (157) Although I do not know the character of it,
an idea appears in my heart,
- (158) That a wise man has likened
love with a young man,

¹ < Greek Anaximenes; Persian text of PT76 has Mukhsinūs (and MS unmetrically Majīnūs), but Nakhminūs must be the original Arabic/Persian form; cf. p. 227

² I.e. blood-shot (from passion).

- بکر دار پر خاش چون جنگ جوی
 کمائی و تیری بدست دگر
 برویش بوَد هر کسی شادمان
 چو تنگش¹ بدوزد [بتیر خدنگ]²
 بر آتش نهد تا شود [سوخته]
 کی نیرو نباشد [تنش را بچیز]
 کی فرتوت [بیدست و پا داندش]
 بجوشد [بسان دلاور نهنگ]
 نبا [بِد بدو هیچ پیوستنا]
 یکی تیر [مهر از دلش بر دمید]
 کبا دل ربایش [بوَد هم سخون]
 کی او دست کی [دارد از مهر بر]
 (160)
- بیدار پاکیزه و خوب رای
 فروزنده آتش بیک دست بر
 نوازد بخوبی دل مردمان
 چو نزدیک شد دل بدو بی درنگ
 بیارد به بیکان دل دوخته
 به پیریش مانده کردند نیز
 کی بیننده با سستیانگارش
 هر ان گه³ کی با او بکوشد بجنگ
 ز چنگال او بد توان رستنا
 چو آواز و امق بعدر ا رسید
 همی خواست آن سیم تن سرو بن
 بهانه بد ان تا نداند پدر
 (165)
-⁴
- بواق چنین گفت کی نیک رای
 از ان پیکر دوستی پیر نیست
 سخون گوی بینا ج . . . [رهنمای]
 کزو مر دل پیر را تی [ر نیست]

¹ MS corrected unreadably; Shafi: [کنش].

² End of verses 162–179 missing on photo; Shafi adds last parts and comments that the MS was damaged after he copied it (p. 13).

³ Thus MS; for کس?

⁴ Probably four verses missing.

- (159) In appearance innocent and good-looking,
in action pugnacious like a warrior,
- (160) A flaming fire (held) up in one hand,
a bow and arrow in the other.
- (161) He soothes people's heart with beauty,
and everybody becomes joyful from his face.
- (162) When a heart comes close to him, without delay
he pierces it like a ---¹ with a [poplar arrow²].
- (163) He carries the pierced heart on the point of his arrow,
puts it on the fire till it becomes [burnt].
- (164) They have also compared him to an old man,
whose [body] has no strength [to do anything],
- (165) So that the viewer imagines him to be feeble
and [believes him to be] a dotard without hands
[and feet]
- (166) As soon as someone tries to fight with him,
he will rise up [like a valiant crocodile].
- (167) It is hard to escape from his claws;
one should never become [entangled with him].”
- (168) When the voice of Vāmiq reached ‘Adhrā,
an arrow [of love flew from her heart].
- (169) That cypress-slender silver-body desired
to enter in [discussion] with her heart-ravisher.
- (170) That was an excuse, so that her father would not know
whose hand she [would grasp in love].
--- [probably four verses missing]
- (171) To Vāmiq she said thus: “O, man of good counsel,
eloquent, clear-sighted --- [guide],
- (172) The shape of love is not old,
because the arrow from it [is not] for the old heart.

¹ Pers. *sang* ‘stone’ or *tang* ‘narrow, tight; girth, strap’ (word corrected and difficult to read in MS).

² Pers. *tūr-i khadang* ‘arrow of white poplar’ (the reading is uncertain).

- همه رای او مرد برنا کند
 ز گوهر هنر مهر [پیدا کند]
- چه¹ برنا بیرنا رسد دل بمهر
 بیار آمده [تازه گردد بچهر]
- کی² همتا بود درخور آید همی
 کی همتا بـ[همتا بر آید همی]
- ز پیران نباید چنین گفت گوی
 دل مرد برنا بود مـ[هر جوی]
- همه چیز پیری پذیرد بدان
 مگر دوستی کان بمـ[اند جوان]
- اگر دوستی جز جوان باشدی
 بود کش ز پیری زیان [باشدی]
- پدر وانک با او دران بزم بود
 کزین گونه گفتار عذر [اشنود]³
-⁴
- ز جان آفرینش بیار استند
 ز یزدان برو آفرین خوا [استند]⁵
- فلقراط [را]⁶ بود رامشگری
 بنیکی ستوده بهر کشـ[وری]⁵
- جهان دیده بُد نام او⁷ ایفوقوس⁸
 کی کردی بر آوای⁹ بلبل فسوس¹⁰
- بموسیقی اندر نگه کرده بود
 بدانش دل پاک پرورده [بود]⁵
- به ایران و روم (و) بهندوستان
 بنیکی زدندی بدو د[استان]⁵
-¹¹
- مگر جشن¹² بودی و کار بزرگ
 فلقراط را کار (و) بار [بزرگ]⁵
- کزو شاه رامشگری خواستی
 وگر نی برامش بنار [استی]¹³

¹ Thus MS; Shafi emends: چو.

² MS: کو; emendation by Shafi.

³ End of verses 162–179 missing on photo (cf. note to PF162).

⁴ Unknown number of verses missing; leaves and pieces ordered differently by Shafi (cf. Concordance, p. 184).

⁵ End of verse missing in MS; supplied by Shafi.

⁶ MS: –; added by Shafi (metri causa).

⁷ Thus A, I, Q, S; D: ای نام او; MS: بد نام (Shafi adds: [?]).

⁸ Emendation; MS: رقتوس (Shafi reads: ایفوقوس); A, D, F, I, KA, Q, Ri, S: ذیفنوس; all are probably mutilated forms of ایفوقوس < Greek Ibykos; see p. 230.

⁹ Thus A, D, I, K, Q, S; MS: (ا)واز.

¹⁰ = PT78; last word missing in MS.

¹¹ About thirteen verses missing.

¹² Emendation; MS & Shafi: جشنی (unmetrical).

¹³ MS: ... بنا; Shafi emends: [استی].

- (173) The young man follows every counsel of his;
virtue by essence [finds] love.
- (174) When young meets young with heart in love,
the enamoured [gets a look of freshness on his face].
- (175) It is becoming that he is the same,
since like [will to like].
- (176) Such talk does not concern the old;
the heart of the young man is [the seeker of] love.
- (177) Know that everything grows old
except love that stays [young]!
- (178) If love were anything but young,
it means that it would be harmed by old age.”
- (179) Her father and those who were with him at that banquet,
when they heard this kind of speech from ‘Adhrā,
- - - [unknown number of verses missing]
- (180) In (the name of the) Creator they decorated him;
from God they asked benediction upon him.
- (181) Fuluqrāt? had a minstrel,
well praised in every land,
- (182) An experienced man whose name was *Īfuqūs,¹
who put the sound of the nightingale to shame.
- (183) He had looked into the art of music;
he [had] nourished his pure heart with knowledge.
- (184) In Iran and Rūm and Hindustan
they told of good things about him.
- - - [about thirteen verses missing]
- (185) If there was a feast and big occasion
with Fuluqrāt, some great event,
- (186) Then the king asked him to perform as a minstrel;
if not, it could not be arranged with merriment.

¹ < Greek Ibykos; Pers. text has Ralqadūs (with a number of variants); Īfuqūs is the most likely reconstruction; cf. p. 230.

- برامش فلقراط ازو جست راه
بسازید برید¹ بفرمان [شاه]
- چه بر شاخ رامش بدو گل شگفت
سرود دیانوش و راه [نهفت]²
- دیانوش را نام هاروت دان
بیونانی اورا دیانوس [خوان]²
- (190) بیازار عذرا (و) وامق سرود
همی در خور آمد بمهر و [درود؟]³
- چو فرخ سرود (و) ره غمگسار
بسر بود بریط نهاد [بر کنار]³
- سبک [خاسته؟] وامق برده دل
بیازید و بگرفت⁴
-⁵
- [. . .] کی بریط کی کرد از نخست
چه کرد معنی چه دیب⁷ (؟)
- فلقراط گفتا شنیدم بسی
کجا گفت هم گونه ی و
- (195) ولیکن نشد هیچ زی من درست
که بودش کز اول بدو
-⁸
- کی هشیار دل بود (و) روشن روان⁹
نو آن
-¹⁰
- دید
دل خویش بر . . . ون . . . دید¹¹
- چنین گفت وامق برین داستان
چنان یافتم از گه باستان
- کفرزانه هر مز کبود استوار
روانش ببخشایش کردگار
- (200) ز بهر پرستیدن دادگر
همی کرد بر تند کوهی گذر

¹ Thus MS (and Shafi), otherwise written: بریط (e.g. PF193).

² End of verse missing in MS; supplied by Shafi.

³ Shafi suggests no reading.

⁴ Unclear in photo; reading according to Shafi.

⁵ About fifteen verses missing.

⁶ No space in MS, but the half-verse is metrically too short.

⁷ End of half-verse missing; beginning unmetrical.

⁸ Unknown number of verses missing.

⁹ Verses 196–197 belong to one small manuscript piece, the place of which is uncertain although most likely here; Shafi otherwise, see Concordance, p. 184.

¹⁰ About twenty verses missing.

¹¹ Unknown number of verses missing; the top of the next page has some four blank lines, space for a heading?

- (187) Through him Fuluqrāt sought the way to merriment;
he played the *barbaṭ*¹ at the king's command,
- (188) Because through him flowers blossomed on the branch of joy,
the songs of Diyānūs² and the [secret] music.
- (189) Know Diyānūs to be a name of Hārūt!
[Call] him Diyānūs in Greek!
- (190) He sang to the beauty of 'Adhrā and Vāmiq;
he was directed towards love and [praise].
- (191) When the happy song and the consoling music
came to an end, he put the *barbaṭ* [aside].
- (192) Vāmiq [rose] quickly with captivated heart;
he stretched out and took ---.
--- [about fifteen verses missing]
- (193) --- "Who made the *barbaṭ* first of all?
How did he do it (?), what --- its meaning?"
- (194) Fuluqrāt said: "I have heard many a one
who also told a kind of ---,
- (195) But nothing became clear to me
about who it was who first of all ---.
--- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (196) --- --- --- this anew,
because he was prudent of heart and luminous of soul.
--- [about twenty verses missing]
- (197) --- --- --- saw,
his heart on --- --- saw.
--- [unknown number of verse missing]
- (198) Vāmiq said thus: "Regarding this story,
this I have found out from ancient times,
- (199) That the wise man Hurmuz,³ who was firm
in his soul by the grace of the Creator,
- (200) In order to worship the Omnipotent
passed over a high mountain.

¹ < Greek *barbiton*; cf. p. 231.

² I.e. Greek Dionysos; here equated with the Islamic Hārūt, a fallen angel who knows arts forbidden to men; cf. *ET*² III:236 (s.v. Hārūt wa-Mārūt).

³ Obviously < Greek Hermes, generally written Hurmus in Persian; cf. Utas 1997:151 and below p. 232.

بدان کوه دید او [یکی]¹ سنگ پشت
 برو جسته هر گونه باد درشت
 ازو گوشت یکسر فرو² ریخته
 بپوسیده خاک اندر آمیخته
 ز رگهای او ناگسسته گره³
 کشیده بخشکی بگردار زه⁴
 چو باد اندرو ره گذر داشتی
 بباد از درون بانگ بر داشتی
 5.

(205) چو آواز او سوی هر مزر رسید
 دل خویشتن را بدو تازه دید
 چو اندر دلش رای شادی فزود
 بدانست کش مایه آن بانگ بود
 مرورا از آن کوه پس بر گرفت
 همی داشت با خویشتن ای شگفت
 چو بر راه بادش⁶ بر آویختی
 ببانگ آمدی شادی انگیختی
 بر⁷ اندیشه روزگار دراز
 چنان سنگ پشت [آلتی]⁸ کرد ساز
 بتابید پس رود (و) چون بر کشید
 بخشکی بدان آلت اندر کشید
 چو بادی بجستن بساز آمدی
 از آواز او دل بناز آمدی
 پس اندیشه کرد او کی بر یادگار
 بسازد⁹ چو اندیشه باد سار
 بباد اندر آید ازین ساز من
 بدین گونه سست آید آغاز من
 چنان ساخت باید اگر هیچ باد
 نجنبد مرین را نباید نهاد

¹ MS: —; emended by Shafi, who suggests تن as an alternative.

² MS: فرود; emendation metri causa.

³ MS: کهره; emendation metri causa.

⁴ MS: بگردار زه; Shafi suggests بگرتتر to save the metre, but زه seems obvious.

⁵ A few verses may be missing (the following verso of a leaf gives only nine verses, but nothing seems to be lost at the edges).

⁶ MS: دلتش; emendation بادش seems obvious.

⁷ Or بر as read by Shafi.

⁸ MS only: نلت; emendation by Shafi.

⁹ Thus MS; perhaps for بسازم.

- (201) On that mountain he saw [the body of] a tortoise,
over which all kinds of fierce winds had blown.
- (202) All flesh had fallen off from it;
it had rotted (and) mixed with the earth.
- (203) The fastening of its sinews had not broken;
they were stretched in dryness like bowstrings.
- (204) When the wind came to pass through it,
from the wind a sound would rise from the inside.
- - - [possibly a few verses missing]
- (205) When the tone from it reached Hurmuz,
he found his heart refreshed by it.
- (206) When the feeling of joy increased in his heart,
he knew that the reason for this was that sound.
- (207) Then he picked it up from that mountain,
brought (it) with him, o wonder!
- (208) When he hung it up in the way of the wind,
it started to sound (and) brought joy.
- (209) After thinking for a long time,
he prepared an instrument like that tortoise.
- (210) Then he twisted a gut and when it had been brought
to dryness, he stretched it on that instrument.
- (211) When a wind came to blow on that instrument,
from the tone of it the heart was caressed.
- (212) Then he thought that in remembrance of the circumstances
he should make it like the idea of a windy place (??):
- (213) “In the wind it (*scil.* sound) comes from my instrument;
in this respect my design is weak.
- (214) It must be made in way that if no wind
blows, it will not have to be discarded.”

- (215) پس ان پردهار ا کبُد از درون گشاد و بدو بر کشید از برون
 یکی دست گاهش بسازید نغز پس اندیشه کرد او بپاکیزه مغز
 کی چون سازد آن رود را گردنا کجا بنددش تا بسازد نوا
 بسی روزگار اندرین راه جست نشد ساز آن هیچ گونه درست
 سر انجام روزی برون شد بدر بجایی که [می]¹ خواست بر ره گذر
 یکی پیر دیدش نشسته بر اه دوتا گشته از گردش سال (و) ماه
 به اندیشه اندر سر افکنده پست ستون کرده زیر بناگوش دست
 بدو گفت هر مز² چرایی دژم نه همچون دل من دلت شد³ بغم⁴
 کی این آلت من کبُشد ساخته نه گردد همی هیچ پرداخته⁵
 ندانم کچون دوستی⁶ سازمش چگونه کنم تا ببردازمش
 بدو پیر گفتا کی سازش ببین سر از دست بر داشت گفتا چنین
 خوش آمدش چون پنجهء مردمان بسازید و شد ساخته در زمان
 جهان دیده فرزانه استاد من چنین گفت کان پیر بود هژره من
 بسازید پس رودها سر بسر چو آمیز گوهر جانور
 چو بگزید هر طبع را جای اوی ببیوست هر یک بهمتای اوی

¹ MS: —; emendation by Shafi (metri causa).

² Thus MS; A, D, F, I, KA, Q, Ri, S: هر مس.

³ Thus MS; A, D, F, I, KA, Q, Ri, S: همچون منی دلت ماندی.

⁴ = PT116.

⁵ = PT117.

⁶ Perhaps mistake for راستی.

- (215) Then he took out those frets that were inside
and fastened (them) on the outside of it.
- (216) He made it a nice instrument;
then he pondered with clear mind
- (217) On how to make the peg for that string,
where to bind it in order to produce a tone.
- (218) For a long time he searched in this way;
the arrangement of it was not achieved in any manner.
- (219) At last, one day he went out through his doorway,
because he wanted to go for a walk.
- (220) He saw an old man sitting beside the road,
bent double by the passing of year and month.
- (221) His head bowed down in thoughts,
his hand propping up his cheek.
- (222) Hurmuz said to him: “Why are you so depressed?
Your heart is not brought to despair like my heart.
- (223) Because this instrument of mine which has been built
does not at all become finished.
- (224) I do not know how I shall make it a friend (?),
what I shall do to accomplish it.”
- (225) The old man said to him: “Look at its construction!”
He raised his head from his hand and said: “Like this!”
- (226) He was pleased when a hand of mankind
could build (it) and it was made at once.
- (227) My experienced, wise teacher
said thus that this old man was Hazrah-man.¹
- (228) Then he arranged the strings from one end to the other
like the natural disposition of living beings.
- (229) When he chose the place for each character,
he joined each one to its equal.

¹ This otherwise unknown Persian name could possibly be seen as a translation of Greek Terpan-dros; cf. Hägg 1989:61–65; Utas 1997:149–150.

- (230) سر آمد نتاهی و . . . و بیم¹ بر یک دگر² پشت هر دو بهم
 کشش رود و خون را پذیره کرد (؟؟)³ بیبوست گردونک روزگار کرد (؟)³
 ازو زخم چون جنبش ما بتن گرفتن (و) گشادش چون دم زدن
 4.
- (235) [ازیرا بدو طبع] مان ساخته ست⁵ کی هم گوهر طبع داشتست
 [ز گفتار] چون [گشت] پرداخته⁵ [شده بود خود] بربطش ساخته⁵
 [چو گوشش] ببیچید و زیر شد [کم]⁵ [تو گفتی سخو] آن گوی شد زیر (و) بم⁵
 [فلقراط و نانی و آن گوهران]⁶ [کبودند] یکسر کران تا کران⁵
 [چنان شاد گشتند از این سخون]⁵ [کی جـ] ستند⁵
 [جگـ] ر خسته [عذرا] چنان [شد به گل]⁵ [سرشکی پدید آمد] از خون دل⁵
 [بجوشید مغزش بمهر [اندرون]⁵ [بپوشید گل بر] گ ریزش خون⁵
 [بچاره نهان کرد خون سد-رشک]⁵ [بکوشید نه آید و] [بسترد اشک]⁵
 7.
- (240) چنان سست (و) بیمار شد [ایفقوس؟]⁸ [کی از دانش خویش آمد فسوس]⁹
 کسی نیز از آن پس بدو نـ[نگرید]¹⁰ [بدیدار او کس نخوردی نبید]⁸
 بسد آفرین و [به؟] لاب و درود (؟)¹⁰ 11.

¹ MS unclear; Shafi suggests various readings.

² MS: دیگر; emended metri causa.

³ MS unclear; Shafi suggests as possible original reading:

بیبوست گردونک و کار کرد کشش رود را چون پدیدار کرد

⁴ New leaf; unknown number of verses missing.

⁵ Half-verse incomplete on photo; completed according to Shafi, who writes in a note (p. 17) that the MS was damaged after he copied it (verses 233–240).

⁶ Half-verse as reconstructed by Shafi, except for نانی where Shafi suggests یانی.

⁷ Possibly six verses missing.

⁸ MS: –; completed as زلقوس by Shafi, who remarks that the original was damaged after copying and also that mistakes in the clichés make text on photos unreadable in verses 241–247.

⁹ Half-verse unreadable on photo, added from Shafi.

¹⁰ End incomplete on photo, added from Shafi.

¹¹ Half-verse missing on photo; Shafi supplements nothing.

- (230) The completion was accomplished --- and to the bass (?)
for each other on top of the two together (?).
- (231) --- the strings --- he made acceptable (??)
he joined --- made --- fortune (?).¹
- (232) A stroke on it like the movement of our bodies,
the grasping and letting go of it like breathing.
--- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (233) [Because] our [nature] is built [into it],
thus he also elevated the essence of nature.
- (234) When he [had] finished [his speech],
[his] *barbat* [was also] built.
- (235) [When] he turned [its peg] and under ---,
[it was as if treble and?] bass became [eloquent].”
- (236) [Fuluqrāt and *Nānī and the nobles]
[who were present] all together
- (237) [Became so pleased by that speech]
[that they sought] --- with ---.
- (238) The heart-sore [‘Adhrā became] thus [filled with lament];
[tears] of her heart-blood [appeared].
- (239) Her brain seethed with love;
her petal-shedding [rose]² was covered with blood.
- (240) Cunningly she concealed the blood of [her tears];
[she tried to stop it and] erased her tears.
--- [possibly about six verses missing]
- (241) [*Īfuqūš] became so weak and infirm
[that he began to regret his art?].
- (242) Also, nobody [looked] at him/her after that,
[no-one drank wine at the sight of him/her.]
- (243) With a hundred praises [and supplications and benedictions.]

¹ This verse is quite unclear; Shafi and Kaladze (1983:120) suggest different readings and translations.

² I.e. her cheeks.

- گر [انش] نیا [مد] همی هر [چه گفت]¹ [کی دیدار عذرا مرورا شگفت؟]²
- (245) چو [بفکند روز در؟ نشان درفش]¹ [بر آمده شب از مغاک؟] بنفش⁴
- [نماند زئو] دست خنیاگران¹ [دل از] سر گران¹
- [چو نانی]⁵ [هواد]ید هم[نگ بُرد]¹ [بشد دست] عذرا [گرفت] و بیرن¹
- [هم از بهر وامق شه] نیک رای¹ یکی حجره فرمود بُد در سرای
-⁶
- [ب-شایسته و هر چه بُد خوردنی سزاوار گسترده گسترده]
- (250) درو بود توفان که وامق بخ(و)اب⁷ بدان حجره شد مغز (و) دل پر شتاب
- همی بود بیجان همه شب چو مار تو گفتی [کی بر]⁸ بسترش هست خار
- فلقراط با هم نشینان خویش ز وامق [سخ-ون] [ها] بیاورد پید[ش]
- کی دیدی که هرگز جوانی چُنوی بگفتار (و) فرهنگ و وی
- بگفتند هرگز نه ما دیده ایم نه از کس بگفتار [بشنیده ایم]⁹
- (255) بیخت توای نامور شهریار بدست [تو انداختش روزگار]¹
- فلقراط گفتا چو خاک نژند فروزان شود ز [آفتاب بلند]¹
- ز رای سواری میدان و گوی س.¹⁰
-¹¹

¹ Half-verse incomplete on photo; supplemented according to Shafi.

² Photo unreadable; reading of Shafi supplemented with مرورا as a conjecture.

³ Shafi suggests instead: آن (metri causa).

⁴ Shafi suggests instead: بنفش غیر آمد شب از مکان (unmetrical!).

⁵ Shafi: یانی.

⁶ New leaf; unknown number of verses missing; from here on order of verses uncertain.

⁷ MS: بخاب.

⁸ MS: -; added by Shafi.

⁹ Unreadable on photo; supplemented by Shafi.

¹⁰ Most of the half-verse missing on photo; Shafi supplements nothing.

¹¹ Unknown number of verses missing; uncertain order of the leaves here.

- (244) Whatever [he/she said] it had no effect on him/her,
[so much (was) his/her wonder at the sight of ‘Adhrā].
- (245) When [day threw away(?) the sign of its banner],
[night rose from the violet abyss].
- (246) The hands of the minstrels [lost their power],
[the heart from - - - - -] intoxicated (?).
- (247) [When *Nānī saw] the air coloured like striped cloth,¹
[she went, took the hand of] ‘Adhrā and took (her) away.
- (248) [Also for Vāmiq] the judicious [king]
had ordered a chamber in the palace.
- - - [unknown number of verses missing]²
- (249) As was fitting and everything that was edible,
worthily spread out what should be spread out.
- (250) In it was Ṭūfān, when Vāmiq in order to sleep
went to that chamber, brain and heart full of agitation.
- (251) He writhed all night long like a snake;
it was as if there were thorns in his bed.
- (252) Fuluqrāt with his companions
started to speak about Vāmiq,
- (253) Saying: “Did you ever see a youth like him,
with his speech and knowledge and - - -?”
- (254) They said: “No, we have never seen (this),
nor [have we heard] such speech from anyone.
- (255) Through your good fortune, o celebrated monarch,
[fate has] thrown [him] in [your] hand.”
- (256) Fuluqrāt said: “Like the low earth
becomes shining through [the sunshine from above],
- (257) From the prudence of riding for field and ball (?)
-----”
- - - [unknown number of verses missing]

¹ Pers. *burd* ‘a kind of striped cloth from Yemen’; see *Burhān-i qāṭi* I:25.

² From this break onwards the order of the verses is uncertain.

[ست]اره تو گفتی بخواب اندر ست¹ سپهر رونده به آب اندر ست

همی گشت [وا]مق در آن گرد باغ [ته]اده ز خون مژگان [را ب]داغ²

[چنان تا در] کا [خ] عذرا برف[ت]¹ [بدل] بر زده آتش نیز تفت

3.

[س]وی دادگر ر [و بر آورد و سر]¹ [همی گفت] که ای داور دادگر¹

گوای[می] تو بر من بدل سوختن]¹ [بم]غز اندرون [آتش] افروختن]¹

غمم [کوه] بر⁴ این دل [مهر جوی] چگونه کشم ک[وه] را من بم[وی]⁵

شکست[س]ت [س]ت (و) خس[ته] دل [اندر تنم]¹ برنج دل اندر همی بشکنم

تو میسپ[ند] از آن کس [کی] بر من [جهان] [چنین] تیره کرد آشکار (و) نهران

مرا بسته دارد ببند نیاز [خود] آرام کرد[ه] بشادی و ناز¹

6.

همی گفت و د[ر] تاسه افکنده سر [هم]ی راند بر [د]یده خون جگر⁷

ندانسته بود [است]⁸ توفان کمه[ر] [چگونه] بوامق نمود ست چهر

برون آ[مده] بُد بدل [ل] نی[ک] خواه [همی داشت] از دور اورا [ت]گاه

بدان [تا چو آور]د گویند[دگان]؟ [نه آن تا کی]؟ [کاری نکوشد گما]ن]⁹

همی[دون] شده با پدر ناشکیب]¹⁰ [ک]ه بودش هم [از] مهر برو[ی] عتیب[؟]

¹ Half-verse partly legible on photo: supplemented according to Shafi.

² Conjecture; Shafi suggests: [د]اغ [یر گبازار]؟ داغ (?).

³ One line blank (for a heading?).

⁴ Shafi: [کوه و موم].

⁵ Thus Shafi; distorted on photo; possibly بوی instead of بموی.

⁶ Possibly some verses missing.

⁷ Verses 267–276 damaged after copying according to remark by Shafi (p. 27).

⁸ Shafi suggests instead: [هیچ]؟.

⁹ Thus Shafi (meaning unclear).

¹⁰ MS according to Shafi: همیدون شده پدر عنرا ناشکیبا; emendation by Shafi.

- (258) The stars, you would say, are asleep,
the revolving sphere is in the water (?).¹
- (259) Vāmiq was walking around in the garden,
his eyelids cauterised by (tears of) blood.
- (260) [Thus until he came to the gate of] the palace [of ‘Adhrā],
[in his heart] flaming fire briskly burning.
- - - [blank line, for a heading?]
- (261) [He lifted his face and head] towards the Omnipotent;
[he said]: “O Righteous Omnipotent,
- (262) You are a witness [of my heart’s burning],
[of the fire] burning in my brain.
- (263) My sorrow (is) [a mountain?] on this [love-seeking] heart;
how shall I drag the mountain to her?
- (264) Broken and wounded is the heart [in my body];
through the pain of my heart I am breaking.
- (265) Do not accept from that one that for me [the world?]
has [thus] obscured the manifest and the hidden!
- (266) She keeps me bound with the tie of supplication,
herself reposing in joy and delicacy.”
- - - [possibly some verses missing]
- (267) He said and turned down his head in grief,
drove the blood from the liver to the eye.
- (268) Tūfān had not known in what way love
had shown its face to Vāmiq.
- (269) The one who wished well in [her] heart had come out,
she was looking at him from afar.
- (270) Know [that when] the poets bring (something) forth (?),
[it is not - - -] fancy tries an action (??).
- (271) Now [she had lost patience with her father (?)],
because he was [reproaching] her for her love.

¹ Probably as if the sphere of the stars had disappeared under the ocean.

بمهر اندرون [زای و ارون شود] عنا [ن دل] از دست بیرون [شد] و¹
 [گ]-مان چون بمهر [اندر آورد روی] [نه ب]-ر گردد ار سنگ بارد برو [ی]
 [برون آمده بود عنرا نخست]¹ [ه]-می ز آتش دوستی راه جست
 (275) [همی گشت] [گ]-رد [سر] [ای] [اندرود] پر آتش دل و دیده پر جوش خون
 [هم]-ی گفت چشم بدم یافته است کی شادی ز من روی بر تافته است

2.....

کی نفرین بر من چنین زار زار کنفرین کناد³ برو روزگار
 بمن بر ز دیدار و امق بمهر از آتش همی ژاله بارد سپهر
 کی در شهر خویش اندرین بوستان چنان کی در دشت (و) شهر کسان
 (280) سرای پدر [گشته؟] زندان من غریوان دو مرجان خندان من
 ز دل پرده [شر]م درم⁴ همی بدیده بلا را بخرم همی

5.....

6.....

همی ک-[ند آن گل رخ نور رس-]ید همی خون چکانید بر شنبلید
 همی گفت ای بخ[ت ن]-ا[س] [زگار] چرا طلخ کرد [ی م]-ا[ر] روزگار
 (285) چو شد ناشکیبا ز بیرون در بخانه در آمد ب[شد] گرم [س]-ا[ر]

¹ Thus Shafi; distorted on photo.

² New leaf; unknown number of verses missing.

³ Thus MS (unmetrical); Shafi suggests: کند مر.

⁴ MS: درم; emendation obvious.

⁵ Letters only partly visible on photo (= Shafi verse 325a).

⁶ Unknown number of verses missing.

- (272) Emerged in love [reason turns upside-down];
the reins [of the heart] fall from the hand.
- (273) When fancy [has turned its face] towards love,
it will not return, even if stones rain on it.
- (274) [‘Adhrā had come out first;]
she sought an escape from the fire of love.
- (275) [She walked] around the inner palace,¹
heart full of fire and eye full of boiling blood.
- (276) She said: “The evil eye has found me,
because happiness has turned its face away from me.
- - - [unknown number of verses missing]
- (277) That a curse upon me so bitter and deplorable,
that fate should put a curse on him.
- (278) Upon me, because of the sight of Vāmiq, through love
the sky makes hail of fire fall.
- (279) So that in my own land in this garden
I am as in the wilderness (or) a land of others.
- (280) My father’s place [has become] my prison,
my two laughing corals² groaning.
- (281) From the heart I tear the veil of shame,
with (my) eye I invite affliction.
- (282) - - - - -
- - - - -
- - - [unknown number of verses missing]
- (283) That rose scratched her fresh face,
blood trickling on the trigonella.³
- (284) She said: “O unfortunate lot,
why have you made my fate so bitter?”
- (285) When she lost patience, from the outer court,
she entered the house and busied herself.

¹ Pers. *sarāy-i andarūn*, i.e. the private quarters, the harem.

² Pers. *marjān*, metonymy for ‘lip’.

³ Pers. *shanbalīd* ‘fenugreek, trigonella’, metonymy for ‘yellow face’.

1.....

دل او ز درد من آگاه [نیست]
 بمرگ [رگره] بر گشاید مرا
 ازین زندگانی چه آید مرا .. این .. و جای نیزه نگشت
 نشانه ببوسید و خود باز گشت
 فلاتوس نام و بدانش سوار [یکی] نیک دل مرد بود خوش کار
 کی همتا نبودش بدان کار کس (290) مرورا بهر دانشی دست رس
 [مرو] را دل افروز آموزگار بعذرا سپرده همه روزگار
 بدو داشتی دخت را استوار فلقراط فرزانهء شهریار
 زمانی ازو بر نتابید روی شب (و) روز بودی بنزدیک اوی
 بخون شسته دل آرای خویش چو عذرا برون آمد از جای خویش

2.....

نشد نزد او هیچ گونه درست [نهانی (سخون) (را بسی باز) جس]ت³ (295)
 ز بیگانگان [جای؟ پرد]خته ماند [مر استادرا او (بر خویش) خواند]³
 بدانش د..... دادمیش³ [ز عذرا تو دان(سی کی تا) زادمیش]

4.....

ندانم [ک]ی اورا خود [از این؟] چه بود
 ... م یا [بی کس؟]
 خرد با روانم هم آواز هست تو دانی کی بر مـ[ن دل آ]زاد هست

¹ Unknown number of verses missing.

² Unknown number of verses missing.

³ Text according to Shafi (his conjectures within parentheses), unreadable on photo.

⁴ Possibly eight verses missing.

- [a couple of verses missing]
- (286) ---
his heart is not aware of my suffering.
- (287) If the knot is untied for me through death,
what can come to me from this life?
- (288) --- here (?) --- spear (?) ---
she kissed the target(?) and herself returned.
- (289) There was a kind-hearted (and) pious man
by name of Filāṭūs¹ who had mounted (the steed of)
wisdom.
- (290) He had access to every (branch of) knowledge,
so that there was no one like him in that respect.
- (291) As for ‘Adhrā, all her days were spent
[together with?] him, the heart-enlightening teacher.
- (292) Fuluqrāt, that wise sovereign,
confided (his) daughter to him.
- (293) Night and day he was near her;
he never turned his face from her, not even for a moment.
- (294) When ‘Adhrā went out from her place,
(her) [face?] washed by blood (because) of her beloved.
--- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (295) [In secret he sought to find out about the matter (?)],
(but) nothing became clear to him.
- (296) [He called the tutor to come up to him];
from strangers [the place] was emptied.
- (297) [“Regarding ‘Adhrā, you know that since she was born
to me (?)]
[in wisdom --- --- I gave her (?)]
--- [perhaps about seven verses missing]
- (298) I do not know what she herself was [originally?]
--- [destitute?] ---
- (299) You know that [in me?] there is a free [heart?];
(my) reason and my soul are in accord (?).

¹ < Greek Philetas? Or a distortion of some different name? According to *Burhān-i qāṭi* III:1497 “the name of a philosopher, . . . the teacher of ‘Adhrā”; cf. p. 236.

- (300) مگـ[ر . . .] و[امق ایدر] گذشت همه کار بر دخترمان [بگشت]
 بوا[مق] ندارم سراز چـ[یر]گی [نه گـ]م راه دارم دل [از تیرگی]
 تو دانی کجا من ستودستمت بیـ[ک] بارگی آرمو[د]ستـ[مت]
 چنین گفت یا
¹
- (305) نیامدش در دل ز عذرا روا شب تیره و رفتن بی نوا
 برون آمد از پیش بی درنگ یکی تیغ زهراب داده بچنگ
 بدانست [عذرا] را ازین کار اوی کی استادش آگه ز تیمار اوی
 چو عذرا بدرگاه² وامق رسید زمانی ز تیمار سختی بدید
 بد[انست] استاد عذرا کی [کار] چگونست چون تنگ شد روزگار
 [همی گفت] تا بهتر آگه شوم به بینم کی جانست³ یا بشنوم
 [بسی آزمودند؟] کار آگهان چنین کار هرگز نماند نهان
 [اگر] تخم بد [بر] زمین افکنی بروید سر انجام هر چون کنی
 ن کی پیدا کنـ[د] قشـ[د] . . . [ناگـ]هان
⁴
- [بنزدیک] [خود دید چیزی] بگست⁵ [بنزدیک] او رفت وامق نخست
 [بگفتا؟] کی [ای] کاشکی دانمی بمن در دل تو بچه مانمی

¹ Unknown number of verses missing.

² Thus MS; Shafi writes instead: ز درگاه.

³ Thus MS; probably mistake for چونست.

⁴ Five or more verses missing.

⁵ Reading according to Shafi.

- (300) Really, --- [Vā]miq appeared here,
all this changed for my daughter.
- (301) I have no grudge against Vāmiq;
I have not a heart misled by darkness.
- (302) You know how I have praised you;
I have tried you in all ways.”
- (303) Thus said --- ---

--- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (304) In (his) heart he found it improper for ‘Adhrā
to walk around helpless in the dark night.
- (305) He went out after her without delay,
having taken a poisoned sword in his hand.
- (306) Through this action ‘Adhrā understood
that her tutor was aware of her grief.
- (307) When ‘Adhrā reached the court of Vāmiq,
she had a moment of hard affliction.
- (308) ‘Adhrā’s tutor [understood] what [the matter]
was like, how troubled (her) fate had become.
- (309) He said: “In order to be better informed
I must see [how it?] is or I must hear.
- (310) [It was often experienced by?] the sagacious
(that) such a matter never remains hidden.
- (311) If you throw a bad seed on the ground,
in the end it will grow, however much you dig (it) up.
- (312) --- ---
that will find --- suddenly.”
--- [a number of verses missing, possibly five]
- (313) Near herself she saw (that) he sought something;
Vāmiq went up to her first.
- (314) [She said to him?]: “If only I knew
what I look like in your heart.”

- (315) [.. گفت] ار عذرا فرو مانده بود دلش نامهء دوستی خوانده بود
 [فلا]طوس بر گشت¹ آمد ز راه² سوی³ حجرهء وامق نیک خواه⁴
 بطوفان چنین گفت کی بد نشان شده نام تو گم ز گردن کشان
 مگر خانهء دیو آهر مَنست کی تخم تباهی بدو اندرست
 همه [.. پر]ده رویان پوشیدگان بدرید چون مغز جوشیدگان
 (320) شمارا فلقراط بنواخته است بکاخ اندرون جایگه ساخته است
 5.
- [بعذرا چنین گفت اندر جهان]⁶ [بلایه تر⁷ از هر زنی] در [زمان]⁸
 [تو اندر جهان از چه تنگ آمدی]⁶ [کی بر دودهء] خویش ننگ [آمدی]
 [بیک بار شرمت برون شد ز چشم]⁶ [ز بی]شرمی خویش نایدت خش[م]
 [بشهر کسان مردی آمد ز راه]⁶ [بره]نه بنزد فلقراط شا[ه]
 (325) [فلاطوس چون این س]خونها بگفت⁶ دل (و) مغز عذرا بهم بر شکفت
 [از اندوه شرم پدر بر د]مید⁶ یکی بانگ سخت از گلو بر کشید
 [ببفتاد بیهوش چون] مردگان⁶ نه تازه ولیکن چو پڑمردگان
 [فلاطوس را گشت رخسا]ره زرد⁶ پشیمان شد از گفتهء خویش مرد
 [ببالین عذرا شد آواز] داد⁶ کی یا بانو [.. فر]خ نژاد

¹ PT135: + و.

² PT135: . براه .

³ PT135: . بر .

⁴ = PT135.

⁵ Unknown number of verses missing.

⁶ First halves of verses 321–329 are almost completely missing on photo; they have been supplemented from Shafi, who notes (p. 23) that this part was made unreadable in the restoration but that his readings are taken from the original.

⁷ Shafi: . بلایه تر .

⁸ Most of the half-verse unreadable on photo; supplemented according to Shafi.

⁹ MS: -, but according to the metre two syllables must be missing.

- (315) [At the speech] of ‘Adhrā he was bewildered;
his heart had read the letter of love.
- (316) Filāṭūs returned (and) on the way came
to the chamber of the affectionate Vāmiq.
- (317) To Tūfān he said thus: “O evil-doer,
let your name be erased from among the proud!
- (318) Is this really the house of the demon Ahriman,
that it should have in it the seed of corruption?
- (319) All the veiled (and) covered (women)
you would lay bare like the wild-headed?
- (320) Fuluqrāt has cherished you;
he has given you a dwelling in (his) palace.”
- - - [unknown number of verses missing]
- (321) [He spoke thus to ‘Adhrā: “In the world]
[you are (more) corrupted¹ than any woman] of [(this) age].
- (322) [What trouble has befallen you in the world],
[that you have become] a disgrace [for] your [family]?
- (323) [Has your shame all at once left your eyes]?
Are you not struck by indignation at your shamelessness
- (324) [To a city of foreigners a man came by road],
denuded, to king Fuluqrāt.”
- (325) [When Filāṭūs] spoke those words,
the heart and brain of ‘Adhrā burst.
- (326) [From sorrow? and shame for (her) father she was exasperated];
she let out a shrill cry from her throat.
- (327) [She fell down unconscious like] the dead,
not fresh but like the withered.
- (328) [The cheeks of Filāṭūs turned] yellow;
the man regretted his own words.
- (329) [He went up to the pillow of ‘Adhrā] (and) called:
“O lady - - - of auspicious descent,

¹ Pers. *balāyah* or *balābah*? cf. Kaladze 1983:161.

1.

- (330) پذیرفته [وامق] ز روشن خرد کی هرگز بعدرا ببد ننگرد
 چو پیمان بدین گونه آمد بین بناکام عذرا براند این سخون
 فلاطوس چون مرد را بسته دید ببندی کی پیدا نبودش کلید
 دل از نیرگی برد زی روشنی ز وامق پدید آمدش ایمنی
 بکوه اندر آید نشان گداز از اندیشه و بیم و رنج دراز
 (335) چو نانی² گل تازه پڑمرده دید دل زنده را مرده چون خفته دید

3.

- ابر خویشتن زار نفرین گرفت ز دیده برخ بر [ز]⁴ خون هین (گرفت)
 چه سازم کی آن یار دل بند من ز من پیش خیزد به پیوند من
 [چه گو]ید چه اندیشد از مهر من [ک-ی] مه مهر من باد مه چهر [من]

5.

- [همی کرد د]ر خانه عذرا خروش تو گفتی روانش بر آمد بجو [ش]
 کشاد از دو [مشکین] کمندش گر [ه] ز لاله همی کند مشکین زره
 همی گفت وامق دل از مهر من [برید و نخواهد همی چهر من]⁶
 کسیرا کی چیزی بوذ آرزو [بجوید ز هر کس بگوید کی کو]
 بیامد کنون مرگ نزدیک من [بگوهر شود جان تاریک من]

¹ Unknown number of verses missing.

² Emendation; MS & Shafi: یانی.

³ Unknown number of verses missing.

⁴ MS: -; necessary metri causa.

⁵ One line left blank—space for a heading?

⁶ Second halves of verses 341–343 obliterated on photo; supplied according to Shafi who notes (p. 26) that they were damaged after he had copied them.

- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (330) [Vā]miq promised the wise man
that he would never look at ‘Adhrā with bad intent.
- (331) When an agreement of this kind had been settled,
he brought this word to the despairing ‘Adhrā.
- (332) When Filāṭūs saw the man bound
with a fetter for which there was no key,
- (333) He turned (his) heart from darkness to light;
he felt assured about Vāmiq.
- (334) (Even) a mountain can show signs of melting
from long worry and fear and pain.
- (335) When *Nānī saw the fresh rose withered,
saw the living heart stupefied as if dead,
--- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (336) She took to groaning and cursing herself;
from the eye the blood streamed over (her) face.
- (337) “What shall I do so that that beloved friend of mine
sets out before me to join me?”
- (338) [What does he] say, what does he think about my love?
So be gone my love, be gone my face!”
[one blank line, possibly for a heading?]
- (339) In her house ‘Adhrā [kept] crying loudly;
it was as if her soul was seething.
- (340) She opened the knots of her two [musky] locks;
she rent the black coat of mail from the tulip.
- (341) She kept saying: “Vāmiq, from love of me his heart
[he has severed, and he does not want my visage.]
- (342) Someone who desires something
[will seek it from everybody, will say ‘where is it?’]
- (343) Death has now come close to me;
[my dark soul goes to (its) essence.]

- تن و امق اندر جهان زنده باد
 برو بر شب [و روز فرخ]نده ب[اد]
- (345) چو من گیرم اند[ر دل خ]اک جا[ی]
 روان بگذرانم بدیگر سرای
- دلش ب[اد خرّم بجای] دگر
 به¹ از من بروی و به موی و هنر
2.
- نه بو... د بربر... ت ..
 رخس داشت مشکین زره بر گره جبا
- یکی نیزه بر داشت پپچان چ[و] مار
 ز مید[ان] [بر]و[ن] شد
- (350) هنرها همی کرد پیدا بدشت
 همی گرد م[ید]ان [ن]شس[ته بگشت]
- همی کرد هر کس برو آفرین
 کی دیگر نباشد بم[یدان چنی]ان
- هران کس کی با او بود در نبرد
 سر خویش شد م.....
- همان گاه و امق بمیدان گذشت
 بر اسب ... ب... می نوشت
- یکی نیزه رو کو...³ آهن گذار
 چنان بود بالای اسب و سوار
- (355) تو گفتی در امد که بی ستون
 یکی با ستون یکی بی ستون
- بعاشق همی گشت دل چاک چاک
 همی بر هوا رفت از ان چاک خاک
4.
- [ک]وه آهن سپر داشتی
 همانا برو نیز بگذاشتی
- سواران میدان گوی
 ازو بود با هر کسی گفت گوی

¹ Thus Shafi; MS: نه.

² Many verses missing; from here on there are only disconnected fragments.

³ One or two letters missing on photo; Shafi reads: [زدکو].

⁴ Unknown number of verses missing.

- (344) May Vāmiq's body be alive in the world,
for him may [night and day be fortunate!]
- (345) When I take my place in [the heart] of the earth
(and) will let my soul pass to the other world,
- (346) May his heart be [happy] with [someone] else
better than me in face and hair and virtue!!"⁷
--- [probably a great number of verses missing]
- (347) --- --- shall be on (?) ---

- (348) Her face had a musky coat of mail with knots,¹
--- --- picture ---
- (349) She lifted a spear writhing like a snake,
--- the field --- came.
- (350) She made her virtues known on the plain,
all around the field she made --- riding(?)
- (351) Everybody showered praise on her,
(saying) that there is no-one else like that in the field.
- (352) Everyone who was with her in the battle,
his head --- became ---
- (353) At that moment Vāmiq passed on to the field,
on a horse --- he described.
- (354) A spear --- --- piercing iron,
such was the height of horse and rider,
- (355) It was as if the mountain Bīsūtūn² entered,
one with pillars, one without pillars.
- (356) In the lover (?) the heart was torn to pieces;
from that crack dust went into the air.
--- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (357) [Even if] he had [a mountain of iron?] as a shield,
the spear reached him all the same.
- (358) --- the riders of the field the ball
about her/him was the talk of everybody.

¹ I.e. thick black hair.

² A mountain on the old caravan route through western Iran, where the monumental inscription of Darius the Great is found; the name seemingly means 'without pillars' (popular etymology); the mountain 'with pillars' in this pun is the horse of Vāmiq.

- گر همه سر بسر بدیدند از ان کار دیده هنر
- (360) کی عذرا ز نسبت بوامق دل زن مـ[گر رو]شنست
- ه یار ا بود بمید[ان زن ار مـ[ر]د [آسا بو]د
- بنا فرخنده شاه بدستوری اند[ر هم]ی جست [را]ه
- نجا بگردد بکی مگر دل بیاد [اندرش] [اند]کی
- هش کبا او بکرد ز کیموچت ها مان بر آورد [گرد]
- (365) و[امق از ان کار سخت بلرزید بر جای هـ[مه پهبان] دشت
- گفت اگر ما بچنگ بکردیم یک با دگر¹ تیز چنگ
- زی رود در می[ان] کی [بید]داش .. دارد اندر توان
- اک..... م..... ر بفرمان تو [بس]ته دارم کمر
-²
- مایه بهی چه چارست از آنکم بفرمان دهی
- (370) دم آهنگ پیوندت[و] کرای آمدم جنگ فرزند تو
- د تند بادی بروی دگر گونه جنبش یک تار موی
- ر باد کام نهنگ برخشنده خرشید المم[با]ی رنگ
- هست پرخاش جوی سزد گر فرستی مرا پیش [ا]وی
- یم بمیدان عنان بکاومش دیده بنوک سن[ان]
- (375) یش با خاک پست اگر شیر شرزست یا پیل مـ[س]ت

¹ MS: دیگر; emended metri causa.

² Unknown number of verses missing.

³ Shafi: [نه زان کر], not on photo.

⁴ Shafi: [انگر بروز], not on photo.

⁵ Shafi: [کنم دشت بـ], not on photo.

⁶ Shafi: [وگر دشمنی], not on photo.

⁷ Shafi: [چو من بر کشتا], not on photo.

⁸ Shafi: [ببیند سرخو], not on photo.

- (359) --- --- --- all together
saw the virtue of that experienced one.
- (360) --- --- --- that 'Adhrā is a woman;
is the woman's heart really light because of Vāmiq?
- (361) --- --- --- power would be,
if a woman would be the like of a man in the field.
- (362) --- --- --- the auspicious king
in an instruction sought [way?].
- (363) --- turns --- ---
perhaps the heart remembered him/her ---
- (364) --- which he/she did to him/her,
from the black-leather of the plain it raised the dust.
- (365) --- Vāmiq of that difficult task,
shook in its place all the width of the plain.
- (366) --- he/she said: "If we in battle
would make one with the other, swift-handed,
- (367) --- goes in the middle
that --- he/she has in [power?].
- (368) --- if --- ---
at your command I have girdled myself.
--- [unknown number of verses missing]
- (369) --- foundation --- best
what escape is there from that which you command me?
- (370) [Not therefore?] did I prepare for joining you,
that I thought of battle with your child.
- (371) [If] a hard wind [blows] on her face,
one of the strands of her hair will fly to the other cheek.
- (372) [I will lift?] the desert to the wind of the mouth of the whale (?),
to the diamond-bright shining sun.
- (373) [And if there is] a pugnacious [enemy],
it were fitting if you would send me against him.
- (374) [When I wield] the reins in the field,
I will dig out his eyes with the point of the spear.
- (375) [He will see] his [head?] soiled with dust,
whether he be a roaring lion or a furious elephant."

بدان نیکی آرا [ی فرخند] ده رای	[فلقراط خواند] ¹ آفرین از خدای	
بباده همی رای شادی زدند	ه ز می [دان به ایوان شدند
هوا تیره چون گرن انگشت شد	می دشت شد
جهان گشت تاریک خالی سرای	کس به آرام جای
زمین روی را کرد گفنی خبه	تیره وام و شبی چو شبه (380)

¹ Thus Shafi, not on photo.

- (376) [Fuluqrāt called?] praise to God
for that one embellished with goodness (and)
[of auspicious] counsel.
- (377) - - - [from] the field to the court they went,
with wine they took to making merry.
- (378) - - - - - became desert,
the air became dark like the dust of coal.
- (379) - - - everybody to a quiet place,
the world became dark, the palace empty.
- (380) - - - dark-coloured and a night like jet,
it was as if earth had strangled daylight.

Comments on PF

The preserved fragment of the original poem *V&A* (PF1–380) is mainly concerned with the first part of the story, but unfortunately it lacks the very beginning.⁴ If we assume that the original manuscript had leaves of 2x11 verses, it seems probable that only one or two leaves are missing in the beginning. With the first verse possibly not starting until two lines down on the verso of the first leaf, this would mean that we have a lacuna of between 9 and 42 verses in the beginning, and one could venture a guess that there are 31 verses missing.

As the fragment stands, we enter the story at a stage when the parents of the heroine are about to get married, an unusually thorough way of starting a Persian romantic epic (and a Greek novel as well). The bridegroom is clearly identified as king Fuluqrāt (i.e. Polykrates) of the island of Samos,⁵ but the identity of his queen-to-be is more uncertain. She is written Yānī in the Persian sources, a spelling that probably hides an original *Nānī (< Greek Nanís). The unusual Greek name Nanís is attested for the daughter of King Kroisos (Croesus) of Lydia who is said to have betrayed Sardes to King Kyros (Cyrus) of Persia in 547/46 BC. The attestation for the name is found in the first-century BC collection of *Love Stories, Erōtika pathēmata*, by Parthenios of Nikaia (Nicaea); ch. 22 of that collection tells the story of how Nanís betrays the city on the condition that Kyros marry her, a promise that the king fails to keep.⁶

Moreover, one of the Persian lexical verses (PT57) mentions a country spelt 'FRNJH, the king of which was a certain 'FR'TN (var. 'FR'TŠ), and lexical comments say that this “is the land from which the mother of 'Adhrā came . . . on the shore of the Egyptian sea”. As argued below (p. 216), there are reasons to believe that these names are distortions of Phrygia (*Afrījah) and Kroisos (*Aqrāšus),

⁴ It is possible that the two first verses of the whole poem exist as a lexical entry (PT107–108); see below p. 174.

⁵ Further information on Fuluqrāt is given in the lexical verses mentioned in the previous note and may also be gleaned from another lexical verse (PT50) that mentions a king Salīsūn, who according to a lexical commentary was a brother of Fuluqrāt; see below p. 162.

⁶ Cf. Hägg 1985:97. For text, translation and commentary of Parthenios 22, see Lightfoot 1999:348f., 504–507. Various alleged sources for the story are discussed, such as Hermesianax' *Persika* (early third century BC) or Ephoros' lost *History* (fourth century BC) which dealt with Kroisos in Book 9.

in spite of the geographical inconsistency.⁷ Verses 1–15 describe the wedding feast up to the physical union of the couple and the begetting of the heroine (PF15: “when two had lain down, three rose up”). The description is rather fragmentary, since this part of the manuscript has been recovered from small pieces glued together without order. Thus there is a lacuna between verses 3 and 4 in which there would have been a few verses describing the arrival of the wedding guests to Samos. Similarly a number of verses are missing between 5 and 6, in which the character and looks of the bride must have described. Between verses 9 and 10 a description of how the bridal couple retire from the wedding feast is missing.

Verses 16–22 tell about a dream of Fuluqrāt that foretells the fate of the still unborn child. In principle this dream should foreshadow the coming life of ‘Adhrā, i.e. the plot of the whole story, but unfortunately there is a small lacuna at the end of the description of the dream (PF20), and it is not quite clear what end is foreseen. It seems, however, that after long wanderings the daughter is expected to come back to her father’s palace and ascend his throne.⁸

Verses 23–40 describe the birth of ‘Adhrā, her amazing beauty and the extraordinary speed with which she acquires all arts and skills, from astronomy to polo. Between verses 31 and 32 one leaf (i.e. about 22 verses) may be missing, but since the logical distance between the description of her polo-play and arrow-shooting in verse 31 and her prowess in using the fighting spear in verse 32 is only slight, there is probably no lacuna here. The most interesting thing is that Fuluqrāt decides to give her the name ‘Adhrā, i.e. ‘Virgin’, “because he did not see the like of her in skill” (PF36). This might seem a strange conclusion, but the underlying idea is probably the essential quality of this girl as ‘impregnable’. This may, after all, be taken as a reflection of the probable point of departure of the whole story, the mention in Herodotos (3.124; above GT3a) of how Polykrates threatened his daughter that, if he returned safely from Oroites, she would long remain a virgin.⁹ The presentation of the heroine ends

⁷ A comment on the same verse attributes a name spelt NTYŠ to the wife of FR’TŠ (see also PT 122–123 with comment).

⁸ This type of dream is a common feature in Persian epic tradition. Foreshadowing dreams and oracles are a common feature of the Greek novels as well; cf. e.g. Heliodoros 2.35 foreshadowing the happy ending of the novel in Meroe.

⁹ On the theme of ‘impregnability’, see also Kaladze 1983:152–153; Utas 1984–86:437.

by making clear how far her father trusted her in every respect, including leading the vanguard of his army, and how dear she was to him.

Then follows a lacuna, but judging from the arrangement of the verses on the leaf in question, it is probably not bigger than three verses. After that the perspective moves to the hero. The first presentation of him is missing in the fragment but may be reconstructed through two lexical verses, one (PT127) fixing the scene at an 'island' called Karūnīs (< Greek Khersonesos) and another (PT144) telling that the king of that land was Mildhīṭas (< Greek Miltiades).¹⁰ The next three verses, one completely missing, one almost illegible (PF41) and one clear (PF42), should have introduced his son, Vāmiq. However, the name of the hero is missing here, and one wonders if there ever was an explanation of this telling name, meaning 'ardent lover', which replaced the original Greek Metiokhos in the eastern tradition. If this reconstruction of the sequence of the verses is correct, there is a strange imbalance between the detailed description of the background and merits of the heroine and the two or three verses that are devoted to the character of Vāmiq, the hero of the story. Between verses 49 and 50, on the other hand, there is a possibility of a missing leaf, but this is a less likely place for a general description of the qualities of Vāmiq. Verses 43–49 tell the story of the evil step-mother, whose name is written in Persian with the enigmatic letters M'ŠQWLY, certainly referring to Greek Hegesipyle, probably through a distortion of an original Arabic/Persian form *Highsifūlī. They recount how she makes father and son enemies, followed by some very general misogynous admonitions. Verses 50–57 continue the story by describing how Vāmiq feels that his life is threatened and decides to flee his hometown. There is no obvious gap in the narration between verses 49 and 50, and it is quite possible that no leaf is missing there, after all.

In some places there are single blank lines in the fragment. Their position makes it likely that they were spaces left for headings to be filled in afterwards, something that never came about (not uncommon in Medieval Persian manuscripts). One such instance is found

¹⁰ It is likely that PT144 followed directly after PT127 in the original poem and that 'that place' mentioned there referred to the 'island' of Karūnīs of the preceding verse. At any rate, lexical commentary defines Mildhīṭas as the father of Vāmiq.

between verses 57 and 58. This would have been a suitable place for a heading saying something like “The flight of Vāmiq” (Pers. *Gurīz-i Vāmiq*),¹¹ since that is what is described in verses 58–76. First, Vāmiq is presented with a travel companion, a rather necessary prerequisite for the adventures on which he is embarking (cf. the role played by Polykharmos in Chariton’s novel). The name of his fellow-traveller is given as Tūfān, which may be seen as a rendering of Greek Theophanes, but which means ‘storm’ in Persian. It is this Tūfān who advises Vāmiq to head for Samos, arguing that he has blood relations there. Since this is hardly true historically (cf. pp. 53–55), we see here an instance of the story abandoning historicity for fiction. In the Persian version this made no difference, of course, but it must be a construction found already in the Greek original, amalgamating Aiakes, the father of Polykrates with Aiakos, the son of Zeus and the mythical ancestor of Miltiades. However, the two companions embark on a ship at night, sail away in secret and reach Samos safely.

Between verses 76 and 77 there is another blank line. A possible heading in this position could have been “Vāmiq’s meeting with ‘Adhrā” (Pers. *Dīdār-i Vāmiq ‘Adhrā-rā*). This is the subject of verses 77–104. Between verses 85 and 86 there is a free space corresponding to about five lines, that was probably left open for an intended illustration showing the magic moment when the eyes of the young couple meet at the gate of the temple of Hera. The passage starts with a rather unexpected linguistic remark: the Pahlavi (i.e. Middle Persian) word for temple (*haikal*) is *but-khānah*. This is the only scrap of internal evidence that could point to a Middle Persian intermediary version of *V&A*, but it is rather a normal topos belonging to the style of this type of epic. The meeting of the lovers is described with great intensity, summarised in a gnomic line: “From one glance all upheaval will arise, the sharp fire of love will enter the mind” (PF90). This is obviously a first dramatic peak in the story, which must have been followed by similar concentrated moments at regular intervals. Unfortunately, these seem to be irretrievably lost. Now something quite exceptional for a New Persian love story happens:

¹¹ The headings in the edition by Shafi (reproduced by Kaladze) were supplied by the editor (within square brackets) for the sake of clarity; they are generally not placed where blank lines are found in the MS.

the heroine addresses the hero first (PF91–92), and only in response to this does Vāmiq tell something about himself (PF93–96). ‘Adhrā’s mother, too, is impressed by the sight of the young man, and she also addresses him (PF100–101). When ‘Adhrā has to leave together with her mother, she has great difficulties in concealing her true state of mind (PF103–104).

Verses 105–116 describe the state of Vāmiq after having met ‘Adhrā. At first he does not mention his love but complains over the misfortune that has befallen him, while tears of sorrow run down his cheeks. However, his companion, Ṭūfān, recognises his love and the dangers it may bring and he turns to the idol (i.e. Hera) and implores it (her) to protect his friend.

In verses 117–137 attention shifts from the temple to the palace, where ‘Adhrā seemingly uses some kind of ruse to remind her mother of Vāmiq and have him invited to the palace. We do not know exactly how she accomplishes this, because there is a lacuna of about four verses (between verses 119 and 120), where the explanation must have been given. In the end ‘Adhrā’s mother recommends Vāmiq to king Fuluqrāt, who sends his master of ceremonies to bring the young man to the court. When he arrives, he is met by Fuluqrāt at the door of the assembly room. The king greets him warmly, embraces him and says that he has come to his “own home and city”, obviously referring to the fact that he has been presented as a relative of the king. When ‘Adhrā enters the room in the company of the queen, the scene is set for the following symposium.

The description of the symposium fills much of the remaining fragment (PF138–247). Parts of this description overlap with the largest Greek fragment, GF1; for a comparison of the two parallel (but far from identical) texts, see Hägg 1985. The description in the Persian text starts with the playing of flutes (Pers. *nāy*), and obviously Vāmiq at once becomes the centre of attention. Verses 140–142 are only fragmentary, but they make clear that the king wishes to examine the new-comer, especially as to his knowledge and eloquence. A space left free in the right column of the manuscript indicates that the copyist had planned an illustration at this point, probably showing Vāmiq in front of king Fuluqrāt, possibly also showing an anxious ‘Adhrā in the background (biting her finger in amazement). Also present is the philosopher *Nakhminūs (< Greek Anaximenes). He leads the discussion and, seeing the furtive glances between the young couple, he decides to take as its topic “the effigy

of Love” (i.e. the shape of Eros) and asks Vāmiq his opinion on this topic.

In verses 154–167 we find an oration on the topic of Eros by Vāmiq. There is a lacuna of some eight verses between verses 154 and 155, but it seems as if only polite preliminaries are missing. In verses 155–158, Vāmiq apologises for his youth and inexperience and maintains that, in the absence of direct knowledge, he has borrowed the view of a certain sage that Love is like a young man. His description of this innocent-looking but pugnacious boy (PF159–163) is completely Greek in its imagery. He continues, however, with another view according to which Love is like a feeble old man who turns into a formidable enemy if you try to fight him (PF164–167). Verses 168–178 describe the reaction of ‘Adhrā and how she wants to talk to her beloved without giving herself away. She does this by protesting energetically against the idea that love could be seen as an old man, since everything grows old except Love that stays young forever.

When her father hears this response, the symposium enters a new phase. This is introduced in verse 179, but after that there is a lacuna of at least 22 verses (i.e. one missing leaf).¹² When our fragment resumes, benedictions are called down upon someone, possibly Vāmiq. One would have liked to know whether the discussion on the nature of Love was continued between the two lovers or any of the others present. Perhaps the philosopher closed the discussion with a few words. At this stage the minstrel of Fuluqrāt is introduced. His name is strangely deformed in the Persian text and also appears in various forms in a lexical verse (PT78), but all these forms seem to go back to an Arabic/Persian *Īfuqūs (< Greek Ibykos).¹³ In verses 181–191 he is described as a widely known (from Rūm to Hindustan) singer and musician who plays the string instrument called *barbaq*¹⁴ and sings “the songs of Diyānūs” (< Greek Dionysos), equated with the Islamic fallen angel Hārūt (PF189). At this symposium he sings to the beauty of ‘Adhrā and Vāmiq and to love. Vāmiq is so moved by this that he rises and takes up . . . Two or three words

¹² From here on the edition of Shafi/Kaladze arranges the leaves of the fragment in a different order (cf. Concordance, below p. 184).

¹³ On the possible historicity of the presence of Ibykos at the court of Polykrates, see D’Alfonso 1995–98.

¹⁴ Cf. Hägg 1989 and Utas 1997.

are missing at the end of this verse (PF192) followed by a lacuna of some fifteen verses. It is obvious, however, that it is the *barbat* that he takes up (the new Greek fragment, GF4, seems to fit in here) and the following passage certainly describes how exquisitely he performs on it.

After this lacuna there follows, in verses 193–235, a quite detailed story about the invention of the musical instrument called the *barbat* (= Greek *barbitos* or *barbiton*). The passage starts by a question by someone (possibly the symposiarch *Nakhminūs) about the making of the *barbat*, whereupon the king starts a comment that is broken off by a new lacuna, which is of considerable length, probably at least forty verses, interrupted in the middle by two only partly readable verses. When the text of the fragment becomes coherent again, Vāmiq has begun to speak and tells his version of the story of the *barbat* (PF198–235). The Persian version of this story was presented and discussed in detail by Utas (1997) and its Greek background by Hägg (1989). In short, it tells about the wise man Hurmuz (= the Greek god Hermes) who found the shell of a tortoise on a high mountain and noticed that it produced a tone when the wind blew through its dried sinews. With the help of an enigmatic figure, whose name is said to be Hazhrah-man (possibly for Greek Terpan-dros), he finally succeeds in designing an instrument from the tortoise shell. In verses 228–233 the arrangement of the frets and strings is described, seemingly by Hazhrah-man, who compares the disposition of the instrument to the characteristics of human nature. Unfortunately, parts of these verses are unreadable and the interpretation of this interesting passage remains uncertain. Between verses 232 and 233 a leaf (i.e. some 22 verses) may be missing, but since the two verses seem to be closely linked in content, it is more likely that nothing is missing. The story comes to an end in verse 235.

Verses 236–244 describe the response of the assembly to Vāmiq's eloquent speech. The king, the queen and the nobles are greatly pleased (some words are missing here), and 'Adhrā's love for him is intensified, but she succeeds in hiding her agitation. Between verses 240 and 241 about six verses are missing, obviously leading up to the reaction of the minstrel.¹⁵ The reading of verses 241–244 is unfor-

¹⁵ The distorted form of the name *Īfuqūs is unreadable on the photo, but Shafi adds it on the basis of direct scrutiny of the manuscript.

tunately not quite clear. It seems, however, as if the beauty of the young couple and their (unpronounced) love make the minstrel sad, regretting his own art. Verses 245–248, similarly distorted and reconstructed with the help of readings by Shafi, seem to describe the end of the symposium. The night is dark and the queen takes ‘Adhrā by the hand and leads her away. Obviously, Vāmiq is retiring, too, since it is said that the king has ordered a chamber for him in the palace.

Here again one leaf ends and it is impossible to say for certain whether a leaf, or even more leaves, are missing before we come to verse 249. However, the logic of the narration does not require more than a few intervening verses (as could have been included in the torn end of the previous leaf). Verses 249–252 show us Vāmiq in his well-furnished chamber, where Ṭūfān has already been installed. Vāmiq is, predictably, unable to sleep, writhing like a snake on his bed. Verses 252–257 shift the attention back to the assembly-room. Fuluqrāt and his companions are discussing Vāmiq, who is regarded as a good fortune for the king. Fuluqrāt starts a speech, which probably would have led on to high praise of Vāmiq, if the continuation had not been missing. Again there is a lacuna of unknown length.¹⁶

Verses 258–273 depict the nightly wanderings of Vāmiq in the palace garden, leading him to the gate of the quarters of ‘Adhrā. A line left blank between verses 260 and 261 may have been left open for a heading reading something like “The complaint of Vāmiq over his love of ‘Adhrā” (Pers. *Shikāyat-i Vāmiq az ‘ishq-i ‘Adhrā*). Vāmiq turns to the Omnipotent, complaining bitterly, and seemingly asks to be liberated from his ordeal (some verses are missing at the end of his lamentation). Verse 268 introduces Ṭūfān for a strangely short interlude (a copyist’s mistake?), and then the attention is turned to ‘Adhrā, who comes out, walking around the “inner palace” (i.e. the harem) and complaining about the torment of love, just like Vāmiq before her. Her soliloquy continues until there comes an unreadable verse (282) followed by the end of a leaf. To judge from the first verse of the new leaf (283) it could have followed directly upon the previous one, since it describes the sorrow of ‘Adhrā in a way that would be fitting after her long complaint. It could also refer to a

¹⁶ Judging from the shape of the bottom edge of the leaves, verses 347–356 might belong here, but their content (a battle scene?) makes this unlikely.

later occasion, in which case at least one leaf (22 verses) would be missing between verses 282 and 283.

The new leaf contains verses 283–294. This passage starts with the continued complaint of ‘Adhrā followed by her return indoors. After a lacuna of couple of verses it seems as if her complaint continues with thoughts of ending her life. Verse 288 is not completely readable and what can be read makes little sense. In verse 289, however, a new personage is introduced, a learned man by name of Filāṭūs (< Greek Philetas?), who is presented as the teacher and guardian of ‘Adhrā. Verse 294 seems to tell how he follows ‘Adhrā (stealthily?), when she goes out longing for her lover. Here obviously follows a substantial break in the text.

The next leaf covers verses 295–303 with a lacuna of some seven verses between 297 and 298. Here someone, most probably king Fuluqrāt, is said to probe into the possible love affair, calling the tutor (i.e. Filāṭūs) and describing to him his feelings for ‘Adhrā and thoughts about Vāmiq. Verse 302 is rather a direct quote of Fuluqrāt’s words to Vāmiq, about how he has both praised and tested him, than something he directs to Filāṭūs. However this may be, his speech seems to end with the incompletely preserved verse 303.

Verses 304–320 appear on a new leaf, with about five verses missing between 312 and 313. Here, there is no doubt that Filāṭūs is depicted as following ‘Adhrā when she walks about outside at night. He is even said to bring a poisoned sword (PF305). ‘Adhrā knows that her tutor is aware of her state, but still goes to “the court of Vāmiq”. Filāṭūs talks to himself about the necessity of finding out what is happening with his own eyes and ears and adds a gnomic saying about how a bad seed will always grow into a bad plant (PF311). After the almost illegible verse 312 and a following lacuna of some five verses, the scene has shifted to a meeting between ‘Adhrā and Vāmiq. ‘Adhrā asks Vāmiq about his feelings for her and he realises that she is in love with him. This is overheard by Filāṭūs who goes directly to the quarters of Vāmiq. There he finds Ṭūfān, whom he starts to accuse of wickedness. The leaf ends in the middle of his speech (PF320).

There is obviously a considerable lacuna before the beginning of the next leaf (verses 321–329). Filāṭūs is now addressing ‘Adhrā with the same kind of accusations: she has become a disgrace to her family and the guest (i.e. Vāmiq) has seriously abused of the hospitality

of her father. ‘Adhrā reacts with extreme emotion, crying out loudly and falling down unconscious. Filāṭūs is said to regret his words and wants to console ‘Adhrā, but the continuation is again lost in a lacuna at the end of the leaf.

The next fragmentary piece of text (verses 330–335) shows Filāṭūs talking to Vāmiq, making him promise never to look at ‘Adhrā “with bad intent” (PF330). He informs ‘Adhrā of this agreement and is said to be quite relieved by the settling of this matter. ‘Adhrā’s mother (*Nānī), however, sees her daughter withering from grief. . .

The following leaf (verses 336–346) starts with the groaning, cursing and crying of ‘Adhrā, who yearns to be united with her beloved. Between verses 338 and 339 there is a blank line possibly intended for a heading, which could have been something like “The complaint of ‘Adhrā” (Pers. *Shikāyat-i ‘Adhrā*). Her heart-rending cries are described. She lets her black hair down and breaks out in a tragic soliloquy, saying that only suicide remains for her. Magnanimously she wishes Vāmiq luck in a life with someone fairer than herself, and it could be expected that she makes an attempt on her own life in the following, missing lines.

The remaining parts of PF are more fragmentary and difficult to connect to each other in a coherent way. Verses 347–356 seem to depict a battle scene, in which both ‘Adhrā and Vāmiq show their prowess in war. It is not quite clear if they take part on the same side or whether they are aware of each other’s presence. Verses 357–380 (the end) are so fragmentary that the context remains quite uncertain on the whole. However, it seems to contain battle scenes in which both Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā are involved. In verse 376–380 Fuluqrāt (restoration by Shafi) seems to appear as a victor in a battle returning for a celebration with wine and merriment, when possibly a new hostile army appears in a darkening night. There is a possibility that this is the beginning of the war that leads to the death of Fuluqrāt and the subsequent forced separation of our two lovers. In that case, the whole of PF would be concerned with the first part of the original poem. Only after this the wanderings of ‘Adhrā and—to a lesser extent?—those of Vāmiq will start, some glimpses of which may be gleaned from the testimonial verses (PT, see below).

b. THE NARRATIVE IN *DĀRĀB-NĀMAH* (*DN*)

Dārāb-nāmah is the title of two different Persian collections of narratives connected with the legendary history of the last Akhaemenid king, Dārā or Dārāb (i.e. Darius III), and his alleged half-brother Alexander the Great (cf. *ET*² II:132). One of them, which was compiled by a certain Muḥammad Bīghamī (ed. 1339–42/1960–63; transl. 1974), is rather concerned with the son of Dārā, Fīrūzshāh, and of less importance in this context, but the other, ascribed to an otherwise unknown Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarsūsī, treats the life of king Dārā and his early adventures among “the islands of the Greeks” (*jazāyir-i yūnān*). Among the very varied narrative material collected there, a story is found which summarizes the early part of the adventures of ‘Adhrā in a way which is very close to the version versified by ‘Unṣurī.

Such collections of stories constitute a rather special kind of source. They quite obviously go back to an oral tradition of story telling that draws upon the national legend of Iran, starting with the primordial heroes and generally going down to the time of the conquest of Iran by Alexander the Great (Page 1979:197). It is the same type of material that is retold in the written national epic, *Shāh-nāmah*, but rich and independent oral traditions of it seem to have existed all through the Islamic period. The date of the compilation of this *Dārāb-nāmah* is quite uncertain, and the supposed compiler, Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarsūsī (Ṭartūsī according to some manuscripts), is a nebulous figure (*ET*² I:152). According to the title page of the printed edition (by Dh. Ṣafā, Tehran 1344), the compilation belongs to the 6th century AH (i.e. the 12th century AD), but in the introduction to the book the editor gives no clear information about the time of its author.¹⁷ His name of origin (*nisbah*) could refer to the Syrian city of Tarsos, a place where Greek narrative material could have lived on well into Islamic time, but its form and reference are quite uncertain. The presentation of the stories in this collection gives a clear hint of their oral background. The language is generally peculiarly simple and stereotyped, just giving a skeleton of the story, but at certain points, obviously constituting dramatic nodes, the wording is

¹⁷ Ṭarsūsī 1965/1344: *Muq.* 26–27.

more elaborate and the actors are quoted verbatim. This is not ordinary literary 'high' New Persian but a kind of stylized narrator's language, seemingly close to spoken language but probably conventionalized in its own special mode. In all appearance this compilation originated in some kind of notes for memorisation, like those called *tūmār* by 20th century story tellers in Iran.¹⁸

Dārāb-nāmāh tells the story of *V&A* from the beginning up to a stage when 'Adhrā's separation from Vāmiq is presented as nearly over. The Persian text is given below according to the edition by Dhabīḥu'llāh Ṣafā (Tehran 1344, pp. 206–210) collated with the text of the manuscript Or. 4615 in British Museum.¹⁹ The oldest manuscripts are from the 16th century AD and of Indian provenance. The context in which this story appears is the following:

A merchant by name of SṬHRWN (= Siṭahrūn?) was trading girls to kings. He had seventy girls loaded on four ships and came with them to an island, to which a woman named ṬMRWSYH (= Ṭamrūsiyah?) had already been brought by a sea captain who had rescued her from drowning. This Ṭamrūsiyah was the mistress of Dārāb. Dārāb's wife, ZNKLYS' (= Zanklīsā/Zanglīsā?; variant ZNKDYS' = Zankdīsā/Zangdīsā?), had thrown her into the sea out of jealousy. Ṭamrūsiyah became the reason for quarreling and fighting among Siṭahrūn's men and the latter was killed. His killers shared the seventy girls between themselves, and in the end Ṭamrūsiyah and four other girls came into the hands of a Greek named HRNQ'LYS (= Hiranqālīs? = Greek Heraklias?) who was both a pious man and a pupil of Plato (Aflātūn, "who had 4250 pupils", *ibid.*, p. 207). It had also happened that Zanklīsā had been sold to a merchant and that merchant had left her in trust with that same Hiranqālīs. One evening Hiranqālīs spoke to the girls about his moral convictions. The continuation of the story runs as follows:

¹⁸ See Page 1979 for a very instructive description of such narrator's techniques in 20th century Iran.

¹⁹ Cat. Rieu 1895, *Suppl.* No. 385, quoted as BM; there are only minor differences between the two versions and only the more substantial ones are noted. See also Shafi, Persian introd., pp. 23–26.

Persian text

طمروسیہ بر وی آفرین کرد و گفت¹ از ما سه تن کرامی فرمای تا سر گذشت خود بگوید. هر نقالیس گفت تو فصیح تری، بگوی. طمروسیہ گفت نخست این کنیزک بگوید که چند گاهست که بتو افتاده است و شب و روز می گرید. هر نقالیس روی بعنرا کرد و گفت ای کنیزک ترا چه بوده است که چنین گریانی؟ عنرا گفت من چه گویم که محنت مرا کرانه پیدا نیست و از من محنت زده و در مانده و بیچاره جز درد سر و زحمت نبود. هر نقالیس گفت بگوی که هیچ درد سر² نشود.

عنرا ی بیچاره چشم پر آب کرد و گفت بدانید که مرا پدری بود پادشاه یونان زمین، روزی من با مادر خویش بزیاارت هیکل رفتم که در جزیره ما هیکلی بزرگوار بود. چون از هیکل بیرون آمدم³ برنایی دیدم نیکو روی و هنوز خط هموار نکرده بود. من بیک دیدار بر وی عشق آوردم و ندانستم که او کیست. او خون خویش ما بوده است. از ما سوال کرد و چیزی خواست. مادر من⁴ اورا چیزی نداد ولیکن وعده کرد که بفرستم. چون بقصر آمدیم اورا فراموش گشت و من شرم داشتم مادر خود را یاد دادن⁵. حدیث آن هیکل افگندم که ای مادر این چنین زیارتگاهی که در جزیره ماست هیچ جایی نیست. مادر مرا از آن برنا یاد آمد، در ساعت کس فرستاد و اورا بخواند. بیاوردند و پیش پدرم بردند. اورا بر کشید که کودکی فرهنگی بود. چون گاهی چند برین بگذشت من در مجلس شراب با این کونک می نشستم، تا شبی بر خاستم و بنزدیک او رفتم. مرا استادی بود، آن استاد من بیامد و با مادر من بگفت که دختر تو چنین می کند. مادر مرا بخواند و ملامت کرد. من گفتم ای مادر، خانهء شرم مرا عشق این کودک⁶ گرفته است! اگر مرا بوی ندهی من خویشتن را هلاک کنم. مادرم چون این سخن شنید با پدرم باز گفت. تدبیر آن کردند که مرا بوی دهند. درین میان مادر من بمرد و پدرم ازین رای بر گشت و مرا بوی نداد. در آن میان⁷ پدر مرا دشمنی پیدا شد، پدر من بجنگ رفت، پدر مرا بگرفتند⁸ و بر دار کردند و تخت پدر من بیگانه یی رسید و او آن کودک را و مرا هر دو بگرفت و بند کرد. خواست که مرا بدست آرد، من فرمان وی⁹ نکرده، مرا بیاوردند و بفروختند و ببندگی گرفتار شدم؛ و امروز چهار سالست که شب و روز می گریم. هر نقالیس گفت زهی بزرگ محنتی که ترا پیش آمده است، و چندین گاه بر آمد و عشق تو هنوز کم نشده است. هر نقالیس بگریست بر وی و گفت این کودک را نام میدانی؟ گفت دانم. هر نقالیس گفت چه نامست¹⁰؟ گفت وامق. هر نقالیس گفت تو عنرابی دختر فلقراط ملک؟ عنرا گفت آری. هر نقالیس گفت پس چندین گاه چرا نگفتی که من کیم تا ترا نکوتر¹¹ داشتمی و بحق تو برسیدمی. ولیکن اکنون ترا آزاد کردم از بهر یزدان را عزّ و جلّ که از ادرا اننوان بنده کردن. تا ترا بر دارم و بنزدیک وامق برم¹². عنرا هم اندر ساعت از آن شادی بخندید و روی را گلگون کرد و در آن ایام نخنیدیه بود.

¹ BM: + اکنون .

² BM: زحمت .

³ BM: آمدیم .

⁴ BM: مادرش .

⁵ BM: از یاد دادن بر مادر خویش .

⁶ BM: شرم این کودک و عشق او .

⁷ BM: در ماتم بودند که .

⁸ BM: اورا بگرفته .

⁹ BM: اطاعت او .

¹⁰ BM: نامستش .

¹¹ BM: + لژین .

¹² BM: برسانم .

طمروسیه از شادی عذرا¹ بگریست و بر خاست و سر او را در کنار گرفت و گفت چرا چندین گاه نگفتی که من کیم تا ترا نیکوتر داشتمی؟ چون عذرا سخن تمام کرد و از بند بندگی بیرون آمد، هر نقالیس روی بطمروسیه کرد و گفت تو نیز سر گذشت خویش بگوی. طمروسیه گفت مرا هیچ چیزی نیست و من تا بوده ام همچنین بنده بوده ام ولیکن این کنیزک را بگوی تا سرگذشت خویش بگوید که بسیار می گرید و او مر زنکلیسا² را می شناخت³ و زنکلیسا² مر طمروسیه را نمی شناخت⁴. پس زنکلیسا² را گفت سرگذشت خویش بگوی.

Translation

Ṭamrūsīyah praised him and said: "Of us three, whom do you order to tell her life story?" Hiranqālīs said: "You are most eloquent, you tell!" Ṭamrūsīyah said: "First this girl should speak, since she came to you some time ago and is weeping night and day." Hiranqālīs turned to 'Adhrā and said: "O girl, what has happened to you, since you are weeping so?" 'Adhrā said: "What shall I say, when I can not separate myself from misfortune and when there is nothing but trouble and pain for my helpless, destitute and afflicted being?" Hiranqālīs said: "Tell me, for that will not cause you any trouble!" The poor 'Adhrā got tears in her eyes and said: "You should know that I had as father a king of Greece (*yūnān-zamīn*). One day I went together with my mother to worship in the temple, because there was a great temple on our island. When we came out of the temple, I saw a young man with a beautiful face not yet shaved. In one glance I fell in love with him, and I did not know who he was. He was really a relative of ours. He addressed us and asked for something. My mother did not give him anything but promised to send something. When we came to the palace, he was forgotten, and I was ashamed of reminding my mother. I brought up the subject of the temple, saying: 'O mother, there is no place of worship like the one of our island.' My mother came to think of that youth. At once she sent someone and called for him. They brought him and took him to my father. He embraced him, since he was an educated boy. When some time had passed after that, I used to take part together with that boy in the wine feasts, until one night I rose and went

¹ BM: + آنکه بر عذرا آمد .

² BM: زنکلیسا .

³ BM: بشناخت .

⁴ BM: نمی شناخته .

near him. I had a teacher. That teacher of mine came to my mother and told her what her daughter was doing. My mother called for me and blamed me, and I said: ‘O mother, love for that boy has invaded my house of shame. If you do not give me to him, I shall kill myself.’ When my mother heard this, she spoke to my father about it. They planned to give me to him. At this time my mother died, and my father changed his decision and did not give me to him. They were still in mourning, when an enemy of my father appeared. My father went to war. They seized him and executed him, and the throne of my father went to a stranger. And he seized that boy and me and imprisoned us both, and he wanted to take possession of me. I did not comply. They took me and sold me, and I ended up in slavery. Today it is four years that I have been weeping night and day.” Hiranqālīs said: “What a great misfortune it is that has struck you, and so much time has passed and your love has still not decreased!” Hiranqālīs burst into tears and said: “Do you know the name of that boy?” She said: “I know.” Hiranqālīs said: “What is his name?” She said: “Vāmiq.” Hiranqālīs said: “You are ‘Adhrā, the daughter of King Fuluqrā!” ‘Adhrā said: “Yes.” He said: “Why haven’t you told me all this time who you are, so that I could have treated you better than this and given you your right? But now I have set you free for the sake of God Almighty, because one can not make a freeborn a slave; this is in order to take you and bring you to Vāmiq.” At once ‘Adhrā started to laugh from happiness, and her face became red as the rose. And during all those days she had never laughed. Ṭamrūsīyah burst into tears, because of the luck that had befallen ‘Adhrā, and she rose and took her head in her arms and said: “Why have you never told who you are, so I could have been more kind to you?” When ‘Adhrā had finished her speech and been freed from the fetters of slavery, Hiranqālīs turned to Ṭamrūsīyah and said: “Now tell your life story, you too!” Ṭamrūsīyah said: “There is nothing about me. As long as I have existed, I have been a slave like this, but ask that girl to tell her story, because she is weeping much!” And she recognized Zanklīsā, although Zanklīsā did not recognize her. Then he said to Zanklīsā: Tell your life story!

Continuation of the story

This is not the last we see of ‘Adhrā in this *Dārāb-nāmāh*. She appears here and there in the following chapters, but then only as a companion lady of Ṭamrūsīyah, who, as the mistress of Dārāb, is the real heroine of the story. Of ‘Adhrā’s final union with her lover, Vāmiq, there seems to be no trace. However, there is some kind of parallelism between the stories of Zanklīsā and ‘Adhrā. Thus Hiranqālīs, together with Zanklīsā and ‘Adhrā, soon arrive at the home island of Zanklīsā, called XṬRŠ (reading?). Her father, written FSTLYQWN (reading?), is king there. He has a brother named ŠLŠYLWN, a vizier named XRYṬYNWS and a treacherous secretary named ’BRQWD. On a small island adjacent to the main island there is a temple called STBQ’LYS. This temple has an idol of stone, which is 500 years old and to which the islanders come with all their sorrows, and the idol will answer their questions. The name of the mother of Zanklīsā is written ’NTWŠYH, and she happens to be the sister of the Hiranqālīs who figures in the story translated above. In spite of her being the mistress of Dārāb, Zanklīsā is really the wife of the king of Oman, called QNṬRŠ. Among the mythical traits of these stories one finds the fact that people have no difficulty in sailing directly from Oman to “the islands of the Greeks”.

Although the names of the persons figuring here are markedly different (except the king’s brother ŠLŠYLWN with a name reminiscent of Salīsūn, the brother of king Fuluqrāt), the whole setup somehow echoes that of our story of *V&A*. It is difficult, however, to find a clue to the decipherment of the strange names. It can be expected that they have undergone the same strange distortions as, e.g., our *Higsifūli and *Īfuqūs. A further search in narrative material of the type of *DN* might give more material on the continuation and end of the traditional story of *V&A*, but at present such material is not at hand.

c. THE TESTIMONIA (PT)

Old lexical works are important sources of classical Persian poetry (playing a role comparable to that of the Byzantine lexicon *Suda* in retrieving Classical Greek material). They quite regularly quote verses from the early classical poets as testimonia for the various words

they are explaining. These words are generally uncommon or even strange words and names. ‘Unṣurī is one of the poets who are most frequently quoted in such works, and it is generally possible to see which verses come from his epic poems, since those verses rhyme the two half-verses (*mathnavī* form). There is, of course, also the possibility that a double-rhymed verse is the first verse of a *ghazal* or *qaṣīdah*, but that is less likely in this case, since the *mutaqārib* metre used in *V&A* is rare in those forms. Already the oldest surviving dictionary, *Lughat-i furs* by Abū Maṣṣūr ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Asadī Ṭūsī (11th century AD), a somewhat younger contemporary of ‘Unṣurī, gives a great number of quotations from his works, among them verses that obviously come from his *V&A*. Since ‘Unṣurī is known to have composed two *mathnavī* poems in the *mutaqārib* metre, *V&A* and *Khing-but u Surkh-but*, it is often impossible to decide from which one a double-rhymed verse in *mutaqārib* ascribed to ‘Unṣurī might have been taken. At times, however, geographical and personal names give a clear indication. Furthermore, ten verses found in PF have been found in lexical works, too, at times identical in form, at times slightly differing. Below are presented 151 double-rhyming verses in *mutaqārib* (cf. above p. 79) ascribed to ‘Unṣurī in the old dictionaries (here referred to as PT + number). The verses are given in the (Persian) alphabetical order of their rhymes, in the same way as they are arranged in the dictionaries (being mainly intended for poets looking for suitable rhyming words).

Many of these verses appear in varying forms in the various dictionaries, as well as in PF, in the few cases when they are found there. The text critical situation of these sources is quite unclear. In the present work no attempt has been made to provide a stemmatic analysis of variants in order to establish the most original reading. The reading given in the text is simply the one that seems most likely to be original, from the point of view of language, style and content. All manuscripts of the lexical works are much younger than that of PF, something which is confirmed by the use in PF of older spelling conventions than those found in the lexical works.

There are a number of collections of verses supposedly belonging to the *V&A* of ‘Unṣurī. The most comprehensive of those is the one found in Kaladze 1983, where 45 verses are listed as coming from *V&A* (pp. 87–90, here quoted as KA + number; see also Kaladze’s translation pp. 134–137, and commentary pp. 163–172)

and 98 verses as coming from *V&A* or *Khing-but u Surkh-but* (pp. 90–97, here quoted as KB + number; see also Kaladze's translation pp. 137–144, and commentary pp. 172–181). Kaladze primarily uses the list of 143 *mutaqārib* verses found in Shafi 1967, excluding however four verses for being doublets and one for being taken from Firdausi's *Shāh-nāmah*. Furthermore, she adduces material from lists of isolated verses found in the editions of the *Dīwān* of 'Unṣurī (by Qarīb and Dabīr-Siyāqī), two editions of the lexicon *Lughat-i furs* (by Iqbāl and Dabīr-Siyāqī), the lexicons *Ṣaḥāḥ al-furs* of Nakhjavānī and *Majma' al-furs* of Surūrī, the poetics *Tarjūmān al-balāghah* of Rādūyānī and *Al-mu'jam fi ma'āyir ash'ar al-'Ajam* of Shams-i Qais ar-Rāzī and, finally, the modern dictionary *Amthāl u ḥikam* of Dihkhudā.

As already mentioned, Mohammad Shafi includes a list of 143 more or less isolated verses in his edition of 1967 (text part: 32–41, here quoted S + number), compiled from the dictionaries of Asadī (ed. Iqbāl), Surūrī (MS of Univ. of Punjab) and 'Abd ur-Rashīd Tattavī (ed. M. 'Abbāsī?), the poetics of Rādūyānī and Rashīd Vatvāṭ (ed. Iqbāl), and occasionally other sources. There is, furthermore, a list of 19 testimonial verses in the article on *V&A* by Tarbiyat (1310/1931:522–524, referred to as T) and in the same way, as already mentioned, lists in the two editions of the *Dīwān* of 'Unṣurī by Qarīb (1341/1963:18–21, 78 verses, referred to as Q) and Dabīr-Siyāqī (1342:327–338, 107 verses, referred to as D). A review by Ritter of the first edition of the publication by Qarīb gives commented versions of 25 verses (Ritter 1948:135–139, referred to as Ri). A more recent edition of Asadī's *Lughat-i furs* (ed. Mujtabā'ī & Ṣādiqī, Tehran 1365, referred to as SM) contains some further variants of *mutaqārib* verses attributed to 'Unṣurī as well as five more such verses not known from other sources.

Apart from the above-mentioned sources, a number of other lexical works have been utilized for the preparation of the text given below. The sources are referred to with *sigla* according to the following list:

- A Hāfīz Auba'ī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, MS. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍavī No. 3712, 1006 AH, 115 foll.; ref. to folio (62 verses)
- B *Burhān-i qāṭi'*, I–IV, ed. M. Mu'īn, 2nd ed. Tehran 1342/1963, 2469 pp.; ref. to volume & page (also quoted *Burhān*)
- D *Dīwān-i 'Unṣurī*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, Tehran 1342/1963, pp. 327–338, nos. 3109–3215; ref. to verse number

- Di Dihkhudā, ‘A.A., *Amthāl va hikam*, I–IV, Tehran 1338–1339, 2064, 97 pp.; ref. to volume & page
- DN at-Ṭarsūsī, A.M., *Dārāb-nāmah*, I–II, ed. Dh. Şafā, Tehran 1344–46/1965–68; 15, 598, 28, 561 pp.; ref. to volume & page
- DS Asadī, *Lughat-i furs*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, Tehran 1336/1957, 75, 210 pp.; ref. to page, n = foot-note
- F Surūrī, *Majma‘ al-furs*, I–III, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, Tehran 1338–1341, 1657 pp.; ref. to page (58 verses)
- H Asadī: *Lughat-i furs*, ed. P. Horn, Berlin 1897, 37, 133 pp. (register pp. 24–25); ref. to page, r = register (35 verses)
- I Asadī, *Lughat-i furs*, ed. ‘A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1319, 571 pp.; ref. to page (80 verses)
- KA Kaladze 1983:87–90 (list II.a)
- KB Kaladze 1983:90–97 (list II.b)
- M Shams-i Qais Rāzī, *al-Mu‘jam fi ma‘āyīr ash‘ār al-‘Ajam*, ed. M. Qazvīnī & Mudarris-Raḍavī (IDT, 554), Tehran 1338, 497 pp.; ref. to page
- N Nakhjavānī, *Şahāḥ al-furs*, ed. ‘A. Ṭā‘atī, Tehran 1341/1962, 343 pp.; ref. to page, n = foot-note (43 verses)
- Q *Dīvān-i Unşurī*, ed. Y. Qarīb, 2nd ed., Tehran 1341, pp. 18–21, nos. 1–78; ref. to verse number (numbered by the present authors)
- Ra Rādüyānī, *Tarjumān al-balāghah*, ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949, 290 pp. Pers. text; ref. to page
- Ri Ritter 1948:135–139, nos. 1–24 (incl. 17 bis); ref. to verse number
- S Shafī 1967, Persian text pp. 32–41; ref. to verse number, n = footnote
- SM Asadī, *Lughat-i furs*, ed. F. Muĵtabā‘ī & ‘A.A. Şādiqī, Tehran 1365, 248 pp.; ref. to page
- T Tarbiyat 1310/1931:522–524, nos. 1–19; ref. to verse number (numbered by the present authors)
- Va Vaṭvāt, *Ḥadā’iq as-sihr*, ed. ‘A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1362, 150 pp.; ref. to page.

Further signs in the critical apparatus:

+ = adds

– = omits

Persian text, translation and commentary

بجستند تاراج¹ و زشتیش² را بأکج کشیدند³ کشتیش را (1)

They sought his/her plunder and ruin;
with a hook they got hold of his/her ship.

(A2a, D3109, DS18&19, F22, H11&11r, I55, KB1, N50, Q14, S41, SM49)

زنی مر تن شاه را بد بلا زن بدکنش نام او ماشلا⁴ (2)

A woman was a catastrophe for the king,
an evil-doing woman with the name Māshalā(?).

(A94b, D3110, I19, KA1, Q4, Ri22, S40)

M'ŠL' = Gr. ?; Asadī and Auba'ī explain: "the name of a woman who came up to the pillow of 'Adhrā and thought she was dead"; cf. Kaladze comm. p. 163 and Ritter v. 22.

زفیزیویوس⁵ و ز دیفیریا⁶ چه⁷ مایه شبه شد بلوقاریا (3)

From Fīzīdiyūs(?) and from Dīfīriyā(?)
when the amount became a likeness for Lūqāriyā(?).

(D3111, I203, KA2, Ri20, S39)

An enigmatic verse; FYZYDYWS = ?, explained by Asadī: "a city/land in which Manqalūs [cf. below PT13 & PT80] was"; DYFYRY' = ? and (B?)LWQ'RY' = ? are not explained in the dictionaries; Kaladze, comm. p. 163 suggests LWQ'RY' = Luceria and DYFYRY' = Zefiriya (Cyprus); cf. Ritter v. 20, with a different (less likely) translation.

چو بیدار دارد بچیزی شتاب روانش بشب نماید بخواب (4)

چو هشیار دارد بچیزی نهاد بمستی ندارد جز آن چیز یاد (5)

¹ A, DS: - و .

² N: ورسیش; H: رستیش.

³ DS, H, N, SM: گرفتند.

⁴ Q, Ri: زنی.

⁵ D, I, Ri: فزیدیوس.

⁶ Ri: دیفیریا.

⁷ I, KA, Ri: چو .

- (6) سخن کان بگونی و ناری بجای بود چون دلی کاندن آن نیست رای
- (7) زگفتار ریزد همه آبروی بکن آنچه گویی وگر نه مگوی
- (8) اگر کرده ناگفته ببند کسی به از گفته نا کرده باشد بسی
- (9) جهان گاه نر مست وگاهی درشت گهش روی با ما بود گاه پشت
- (10) شکر گر زنی بر کسی روز جنگ نگیرند فرز انگان جز بسنگ
- (11) چو در آتشی سنگ ریزی زبر ندانند سنگ ترا از شکر
- (12) بنرمی چو گردن نهد روزگار درشتی و سختی نیاید بکار

When (someone) awake hurries towards something,
his soul will show it to him in his sleep.

When (someone) sober sets his mind on something,
in drunkenness he will not remember anything but that.

The word which you say and do not put into action
will be like a heart in which there is no reason.

Because of talk all honour may melt away;
do what you say and otherwise do not talk!

If someone sees something done (but) not said,
it will be much better than something said (but) not done.

The world is at times gentle and at times rough;
at times it turns its face towards us, at times its back.

If you throw sugar at someone on the day of battle,
the wise will not take it as (different) from stone.

When you pour stone into the fire from above,
it will not distinguish between your stone and sugar.

When fate turns its neck towards gentleness,
roughness and harshness should not be practiced.

(KB2-3, 89-91, 4, 62-63, 5; S1-9)

Kaladze obviously quotes these verses from Shafi, who probably got them from Nafīsī (not found in other sources).

- (13) دل دمخسینوس شد¹ ناشکیب که در کار عذرا چه سازد فریب

The heart of Damkhasīnūs became impatient
as to what fraud he could arrange in the case of ‘Adhrā.

(A45a, D3112, F528, I203, KA3, Q28, Ri17bis, S42, T16)

¹ F,T: دل دمخسینوس بشد.

DMXSYNWS, var. DMXNYWS = ?; Asadī, Aubaʿī and Surūrī explain: “he was a merchant who stole ‘Adhrā from Manqalūs (cf. above PT3 and below PT80) and took her away, so that she was saved thereby”; seems to correspond to Greek Demoxenos (seemingly a prolonged form of an original Damkhanūs; cf. Kaladze comm. pp. 163–164; Ritter v. 17bis: “Demoxenos?”; GF2.2–3 with comments.

(14) چو جنبنده¹ گردد شود نیکبخت بود مرد آرمده در بند سخت

A worried man is in heavy fetters;
when he gets moving, he becomes fortunate.
(D3113, F101, I509, KB17, Q50, S49)

(15) بصد جای² تخم اندر افکند³ بخت⁴ بتندید شاخ⁵ بر آور درخت

Fate spread seeds in a hundred places;
the branches of the fruit-bearing tree blossomed.
(A25b, D3120, F289, I118, KB18, N88, Q69, S50)

(16) بچشم⁶ اندرم⁷ دیده⁸ از رون⁹ تست¹⁰ بجسم¹¹ اندرم⁷ جنبش از بون¹² تست¹⁰

The sight in my eye is on account of you;
the movement in my body originates in you.
(D3117, DS160, F681, H64r, I392, KB20, N244n, S52)

(17) جهان را بآرون آذین بجست بآرون او نیست در بوم و رست

There is no(body) on the solid earth with her/his attractiveness;
she/he searched the world for attractive qualities.
(KB13, S44)

¹ I, Q, S: جنبیده.

² N: بسد کار.

³ F: آورد.

⁴ A, D, F, KB, N: سخت.

⁵ A, I: +و.

⁶ H: بچشم.

⁷ D: اندرون.

⁸ DS, N: دید.

⁹ N, F: زون.

¹⁰ D, F: اوست.

¹¹ H: بچشم.

¹² D, F, N: خون; DS: سون.

Kaladze quotes this verse from Shafī, who has it from Rashīdī and Nāširī.

(18) بسی خیمها¹ کرده بود او درست مر این² خیمهای ورا³ چاره⁴ جست

He/she had healed a great many wounds;
he/she sought a remedy for his/her wounds.

(A40b, D3115, DS139, F460, H56r, I342, N220, KB16, S48, SM185)

(19) نه داناتر آنکس که والاتر است چه والاتر آنکس که داناتر است

The one who is higher is not more wise,
since higher is the one who is more wise.

(SM23)

(20) باسیب پای و بزانو و دست همی مردم⁵ افکند چون پیل مست

With thrusts of the foot and with knee and hand
he/she threw down people like a furious elephant.

(D3118, I25, KB12, Q12, S43, SM36)

(21) تنی چند از⁶ موج دریا برست رسیدند نزد یکی آبخوست

A few persons were saved from the waves of the sea;
they reached an island.

(A1b/2a, D3119, I40, KB14, Q13, S46, SM43)

(22) کسی بی هنرتر ز خونخوار نیست ز خونخواری آید که خون خوار نیست

(23) بیبیهوده خون ریختن سود نیست سیه تر ز خون در جهان دود نیست

There is none more artless than the blood-thirsty;
from blood-thirst follows that blood is not contemptible.

There is no gain in vain shedding of blood;
there is no blacker smoke in the world than blood.

(KB6-7, S33-34)

¹ I: هیمه ها.

² A, SM: مران; DS, I, KB: وزان; H: مرا.

³ DS, S: مرا.

⁴ H: باز.

⁵ SM: مرد.

⁶ A: زان.

Kaladze quotes these verses from Shafi, who probably got them from Nafīsī (not found in other sources).

جوانمردی از کارها بهترینست جوانمردی از خوی پیغمبر نیست (24)

Chivalry is the best of actions;
chivalry is of the nature of the Prophet.

(DiII:590, KB8)

Kaladze quotes this verse from Dihkhudā; hardly from *V&A*.

ولیکن روانم ز تو سیر نیست دلم چون دل¹ تو بکفشیر نیست (25)

But my soul has not got enough of you;
my heart is not soldered(?) like yours.

(A81a, D3121, I141, KB15, N114, Q73, S47, SM104)

در آمد در آن خانه چون بهشت بروز رش از ماه اردیبهشت (26)

He/she entered that house like Paradise
on the day Rash (18th) of the month Urdībihisht (April/
May).

(D3116, F616, KB19, S51)

فکندش بیک زخم گردن ز گفت چو افکنده شد دست عذرا گرفت (27)

He/she struck his/her head from his/her shoulders with one
blow;

when he/she fell, he/she grasped the hand of 'Adhrā.

(A78b/79a, D3114, F107&1023, I38, KA4, Q2, S45, T13)

نه کس کار کس را کشاید شگفت بدست کسان مار باید گرفت (28)

بتو ننکرد باید و ننکری چو رنجش به بینی² برش خود خوری (29)

One person does not accomplish the task of another, o wonder:
the snake should be caught with the hand of others.

He/she should not look at you and you not at him/her;
when you see its pain, you will yourself eat its fruit.

(DNI:507, KB9-10, S37-38)

¹ A: - دل.

² KB: بینی.

Shafi (note displaced) refers to the British Museum *Dārāb-nāmah* MS Rieu *Suppl.* 384 (i.e. Or. 2781), fol. 159A.

چو شب رفت و بر دشت پستی گرفب هوا چو مغ آتش پرستی گرفت (30)

When the night left and sank upon the plain,
the air took to fire-worship like a Magi.
(A96b, D3122, DS80, H34r, I234, KB21, N165, Q76, S53)

خروش از بر کوس لشکر برفت تو گفتی دل سنگ خارا بگفت (31)

The clamour rose from the drums of the army;
it was as if it split the heart of the rock.
(KB11, N47)

بشاه ددان کلته روباه گفت که دانا زد این داستان در نهفت (32)

The dock-tailed fox said to the king of the beasts:
a wise man told this story in secret.
(DS14n)

Not in Kaladze; attributed to ‘Unşurī in two MSS. of Asadī, otherwise to Bū Shukūr.

مرا هر چه ملک و سپاهست و گنج همه آن تست و ترا زوست خنج (33)

Whatever I have of dominion and army and treasure,
all belongs to you and the enjoyment of it is yours.
(A35b, D3123, DS19, F423, H11r, I56, KB22, N52, Q15, S54)

زمینی² همه روی او دیولاخ³ بدیدن درشت و ره پهنا فراخ (34)

A land, stony and desolate all over,
rough to look at and wide in breadth.
(A55a, D3125, I75, KB24, N67, Q16, S56)

بجوشید لشکر چو مور و ملخ کشیدند از کوه تا کوه نخ (35)

¹ D: همه زان; F, I, KB, N, Q, S: همه زان.

² A: زمین.

³ A, I, N: سنگ لآخ, i.e. ‘stony ground’.

The army effervesced like ants and locusts;
it lined up from mountain to mountain.
(D3124, I80, KB23, N70, Q17, S55)

پلنگ دژ آگاه را رنگ داد بعدرا همان جامهء جنگ داد (36)

He gave 'Adhrā that same battle-dress,
gave colour to the raging leopard.
(KA5, S59)

Kaladze quotes from Shafi, probably from Nafīsī.

دل جنگجوی و بسیج نبرد همه نام¹ کینشان بپرخاش مرد (37)

همی سوختند و همی ساختند همی توختند و همی تاختند (38)

All their fame is hatred, in battle against men,
with pugnacious heart and preparations for war.
They sought and they assaulted,
they burned and they built.
(D3137–38, KB34–35, Ra86, S17–18, Va78)

Rādūyānī adduces these verses as an example of the rhetorical figure *tafsīr-i khafī*: the four nominal phrases in the first verse are explained, one by one, by the four verbs in the second; according to him these verses are taken from *Khing-but u Surkh-but*.

سر و قامتش بر² زمین پخچ کرد اگر بر سر مرد زد در نبرد (39)

If in the battle he/she hit the head of a man,
his head and body were levelled with the ground.
(A10b/11a, D3128, DS23, F217, H13, KB27, N57, S61, SM56)

خرد را گنر بر سر خامه کرد باقر اصس³ نامور نامه کرد (40)

He/she made a letter for *Aqrāsus;
he/she put his/her wit on the top of the pen.
(SM220)

¹ Va: فام.

² SM: سر و قامتش با; DS, N: سر و تنش را با; H: سر و تنش را با.

³ Emendation; SM: باقر اطس.

The personal name is written 'QR'TS, which fits in perfectly as the missing link between the spelling 'FR'TN (var. 'FR'TŠ) found in PT57 and a reconstructed original *'QR'ŠS for Greek Kroisos.

سخندان¹ چو رای ردان² آورد سخن بر زبان ددان³ آورد (41)

When the eloquent expresses the opinion of the learned,
he brings the word to the tongue of the beasts.
(A48b, D3126, DS47, F606, H22r, I107, KB26, N89, Q68, S60, SM81)

بود مرد دانا بگاہ نبرد تتومند و آزاده و رخ چو ورد (42)

The prudent man (is), at the time of battle,
robust and free and with a cheek like the rose.
(KB28, N77, S62)

ز گرمی⁴ بر آن کویکه بانگ زد که آن بانگ تب لوزه بر مانگ زد (43)

With ardour he/she raised a cry against that host of stars,
so that that cry struck the moon with a fit of ague.
(D3134, F1338, KB25, S58)

بموبد چنین گفت دهقان سغد که [بر] ناید از خایهء باز جغد (44)

To the Mōbad the husbandman of Sogdia said:
the owl does not issue from the egg of the falcon.
(SM72)

ز دریا بخشکی برون آمدند ز بربر سر⁶ ریغیون⁷ آمدند (45)

They came from the sea to dry land;
they came from Barbary(?) to *Rīghiyūn.
(A53b, D3131, F682, I404, KA6, Ri7, S68, T19)

¹ A, D, F: سخنور .

² A: ورون ; D, F: روان .

³ D, SM: ردان ; F: روان ; N: کلام ردان بر زبان ; Q: سخن از ردان بر زبان .

⁴ S: بگرمی .

⁵ S: کزان .

⁶ D, F, Ri, T: سوی .

⁷ Emendation; D, F, KA, Ri, T: زیفنون ; I, S: زیغنون ; A: دوفنون .

ZYFNWN, var. ZYĠNWN, DWFNWN = Rhegion (cf. Utas 1984–86:435; PT79; GT1b); Asadī explains: “it is a city/land in the sea in which they wanted to kill ‘Adhrā” and *Burhān* II:1053, adds: “she fled”; Kaladze, comm. p. 164; Ritter v. 7: “from Barbary” could perhaps instead be interpreted “upon land”.

بیریزادگان¹ رزم را دلپسند بیولاد پوشیده چینی پرند (46)

The fairy-born, (who were) happy about battle,
covered the steel with Chinese silk.

(D3135, DS40, H20, I93, KB33, Q18, S70)

One source (D) has “fairy-faced” instead of “fairy-born”.

سزد ار چه او نیز² تکبر کند که³ شه نیکویی با کسندر کند (47)

It is fitting, even if he would show arrogance,
that the king is beneficent to the mean.

(A81a, D3136, F1056, I163, KB32, S69)

برو جست⁴ عذرا چو شیر نژند بزد دست و چشم ادانوش کند⁵ (48)

‘Adhrā leaped upon him like a furious lion;
she struck with the hand and scratched out the eye of
Adānūsh(?).

(A4b, D3127, F49&289, I225, KA7, Q7, S64, T11)

’D’NWS̄ = Otanēs? (cf. Utas 1984–86:434); Asadī explains: “the name of a man whom Mandārus [probably for Maiandrios] sent to ‘Adhrā (saying) that she should be with him; ‘Adhrā in a rage scratched his eye out”; Kaladze comm. pp. 164–165 (with ref. to Khariton VI,5); MND’RS appears with the variants MD’RS, ND’RS, TD’RS, ’NDR’S, ’NDRWS.

ز بس کش بخاک اندرون گنج بود ازو⁶ خاک پی خوسته⁷ را رانج بود (49)

¹ D: بیریزادگان.

² A, S: سزد مرد را گر.

³ S: چو.

⁴ F289: بتندید; T: بد از کینه.

⁵ A, I, Q: و از پیش چشمش بکند.

⁶ S: ازان.

⁷ D: خسته (خوسته).

Of all the treasure it/he/she had under the ground,
 because of it the trampled ground was vexed (?).
 (D3129, DS67, H30, F484, I490, KB31, N276, Q48, S66)

سلیسون شه فرخ اخترش بود فلقراط شه را برادرش بود (50)

Salīsūn was its lucky-starred king;

Fuluqrāt was the brother of the king.

(D3132, I403, KA31, Q37, Ri3, S57)

SLYSWN and FLQR'T = Syloson and Polykrates (cf. Utas 1984–86:431 and refs. there); Kaladze comm. p. 170; the translation given here agrees most closely with the Persian wording, but the translation of Ritter v. 3, "...er war der bruder des königs *Falaqrāt*", and Kaladze, "King Selisun, (born) under a lucky star / was the brother of king Folikrat", are not impossible.

ز بس کینه جوی و دژ آهنگ بود فراخای گیتی برو تنگ بود (51)

From (her) being so malevolent and bad-tempered
 the width of the world was narrow for him.

(D3130, F541, KB29, S67)

This verse may refer to the relation between Vāmiq and his step-mother.

نگاری کزو بت نمونه شود بیارایی او را چگونه شود (52)

A beauty, through whom an idol comes to look deformed,
 (if) you adorn her, how will she become?

(D3133, I461, KB29, N291n, Q46, S63)

چو آواز سُم ستوران شنید فلاطوس را دل یکی بر نپید¹ (53)

When he heard the sound of the hoofs of the horses,
 the heart of Filātūs at once started to palpitate.

(F289, KA8, N88, S65)

FL'TWS = Philetaş Cf. PF289 ff. & PT135; *Burhān* III:1497, explains: "the name of a philosopher, and he was the teacher of 'Adhrā, the beloved of Vāmiq, and the story of Vāmiq and 'Adhrā is famous in the world".

¹ N: نپید.

(54) که آن نو شکفته گل نو رسید همی گشت در¹ باد چو شنبلیله

Because that freshly blooming rose
in the wind became like the (yellow) fenugreek.
(KB36, N91)

(55) دل مرد دانا نبد نا امید خرامش نیاید پدید از نوید

The heart of the wise man was not without hope;
his graceful behaviour is not apparent from the vow.²
(KB37, N94)

(56) سخن مر سری را کند تاجدار³ سری را کند هم سخن تاج دار⁴

Words can make a head crowned;
words can also make a head the crown of the gallows.
(D3141, KB38, Ra90, S71)

(57) به افریجه⁵ افراطس⁶ نامدار یکی پادشاهی بدی کامکار⁷

In *Afrījah the celebrated *Aqrāšus
was a prosperous king.
(D3140, F96, KA9, S77, T7)

'FRNJH seemingly for *FRYJH = Frygia; 'FR'TN, var. 'FR'TŠ, probably for *QR'SS = Kroisos, then with 'QR'TS as of PT40 as an intermediary form; Surūrī explains: "FRNJH is the name of a land/city from which the mother of 'Adhrā came and which was built by Nūshūr-vān"; *Burhān* I:147, adds "on the shore of the Egyptian sea"; Tarbiyat adds (source?) "and 'FR'TŠ was the husband of N'TYŠ, whom they killed in the war of 'Adhrā"; Kaladze comm. pp. 165–166.

(58) همی تا نسوزد بآب اندر آذر نگیرد عقاب ژبانرا کبوتر

When the ants grow a thousand wings,
it is the change of fate that makes the wings appear.
(D3142, I303, KB40, Q58, S73)

¹ N: بر.

² *Navāid*, generally 'good news', also means 'vow' according to N94.

³ Ra: چاه دار; S: چاه دار.

⁴ D, Ra, S: چاه دار.

⁵ Emendation; D, F, KA, S, T: افرنجه.

⁶ Emendation; T: افراطش; D, F, KA, S: افراطن.

⁷ T: هوشیار.

Kaladze comm. pp. 176–177, with comparative material on the saying that wings bring destruction to the ant.

(59) دمان¹ همچو کشتی مارسار که لرزان بود مانده اندر سنار

Terrible just like a snake-headed ship
which is stuck shivering on a shoal.
(D3148, F737, I126, KB42, Q71, N108, S75)

(60) چو بر زد درفشنده² از باختند دواج سیه را سپید آستر

When the luminary lit up in the east,
(there was) a white lining for the black quilt.
(KB41, N100, S74)

(61) همی تا نسوزد بآب اندر آذر نگیرد عقاب ژیانرا کبوتر

As long as fire does not burn in water
the pigeon does not catch the angry eagle.
(F705)

(62) که فرخ منوس آن³ شه دادگر که بد پادشاه جهان سر بسر

(63) جدا ماند بیچاره از تاج و تخت بدرویشی افتاد و شد شوربخت

(64) سر تخت بختش⁴ بر آمد بماء دگر باره شد شاه و بگرفت گاه⁵

Because the fortunate Minūs, that just sovereign,
who was the king of the world from one end to the
other,
Remained helplessly separated from crown and throne;
he fell into poverty and became bereft of luck.
He rose above his bad luck to the moon:
again he became king and took the throne.
(A96a, D3145–47, F1324, I202, KA10–12, Q22–24, S10–12)

MNWS, var. MYNWS = Minos; Asadī explains: “he was great a king who fell into poverty and became king again”.

¹ F: ووما; N: وما.

² S: در فتنه.

³ A, F: که مینوس فرخ.

⁴ F: سر تخت پستش.

⁵ F: reversed order of the half-verses.

(65) نه من کمتر از لندروس¹ بمهر نه هارو² به نزد² عذرا بچهر

I am not less than *Landarūs in love,
Hārū not better than ‘Adhrā in visage.

(A4a, D3139, F47, I202, KA13, Ri8, S76, T12)

¹NDRWS for *LNDRWS = Leandros, H’RW = Hero; Asadī et al. retell the story of Leandros and Hero.

(66) بکاوید کالاش را سربسر که داند که چه یافت زر و گهر

He/she searched his/her goods from one end to the other
in order to know where to find the gold and gems.

(A89a, D3143, DS169, H68, I417, KB43, N295, Q40, S78)

(67) بر آرنده گرد گردان³ سپهر همو پروراننده ماه⁴ و مهر

The upholder of the circle of the revolving heavens,
he is also the cherisher of moon and sun.

(A56b, D3144, I146, KB39, Q74, S72, SM18)

(68) همی از پس رنجهای دراز بطرطانیوش اندر آمد فراز

After protracted sorrows
she arrived in Ṭarṭāniyūsh(?).

(D3153, I225, KA14, Q8, Ri6, S29n)

ṬRṬ’NYWŠ = ?; Asadī explains: “the name of an island to which ‘Adhrā found her way and where she was set free”; Kaladze, comm. p. 167, suggests the possible identification with Taras/Tarentum/Taranto (in south Italy); Ritter v. 6 suggests “Dardanos?” (on the Hellespont); the latter suggestion is in better accord with the spelling; cf. the story in *Dārāb-nāmāh* above; variant of nos. 69–70?

(69) بشد⁵ از پس رنجهای دراز بیکی⁶ جزیره رسیدند باز⁷

¹ Emendation; A, D, F, I, KA, Ri, S: اندروسم بکین و T: نه من اندروسم بکین و .

² D, F, T: نه هارو و نه نیز; I, KA, Ri, S: نه باشد بهارو چو .

³ SM: گردون .

⁴ SM: کین .

⁵ F: همی .

⁶ T: بیک جا .

⁷ A: ناز .

(70) کجا نام او بود طرطانیوش¹ در آن پادشا² نام او نوکیوش⁴

It happened that after protracted sorrows
they again reached an island,

The name of which was Tārṭāniyūsh(?);
there was a king by name of Nūkiyūsh(?).

(A67b, F913, I225, KA15–16, Ri5, S29–30, T17–18)

ṬṚṬ'NYWŠ, cf. PT68! NWKYWŠ, var. (ʾW)TWKYWS, TWLYWŠ, BWKYWŠ = ?; *Burhān* IV:2206, reads Nūgiyūsh and explains: "it is the name of the king of the island Tārṭāniyūsh, and that was an island where 'Adhrā landed and found liberation".

(71) ترا هست محشر رسول حجاز دهنده بپول چنیور⁵ جواز

At the last judgement there is for you the prophet of Hijāz,
the one who will give passage to the Chinvat bridge.

(A31a, D3151, F349, I146, KB45, S81)

The correct reading here for the name of the bridge of the last judgement seems to be *chanīvar* (cf. Nyberg 1964–74 II:53 s.v. *cand-var*) as against the ordinary New Persian form *chinūd(-pul)*; the old dictionaries gloss: *širāṭ* probably not a verse from *V&A*.

(72) فرو کوفتند آن بتان را بگرز نه شان رنگ ماند و نه فر⁶ و نه برز

They knocked down those idols with their maces;
of them neither colour nor glory nor stature remained.

(D3152, DS51, H24, I171, KB44, Q75, N123, S80)

This verse may be taken to refer to the idols of Bāmiyān and would thus not belong to *V&A*.

(73) یکی پادشا⁷ بود در نیمروز که از داد دیدی بزرگی و روز⁸

(74) بگنج اندرش ساخته خواسته بگنج اندرش لشکر آراسته

¹ T: طرطانیوس .

² A, F, T: درو .

³ KA, S: پادشاه .

⁴ S: نوکیوش ; Ri: بویوش ; T: نوکیوس .

⁵ D: چنیود ; S: چنیوت .

⁶ N: فر ماند و نه رنگ .

⁷ KB, S: پادشاه .

⁸ Verse missing in Va, S128.

There was a king of Nīmrūz,
 who through justice enjoyed greatness and good fortune.
 He collected riches in the treasury;
 he mustered an army in case of war.

(D3149–50, KB46–47, Ra17, S35–36 & 128, Va16&71)

Nīmrūz, 'Mid-day', is generally a name of the province Sīstān; possibly not a verse of *V&A* (Va71 contains a note by the editor, Iqbāl, on verses from *V&A*).

ندید و نبیند ترا هیچکس (75) گه رزم مثل و گه بزم دس

Nobody has seen and will see
 the like of you in battle and the equal in feast.

(D3154, F528, KB48, S83)

حکیمی بد و¹ نام او نخمنوس² (76) که همی دست او داد بوس

There was a wise man, his name *Nakhminūs,
 whose hand was kissed by knowledge.

(A96a/b, D3156, F1325, I202, KA18, Ri17, S85)

Variant of PF145; MXSNWS, var. MJYNWS, probably for *NXM-NWS = Anaximenes (cf. Utas 1984–86:440, n. 23); Kaladze comm. p. 168; *Burhān* IV:1973, reads Mukhsinūs and explains: "the name of a wise man, a Greek, extremely clever and knowledgeable".

مکن خویشتن خشمگین جابلوس (77) که بسته بود جابلوس از فسوس

Do not make yourself a passionate flatterer,
 because the flatterer will be tied by grief!

(A31b)

جهان دیده بد³ نام او ایفقوس⁴ (78) که کردی بر آوای بلبل فسوس

There was an experienced man by the name of *Īfuqūs,
 who put the sound of the nightingale to shame.

(A48a, D3155, F595, I202, KA19, Q26, Ri4, S84)

¹ PF145: جهان دیده (ء).

² Emendation; A, D, F, I, KA, Ri, S: مخمنوس; PF145: مجینوس.

³ D, F: جهانانیده ای.

⁴ Emendation; A, D, F, I, KA, Q, Ri, S: رلقنوس; PF182: زینفوس.

= PF182; DYFNWS, var. RLQDWS, ZLQDWS, probably for *YFQWS = *Ibykos* (cf. Utas 1984–86:434); *Asadī* explains: “a singer who served *Fuluqrāt*”; *Kaladze* comm. pp. 161, 168; *Ritter* v. 4 mentions the possible identification with *Ibykos*.

(79) یکی شاه بد نام او انخلوس¹ که با حیله و رنگ بود و فسوس

There was a king by name of **Ankhalūs*,
who was full of tricks, fraud and seduction.

(D3158, KA17 Q29, Ri13, S143)

BXSLWS, var. BXLSWS, probably for *NXLWS = *Anaxilaos*, king of *Rhegion* (cf. Utas 1984–86:435; PT45; GT1b); *Asadī* explains: “the name of a king who forcibly abducted ‘*Adhrā*’”; *Burhān* I:240, adds: “and with compulsion and violence”; *Surūrī* (F151) gives the same explanation and refers to a verse by *Sanā’ī*: “The affair of the ‘*Fellows of the Cave*’ (i.e. the *Seven sleepers*) and *Diqyānūs* (*Decius*), the story of *Bakhsilūs* (var. TBXLWS) and the city of *Ephesos*” (*Hadīqat ul-ḥaḥīqah*, ed. *Mudarris-Raḍavī*, 1329, p. 423¹); *Ritter* v. 13 quotes this and suggests the possibility that the word here translated ‘seduction’ (*fūsūs*) could mean *Ephesos*, and he also quotes *Bosch*: “Kann in *Bachsilos Basilidai stecken*?”.

(80) چو رفتند سوی جزیره کیوس یکی مرد بد نام او منقلوس

When they went to the island of *Kayūs*,
there was a man by name of *Manqalūs*(?).

(D3157, I203, KA20, Q27, Ri11, S82)

KYWS = *Khios* or *Keos* (cf. *Kaladze* comm. pp. 168–169); *Burhān* III:1760, explains: “the name of an island where they sold ‘*Adhrā*, the beloved of *Vāmiq*’”; MNQLWS perhaps for *Meneklēs* or *Menekleidas* (*Chajkin* apud *Kaladze*, p. 168), hardly identical with the merchant HRNQ’LYS of *Dārāb-nāmah* (as suggested by *Kaladze*, *ibid.*); *Asadī* explains: “it is the name of a man who used to buy girls and pander them and who bought ‘*Adhrā*’”; cf. above PT3 on FYZYDYWS.

(81) بیکی جزیره که نامش بلاش رسیدند شادی ز دل کرده لاش

¹ Emendation; D, KA Q, Ri, S: بخسلوس.

At an island named Balāsh(?)

they arrived, happiness laid waste in the heart.

(D3161, I224, KA21, Q9, Ri10, S87)

BL'Š = ?; Asadī explains: "name of a land/city"; Ritter v. 10 suggests Peloponnesos or Paros(?).

بفرز انگی سایهء افسرش¹ بیوزش همی خواست از لرلرش (82)

Through wisdom the shadow of his/her crown

asked forgiveness from his/her Lord (?).

(F1263, KB51, S89)

Surūrī explains *larlar* as one of the names of God.

مکن روز بر خویشتن بر بنفش تپانچه(?) مزن بیهده بر درفش (83)

Do not make the day sad for yourself;

Do not strike a blow on the cobbler's awl!

(SM132)

The first word of the second half-verse is obviously not readable in the MS; Mujtabā'ī & Šādiqī only tentatively suggest *taḫānchah* 'box on the ear'.

درشتی² دل³ شاه و نرمی دلش ندانی⁴ هویدا کنی⁵ حاصلش (84)

(In) harshness the king's heart and (in) softness his heart

you do not know; you make evident its/his substance (?).

(A108b, D3160, DS5, H6, I6, KB50, N32, Q11, S88, SM26)

Also attributed to Daqīqī.

شمید و⁶ دلش موج بر زد ز جوش⁷ زدل هوش⁸ و از جان رمیده⁹ خروش (85)

He/she recoiled and a wave rose (in) his/her heart from rage;

reason escaped the heart and a cry the soul.

(A67a, D3159, I121&513, KB49, N282, Q70, S86)

¹ S: اخترش.

² A, S: درستی.

³ A, N: تن.

⁴ N: نداند; A, SM: بدانی.

⁵ A, H, SM: کند.

⁶ A, I513: شمیده.

⁷ I121, KB, N, S: بجوش.

⁸ N, S: جوش.

⁹ N: رسیده; S: شمیده.

(86) هم از باختر بر زند باز تیغ چو روزی که دارد¹ بخاور گریغ

Like a day which is flying to the west,
again lifting its sword in the east.

(?D3162, I133, KB52, N99, Q72, S90, SM21&139)

Almost the same verse is ascribed to Firdausī (cf. KB52).

(87) فزاینده شان خوبی² از چهر و لاف³ سراینده⁴ شان از گلو زندواف⁵

Increasing their excellence regarding countenance and praise,
singing for them with a nightingale's throat (??).

(A52b, D3163, DS83, F673, H36, I243, KB53, N168, Q77, S91)

(88) کزو بتکده گشت⁶ هامون چو کف باتش همه سوخته همچو⁷ خف

Through him/her the idol-temple became level ground like the
palm of the hand;

through fire everything burnt like tinder.

(A39b, D3164, DS84, H36r, I245, KB54, N168, Q78, S92)

(89) بگوش که من نامه ای نغز ناک⁸ فراز آوریدستم از مغز پاک

Tell him/her that with pure heart

I have received an exquisite letter!

(DS51, H24, I175, KB59, S98)

In some MSS ascribed to Bū Shukūr (cf. KB59).

(90) نیابد⁹ همی کوه کن سیم پاک بکان اندرون گوهرش گشته خاک

The miner does not find pure silver;

in the mine his gem has become dust.

(D3168, I399, KB55, Q34, S93)

¹ I, KB: باشد; N, SM21: بودش.

² A: فزاینده شان خوبی; I, Q: فزاینده شان خون.

³ F: نام لاف; DS: نام و لاف; I: چهره لاف.

⁴ A: سراینده; I, Q: سرایند.

⁵ A: زنده و اف.

⁶ N: گشته.

⁷ D, DS, H: شد چو.

⁸ DS: پاک.

⁹ S: بیابد.

(91) بپیشش¹ بغلتید و امق² بخاک ز خون دلش³ خاک هم رنگ⁴ لاک

Vāmiq rolled in the dust in front of her/him,
from his heart-blood the earth (turned) the colour of lac.
(A68a, D3169, DS15, H10, I34, KA22, N46, Q1, S96, SM48)

Possibly a variant of the following verse.

(92) همی گفت و پیچید بر خشک خاک ز خون دلش خاک هم رنگ⁵ لاک

Said he and writhed in the dry dust,
from his heart-blood the earth (turned) the colour of lac.
(A93b, D3170, DS90, F1272, H38r, I251, KB58, N186b, Q54, S97, SM144)

Possibly a variant of the preceding verse.

(93) چو با تیغ آمد عیبان ملک شود دست دشمن ز بیمش سبک

When the king of the slaves has come with his sword,
the hand of the enemy becomes weak from fear of him.
(KB57, S95)

Kaladze quotes this verse from Shafi, who gives no source for it.

(94) نشست و همی راند بر گل سرشک از آن روزگار گذشته برشک

She/he sat down and shed tears over the roses
in envy of that time past.
(D3167, DS97, H41, I277, KB61, Q57, S100)
'Roses' metonym for 'cheeks', i.e. here probably those of 'Adhrā.

(95) همه دیده پر خون و رخ پر سرشک سرشکش روان بر شکفته سرشک

The eyes all full of blood and the cheeks full of tears,
her tears flowing over the blossoming barberry.
(D3165, DS96, H41, I266, KB60, S99)

Sirishk means both 'tear' and 'barberry', a white flower inclining to red, here as a metonym for the cheek.

¹ SM: زپیشش.

² DS, H: سامش.

³ N, I: رخش.

⁴ A, SM: مانند.

⁵ SM: مانند.

(96) بمردن بآب اندرون¹ چنگلوك به از رستگاری² بنیروی غوك

To die in the water seized with cramp
is better than being saved by a frog.
(D3165, DS99, F355, H42, I276&432, KB56, N179, Q56, S94)

(97) بتنجید عذرا³ چو مردان جنگ ترنجید بر⁴ بارگی تنگ⁵ تنگ

‘Adhrā reined back like men of war;
she drew her steed tight tight.
(A25a, D3173, DS19, H11r, I69, KA24, N52, Q3, S102&103, T14)

(98) ابا ویژگان ماند وامق بجنگ نه روی گریز و نه جای⁶ درنگ

Vāmiq stayed on in the battle with his special guard,
with no way of escape and no room for hesitation.
(A103a, D3172, I399, KA23, Q35, S101, T5)

(99) ابا ویژگان ماند وامق بجنگ نه روی گریز و نه جای درنگ

When the sun struck its claw in Cancer,
the rust was cleansed from the army of the Zang.
(SM20)

Zang, i.e. the (black) Ethiopians; a metaphoric description of day-break. Such descriptions are typical introductions to new episodes in Persian epics.

(100) همان گه سپاه⁷ اندر آمد بجنگ سپه همچو دریا و دریا چو گنگ⁸

At that moment the army joined battle,
the army like a sea and the sea like Gang.
(A85a, D3171, F1212, I268, KB64, N201, Q55, S104, SM166)

GNG (KNG?) is given a number of meanings in the old dictionaries: the river Ganges, an idol-temple in China or Turkestan, the

¹ F: بکردن بآب اندر آن ; I432, S: بمردن یکی اندرون .

² I432, S: غوته خوردن .

³ D: بیاراست خودرا ; T: ترنجید عذرا ; S102: بتندی عذرا .

⁴ S: به پیچید بر ; T: ترنجیده .

⁵ A: بر باره تند .

⁶ T: رای .

⁷ KA, S: هم آندم سپه ; N: همانگه سپه .

⁸ N: سپه همچو دریا شد و در چو گنگ ; SM: سپه شد چو دریا و زو نشت گنگ .

name of an island in the middle of the sea (*Burhān* III:1843–1844); according to SM166, Gang here refers to an island, and the verse is thus likely to belong to *V&A*; cf. Kaladze comm. p. 179.

(101) بیک ماه بالا گرفت آن نهال فزون زانکه دیگر درختان بسال

In one month that sprout grew high,
more than other trees in a year.

(A104a&212a, D3174, DS114, H47, I312, KA25, Q59, S105)
= PF26.

(102) بزرنه جام اندرون لعل مل فروزنده چون لاله بر زرد¹ گل

In the golden cup the ruby of wine,
sparkling like a tulip among yellow roses.

(A98a, D3176, DS124, F1342, H50r, I323, KB65, N210b, Q61, S106, SM179)

(103) چو سر گفته² شد غنچهء سرخ گل جهان جامه پوشید هم رنگ مل

When the red rose bud was cleft in the top,
the world put on a dress of the colour of wine.

(D3175, DS22, H12r, I457, KB66, Q45, S107)

I.e. the setting of the sun.

(104) چو رانی نباید³ سپردن بگام بود راندن⁴ تعبیه بی نظام

(105) نقیبان ز دیدن بماندند⁵ کند که⁶ ایشان همیشه نباشند غند

When it is not necessary to commit the thigh to the step (?),
the drawing up in array will be disorderly.

The leaders became stupefied by what they saw,
because they are not always collected (?).

(D3187–88, DS41, H20, I93, KB67–68, N80–81, Q19&67, S21–22)

Uncertain meaning.

¹ A: برزد.

² DS: گفتهء; H: گفتهء.

³ D, DS, N: راهی بیاید.

⁴ DS, N: +و.

⁵ D, DS: بمانند.

⁶ D, DS: گر.

زن بد کنش هغسفولی بنام¹ نبودش جز از بد دگر هیچ کام (106)

A woman of evil deeds by name of *Highsifūlī,
she did not have any aspiration but evil.

(D3186, I501, KA32, Q49, Ri23, S110)

= PF44; M'ŠQWLYH for *HGSEFWLY(H) = Hegesipyle (cf. Utas 1984–86: 432); the final *-ah* may be taken as a secondary Arabic fem. ending; however, the variant given in PF makes such a reading metrically impossible and rather suggests an original *HGSEFWLY, i.e. *Highsifūlī; Asadī explains: “the wife of the father of Vāmiq”; Kaladze comm. p. 153; Ritter v. 23 suggests a possible identity with Māshalā, as of PT2 above.

بأنین یکی شهر شامس² بنام یکی شهریار اندرو³ شاد کام (107)

A city of style by the name of Samos,
in it a monarch of triumphing will,

By name of Fuluqrāt, worthy of sovereignty,
even of the seed of Āqūs, son of Jupiter.

(A64a, D3191–92, F860, I204, KA29–20, Q53, Ri1–2, S27–28)

Š'MS, var. Š'MŠ = Samos; Asadī explains: “an island in the land of the Greeks”; Surūrī gives the pronunciation Shāmis; FLQR'T = Polykrates (cf. above PT50 and refs. there); 'QWS = Aiakos, the son of Zeus, here confused with Aiakēs, the father of Polykrates (cf. above, footnote to PF70, and Hägg 1985:83, 95); 'Jupiter' is here expressed with the Arabic word for the planet, *mushtarī*; Kaladze comm. p. 170; Ritter v. 1–2 quotes Bosch on Samos, Polykrates and Aiakes/Aiakos.

یکی دوستش بود توفان⁶ بنام بسی آزموده بناکام و کام (109)

¹ Emendation; D, I, KA, Q, Ri, S: معسفولیه نام; PF44 (MS & Shafi): معسفولیه بنام.

² S: شامس; A: نامش (but شامس in the explanation).

³ F: اندر آن.

⁴ A: نسل.

⁵ Verse missing in F, Q.

⁶ A, PF58: طوفان; T: ترفان.

There was a friend of his by name of Tūfān,
 who had experienced much of fortune and misfortune.
 (A28b, D3185, F321, I399, KA28, Q36, Ri24, S113, T3)
 = PF58; TWF'N, var. ṬWF'N, TRF'N, possibly = Theophanes,
 as suggested by Ritter v. 24; Asadī explains: “the name of the friend
 of Vāmiq who fled with him”.

(110) یکی تیز پائی و دانوش¹ نام گذشته برو بر بسی² کام و دام³

There was a nimble man named Vadānūsh(?),
 over him much good and bad luck had passed (?).
 (A45b, D3179, F532, I225, KA26, Q6, Ri15, S112, T15)
 WD'NWŠ (or D'NWŠ etc., cf. Ritter v. 15) = ?; Asadī and Surūrī
 explain: “a man who sold ‘Adhrā” and *Burhān* II:820, adds: “and
 ‘Adhrā was a girl, the beloved of Vāmiq, and the story about them
 is famous; and they also call him Davānūsh; and they have also said
 Danvāsh, and Dayānūsh has also been considered” (cf. below PT111);
 Kaladze comm. p. 170; Ritter v. 15: “Vielleicht Danaos?”.

(111) بدان⁴ راهداران⁵ جوینده کام یکی مهتری بد دیانوش⁶ نام

Over those fortune-hunting robbers
 there was a leader named Dayānūsh(?).
 (A45b, D3178, F530, I225, KA27, Q5, Ri14, S115, T6)
 DY'NWŠ (Tarbiyat: P'NWŠ?) = ?; Asadī and Surūrī explain: “the
 name of a leader of thieves” and *Burhān* II:908, adds: “who in the
 days of Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā committed theft and robbery by land
 and sea; and some people say it is the name of a person who sold
 ‘Adhrā” (cf. above PT110).

(112) هزاران بدش⁷ اندرون طاق و خم ببجکم درش نقش باغ⁸ ارم

¹ A: و دانش.

² A: کزشت برو بر کسی.

³ A, I, KA, Q, S: reversed order of half-verses.

⁴ A, D, F, Ri, T: بران.

⁵ T: راه از آن دزد.

⁶ T: بود پانوش (and reversed order of half-verses).

⁷ DS, H: بدو.

⁸ S117 second half-verse: هزاران نگار اندرو بیش و کم.

In it there were thousands of arches and domes;
 in the summer quarters it (had) pictures of the garden
 of Iram.

(D3180, DS135, H54r, I338, KB72, S108&117)

Kaladze comm. pp. 179–180.

بجوشیدش از دیدگان خون¹ گرم (113)
 بدنجان همی کند از² تنش چرم

Hot blood flowed from his/her eyes;
 with the teeth he/she tore the skin from his/her body.

(A33a/b, D3182, I353, KB71, Q64, S109)

تو شیری و شیران بکردار غرم (114)
 برو تارهای³ دلم ز گرم

You are a lion and lions (for you) like mountain sheep;
 go, so that you deliver my heart from grief!

(A70a, D3181, DS138, F934, H55r, I344, KB75, N223, Q63, S116)

زمی گر نباشد ز دارا کشم (115)
 اگر چند سلطان داراوشم

If there is no earth, I will extract it from Dārā/the rich(?),
 however much I am Sultan of Dārāvash(?).

(KB74, S111)

An ambiguous verse; possibly D'R' = Darius in the first half-verse, if not the adj. 'rich'; but what is D'R'WŠ in the second?—again a form of Dārā/Dārāb/Dārāv < Old Persian Dārayavahush or a strange adj. *dārāvash 'rich-like?'; Kaladze quotes this verse from Shafi, not found in other sources.

بدو⁴ گفت هر مس⁵ چرانی دژم (116)
 نه همچون منی دلت مانده⁶ بغم

که این آلت من که شد ساخته (117)
 نگردد همی هیچ پرداخته⁷

¹ A: . بجوشید از دیدگان اب .

² A: . بدنجان همه کنش .

³ A: . رهای .

⁴ D: . پدر .

⁵ PF222: . هر مز .

⁶ PF222: . بل من دلت شد .

⁷ Verse missing in F, I, Q, Ri.

Hurmus said to him: “Why are you depressed?

You are not like me, with your heart struck by grief,
Because this instrument of mine that has been built
does not become finished at all.”

(A109b, D3189–90, F1525, I204, KA33–34, Q52, Ri19, S19–20)

Variant of PF222–223; HRMS (PF: HRMZ) = Hermes; Asadī explains: “it is the name of a man who constructed the *barbat* (similarly *Burhān* IV:2362); Kaladze comm. p. 158; Ritter v. 19: “Hermes?”

بدل گفتم اگر جنگجویی کنم بپیکار او سرخ روئی کنم¹ (118)

بگریزند مر² دوده و میهنم که بی سر ببینند خسته تنم (119)

He/she said to his/her heart: “If I should seek battle
(and) acquit (myself) in a fight with him/her,
My family and kindred will certainly weep,
when they see my broken body without head.”

(A98b, D3183–84, DS155, H62r, I360, KB69–70, N254, Q65–66, S31–32, SM194)

سپه پهلوان بود³ با شاه جم بخم اندرون شاد و خرم بهم (120)

The army heroes were with King Jam
in the summer quarters, cheerful and happy together.

(D3177, DS135, F458, KB73, N219, S114)

Also ascribed to Firdausī; king Jam, properly = Jamshīd, could refer to any “Great King”.

بدادند نامه بدو با درم درم کرد پشت درستی بخم (121)

They gave him/her a letter with money;
the money made a straight back bent.

(KB76)

dīram, i.e. ‘drachma’, is usual for ‘money’ in general; Kaladze quotes this verse from Vā‘iz Kāshifī.

¹ Verse missing in N, SM.

² A, DS, H, N, SM: بگریذ مرا.

³ KB, S: بوده.

مراد دل این بود رای و گمان (122) که کار من و تو بود همچنان¹

کجا پیش² از این کار افروتشال (123) که بود الفتیشش هماره همال

I had in my heart this thought and suspicion
that the matter of you and me would go in the same
way

As before this in the case of Afrūtshāl(?),
to whom Alfātīsh(?) continually was a companion.
(D3195–96, I332, KA35–36, Q62, Ri21, S15–16)

'FRWTS'L = ?; Asadī explains: "the husband of Alfātīsh whom they killed in the war of 'Adhrā"; 'LFTYŠ = ?; Kaladze comm. p. 171.

هر آنجا که پاره شد از در درون (124) شود استواری ز روزن برون

Whenever a bribe has entered the door,
reliability leaves through the window.
(A24a, D3193, F269, KB78, S119)

کسی کرد نتوان ز زهر انگبین (125) نسازد ز ریکاشه کس پوستین

Nobody can make honey from poison;
nobody makes a fur-coat from hedgehogs.
(D3197, DS68, H30r, I423, KB79, N27b, Q41, S121)

بتا روزگاری بر آید برین (126) کنم پیش هر کس ترا آفرین

Let fate take its course in this manner!
I shall praise you in front of everybody.
(A9a/b, DS2, KB77, S118)
Also ascribed to Bū Shukūr.

جزیره یکی بد بیونان زمین (127) کرونیس³ بد نام⁴ شهر گزین⁵

There was an island in the land of the Greeks;
Karūnīs was the name of the choice city.
(A84a, D3194, F1066, I203, KA37, Q30, Ri12, S120, T1)

¹ Verse missing in Q, Ri.

² Ri: پیش; S: بجایش.

³ D, I: کرونیس.

⁴ T: + و.

⁵ Ri: reversed order of half-verses.

KRWNYS, var. KRWTYS = Khersonesos; Asadī and Aubaʿī explain: “an island where Vāmiq was” (cf. *Burhān* III:630); Kaladze comm. p. 171 with ref. to the neo-Attic pronunciation Kherronesos; Ritter v. 12, quoting Bosch: “vielleicht Korone”.

(128) جهان خیره ماند¹ از فرهنگ او از آن برز و بالا و اورنگ² او

The world remained dazzled by his/her education,
by that height and elevation and splendour of his/hers.
(D3198, F60, KB82, S123)

(129) یکی مهره بازست گیتی که دیو نداند بترفند او هیچ تیو

The world is such an impostor that (even) a demon
has no power against its deceit.

(D3200, DS171, H69, I413, KB81, Q39, S124)
Also ascribed to Firdausī.

(130) بدیشان³ نبد ز آتش مهر تیو بیک ره بر آمد ز هر دو⁴ غریو

They did not have power to resist the fire of love;
jointly from the two of them a cry rose.
(A28b, D3199, I413, KB80, N294a, Q38, S122, SM206)

(131) نشستند بر گاه بر ماه و شاه⁵ چه نیکو بود گاه را شاه و ماه⁶

They sat down on the throne, the moon and the king;
how king and moon embellish the throne!
(A66a, D3205, I424, KB86, N281, Q42, S130)

(132) بفرمود تا آسنستان پگاه بیامد بنزدیک رخشنده ماه

(133) بدو داد فرخنده دخترش را بگوهر بیار است اخترش را⁷

¹ F: مانده .

² S: آهنگ .

³ N, SM: بدیشان .

⁴ A: زهر دو بر آمد .

⁵ A, N: شاه و ماه .

⁶ N: ماه و شاه .

⁷ Verse missing in A, F, Ri, T.

He ordered that Āsinistān(?) at dawn
should come to the shining moon.

To him he gave his fortunate daughter;
with a jewel he adorned his star.

(A6b/7a, D3203–04, F71, I398, KA39–40, Q32–33, Ri 18, S25–26, T4)

”SNST’N = ?; Asadī and Auba’ī explain: “the father-in-law of Vāmiq, and in the end Vāmiq killed him” (cf. *Burhān* I:43); Kaladze comm. pp. 171–172.

(134) ز سم ستوران¹ و گرد سپاه زمین ماه روی و زمین² روی ماه

From the hoofs of the horses and the dust of the army
the earth (was) moon-faced and the moon earth-faced.
(KB83, M352, Ra53, Va48, S125)

Kaladze comm. p. 180: quoted from Rādūyānī and Shams-i Qais.

(135) فلاطوس بر گشت و آمد براه³ بر حجرهء وامق نیکخواه

Filāṭūs returned and on the way came
to the chamber of the affectionate Vāmiq.
(A73b, D3209, F971, I202, KA38, Q25, Ri16, S133, T10)
= PF316; FL’ṬWS = Philetas?; Asadī and Auba’ī explain: “it was the name of the teacher of ‘Adhrā”; *Burhān* III:1497, reads Falāṭūs and explains: “it is the name of a wise man, and he was the teacher of ‘Adhrā, the beloved of Vāmiq, and the story of Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā is famous in the world”; cf. PT53 above.

(136) جو آمیغ برنا شد آراسته دو خفته سه باشند بر خاسته⁴

As intercourse between the young was arranged,
two went to bed (and) they were three to rise.
(A4b, D3201, F52, I231, KA41, N161, S129, SM134)
Variant of PF15.

(137) کف یوز پر مغز آهو بره همه چنگ شاهین دل گودره

¹ Ra, S: سواران.

² Ra, S: زمی; Va: ماه رو زمین.

³ KA, F, T: زراه.

⁴ PF15: دو خفته دو باشد سه بر خاسته.

The paw of the panther full of the brain of the deer fawn,
the claw of the falcon all (full of) the heart of the goose.
(D3207, KB84, S126)

نه از خواب و از¹ خورد بودش مزه نه بگسست از چشم او نایزه (138)

He/she had taste neither for sleep nor food;
the dripping from his/her eyes did not stop.
(D3208, I509, KB85, Q51, S127)

شب از حمله روز² گردد ستوه شور پر ز اغش چو پر خروه (139)

Night becomes fatigued through the attack of day;
its raven wing becomes like the cock's feathers.
(D3202, DS172, F494, H69, I464, KB88, N274n, Q47, S132)

گرانمایه کاری بفر و شکوه برفت و شدند آن بآیین گروه (140)

A weighty matter with glory and pomp
passed, and that grouped proceeded in due order (??).
(?D3206, I453, KB87, Q44, S131)

چو از کوه گیری و ننهی بجای سر انجام کوه اندر آید زپای (141)

When you take from a mountain without putting (anything) in
its place,
at last that mountain falls over.
(KB96, S139)

Kaladze quotes this verse from Shafi; not found in other sources.

لب بخت پیروز را خنده ای مرا نیز مروای فرخنده ای (142)

You are a laugh on the lip of victorious fortune;
for me you are also a lucky omen.
(D3216, F1298, I5, KB94, Q10, S134)

Also ascribed to Rūdaqī; Kaladze comm. p. 181.

ز فرخویدنش چون بپرداختی چو گل جای خواب از چمن ساختی (143)

¹ S: نز.

² F: کوه.

When you were finished with its pruning,
like the flower you made a bed of the meadow.
(F983, KB95, S137)

Kaladze quotes this verse from Shafī, who has it from Rashīdī I, 97.

که ملذیطس¹ آن جایگاه داشتی بشاهی بر او² دستگه داشتی (144)

For Mildhīṭas held that place;
he held office as king over it.
(A96b, D3217, F1324, I203, KA42, Q31, Ri9, S138, T2)
MLDYṬS, var. MKDYṬS = Miltiades (cf. Utas 1982–84:432 and n. 19); Asadī explains: “it is the name of the father of Vāmiq” (cf. *Burhān* IV:2027); Kaladze comm. p. 172; Ritter v. 9 quotes Bosch: “= Miltiades?, könig auf dem thrakischen Chersones, Herodot 6/103”.

چو با آدمی چفت گردد پری نگوید پری چیز بلفظ دری (145)

When a peri comes together with a human being,
the peri speaks nothing but the (Persian) court language.
(KB97, S140)
Kaladze quotes this verse from Shafī, who has it from *Dārāb-nāmāh* (MS Brit.Mus.); since this verse refers to the world of the ‘peri’ (i.e. the fairies), it is probable that it does not belong to *V&A*.

پدر داده بودش گه کودکی به آذاطوس³ آن حکیم نکى (146)

بمرگ خداوندش آذاطوس³ تبه کرد مر⁴ خویشتن بر فسوس⁵ (147)

(Her) father had given her in childhood
to Ādhārtūs(?), that good wise man.
At the death of his master, Ādhārtūs(?)
killed himself because of grief.
(A4a, D3210–11, F46, I201, KA43–44, Q20–21, S13–14, T8–9)
”D’RṬWS, var. ”DRṬWS = Adrastos? (cf. Hdt. 1.35–45); Asadī and Auba’ī explain: “it is the name of a man to whom they had

¹ A, F, T: مکنیطس.

² A: در او; T: بدو; F: در آن.

³ A, I, Q: آذاطوس.

⁴ A: بر.

⁵ Verse missing in F.

given the mother of ‘Adhrā’ and *Burhān* I:22: “it is the name of a wise man to whom they had given ‘Adhrā in marriage” and *id.* I:27: “the husband of the mother of ‘Adhrā”; Kaladze (with a different translation of 146) comm. p. 172. Hardly a husband of ‘Adhrā’s mother, *Nānī.

ز جوی خورابه تو¹ کمتر بگوی² که بسیار گردد بیکبار اوی³ (148)

بیابان از آن آب دریا شود که ابر از بخارش ببالا شود⁴ (149)

Do not belittle the tiny stream of water,
because it may suddenly become big!

The desert may become a sea of water from it,
so that a cloud will rise from its vapour.

(D3212–13, DS8, F480, H7r, I431, KB92–93, N276a, Q43, S23–24&142)

Also ascribed to Firdausī.

درو آب چشمه⁵ در او آب جوی که⁶ رنجه نبودی درو آب جوی (150)

In it (there is) spring-water, in it river-water,
so that the seeking of water in it would be no toil.

(D3214, KB98, Ra90, S141)

چنان دان که این هیکل از پهلوی بود نام بتخانه ار⁷ بشنوی (151)

Know that this *haikal* (temple) in Pahlavi
is a name for idol-house, if you listen!

(A110b, D3215, DS120, F1532, H49, I321, KA45, N212, Q60, S135)
= PF77.

¹ D, DS, F, S142: چه; H: جو.

² N, S23: بجوی.

³ DS, H: به یکباره جوی; N, S142: به یکباره جوی.

⁴ Verse missing in D, N, Q.

⁵ KB, S: چشم.

⁶ Ra, S: کی.

⁷ A, DS, H: گر.

d. CONCORDANCE OF VERSES

PF	Shafi	PT	PF	Shafi	PT
1-7	1-7	—	258-260	284-286	—
8-14	7a-13	—	261-266	278-283	—
15	14	136	267-276	354-363	—
16-20	15-19	—	277-282	321-325a	—
21-25	21-25	—	283-285	326-328	—
26	26	101	286-297	286a-297	—
27-40	27-40	—	298-303	315-320	—
41-43	40a-42	—	304-312	298-305a	—
44	43	106	313-315	329-331	—
45-57	44-56	—	316	332	135
58	57	109	317-320	333-336	—
59-76	58-75	—	321-329	306-314	—
77	76	151	330-346	337-353	—
78-139	77-138	—	347-356	363a-372	—
140-144	138a-142	—	357-380	233-256	—
145	143	76			
146-179	144-177	—			
180-181	257-258	—			
182	259	78			
183-192	260-269	—			
193-195	178-180	—			
196	20	—			
197	269a	—			
198-221	181-204	—			
222-223	205-206	116-117			
224-240	207-223	—			
241-248	270-277	—			
249-257	224-232	—			

e. CONSPECTUS OF NAMES

The rendering of Greek names in the Arabic/Persian alphabet in *V&A* is, in principle, rather consistent. The names that appear in strange forms are most probably the result of secondary deformations, although in some cases the need to adjust a name to the metre

(*mutaqārib*, with $\cup--$ as the basic pattern) might have influenced a transformation, as *Nakhminūs for a more exact but metrically impossible rendering *Ankhaminūs of Anaximenes and Salīsūn for a more exact Sīlusūn < Syloson. If we start with the regular correspondences, we may note that Greek *k* (κ) regularly appears as ق (Q), Greek *t* (τ) as ط (Ṭ), Greek *x* (ξ) as خ (X), Greek *g* as ج (J) and the Greek masculine nominative in *-os* or *-ēs* as either -WS, -S or -Ø. All this points to an Arabic source for the Persian version of ‘Unṣurī, but it cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence of an intermediary in Arabic, since the employed transcriptions might also depend on conventions held in common by Arabic and Persian writers.

The most common deformation is due to changes in the punctuation that differentiate Arabic/Persian letters. Thus internal ی (Y) is easily confused with ن (N), as in ‘FRNJH (افرنجه) for ‘FRYJH (افريجه, *afrijah*, Phrygia) and, possibly, Y’NY (يانی) for N’NY (نانی, *nāmī*, Nanis). Similarly, س (S) and ش (Š), ر (R) and ز (Z), د (D) and ذ (Ḍ), ج (J) and خ (X), ب (B), پ (P), ت (T) and ث (Ṭ), as well as ف (F) and ق (Q) may be interchanged. Some of the identifications listed below depend on more specific deformations. Thus ‘FR’ṬN / ‘QR’ṬS < ‘QR’ŠS (اقراصس < اقراطس / افراطن) does not only depend on a replacement of ق (Q) with ف (F) but also of internal ص (Ṣ) with ط (Ṭ) and final س (S) with ن (N) and DYFNWS / RLQDWS / RNQDWS < ‘YFQWS (ایفقوس < رنقدوس / رلقدوس / ذیفنوس) on a replacement of ا (‘) with ز (Ḍ) or ر (R), ی (Y) with ل (L) or ن (N), ف (F) with ق (Q), and ق (Q) with ن (N) or د (D). The most amazing example is perhaps M’ŠQWLY < HĠSFWLY (هغسفولی < معشقبولی) with initial م (M) replacing ه (H), ع (‘) replacing غ (Ġ), ش (Š) replacing س (S) and ق (Q) replacing ف (F). Still, this correspondence is completely sure!

<i>Writing</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Occurrences</i>	<i>Comment</i>	<i>Reading</i>
”QWS	Aiakes	PT108	“Ibn Mushtarī”	Āqūs
”D’RṬWS	Adrastos?	PT146,147	*Nānī’s teacher	Ādhārtūs
”SNST’N	—	PT132	Vāmiq’s father-in-law	Āsinistan
’D’NWS̄	Otanes?	PT48	messenger of *Mandārūs	Adānūsh
’DR’	Parthenope	passim	Arab. ‘virgin’	‘Adhrā
’FR’TN	Kroisos?	PT57	*Nānī’s father	*Aqrāšus
’FR’ṬŠ	Kroisos?	PT57	variant of above	*Aqrāšus
’FRNJH	Phrygia?	PT57	homeland of *Nānī	*Afrījah
’FRWṬŠ’L	Kroisos?	PT123	husband of ’LFTYŠ	Afrūtshāl?
’LFTYŠ	?	PT123	wife of ’FRWṬŠ’L	Alfatīsh?
’NDRWS	Leandros	PT65	cf. Alexander > Sikandar	*Landarūs
’QR’ṬS	Kroisos?	PT40	variant of ’FR’ṬŠ?	*Aqrāšus
BL’Š	Paros?	PT81	Ritter 1948:136	Balāsh
BWKYWS̄	?	PT70	king of Ṭartāniyūsh	Nūkiyūsh?
BXSLWS	Anaxilaos	PT79	king of *Rīghiyūn	*Ankhalūs
DMXSYNWS	Demoxenos?	PT13	Ritter 1948: 138	Damkhasīnūs
DY’NWS̄	Dionysos	PF188,189	= Hārūt! cf. PT110,111	Diyānūs
DYFNWS	Ibykos?	PT78 (PF182)	cf. RLQDWS	*Ifuqūs
DYFYRY’	Zefiria?	PT3 (also DYFYZY’)	city; = Cyprus	Zifīriyā
FL’ṬWS	Philetas?	PT53,135, PF289, pass.	teacher of ‘Adhrā	Filātūs
FLQR’Ṭ	Polykrates	PT50,108, PF passim	Shafi 14 <i>vazn: saqīrlāt</i>	Fuluqrāt
FYZYDYWS	?	PT3	city; Shafi 21	Fizīdiyūs
H’RW	Hero	PT65	beloved of Andarūs	Hārū
HNTRS	Knidos?	DN	port, < Khinītūs?	*Khinītūs?

HRMZ	Hermes	PT117, PF199,205,222	variant HRMS (PT117)	Hurmuz
HRNQ'LYS	Heraklias?	DN	Kaladze: Kharnkalis	Hiranqālīs
HZRH-MN	Terpandros?	PF227	translation loan?	Hazhrah-man
KRWNYS	Khersonesos	PT127	variant KRWTYS	Karūnīs
KYWS	Khios/Keos?	PT80	Ritter 1948:138	Kayūs
LWQ'RY'	Lykaria?	PT3	Ritter 1948:138	Lūqāriyā
M'SL'	?	PT 2	city, Shafi 21	Lūqāriyā
M'SQWLY	Hegesipyle	PT106, PF 44	< Mā-shā'allāh?	Māshalā
MJYNWS	Anaximenes	PT76, PF145,146	var. M'SQWLYH	*Higsifūlī
MLDYTS	Miltiades	PT144	variant MXSNWS	*Nakhminūs
MND'RS	Maiandrios?	PT48comm.	Ritter 1948:136	Mildhītas
MNQLWS	Menekles?	PT80 (13comm.)	suitor of 'Adhrā	Mandārus
MNWS	Minos	PT62	king of Kayūs	Manqalūs
NTYŠ	?	PT57comm.	var. MYNWS	Minūs
NWKYWŠ	?	PT70comm.	wife of 'FR'TŠ	Našīsh?
RLQDWS	Ibykoš	PF182,241 (PT78)	king of Tartañiyūsh?	Nūkiyūsh?
SLYSWN	Syloson	PT50	Shafi: RNQDWS	*Īfuqūs
STHRWN	?	DN	sec. syll. > ī metri causa?	Salīsūn
Š'MS	Samos	PT107, PF3,69,76	slave merchant	Siṭahrūn?
ṬMRWSYH	Barsine??	DN	Š also in Arab. geogr.	Shāmūs
ṬRT'NYWŠ	Taras/Tarentum?	PT68,70	mistress of Dārāb	Ṭamrūsīyah
			Ritter 1948:138:	Ṭartañiyūsh
			Dardanos?	
ṬWF'N	Theophanes?	PT109, PF58 et pass.	or Greek Thouphanes?	Ṭūfān
W'MQ	Metiokhos	passim	Arab. 'ardent lover'	Vāmīq
(W)D'NWŠ	?	PT110,111	= Dionysos?	Dānūsh?
Y'NY	Nanís?	PF5,23,99,236,247	Shafi & Kaladze: Yani	*Nānī
ZNKLYS'	?	DN (var. ZNKDYS')	wife of Dārāb	Zanklīsā
ZYFNWN	Rhegion	PT45	var. ZYGNWN/DWFNWN	*Rīghiyūn

CHAPTER FOUR

TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE TEXT

So far we have presented the surviving fragments and testimonia of the Greek novel and the Persian epic poem, and on that basis begun a discussion of what these two literary works might have looked like. It is time to change perspective for a while: in this chapter we shall try to see what happened to the text between these two points, that is, trace the transformations it may have undergone in the thousand years that separate them. To some extent it will be a history of the reception of the Greek novel, based on the testimonia, but mainly an attempt, starting from the text of the Persian fragments, to find out what intermediaries (redactions, translations), if any, there may have been between *M&P* and *V&A* in the forms we know them. Much must remain speculative; nonetheless, it is essential to form as clear a picture as we can of the alternatives and to weigh the evidence for and against the potential intermediary versions.

THE WAY THROUGH ANTIQUITY

We do not know in what part of the Greek world the novel was written, or when or by whom. The first piece of evidence we have of its existence is the small ostrakon from Egypt (GF3), containing what reads like a soliloquy by Metiokhos longing for his beloved. It may have been produced as a school exercise; anyway, it is a copy of a memorable passage of the novel, a well-turned expression of the topos “sleeplessness for love”, perhaps chosen especially for its drastic metaphor and specific vocabulary: “my eyes wide open as if glued with gum”. The handwriting points to a date in the first century AD, some would say its very first decades. So, at that date, the novel was well-known enough in Egypt to have a specific passage quoted, whether at school or privately.

Perhaps a hundred years later, in the second century AD, a Greek-speaking person living (or staying) in the Arsinoite nome in central Egypt, west of the Nile, in the district now known as the Fayyūm,

decided to copy (or have copied) a extensive passage from *M&P* on the blank back of a discarded papyrus roll (GF1); it had been used for an account of rents on its recto (the inside of the roll, with the fibres running horizontally, parallel with the writing). The passage chosen was Metiokhos' first day on Samos, or, more specifically, his first meeting with Polykrates and his participation in the symposium at which he and Parthenope were challenged by Anaximenes to discuss the nature of Eros. We may surmise that this rhetorical show-piece on a popular topos, with its pointed argument and dramatic implications for the two young lovers, was a particularly famous part of the novel. In addition, the scene may have been attractive because it contained a concentration of the perennial constituents of a typical historical novel: fictitious characters mixing with celebrated figures of history.¹

We do not know how much of the copied text is lost before or after the extant fragment (5–6 lines are missing from the top of Col. I, enough for setting the scene, but there may of course have been one or several columns before that one). Indeed, it is often tacitly taken for granted that the fragment derives from a complete copy of the novel. This seems improbable, however, for two reasons. First, the kind of writing material used, the back of an economic document, does not make it likely that the intention was to copy a whole novel. Second, and more importantly, comparison with the corresponding scene as transmitted in the main Persian fragment (PF133–179) makes it probable that the Greek text of GF1 has been abbreviated. We shall have a closer look at the evidence.

Among several differences between the Greek and Persian texts in the overlapping section, the one relevant in this connection occurs in the description of the scene that immediately precedes the actual discussion on love. In the Greek fragment (GF1.30–34), there seems to be no room for motivating the symposiarch, the philosopher Anaximenes, to choose Eros as the topic of discussion. In the Persian epic (PF146–150), he has observed the young couple during the preceding meal and concluded from their behaviour that they have secretly fallen in love. He suggests Eros as the topic in order to put them to the test. Now, it does not seem probable that the Persian poet has himself invented this ingenious part of the plot. There is,

¹ Cf. Hägg 1987.

of course, the possibility that it was placed earlier in the Greek text, before our fragment starts. But, even so, the Persian adaptor would have improved on his model in dramatical timing. The most likely explanation then is that our Greek fragment exhibits a version of the scene that is abbreviated in relation to the original.

Such an abbreviation, it is true, may have been part of an adapted version of the novel, as has been suggested on similar grounds for Akhilleus Tatios. The Oxyrhynchus papyrus 1250, containing parts of the second book of that novel, exhibits a changed order of chapters as well as an inserted transitional phrase. It has therefore been suspected (but in no way proven) that it belonged to an anthology rather than to a complete edition of *Leukippe and Kleitophon*.² A similar anthology edition of *M&P* is conceivable. Still, in spite of the possible parallel, the simplest explanation is that the abbreviation was made ad hoc: it was the rhetorical highlight represented by the discussion on Eros that motivated the copying in the first place, and the introductory matter was curtailed so as only to introduce the principal characters and the situation (cf. below, pp. 227, 252).

This second-century private copy of a rhetorical scene from the novel testifies to its continued popularity in Egypt in literary form, perhaps as much as two hundred years after it was written. By that time, however, the story had also undergone a transformation into another medium. The various testimonia from Lucian (GT2a–c) refer to theatrical performances featuring Parthenope and Metiokhos. Whatever their exact nature—pantomimic dance with spoken introduction?—the important thing is that Parthenope is now a famous character of the same kind as Phaidra and that Metiokhos is mentioned together with Akhilleus. The characters, and presumably (cf. GT2b) selected parts of the story as well, have acquired an existence of their own, independent of the textual transmission of the novel.

Lucian was a native of Roman Syria, and at least one of the theatrical performances he alludes to (GT2c) will have taken place in Antioch. Only some few decades later, around AD 200, we find in the same province two pictorial representations of Parthenope and Metiokhos, in floor mosaics found at Daphne outside Antioch (MOS1) and at Zeugma on the upper reaches of the Euphrates (MOS2). Well-to-do people had chosen to decorate their floors with motifs

² Cf. Vilborg 1955:xliv with further refs.

from *M&P*, rather than the more common mythological figures. The couple's enduring popularity, in various media, precisely in the Oriental parts of the Roman empire deserves notice in our context.

Simultaneously with these transformations into theatrical and pictorial art, the novel itself continued to be read and copied. We have two papyrus fragments from Egypt dating in the third century AD, one (GF4) no doubt belonging to the same symposium context as the big Berlin fragment, the other (GF3) presumably giving a glimpse of the heroine's abduction westwards in the later part of the novel. Deciding the popularity of a literary work solely on the basis of papyrus finds is a tricky business;³ but in the case of *M&P*, the four Egyptian papyri and ostraca, spread over two or three centuries, reinforce the conclusion that we have already drawn from the Syrian mosaics and pantomimes.

It was probably in the same (middle or late) centuries of the Roman Empire that someone who was busy elaborating comments on Dionysios the Periegete's didactic poem, "Geographical Description of the Inhabited World", adduced his knowledge of *M&P* to explain the name Parthenope that occurs in line 358 of that poem (GT1). Whether Dionysios himself, writing in the first half of the second century AD, was thinking of our romantic Parthenope when he called the Siren of that name "pure" (*hagnē*), is uncertain (GT1a); but his commentator is at pains to distinguish the Siren from the heroine of the pantomime plot (GT1b). It is impossible to know for sure if his rather specific knowledge of the novel's plot, including Parthenope's travels westwards, derives from reading the novel itself, or perhaps just from listening to a verbal introduction to a pantomimic dance performance. In any case, his information was handed down through the Middle Ages in annotated manuscripts of Dionysios' geographical poem, and was also indirectly the source of the twelfth-century Byzantine scholar Eustathios when he summarised the novel's plot in his own commentary on Dionysios (GT1c).

Eustathios clearly had no independent knowledge of *M&P*, nor are there any other certain indications that the novel was ever read or copied in Byzantium. It remains, however, to be investigated whether Eustathios Makrembolites' *Hysmine and Hysminias* (twelfth century) or any other Byzantine novel may show signs of direct influence

³ Cf. Stephens 1994.

from *M&P*. The situation is the same regarding the surviving ancient novels; the history of the novelists' reception of *M&P* is so far unwritten (hopefully, the present edition will inspire such research). *M&P*'s—or rather *Parthenope*'s—putative position at the very beginning of the tradition and its enduring popularity indeed make it natural to suppose that it influenced subsequent novelists, even if the exact ways of influence (direct or indirect) will be difficult to disentangle. One sign of its assimilation to the established genre is that it apparently changed names: from being called simply *Parthenope*, it adopted the hero-and-heroine type of title which became fashionable for such works in the Roman period, and was known from then on as *Metiokhos and Parthenope*. It is only for Khariton, however, whose novel changed names from *Kallirhoe* to *Khaireas and Kallirhoe*, that we have manuscript evidence for both the simple and the compound title; for our anonymous novel we have to rely on analogy and on the compound title of its Persian successor.⁴

It appears that some time in Late Antiquity, after the reign of Constantine the Great, a writer of a Christian martyrdom knew *M&P* and was inspired to use its heroine and parts of its plot for his (or her) own purposes. The question whether, or to what extent, the *Martyrdom of St Parthenope* (*MSP*) was in fact influenced by the pagan novel, was discussed in some detail above (Ch. II d). If we find the argument for influence convincing, we are confronted with a new sort of transformation: after abbreviated version, stage performance, and mosaic art, there is here a literary adaptation that totally suppresses the hero, lets the heroine die a martyr's death, and transforms the basic topic of sexual love into love of God. The fact that Parthenope, true to her name, remains a virgin to the glorious end, may or may not have been part of the original concept of the novel; anyway, it intriguingly anticipates some later developments of the story.

There is nothing in *MSP* that would make us suppose that it was composed in Egypt; Constantinople and Persia constitute its geographical room. But with the Coptic version, the fragments of which are our first tangible evidence for the Martyrdom, the story has landed in Egypt; and the rest of the diffusion, as witnessed by at least half-a-dozen complete manuscripts (preserved in Luxor, St

⁴ For further discussion, see Hägg 2002:20–21.

Antony's monastery, Beirut, and Paris), was to an audience of Arabic-speaking Christians.

The cases of creative reception of the novel that have survived unanimously point eastward, to Syria and Egypt and beyond. They testify to the continuing availability of *M&P* in the easternmost parts of the Greek-speaking world of Late Antiquity. Still, they all represent blind alleys in relation to the transformation process that produced *V&A* in the end; for that work obviously builds on the complete novel, not on any of its adaptations. There must have been an unbroken manuscript tradition somewhere, long enough to permit the transition to another language and another literary culture. There are several options, apart from Constantinople and the Byzantine heartland.⁵ The "House of Wisdom" at Baghdad, for instance, is known to have accommodated a large collection of Greek manuscripts (cf. below on Sahl b. Hārūn). But more anonymous places and less official channels may be as likely as the well-known centres of learning. *M&P*'s closest cognate among the "non-sophistic" novels, Khariton's *Kallirhoe*, was not known to the Patriarch Photios in ninth-century Constantinople, but it has survived in a thirteenth-century manuscript in Florence. According to Ben Edwin Perry, this manuscript was produced "on the western borders of Syria and Armenia", attesting to an "isolated Asiatic tradition of a whole series of rare Greek texts, and recensions of ancient texts, which were not propagated in Byzantium or in the West."⁶ It may have been in similarly hidden circumstances that the tradition of *M&P* was fostered, although it did not ultimately produce an offspring that reached a European library. Instead, it may have been the point of departure for a new transformation, or a series of such. To advance further, we shall now turn to the Oriental evidence.

ALTERNATIVE ROUTES TO 11TH CENTURY IRAN

The Persian *Nachleben* of the *M&P* romance is shrouded in mystery. There is no obvious explanation of the reappearance of its plot, even minute details of it, in the preserved fragments of the poem *V&A*,

⁵ See, in more detail, Hägg 1986:109–111.

⁶ Perry 1966:424f.; cf. Perry 1967:347 n. 9.

composed by ‘Unṣurī in East Iranian Ghazna in the 11th century. Contacts between the Greek-Byzantine world and Iran are poorly attested.⁷ The results of a cultural exchange and of direct influences and loans that must have been of considerable proportions were assimilated in a common Greek-Near Eastern culture that is difficult to decompose. Apart from the already mentioned general references to *V&A* as a story about two famous Greek lovers at the time of Alexander (see above, p. 10), there are two lines of reasoning as regards the background of the Persian romance *V&A*. One is concerned with a possible Middle Persian, i.e. Sasanian, version and the other seems to point to an Arabic intermediary.

The idea of a Sasanian version goes back to an anecdote told in the 15th-century Persian work *Tadhkirat ush-shu‘arā* (“Memoir of the poets”) by Daulatshāh Samarqandī,⁸ in which he tells about a book about Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā “which the learned have composed in the name of King Anūshīrvān” (AD 531–579) and which was destroyed by order of Amīr ‘Abdu’llāh b. Ṭāhir, governor of Khorasan (9th century AD). The Abbasid Amīr is reported to have said: “We are men who read the Qur’ān and the Traditions of the Prophet. Of such books as this we have no need, for they are compilations of the Magians, and are objectionable in our eyes.” The anecdote continues:

Then he ordered the book to be thrown into the water, and issued orders that wherever in his dominions there should be any books composed by the Persians and Magians, they should all be burned. Hence till the time of the House of Sāmān, no Persian poems were seen, and if now and then poetry was composed [in Persian], it was not collected.⁹

This anecdote was used, in both East and West, as evidence of a Middle Persian (Pahlavi) source for the poem that ‘Unṣurī composed some 200 years after the alleged anti-Iranian actions of that Amīr (e.g. Ethé 1887:38).

When it became known that Greek names appear in lexical verses taken from ‘Unṣurī’s *V&A*, the Pahlavi hypothesis was supplemented with suggestions of an earlier background in a Greek romance, possibly with a Syriac intermediary (e.g. Büchner, *ET*¹ IV:1107). There is, however, no further evidence of the existence of a Pahlavi work

⁷ Cf. Utas 1993:21–30, and refs. there.

⁸ Ed. ‘Abbāsī, 1337:35; ed. Browne, 1901:30.

⁹ Trans. Browne 1902–24, II:275–276.

with this content. The anecdote given by the often-unreliable Daulatshāh is obviously a piece of nationalistic lore. The names Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā are pure Arabic and could not have appeared in a Sasanian work in that form. If the anecdote transmitted by Daulatshāh ever had any real background, it most probably referred to a work with some other title. The undoubtedly pre-Islamic story of *Vīs u Rāmīn*, put into Persian verse by Fakhr ud-dīn As‘ad Gurgānī in the middle of the 11th century and likewise nearly lost, would be a good candidate.¹⁰

The other line of argument is based on an entry in the encyclopaedic Arabic work *al-Fihrist* by Ibn an-Nadīm, written around 988.¹¹ It says that the director of the Caliph al-Ma‘mūn’s *Khizānat al-ḥikma* (“House of wisdom”), Sahl b. Hārūn ad-Dastmaisānī (d. 830), among his works counts a *Kūtāb Wāmiq wa’l-‘Adhrā’*. This Sahl was of Persian descent, his father hailing from Rāmanūy near Bukhara. He was a well-known, even fanatic *shu‘ūbī*, that is a defender of the cultures of non-Arabic Muslim peoples, especially Persian, but obviously wrote himself in Arabic and is known as the author of books in many genres.¹² There are, however, no further traces of his *V&A*. A little more than a hundred years after Sahl, the great polyhistor al-Bērūnī (Albirun, 973–c. 1050), also coming from the vicinity of Bukhara, tells us that he has “translated the tale (*qiṣṣa*) of Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā’, the story (*ḥadīth*) of Qasīm as-surūr and ‘Ain al-ḥayāt, the story (*ḥadīth*) of the two idols of Bāmiyān (*sanamai al-Bāmiyān*)”, and a number of other “spicy anecdotes” (al-Bērūnī 1879:xxxxiv; Dozy 1851, II:297). Again, this short reference is the only thing we know of those works. We cannot even say for certain from what language they were translated and in what language they were written. As a leading Muslim scholar, al-Bērūnī generally wrote in Arabic, and in another place he has said that when it comes to language, Persian can in no way be compared to Arabic, being so inexact that it “is only suitable for stories about old kings and nightly tales (*samar*)”.¹³ Did he regard the stories he mentions here as “nightly

¹⁰ Incidentally, Daulatshāh is wrong also about the authorship of that work.

¹¹ Ed. Flügel, 1871:120; trans. Bayard Dodge, 1970, I:263.

¹² Cf. M. Zakeri, *EF*³ VIII:838–840; Brockelmann 1936–42, Suppl. I:213; Sezgin 1967–84, I:272–273.

¹³ Al-Bērūnī 1973:12; Russian trans. 1974:138; different translation by Massignon in *Al-Biruni commemoration volume* 1951:18, quoted by Lazard 1975:631.

tales”? And is there a difference between what he calls a *qiṣṣa* and a *ḥadīth*? The first would qualify as fiction, while the second could possibly be regarded as more factual. The remarkable thing is that according to the literary histories our poet, ‘Unṣurī, who was contemporary with al-Bērūnī and even served for a time at the same court in Ghazna, composed three epic *mathnavī* poems on those very themes: his *V&A*, his *Shādbahr u ‘Ain ul-ḥayāt* (*Shādbahr* = *Qasīm as-surūr* = “Happy of fate” and *‘Ain ul-ḥayāt* = “Spring of life”), and his *Khing-but u Surkh-but* (“The White idol and the Red idol”, supposedly equal to the two giant Buddha statues of Bāmiyān).¹⁴

These short references to a literary treatment of a story about the lovers Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā must be put in relation to the shreds of an oral tradition that surface in the narrative found in *Dārāb-nāmah* (*DN*).¹⁵ That oral tradition might well be contemporary with, or even older than, the poem by ‘Unṣurī. In principle, the popular narrative could have been the source of the literary epic or, vice versa, the story of the epic could have been incorporated in the oral tradition. We know very little about the interaction between oral story telling and written literature in the early centuries of Classical Persian literature. Apart from the well-known example of the Alexander Romance, narrative material of a Greek origin most probably circulated in Iranian cycles of stories already at an early date. Here, too, belong the obviously Greek elements that have been found in a number of tales in the *Arabian Nights*.¹⁶ Thus we find in *DN* not only an abridged version of *V&A* but also a wealth of other references to “the Greek islands” and various personages living there. Thus ‘Adhrā happens to visit a Greek king called Fiṣṭilīqūn on the Greek island of Khaṭrīsh, who has a brother by name of Shalshīlūn and a wife ‘Anṭūshīyah, a daughter Ṭamrūsīyah, a brother-in-law Hiranqālīs, a vizier Khaṭrīnūs,

¹⁴ Cf. ‘Aufī 1903–06, II:32 (a more reliable source than Daulatshāh, in whose “Memoir” no epic poem is mentioned for ‘Unṣurī). For a connection with the Alexander legend, see. Shafī 1967: Pers. introd. 21–22; for general views on the beginnings of the writing of Persian romantic epics, see Rypka 1968:175–179, J. T. P. de Bruijn in *EF* VI:832–835 and *Elr* IX:572–579, F. de Blois in *Elr* VIII:474–477, Meisami 1987:77–130.

¹⁵ Another way of explaining *DN*’s summary of *M&P/V&A* is proposed below (Ch. V), namely as a fairly close Persian rendering of a summary that existed already in the novel (and epic poem?) itself.

¹⁶ See von Grunebaum 1946 (esp. Ch. IX: “Greece in the Araiban Nights”); for further comments, cf. Hägg 1986:114–121.

a traitorous secretary ‘Abarqūd, and a temple named Saṭbaqālīs situated on a small adjacent island.¹⁷ In this case, however, we might have a double of the original *M&P/V&A* story, since these names and the relations between their bearers in a strange way mirror those of that story (cf., in particular, Polykrates/Fuluqrāt, his brother Syloson/Salīsūn and secretary Maiandrios/Mandārus).

Even less can be made of a possible Greek connection for the stories of “The White idol and the Red idol” and “Happy of fate and Spring of life”. Only scattered verses of ‘Unṣurī’s poems on those themes have been preserved. Since both the *V&A* and “The White idol and the Red idol” are composed in the *mutaqārib* metre, it is generally not possible to decide from which poem such testimonial verses could have been taken. Thus verses from both poems are included in PT above (cf. PT72 for an example of a verse that probably comes from “The White idol and the Red idol”). There is, however, nothing decidedly Greek that can be referred to that poem. As for “Happy of fate and Spring of life”, Kaladze lists 79 *mathnavī* verses in the *khafīf* metre taken from the old dictionaries which are likely to come from that poem.¹⁸ Among those verses there is one clearly Greek reference:

Then they arranged a wedding,
all according to the customs and ways of the Greek.¹⁹

There are also some references to the sea, a ship and an island (verses 27 and 65 in Kaladze’s numbering) that might be connected with Greek seafaring, but no name with a clearly Greek background.

References to the stories of “The White idol and the Red idol” and “Happy of fate and Spring of life” also appear in an early Persian prose version of the Alexander romance, the *Iskandar-nāmah*. There, we find the following passage:²⁰

Then the king (i.e. Iskandar) said to the old man: “I passed Ferghana. There I saw two figures that they had made. One had the name “the White idol” (*Khīng-but*) and the other the “Red idol” (*Surkh-but*), and

¹⁷ Cf. Ṭarsūsī 1965–68, I:187–283; note that the vowelisation of these names is conjectural.

¹⁸ Kaladze 1983:98–103, trans. 145–150, comm. 181–191.

¹⁹ Verse 78 (Kaladze 1983:103, 150).

²⁰ *Iskandar-nāmah (rivāyat-i fārsī-yi Kālīstīnīs-i durūghīn)* 1343/1964:288–289. Shafī 1967:21–22 quotes this passage with reference to a manuscript version supposedly written by a certain ‘Abd ul-Kāfī b. ‘Abd il-Barakāt.

two tombs were placed there. I found that strange. Do you know anything about those idols?” They said: “O king, this is well-known, and this story had happened in this land, and those are the tombs of two lovers who died in separation, and the story about them is long. One was the son of the king of Egypt and the other the daughter of the king of this our province, a king who was one of the ancestors of the present Khāqān [of China], who was killed by the hands of the king [i.e. Iskandar?].” And this story has no sweetness [i.e. elegance], but ‘Unṣurī has put it into verse which is famous. We have not written it here, so that we shall not be kept away from the story of Iskandar. The old men of the province retold it to Iskandar and brought a tablet to Iskandar on which both lovers had written their story and which had been placed on top of their tomb. When he read it, it was precisely as the old men had said.

Here the tombs of “The White idol and the Red idol” are placed in Ferghana (a valley on the middle Jaxartes) and thus not made equal to the two giant Buddha statues of Bāmiyān. Since the Bāmiyān statues are post-Alexander (probably from the 1st century AD), that makes a kind of historical sense; but still it is most likely that this is one of many late Eastern additions to the Alexander saga. What we see here is another indication of the nebulous connections between cycles of oral narratives and high literature of the type that ‘Unṣurī represents, but it cannot be taken as proof of any Greek connection.

The story of *Shādbahr u ‘Ain ul-ḥayāt* is associated with Iskandar/Alexander in a similarly vague way. This loving couple, too, appears a few times in this Persian *Iskandar-nāmāh*. Thus it is mentioned in the story of Iskandar’s war with a king of the Ethiopians, called Qātil, that Iskandar arrived at a garden called *Haft anbar* (“Seven springs”),²¹ which had belonged to a certain ‘Ain ul-ḥayāt, the daughter of a local king by name of Mihjāsb (*ibid.*, pp. 426–427). Iskandar stayed there together with his wife, Arāqīt,²² the queen of the fairies (*parīyān*). The story continues:

That night it was Arāqīt’s turn to be with the king [i.e. Iskandar]. When Arāqīt entered, he took her hand and said: “Come and you will see something wonderful!” And he took her to the garden *Haft anbar* and brought her to a platform there, on which the figure of ‘Ain

²¹ The spelling *’nbar* is normally read *anbur* meaning “pincers” but may be an alternative spelling of *‘anbar* (with *‘ain*), a word generally meaning “ambergris”; however, Dihkhudā 1947–75 (*s.v.*) also gives a translation “spring, source”.

²² Vowelisation conjectural; a name that might be of Greek origin.

ul-ḥayāt was engraved, and he showed it to her. Arāqīt said: “O king, this is the figure of ‘Ain ul-ḥayāt, the daughter of Mihjāsb, and in this there are many wonders, such that if you hear them, you will forget the whole kingdom.” Then the king said: “To-morrow they will bring an old man who will tell the story.” Arāqīt said: “Why bring that old man? Ask me about the story, and I shall make it clear as sun-light to you, and you will hear about wonders that will astound you!” Then, the next day the old man came, and the king brought him to Arāqīt. Arāqīt said: “Ask him what he has got of the tales about ‘Ain ul-ḥayāt and the throwing into the bosom of Shādhbahr of the bird of the sack [or “bird’s sack”, *murgh(-i) kāsah*], where there was a picture of ‘Ain ul-ḥayāt, and the tale of the painter and the description of their love!” And this story is very well-known and famous, and Ḥakīm ‘Unṣurī has put it into verse and most people know it by heart. We have left it out here, so that we shall not be kept away from the story of Iskandar. Then, when the old man told this story to Iskandar, he had not yet come to the end when the fairies entered and brought news about the Ethiopians. The king said: “I will listen to the rest of the story to-morrow.” (*ibid.*, pp. 430–431)

The end of the story was told after some further massacres of Ethiopians:

And when night came, he returned to the tale of ‘Ain ul-ḥayāt, and Arāqīt knew this story well. She told it to the king, and that night he was occupied with this story, and we have said that the object of this book is the story of Iskandar, and that story of Shādhbahr and ‘Ain ul-ḥayāt is well-known by itself. (*ibid.*, p. 436)

Thus there is once again no real clue to a Greek background. Yet, the similarity between the names Khairesas (“the cheerful one”) and Kallirhoe (“the beautifully flowing [spring]”), on one hand, and Shād(h)bahr (“happy of fate”) and ‘Ain ul-ḥayāt (“spring of life”), on the other, is such that one senses some kind of connection. In the basically oral narrative traditions that are mirrored in both this *Iskandar-nāmah* (supposedly written down some time in the 12th–14th centuries AD) and the *Dārāb-nāmah* as quoted above, we can obviously find variegated but quite nebulous material of Greek origin. It seems as if the themes of these three stories/poems, i.e. *V&A*, “*The two idols*” and *Shādhbahr u ‘Ain ul-ḥayāt*, belong to a common Greek-Near Eastern cultural heritage, a situation which makes it difficult for us to trace more exactly the sources used by al-Bērūnī and ‘Unṣurī and to elucidate the relation between their respective works.

Of whatever origin, Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā were known all over the Near East as the names of two exemplary lovers from at least the

10th century AD, in oral tradition possibly earlier. Basing herself on the existence of early Georgian references, Kaladze (1983:41–46, 49) concludes that there must have existed another, earlier, Eastern story about the two lovers and that the adaptation of their names by ‘Unṣurī (or his source) was a secondary development. In Arabic the names may easily be taken as generic, Vāmiq being an active participle meaning “the ardently loving” and ‘Adhrā’ a noun (originally elative feminine) “virgin”—thus a direct translation of Parthenope. The authoritative dictionary of Biberstein-Kazimirski (1860, II:1611) not only notes that Vāmiq is a proper name and the lover of ‘Adhrā but also that he is “le sujet des romans arabes” (“the subject of Arabic romances”). The same lexicographer (1860, II:201) explains ‘Adhrā’ as a proper name, the beloved of Vāmiq, and a woman belonging to the tribe ‘Udhra. The latter possibility supplies a link to the so called ‘Udhri love stories of early Arabic literature, of which both the chastity of the female protagonist and the tragic ending are characteristic.²³ There is, however, nothing more to substantiate a connection between our loving couple and the ‘Udhritic complex, nor are there any known and preserved examples of the specific “romans arabes” that Biberstein-Kazimirski mentions.

There are thus two possibilities: one, that there was an independent, indigenous story about Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā, whose names were later taken over by the translator(s) of the Greek novel (orally or in writing); two, the constellation of those names was purposely created in order to render the Greek Metiokhos and Parthenope. Since we do not know when, where and how this happened, we can only venture a guess. The fact that this theme is presented as a professedly Greek story, associated with a number of clearly Greek names, already in apparently ancient Persian oral traditions makes the latter alternative more likely. The Arabic material, however, leaves us completely in the dark.

How did the story reach ‘Unṣurī? Of course, if he had a written source, this could have been the (Persian prose?) version by al-Bērūnī; but from where did al-Bērūnī get it? Perhaps from an (Arabic prose?) version by Sahl b. Hārūn, who could have found the story during his activities in the “House of wisdom”. As far as we know, neither al-Bērūnī nor Sahl were able to translate from Greek. The Coptic

²³ The “Benou-Azra”, who, “when loving, die”; see R. Jacobi in *EI*² X:774–776.

and Arabic *MSP*, if not translated from an originally Greek martyrdom, could have been based on written versions of *M&P/V&A* in any language or, as likely, on oral traditions. In principle, ‘Unṣurī could also have received the story from oral traditions. There is even an anecdote that seems to suggest that in his youth he visited Mesopotamian Naṣībīn (i.e. Nisibis, the modern Nusaybin) as a merchant.²⁴ That city was an age-old meeting point between East and West and would still at the time of ‘Unṣurī have had a mixed Greek and Nestorian milieu. Incidentally, Nisibis is situated not very from Zeugma on the Euphrates, where one of the *M&P* mosaics was found, testifying to a quite late popularity of this romance in that region (cf. above pp. 57, 61–64). Both written and oral versions of the *M&P* may well have been available in Nisibis even at the time of ‘Unṣurī. Yet, that is of no great avail to us, since there are reasons to believe that the association of ‘Unṣurī with this anecdote is a late mistake.²⁵

However, the close parallels between many passages in the Greek fragment of *M&P* and ‘Unṣurī’s *V&A*, as well as the kind of transformations that the Greek names have undergone, make it more or less necessary to assume a *written* intermediary (Arabic or Persian but *not* Pahlavi or Syriac), even if the very renaming of the two lovers, Metiokhos and Parthenope, into Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā could have taken place in both an oral and a written context. The translator obviously also had the option of arabising the name as Bartānūbā, as used for Parthenope in the *MSP*. The arabisation of the names of the hero and the heroine was an important step towards a muslimisation of the story, possibly more necessary in a literary version than in oral story-telling. Maybe Sahl b. Hārūn took that step in the beginning of the 9th century, if the Arabic names were not already present in his source.

The seemingly Greek names that appear in *V&A* are listed in Ch. III.e. As noted there, no less than seventeen of those names may be regarded as certain correspondences and another eight to ten as likely or at least possible identifications. Some of the Greek names are well preserved in *V&A*: Fuluqrāt for Polykrates, Mildhītas for Miltiades, Salīsūn for Syloson, Āqūs for Aiakos and Karūnīs for

²⁴ See ‘Unṣurī 1341/1963:8–9, and cf. Utas 1984–86:436.

²⁵ Cf. de Bruijn, *ET*² X:869, and refs. there; Dihistānī 1363:911 reads ‘Abqasī instead of ‘Unṣurī.

Khersonesos, but others are strangely distorted. Thus the spelling M^ʿŠQWLY(H) must go back to an Arabic/Persian representation of Greek Hegesipyle. A slight change of shapes in the cursive Arabic/Persian writing (initial M > H), including the punctuation, gives the reading Highsifūlī. Such transformations could not have taken place in an oral tradition, but the available material does not allow us to determine at what stage in a reconstructed written transmission they appeared. Possibly it was not until the apparently shaky copying of ‘Unṣurī’s poem. Similar, reasonably certain cases are MJYNWS/*Nakhminūs for Anaximenes, RNQDWS/*Īfuqūs for Ibykos, ‘FR’ṬŠ/*Aqrāṣus for Kroisos, ‘FRNJH/*Afrījah for Phrygia, BXSLWS/*Ankhalūs for Anaxilaos and ZYFNWN/*Rīghiyūn for Rhegion. Incidentally, the evidence of our material for this kind of distortion opens interesting perspectives for the interpretation of a wealth of strange looking names in early Arabic and Persian texts.

Since we do not know more than a small part of the original *M&P* and not much more of the *V&A* of ‘Unṣurī, we cannot say how closely the poem by ‘Unṣurī followed the Greek novel (cf. further Ch. V). If more had been preserved of Parthenope/‘Adhrā’s intervention in the sympotic debate on Eros, the differences would perhaps have emerged more clearly. One could have expected various attempts at islamising the story, especially perhaps the rather un-Islamic female figure of ‘Adhrā, but neither in the extant fragment nor in the testimonial verses is there any obvious transformation of that sort. The heroine remains a remarkably independent and dominating character in the Persian poem. She seems to have the leading role. She is foretold to become a king. She takes the initiative in the relation to Vāmiq by addressing him, an unknown young man, first. She takes part in the symposium on equal footing with the men and wins the discussion on the shapes of Love by being given the last word. It is true that she is described as a perfect woman, but endowed with all the virtues of a man: brought up like a prince (son), more learned than men, a master in manly arts and a hero at war (also in the lexical verses). No wonder that this version of the story was suppressed at an early stage! As will be shown below, the versions that survived feature a much more restrained type of heroine.

The end of the story is an intriguing enigma. Neither the Greek nor the Persian material gives any real clue to it. One would imagine that the two lovers were united at the end, but since their very

names, especially in the Arabic/Persian version—the “virgin” and her “ardent lover”, supply the plot so-to-speak, it is not easy to imagine that the virginity and ardour just dissolve in a conventional happy ending. In case we could assume a link with ‘Udhritic love poetry, that would point in the direction of a tragic ending, but, as already said, there is not much to substantiate such a connection.

V&A belonged, together with the epic poems *Shādbahr u ‘Ain ul-ḥayāt* and *Khing-but u Surkh-but*, to the so called *Khizānah-yi Yamīn ud-daulah*, “Treasury of Yamīn ud-daulah”, composed by ‘Unṣurī in honour of his patron, Sultan Yamīn ud-daulah Maḥmūd of Ghazna.²⁶ Apparently, none of the components of this “treasury” fared well in the world. The full texts of the poems were lost within a few centuries, and they only survived as titles referred to in literary histories (*tadhkirahs*) and in isolated testimonial verses in dictionaries. When Muḥammad ‘Aufī wrote his *tadhkirah Lubāb ul-albāb*, “Quintessence of hearts”, in 618/1221–2, the full text of *V&A* might still have been at hand,²⁷ but when, some 250 years later (in 892/1487), Daulatshāh Samarqandī took down the anecdote about the destruction of this poem that was quoted above, the poem was apparently only known to him as a title. In the same year, 1487, ‘Abd ur-Raḥmān Jāmī wrote in his *Bahāristān* that “they say that he [viz. ‘Unṣurī] composed many *mathnavī* poems adorned in praise of the mentioned sultan [viz. Maḥmūd], and one of them is called *Vāmiq u ‘Adhrā*, but there is no trace left of them” (Jāmī 1367:92–93; trans. Jāmī 1925:167). Possibly, the “Treasury of Yamīn ud-daulah” was suppressed after the defeat of the Ghaznavid dynasty by the Ghurids in the middle of the 12th century,²⁸ but the un-Islamic nature of its plot and the inconvenient Greek shape of the names of many of its characters and places were presumably the main reasons for the disappearance of ‘Unṣurī’s *V&A*.

FURTHER RAMIFICATIONS OF THE STORY

However, this was not the end of the story of the “virgin” (*adhrā*) and her “ardent lover” (*vāmiq*) in Persian. The motive lived on for

²⁶ See ‘Aufī 1903–06, II:32; cf. Rypka 1968:175.

²⁷ See ‘Aufī, *ibid.*; cf. Shafī 1967: Pers. introd. 5–10.

²⁸ As suggested by Shafī 1967: Pers. introd. 9.

many centuries. According to Daulatshāh Samarqandī, already Faṣḥī Jūrjānī, a court poet of Amīr ‘Unṣur ul-ma‘ālī Kai-Kā’ūs b. Iskandar b. Qābūs in Gurgan (1049–1069) and a near contemporary of ‘Unṣurī, composed a poem with the title *VṢ‘A*.²⁹ Daulatshāh had seen a part of that poem and quotes one verse—in *mutaqārib*, the same metre as the one used by ‘Unṣurī, but nothing else is known of it. According to the *Qāmūs al-a‘lām* of Shams ud-dīn Sāmī (5:3380; 6:4672) a certain Amīr Farkhārī, supposedly a poet at the Saljuq court of Kai-Kā’ūs in Konya in the 13th century, also composed a poem with the title *VṢ‘A*, but again nothing more is known about that work.³⁰ The poet has his name of origin (*nisbah*) from Farkhār, the name of a number of places in Turkestan.³¹ Perhaps he brought the story from there to Anatolia (“Rūm”).

The first known Turkish version of *VṢ‘A* was written by the well-known Ottoman poet Maḥmūd Lāmi‘ī of Bursa (d. 1532 AH).³² This poem is still extant and has achieved renown also in the West by being presented in German by the Austrian Orientalist, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall.³³ It is a comparatively long poem, containing some 3000 verses in the metre *ramal*. The sources of Lāmi‘ī are uncertain, in spite of the fact that he refers to ‘Unṣurī as his predecessor in a couple of introductory verses:

سابقا بو قصه خوش منظری نظم ایوب یازمش مگر کیم عنصری
رومه دوشمش آخر اول حوری لباس ترکی دیلدن حله سین قیلمش پلاس³⁴

Von Hammer translates quite freely:

Ich frisch’ die alte Sage auf,
Der **AnḂari** gegeben Lauf,
Sie kömmt zuletzt in’s Land von Rum
und türk’schen Schmuck häng’ ich ihr um.³⁵

²⁹ *Tadhkirat ush-shu‘arā*, 78–79.

³⁰ Ref. in Shafi 1967: Pers. introd. 31, and Şahinoğlu 1982:193; cf. also Tarbiyat 1310/1931:522.

³¹ Cf. Daulatshāh 1337:79; *farkhār* is, in fact, a Soghodian/Persian form of Skt. *viḥāra*, i.e. a Buddhist monastery.

³² On his life and works, see Kut Alpay 1976:73–93.

³³ Von Hammer-Purgstall 1836–38, II:45–63; cf. Utas 1995.

³⁴ MS. Bibliothèque Nationale Turc 353 (*Cat. Blochet* 1905–34, I:148–149).

³⁵ Von Hammer-Purgstall, *op. cit.*, p. 46 (his vowelisation AnḂari instead of ‘Unṣurī is strange).

A more exact translation would be:

Previously this beautiful story
 was made into verse and written down by whom but ‘Unşurî?
 [When] that Houri-clad one at last came to Rûm,
 in the Turkish language that silk robe was made into sack-cloth.

If this is correctly understood and taken according to its words, it seems to mean that there was a previous Turkish version of ‘Unşurî’s poem (in “sack-cloth”, perhaps for prose?) and that Lāmi‘ī adorned it with silk again. Thus we do not know for certain whether the original text of ‘Unşurî was available to Lāmi‘ī or not. What we do know is that the story of Lāmi‘ī’s *V&A* differs completely from what we know of ‘Unşurî’s poem—at least on the surface.

This poem by Lāmi‘ī was obviously never published, but von Hammer-Purgstall retells it in German with much detail and long passages in verse translation. The plot has been summarised in Utas 1995 but its most important features will be repeated here:

The hero, Vāmiq, is the son of the emperor of China, Taimūs, and his queen, Tūrān-dukht (i.e. Turandot), daughter of the Khan of Tūr (i.e. Turkestan). The story starts with the wedding of his parents. The prince is brought up and educated in all arts and skills under the tutelage of an old philosopher and becomes famous all over the world for his wisdom, virtues and beauty. The daughter of the Sultan of Ghazna (recalling Maḥmūd, the patron of ‘Unşurî!), ‘Adhrā, falls in love with him just from hearsay. Her wet-nurse finds out about her love and helps her. ‘Adhrā has her portrait painted, and this painting reaches the eyes of Vāmiq, who falls madly in love with her. Accompanied by his step-brother, Bahman, he travels west in search of his beloved. The two companions meet the King of the Fairies (*parī*), Lāhijān, residing in the Caucasus, who is in turn secretly in love with the angelic Farī, who lives on the mythical mountain Qāf. They become friends and go through a great number of adventures together. Meanwhile, ‘Adhrā remains in Ghazna, tortured by her love for Vāmiq. She then runs away from her father, bringing her wet-nurse as her confidante, and they likewise go through many adventures.

With the help of Lāhijān (who, among other things, gives ‘Adhrā a *dīv*³⁶ to ride on) the two lovers finally meet but are soon separated again, when Vāmiq has to go to war with Tūr Kahramān, the Sultan of Balkh, in order to rescue Bahman. Tūr makes an alliance with Antūn Firangī (Anton the Frank), and they capture Vāmiq in a pit-fall. They are, in their turn, attacked by Mīzbān, the King of Tūs,

³⁶ I.e. a kind of demon.

who has seen a picture of ‘Adhrā and consequently fallen in love with her. With Vāmiq as their prisoner, Antūn and Tūr escape on a ship in the Persian Gulf, where they meet “fire-throwing” Indian ships and are captured. The Indian fire-worshippers build a huge pyre in order to sacrifice their three prisoners to the fire. Antūn and Tūr are consumed by the fire, but the flames refuse to touch Vāmiq, because “the glow of his love is stronger than that of the fire.” Meanwhile, ‘Adhrā and another princess, Dilpazīr, are captured by Zangīs, i.e. black Ethiopians (or Zanzibaris). The King of the Zangīs, Hilhilān wants to take possession of the girls as well as another princess, Humā, who is already with him, but they outwit him, and with the help of King Mīzbān ‘Adhrā is at last united with Vāmiq. Eventually a fivefold wedding feast is arranged, all the main characters of the plot being married to each other in suitable combinations. Lāmi‘ī’s poem ends with a description of this resplendent feast and the final union of the two main lovers, who are raised to heaven—as Jupiter and the Sun.

This might seem a completely different story from both the original *M&P* and ‘Unşurī’s *V&A*, but if we scrutinise the structure of Lāmi‘ī’s story, we find some striking parallels. In the latter, Vāmiq appears to take the place of ‘Adhrā as the main hero. ‘Adhrā’s philosopher teacher is replaced by that of Vāmiq, and her virtues are transferred to him. After introducing this “new” Vāmiq, Lāmi‘ī changes over to ‘Adhrā, as ‘Unşurī does to Vāmiq. In ‘Unşurī Vāmiq leaves home together with his companion Tūfān. In Lāmi‘ī we have a double exodus: Vāmiq and Bahman leave China, and ‘Adhrā and the wet-nurse leave Ghazna. Lāmi‘ī’s repeated motif of love by picture—or hearsay—is, however, missing in ‘Unşurī. One might say that that is a typical Muslim solution of the problem of how to have two future lovers get acquainted without breaking the rules of propriety.³⁷ The story of the captivity of the three princesses with the King of the Zangīs, Hilhilān, recalls the story about how ‘Adhrā, Ṭamrūsīyah and Zanklīsā fall in the hands of the merchant Hiranqālīs, as told in the *DN*. Of special interest is the attempted burning of Vāmiq found in Lāmi‘ī.³⁸ In the *MSP*, Bartānūbā dies in a sacrificial fire

³⁷ The same motif may, however, have occurred in the Greek *Ninos Romance*; at least, there are a couple of mosaic representations of the hero looking at a picture of the heroine; for various interpretations, cf. Quet 1992.

³⁸ The attempted burning of a lover, whom the flames refuse to touch, is a prominent feature also in the allegedly originally Greek story of Salāmān and Absāl, which was put into Persian verse by ‘Abd ur-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492) and re-written in Turkish by Lāmi‘ī; on Jāmī’s poem, see Arberry 1956:40–41 (on the origin), 187

untouched by the flames, but, as suggested above, this might be an adaptation of a ruse or special event in the original story in which ‘Adhrā could have been only apparently dead. There is a hint at such a possibility in PT2 which is accompanied by the lexical remark: “the name of a woman who came up to the pillow of ‘Adhrā and thought she was dead”. These are vague similarities, it is true, but we may look upon it the other way round: if Lāmi‘ī had had access to the original text by ‘Unṣurī and wanted to transform it into a mainstream Islamic romance, the result would have been something like this. Six more Turkish versions of *V&A* are mentioned in the hand-books (Şahinoğlu 1982:193; Tarbiyat 1310/1931:525; Shafi 1967: Pers. introd. 37–38). They are, however, little known and presumably follow the same lines as those set out by Lāmi‘ī.

Next in chronological order of known Persian versions of the story comes a poem by Qatīlī Bukhārā‘ī, a court poet of the Uzbek Shah Ya‘qūb in the 15th century. According to Shafi, a manuscript of this poem is preserved in the British Museum (as Or. 9037, copied in 937 AH),³⁹ containing some 6000 verses in the metre *hazaj-i akhrab-i maqbūd*.⁴⁰ Shafi describes the plot of the story in some detail (Pers. introd. pp. 51–76). It appears as an arabised romance, with Vāmiq as a son of one of the Amirs of Yemen and ‘Adhrā a daughter of the King of Hijaz. If there are any traces of ‘Unṣurī’s *V&A*, they are even more re-worked than in Lāmi‘ī. Still a few traits are reminiscent of the earlier version, especially in the beginning: In a dream Vāmiq sees a star come down from heaven and circulate round a cypress; this is taken as a foreboding that a princess will love him. He sends his confidant, Shaidā, to find her. Vāmiq is put under the tutelage of a *mōbad* (Zoroastrian priest) to learn the sciences. After some adventures Shaidā returns with news about the princess, ‘Adhrā, and Vāmiq tells the *mōbad* about his love, and the *mōbad* tells his father, the king. The king gets angry and puts Vāmiq in prison and chases Shaidā away. Vāmiq escapes and a number of adventures

(reference to Vāmiq’s love), 192–193 (the episode of the fire that consumed Absāl but left Salāmān safe).

³⁹ Afshār 1344/1966:685; cf. Shafi 1967: Pers. introd. 51; other MSS. are found in Rampore State Library, with No. 218 in the description found in *JASB* 14 (1918), p. 312, and the private library of ‘Abd ur-Raḥīm Khalkhālī in Iran (cf. Tarbiyat 1310/1931:526).

⁴⁰ Tarbiyat 1310/1931:526; cf. Utas 1984–86: n. 39.

start, but eventually he meets his beloved and is married to her. There is, however, no happy ending. A girl that Vāmiq has met during his wanderings, and seemingly married, turns up and ‘Adhrā becomes enraged and eventually dies. Finally, Vāmiq himself dies from sorrow. Incidentally, there is an indication that the hero of ‘Unşurī’s poem also married someone other than ‘Adhrā (cf. PT132–133 with the lexical explanation of the name Āsinistān: “the father-in-law of Vāmiq, and in the end Vāmiq killed him”). It may be argued, however, that these are standard *topoi* in this type of romantic poem that have nothing to say about possible connections.

We know of no less than fourteen further Persian works, generally in verse but some in prose, that carry the title *V&A*. Most of them are listed and described by Tarbiyat (1310/1931:526–531), Shafi (1967: Pers. introd. 39–47), Maḥjūb (1347/1968:131–141), Şahinoğlu (1982:193) and Shahriyārī (1370/1991:22–27). They are:

1. Kamāl ud-dīn Ḥusain Ḍamīrī Işfahānī (d.1566; cf. Aliev 1985: 110–111),
2. Amīr Abu’l-Qāsim Asīrī⁴¹ (d. 982/1574; MS. Süleymaniye Fātih No. 4141),
3. Shaikh Ya‘qūb Şarfī Kashmīrī (d. 1003/1594–95; MS. Rampore State Library No. 4216, printed Lucknow 1889),
4. Şulhī (end of 16th c.; MSS. Rampore State Library No. 4213, British Museum Or. 10934),⁴²
5. Muḥammad ‘Alī Qismatī Astarābādī (end of 16th c.),
6. Muḥammad Riḍā Nau‘ī Khabūshānī (d. 1019/1610–11; printed Bombay 1306/1888–89, also known as *Sūz u gudāz* “Burning and melting”, trans. by M.Y. Dawud & A.K. Coomaraswamy, London 1912),
7. Khvājah Shu‘aib Jūshqānī (beginning of 17th c.; MS. Kitābkhānah-yi Malik, Tehran, No. 5572),
8. Żahīr Işfahānī (end of the 17th c.),⁴³
9. Irādat-Khān Mīr Mubāraku’llāh b. Kifāyat-Khān Vāḍiḥ (d. 1128/1716; prose version),
10. Mīrzā Muḥammad Şādiq al-Mūsavī Nāmī (d. 1790; MS. British Museum Add. 7721, *Cat.* II, 813; cf. *Cat.* Oude 27),
11. Anonymous prose version (possibly following Nāmī; MS. Bibliothèque Nationale No. 2120, Blochet 1934:75),
12. Anonymous prose version (following Jūshqānī; MS. Punjab University Library No. unknown),

⁴¹ Also known as Maulānā Asīrī Turbatī; cf. Nafīsī 1344/1964–65, I:524; Aliev 1985:66.

⁴² Cf. Afshār 1344/1966:686 (Suhailī mistake for Şulhī?).

⁴³ Different from Żahīr Kirmānī, according to Tarbiyat 1310/1931:530.

13. Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ḥusain Shīrāzī (d. 1853; MS. British Museum Add. 25,017, *Cat.* II, 721; printed Shiraz 1906; cf. Aliev 1985:261),
14. Āqā Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ṣāhīr Kirmānī (written 1315/1897-98; mixed prose and poetry; printed Tehran 1378 AHQ/1958-59 AD and Tehran 1370 AHSh/1981-82 AD).

Besides there is a poem in Kashmiri (mixed with Persian) by Saif ud-dīn Ākhūnd Saif written in 1854 (MS. India Office No. 1733/6) and a Pashto translation of Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ḥusain Shīrāzī's Persian poem made in 1256 AH (c. 1840 AD) by a certain Mu'īn ud-dīn (MS. British Museum No. 2827).⁴⁴

These authors have all left the original romance and develop various themes that are easily abstracted from the telling names of the hero, "ardent lover", and heroine, "virgin", and are typical of the romantic *mathnavī* genre. Vāmiq is often depicted as a prince of Yemen and 'Adhrā as a princess either of Arabia or China (*chīn*, i.e. also eastern parts of Central Asia). There are some interesting exceptions, however. Thus Asīrī (No. 2) presents Vāmiq as "a son of the Sasanian king Qā'ān (!?)" who had a kingdom on the border to Khaṭā, i.e. Cathay or China (Tarbiyat 1310/1931:527). Even more astonishing is the version by Jūshqānī (No. 7), which presents the hero in the following way:

چنین آرد قلم در زند خوانی	خبرگوی حدیث باستانی
فلاطون دانشی نامش فلاطوس	که بود از نسل دولتبخت اوکوس
خدا دادش یکی فرزانه فرزند	چو شد نخل امید او برومند
چو ماه نو جمالش در فزونی	فزون تر حسنش از چندی و چونی
پدر و امق مقرر کرد نامش	چو شیرین ساختند از زند کامش

The narrator of old stories
 writes thus in interpretation of the Zand
 that there was from the lineage of the fortunate Ūkūs
 a Plato-knowing man called Filāṭūs.
 When the date-palm of his hope flourished,
 God gave him a wise child.
 His comeliness exceeded every how and why,
 his beauty out-shone the new moon.
 Since his desire was made sweet by the Zand,
 his father laid down his name as Vāmiq.

⁴⁴ According to Shafī 1967: Pers. introd. 47; cf. further references there.

⁴⁵ Quoted from Tarbiyat 1310/1931:529.

‘Adhrā, on the other hand, is presented as the daughter of Qadar-Khān, the ruler of a kingdom in the east.

There can be no doubt that this account mirrors names and circumstances in the original *V&A/MSP*, however with Vāmiq shifting roles with ‘Adhrā. This Jūshqānī flourished at the time of the Safavid Shah ‘Abbās the Great (1588–1629), i.e. at a time when the original poem ‘Unṣurī supposedly had been lost since more than two hundred years. Besides, in his introduction the poet himself states that “you will not find more than two odd old leaves of this auspicious poem—no one has seen a trace of it—this story is not at hand in our age”.⁴⁶ The placing of the story in Sasanian times by Asīrī and Jūshqānī, as well as Jūshqānī’s reference to Zand (properly the interpretation of the Avesta but also symbolising pre-Islamic Iranian lore in general), suggest that both poets depended on the well-known anecdote of Daulatshāh that was mentioned above. The remarkable use of the names Ūkūs⁴⁷ and Filāṭūs by Jūshqānī and some other coinciding details, could, on the other hand, be explained by his acquaintance with testimonial verses taken from ‘Unṣurī’s *V&A*. Such verses, including comments on them, were still current in dictionaries used by the poets of his time (cf. especially PT53, 108 & 135 above). But why Filāṭūs instead of Fuluqrāt (as in PT50 & 108)? Perhaps just by chance or, more probably, in order to facilitate the transfer of ‘Adhrā’s part to Vāmiq, since Fuluqrāt might still have been known as the name of the father of ‘Adhrā.

From the 16th century onwards the story of *V&A* seems to have enjoyed a special popularity in India. No less than seven of the authors using this title are known to have been active in India: Asīrī, Ṣarfī, Ṣulḥī, Nau‘ī, Qīsmatī, Irādat-Khān Vāḍiḥ and Ākhūnd Saif. The authors of the two anonymous prose versions might also belong there. The poet Nau‘ī Khabūshānī, who was born in Qūchān in Iran, but flourished and died in India (d. in Burhanpur 1610/11), even transformed the two lovers into Hindus. The end of his story is spectacular: just before their wedding Vāmiq is killed by the roof of a bazaar falling down over him, and ‘Adhrā, his betrothed, becomes so wild with sorrow that she cannot be prevented from ascending

⁴⁶ According to a quotation in Shafi 1967: Pers. introd. 43.

⁴⁷ I.e. اوکوس, which also could be read Āukūs; cf. Āqūs in *V&A* (PT108).

the funeral pyre of her beloved. An Indian suttee and a virgin in one person!⁴⁸ The motive of death by fire somehow remains associated with the motif of “the virgin and her lover”. Thus also in the poem by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Nāmī, who was the court poet of Faṭḥ-‘Alī Shāh in Iran at the end of the 18th century, the two lovers are finally united in the end and embrace each other with such ardour that flames blaze and they are consumed by fire. These are two solutions of the problem of ending the story in a way that fits the image of its heroes. There are simpler ways, too: Ṣarfī has Vāmiq killed by a villain and ‘Adhrā commit suicide and Ṣulḥī makes ‘Adhrā die from sorrow after having been forced by her father to marry a cousin, whereupon Vāmiq commits suicide. Obviously, a happy ending was never a pre-requisite for stories on this theme, however popular they may have been.

The latest variation on the theme *V&A* that has been reported is a voluminous romance in mixed poetry and prose written by Āqā Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zāhīr Kirmānī in the later days of the Qajar dynasty (No. 14 above). It was printed first in Tehran in 1337/1918–19⁴⁹ and then again recently (Tehran 1370/1991) by Asadu’llāh Shahriyārī. In a detailed introduction the editor sums up the tortuous developments of this theme in Muslim lands through more than one thousand years. There is, however, one more astonishing development in this story of a story. In 1833 a booklet appeared in Vienna with the title *Wamik und Asra, das ist der Glühende und die Blühende. Das älteste persische romantische Gedicht, im Fünftelsaft abgezogen von Joseph v. Hammer*. The author, or “distiller” as he described himself, was, of course, the above-mentioned Orientalist Hammer-Purgstall.⁵⁰ In contrast to the scholarly presentation of this poem in his *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst* published some years later (quoted above), he here presents a playful variation on the theme of “the lover and the virgin”. The booklet comprises 49 nine-line stanzas of rhyming, flowery German. The beginning has some similarity with the poem by Lāmī‘ī. The two verses from that poem that were quoted above (including a translation by von Hammer himself) here appear like this:

⁴⁸ Cf. Maḥjūb 1347/1968–69:133–135.

⁴⁹ Cf. Maḥjūb 1347/1968–69:135.

⁵⁰ Cf. Utas 1995.

Es fehlte überall das ihn Ergänzende,
 Verloren war das Werk, bis es zuletzt
 Gefunden Lamii, das ist der Glänzende,
 Mit neuem Laub es frisch Bekränzende.

But after that von Hammer continues with a love poem of his own making. Only in the end does he return to something reminiscent of Lāmi‘ī’s work.

The title of von Hammer’s little book translates Vāmiq as “der Glühende” (“the glowing one”) and ‘Adhrā as “die Blühende” (“the blossoming one”). The first correspondence is understandable, but where does the transformation of ‘Adhrā come from? Apart from the common association of the (unplucked) blossom with virginity,⁵¹ a specific explanation is probably found in the dedication of the book to “die hochgeborene Gräfinn, Frau Flora von Wrbona, geborene Gräfinn von Kageneck, *Dame du Palais* Ihrer Majestät der Kaiserinn, Sternkreuz-Ordens-Dame”. The first name of “the high-born Countess” of this dedication was Flora, and in his introduction von Hammer states that “der Glühende und die Blühende” correspond to “Amor and Flora” in Roman mythology. The identification of the Countess with ‘Adhrā is rather obvious. At the end of the poem, however, the lovers are transformed into stars and there ‘Adhrā appears as Virgo and Vāmiq as Arcturus. The theme that the renowned Austrian Orientalist used to court a lady in waiting to the Habsburgian Kaiserinn had, indeed, travelled a long way from its origin in Herodotos (3.124).

⁵¹ Suggestion by Suzanne Stenkevych.

CHAPTER FIVE

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PLOT

In this penultimate chapter we shall attempt a reconstruction of the plot of the novel and the epic poem, based on the textual fragments and the various kinds of testimonia that were presented in Chapters II and III. Much of the reconstruction must be rather speculative, since the main coherent fragments in Greek as well as Persian belong to the first part of the plot, while we possess only disconnected fragments and rather ambiguous and incomplete testimonia referring to its middle and final parts. Moreover, we cannot be sure that the novel and the epic developed their actions in quite the same way; it is true that the beginnings seem to have been fairly close to each other, but that need not necessarily have been the rule all along. Still, we have chosen to trace the plot of both within a common reconstructional framework, being careful, however, to mark wherever we find it evident, or probable, that they have parted company.

If we first look at what remains of the original Greek novel, *M&P*, in isolation, there is little that takes us beyond Metiokhos' first evening on Samos when he is entertained by Polykrates (GF1, 4). The most detailed indication that this novel, like most of its extant cognates, exploited the search-and-travel motif, is to be found in the Byzantine commentaries on Dionysios Periegetes which testify to Parthenope's westbound travelling in search of Metiokhos and to her defended virginity (GT1). Lucian and Herodotos indicate an eastbound peregrination as well (GT2b, 3). One or two of the disconnected fragments are most naturally to be placed within this search-and-travel part (GF2, perhaps 3). Further inferences are based on the analogy with the other ideal Greek novels, a procedure that has its obvious risks in the case of a novel that belongs so early in the tradition and seems to have deviated in important respects from what was to become the norm.¹

¹ On the various novelistic traditions and the typological place of *M&P*, see Hägg 2002:15–19.

In this situation, the *Martyrdom of St Parthenope* (*MSP*) comes in as a witness of importance, if we can assume that it is actually based on some version of the original Greek *M&P*. If so, we possess, although in a very special adaptation and in extreme abbreviation, a sketch of the whole plot of the novel—not all of its episodes, of course, but at least a beginning, a middle, and an end, in coherent narrative. Its beginning, however, with the beautiful young virgin residing in the monastery outside Constantinople, does not conform to what we know for sure about the novel's beginning on Samos; and its martyrdom end is hardly that of a romantic novel (though it may be a transfiguration of a novelistic motif). Yet, in spite of the contradictions and difficulties, parts of *MSP* must be tested for what they may potentially contribute to the reconstruction of the novel's plot.

Among the Persian fragments and testimonia, the only corresponding *aperçu* of the whole plot is the diminutive predictive dream of Fuluqrāt before the birth of 'Adhrā, which seems to foresee her tour of "every island" and final return home to the throne on Samos (PF16–20, with interpretation in 21–22). But her lover, Vāmiq, has no place in his prospective father-in-law's dream; is he to become a shadowy prince consort, or will 'Adhrā even remain a virgin?

Similarly, the comparatively detailed summary of the story of 'Adhrā found in the *Dārāb-nāmah* (*DN*) leaves us in ignorance about the dénouement. Yet, for the parts of the plot that 'Adhrā's life story in *DN* does cover, this source is of great importance for the reconstruction, since it fills in lacunas in the fragments and connects disjointed pieces. One simply has to take into account the uncertainty involved: we do not know along what routes, oral or written, the story travelled before it reached *DN* (cf. Ch. IV), nor what these unknown intermediate stages and the particular narrative perspective mean for the authenticity of its details. Moreover, one senses that references to the rest of the story as well might be found somewhere in some disguise in the maze of narrative material collected in compilations like the two *Dārāb-nāmahs* and the many versions of the *Iskandar-nāmah*, but so far nothing of the sort has come to light.

When all the uncertainties of the various fragments and testimonia are taken into account, there is no doubt that the best starting-point as well as continued basis for the reconstruction of substantial parts of the original story must be the main fragment of 'Unşurī's epic poem (PF), supplemented as far as feasible with the disconnected verses from *V&A* quoted in Persian lexical works (PT). Though we cannot determine exactly how closely the Persian poet followed the

Greek *M&P*, nor what version of it that reached him and through what intermediaries, the overall concord between the overlapping sections of the main Greek and Persian fragments gives us the degree of confidence necessary to pursue the task in this manner.

In order to vindicate various parts of the Persian fragment and testimonia for the original novel, we refer to, and sometimes quote, parallels from the extant Greek novels. These references and quotations are not meant to be in any way exhaustive; much more could be found, and will certainly be found in the future by systematic search. Nor is it our purpose to argue that one motif or another has been taken over from *M&P* by subsequent novelists (though that may indeed sometimes have been the case). The aim is solely to give an idea of how close many of the motifs and narrative devices in the epic poem are to what is found in ancient Greek fiction, and thereby to strengthen the likelihood that *V&A* has received them (and the context in which they occur) from *M&P*.

We shall look in turn at the various stages of the story: (1) the beginning, (2) the meeting of the lovers and the (first/only?) symposium, (3) the events leading to the separation of the lovers, (4) the peregrinations and vicissitudes of the lovers, and (5) the possible final reunion and the end of the story.

THE BEGINNING

It is possible that ‘Unşurī’s *V&A* started with some kind of formal exordium, as was typical of its time and genre; but that will have been independently of the original story. The earliest Greek novels extant have nothing of the kind; later, Longos’ *Daphnis and Khloe* (AD 150–250?) has a formal prooimion, and Akhilleus Tatios’ *Leukippe and Kleitophon* (AD 150–200?) an “epic situation” in which the author meets the protagonist who then tells him his story, which is the novel. There is every reason to suppose that the third-person novel *M&P* simply started with the narrative proper, at the most preceded by a sentence in which the author introduced himself in the manner of the classical historians and Khariton (1.1.1): “I, Khariton of Aphrodisias, clerk of the lawyer Athenagoras, am going to relate a love story which took place in Syracuse.”²

² Khariton is quoted throughout in the translation of G.P. Goold (1995).

As it happens, we seem to have the first two verses of the story proper preserved among the lexical quotations deriving from *V&A* (PT107–108):

A city of style by the name of Samos,
 in it a monarch of triumphing will,
 By name of Fuluqrāt/Polykrates, worthy of sovereignty,
 even of the seed of Āqūs/Aiakos, son of Jupiter/Zeus.

Such an initial localisation of the story, i.e. where the story begins and possibly also ends, would suit *M&P* too, as parallels in the other novels show. We have just seen Syracuse being mentioned in Khariton's first sentence; and still closer comes the folktale-style beginning of Xenophon's *Ephesiaka* (AD 50–150?) (1.1.1): "At Ephesos lived a man named Lykomedes, a principal figure in that city."³ This Lykomedes is the father of Habrokomes, the novel's hero, as Fuluqrāt/Polykrates will become the father of 'Adhrā/Parthenope. Likewise, in Khariton (1.1.1), immediately after the author's self-presentation, Hermokrates, "the ruler of Syracuse", is introduced before attention is turned to his daughter, the heroine. Thus, the narrative pattern of PT107–108, with place and father named, is securely anchored in the closest Greek texts.

The following verses certainly heaped some more praise on this king of Samos and then turned to his marriage plans. He obviously set his mind on the daughter of King *Aqrāšus of *Afrījah. As has been mentioned repeatedly above, this rather obviously refers to King Kroisos, apparently misplaced from Lydia to Phrygia (the name extended to non-Greek western Asia Minor in general?). This king is presented in due order in PT57:

In *Afrījah the celebrated *Aqrāšus
 was a prosperous king.

Here his daughter, probably named *Nānī, must have been introduced with suitable laudations. Next, we probably have the verse PT40:

He made a letter for *Aqrāšus,
 he put his wit on the top of the pen.

³ Xenophon of Ephesos is quoted throughout in the translation of M. Hadas in Hansen (ed.) 1998:7–49.

As could be expected, the reply of King *Aqrāšus was positive and preparations for the wedding started. Obviously invitations to the resplendent wedding feast went out to all the kings and nobles of what the poem calls “the islands of the Greeks”—and here our coherent manuscript fragment starts (PF1 etc.). There are some lacunas at the beginning of PF, but the order of the extant verses is probably correct, in spite of the fact that PF5 contains a laudation of *Nānī that one would have expected already when she was first introduced.

The atmosphere conjured up in PF1–4 of a spectacular event that attracts people from every quarter, is reminiscent of passages in the early Greek novels. For instance, reports of Kallirhoe’s divine beauty spread far and wide and “suitors came pouring into Syracuse, potentates and princes, not only from Sicily, but from Italy, the continent, and the peoples of the continent” (1.1.2). When her marriage with Khaireas had been announced, “the marriage hymn sounded throughout the city; the streets were filled with garlands and torches, and the doorways sprinkled with wine and perfume” (1.1.13). Similarly, in PF3b, “the air became full of colour and scent”, and in PF4a there is “the sound of harp and rebeck”. The ships coming to Samos for the wedding are “adorned” (PF2a); likewise, at the end of Khariton’s novel, Khaireas has his ship decorated with wreaths before entering the harbour of Syracuse (8.6.2; 8.6.10). The wedding festivities in the first book of Xenophon’s novel provide further parallels (1.7.3–10.2).

It has been important to show that the account of Fuluqrāṭ’s wedding in *V&A* is consistent, in its descriptive detail, with the corresponding passages in the novels, because in another respect this first part of the plot is contrary to what one would have expected from *M&P*. It is true that Khariton and Xenophon too place weddings at the beginning of their novels, but then it is the hero and heroine themselves who marry. In *M&P*, the author obviously began one generation earlier, and the conception, birth and upbringing of the heroine thus became part of the primary narrative. Thereby, her character and special talents are marked before she enters action proper. In Heliodoros’ *Aithiopika* (AD 350–375?), we also get to know part of the corresponding family prehistory, but only gradually and in retrospect far ahead in the novel; in Longos, the early childhood of Daphnis and Khloe is part of the action in chronological sequence, but not their parents’ identity and wedding; and the other extant novels are purely one-generation stories, covering just a few years in

their young heroes' lives. *M&P*, to judge from *V&A*, was different, and may have both started and ended with a wedding.

In spite of a lacuna (PF9/10), the description of the wedding seems rather complete, and it ends with the union of the married couple and the conception of the bride (PF15, variant in PT136). This is directly followed by the king's dream about the future of his as yet unborn child (with just a small, but unfortunate lacuna in PF20). Then *Nānī bears a daughter, characterised by the utmost beauty, who is growing with far greater speed than other children (PF26–31 & PT101). There might be a passage missing on the development of this marvellous child (PF31/32) in which PT128 would have a natural place:

The world remained dazzled by her education,
by that height and elevation and splendour of hers.

The girl is thus described as a paragon not only of female but also of male virtues, and this, the poet implies, makes her father give her the name 'Adhrā, i.e. 'virgin' (PF36). This seems a somewhat strained explanation of her name, and it does not become more persuasive if borrowed from the Greek, to explain Parthenope. We do not know, however, whether the novelist took over this name for Polykrates' daughter from some legendary or historical source (other than Herodotos, for he leaves her anonymous, GT3a), or coined it himself to fit the fate—to be single (*partheneuesthai*) for a long time—with which Polykrates, according to Herodotos (3.124), threatened his daughter.

Is this description of the prodigious child largely an elaboration by the Persian poet (or some intermediary), or does it go back, in substance, to the Greek novel? For reasons explained above, there can be no immediate parallel in the other novels; only Daphnis and Khloe are followed step by step in their upbringing, but they are characterised as children of nature, and not prematurely mature either. The hero and heroine are normally introduced as teenagers, preeminent in beauty and charm, sometimes also in chastity, but with no special emphasis on education. For a heroine, Parthenope would be quite unique if 'Adhrā's education in both martial and bookish arts were also hers.⁴ Perhaps it was: Polykrates' daughter,

⁴ For a hero, the combination would be less spectacular, cf. Xen. Eph. 1.1.2:

as described by Herodotos, was already a rather unfeminine character, with her obstinate opposition to her father's political plans and indifference to the prospects of marriage. It may be that legend and/or the novelist himself developed these traits to create a *pepaideu-menē* (an educated woman) among novel heroines. As we shall soon see, she was allowed (in both novel and epic) to take part in the symposium, normally men's domain, and to discuss there, with her secret lover, the nature of Eros. Excellence in the use of weapons is consistent with the indications (in the Persian testimonia) of her taking personally part in combat. So, the probability is that Parthenope's education did form part of the novel's description of her, and that her virtue, learning and physical prowess—manly talents, appropriate for a future ruler—were indeed emphasised more than beauty or charm. Her father's affection and pride are also likely to be original constituents. It is another matter that the articulation of the particular qualities—astronomy, polo and all—are no doubt due to later elaboration, as is perhaps the hyperbolic specification of the various ages at which she first displayed her skills.

Having concluded with Fuluqrāt's love for his daughter (PF40), the Persian poem quickly changes the scene to the homeland of the hero, Vāmiq. The specification of that land is missing in PF but may be supplemented by PT127:

There was an island in the land of the Greeks;
Karūnīs was the name of the choice city.

The identification of this Karūnīs with Thracian Khersonesos is beyond doubt (the Arabic/Persian word for 'island', *jazīrah*, is also used for 'peninsula'). This verse was probably followed directly by PT144:

For Mildhītas/Miltiades held that place;
he held office as king over it.

Alternation between different lines of action, one centred around the hero and one around the heroine, is a common feature of the Greek novels, and in particular, of Xenophon and Khariton. The transitions

“This Habrokomes grew handsomer day by day, and the qualities of his soul kept equal pace with the beauty of his person. He was diligent in every form of culture (*paideia*), and practiced the various arts (*mousikē*); his training (*gymnasmata*) included the chase and horsemanship and fencing.”

are sometimes quite mechanical, using a technique and a phraseology that go back to the shifts of perspective between different places of action in the classical historians (and ultimately to Homer).⁵ *M&P*, if actually in this instance the model for *V&A*, is different only in having to make such a violent shift to another geographical location already when introducing the hero, since the two lovers are (atypically) of different ethnic origin.

A reservation is in place, though: the novelist may have saved the information about Metiokhos' background for one or several retrospects when the young man from Kheronesos had arrived on Samos, whereas the Persian epic poet chose to tell it all in linear sequence. Such a technique of flashbacks, either contributed by the narrative voice itself or integrated into the monologues and dialogues of the characters, is a current technique in the other novels, albeit with great variations in frequency (seldom in Khariton and Xenophon, the dominant technique in Heliodoros). There is actually, in the main Greek fragment, a passage where in dialogue with Polykrates, as a prelude to the symposium, Metiokhos gives details about his family situation on the Kheronesos (GF1.2–24). Although the papyrus text is much damaged, it is clear that some of the facts mentioned there coincide with what the Persian poet tells us here. He may thus have extracted them from that dialogue (and perhaps from other, lost passages in *M&P* as well) and used them in his own linear presentation of *Vāmiq*. The alternative is that the author of *M&P* did both things, first introduced Metiokhos and his family conflicts in his own voice at the same place as we find it in *V&A*, and then recycled the material from Metiokhos' own perspective in his dialogue with Polykrates, perhaps contributing novel details and shedding new light on the repeated elements. This too is a current technique in the extant novels; in fact, repetition and recapitulation is a dominant feature of the earlier ones.⁶ This latter alternative appears to be the more likely one, but we shall have to keep both in mind in the following analysis.

There is only a small lacuna in PF (40/41), so already the following verse must have introduced the son of Mildhītas/Miltiades, i.e. *Vāmiq*/Metiokhos. In the preserved fragment his good looks are

⁵ See Hägg 1971:311–316.

⁶ See Hägg 1971:245–287, 327–332.

mentioned only in passing, in an indirect form well-known from the Greek novels (PF42): “people were astonished by his looks” (cf. e.g. Xen. Eph. 1.2.8). The story then immediately passes on to his evil stepmother, *Highsifulī (reconstructed form based on Greek Hegešipyle) (PF44; PT106; GF1.15; GT3b). Her machinations against Vāmiq are described in a lengthy passage, in the middle of which there is a lacuna in the Persian poem (PF49/50, probably some twenty verses missing). We may have one verse of that text preserved in PT51:

From (her) being so malevolent and bad-tempered
the width of the word was narrow for him.

The stepmother succeeds in turning the king’s mind against his son, Vāmiq,⁷ and she even tries to poison him. He sees no escape but flight and chooses a friend named Ṭūfān as his companion (PF58 & PT109). In a discussion on Vāmiq’s precarious situation, this Ṭūfān gives him the advice to go to the king of Samos, Fuluqrāt (i.e. Polykrates), since “you are, after all, related to him by blood” (PF70). This quite unhistorical argument is obviously based on an identification of the name Aiakos, the mythical ancestor of Miltiades the elder (Hdt. 6.35.1; cf. GT3b), with the similar-sounding Aiakes, the name of Polykrates’ father (Hdt. 2.182.2). As we saw, already in the assumed opening verses of the epic poem, Fuluqrāt was introduced as being “of the seed of Āqūs/Aiakos, son of Jupiter/J Zeus” (PT108). Finally, the two young men stealthily go on board a ship and sail to Samos, where they head for the city.

The topic of the evil stepmother as the reason for Metiokhos’ flight from his father’s house and land is obviously taken over from the novel, wherever the various details about it were placed in the text. Thus, it seems, the novelist replaced the political happenings that caused the flight of both Metiokhos and his father in Herodotos (6.40–41) with a private motive, a family conflict of stock character (see the more detailed discussion in the comments above in Ch. IIa on GF1.2–24). In the extant novels, the motif of the evil stepmother is developed with particular ingenuity by Heliodoros, but his story

⁷ This would be the meaning of PF46 required by the context (indeed, Stephens & Winkler 1995:74 n. 10 translate: “She hardened the heart of the father . . .”), but the Persian, in fact, (mis)understanding its model? has the opposite: “She made his (possibly: her) heart hard against his father . . .”.

of Demainete and Knemon (1.9ff.) is of the Phaidra/Hippolytos variety, whereas our novelist is content with a simple, non-erotic conflict between stepmother and stepson (provided it is not the Persian poet who has purged the narrative). The references to that conflict in Metiokhos' dialogue with Polykrates in the main Greek fragment adds a couple of details that are missing in the extant part of the Persian fragment (but may have been mentioned in the lacuna): Hegesipyle also has younger children of her own, whom she obviously favours (GF1.15–16);⁸ and Miltiades is described as *philoteknos*, “loving his children” (GF1.12), but is now completely in his new wife's hands (this aspect of the motif is elaborated in Hld. 1.9). The misogynic verses PF47–48 may well have had a model in the Greek (cf. footnote to GF1.13 trans.).

The detailed description of how Vāmiq approaches a friend, discusses his situation with him, listens to his advice and escapes together with him, is almost certainly taken over from the novel. Khaireas in Khariton has a friend Polykharmos who fills the very same function of confidant and travel companion, as Orestes famously had his Pylades and (as remarked by Khar. 1.4.2) Akhilleus his Patroklos. Ṭūfān's Greek name may have been Theophanes (or Thouphanes); it is strange that he does not turn up in GF1.

THE MEETING OF THE LOVERS AND THE (FIRST/ONLY?) SYMPOSIUM

Here follows the section of the story in which the main Greek and Persian fragments partly ran parallel and where it is possible to aim, to a certain extent, at a double reconstruction, of both the Greek novel and the Persian poem. The two accounts were certainly not identical, even if a few passages show an almost verbatim correspondence. Furthermore, we have the narrative in *DN* which is comparatively explicit regarding the first meeting of the lovers.

With regard to the scene of the meeting, PF has a completely coherent text (77–118), apparently without any lacuna. It starts directly with a reference to “this temple” (PF77 & PT151), which is astonishing, since there is no room before PF77 for a mention of the temple

⁸ Herodotos (6.136.3; 7.107.1) names one half-brother of Metiokhos, Kimon; for the ambiguous evidence in other sources, see Hägg 1985:94 n. 8.

(the Heraion of Samos, of course), provided the previous line was left blank for a heading (as suggested above). The temple and the practices of its worshippers are described in six verses (PF78–83). Most cultic details will have been taken over from the novel's description; one may compare the behaviour of Xenophon's Habrokomes and Antheia on visiting Samos (1.11.2): "... they made Samos, the sacred island of Hera. There they offered sacrifice and took their dinner and said many prayers...". An oracle cult seems to be implied in PF80, not a feature traditionally emphasised in connection with Samian Hera. One detail that would have been rather strange in an ancient Greek context is the special rule that even "king and warrior had to walk to the temple on foot", a rule presumably belonging to a more horse-bound culture.

Then comes the intense moment when the eyes of the two lovers meet: "in one glance I fell in love with him", as 'Adhrā is reported saying in the *DN*, and for Vāmiq "the world was illuminated" (PF85). The importance of the eyes as the gate for love to enter the mind is strongly emphasised, e.g. in PF90:

From one glance all upheaval will arise,
the sharp fire of love will enter the mind.

Similar descriptions of love-at-first-sight belong to the stock motifs of the Greek novels. The elaboration of the key role played by the eyes is likewise a commonplace, going back to Plato (*Phaidros* 251b). It will suffice to quote from Akh.Tat. 1.4.2–4:⁹ "Her face flashed on my eyes like lightening. . . . As soon as I had seen her, I was lost. For Beauty's wound is sharper than any weapon's, and it runs through the eyes down to the soul. It is through the eye that love's wound passes" etc. (also 1.9.4–5 and 5.13.4; cf. Xen. Eph. 1.3.2).

Next, there is an interesting difference between PF and *DN*. According to PF91–92 it is 'Adhrā who first addresses the stranger, praising his looks and asking about his lineage and circumstances, while in *DN* she modestly tells the merchant, Hiranqālīs: "I did not know who he was. He was really a relative of ours. He addressed us and asked for something." The important piece of information given here is strangely missing, though, in Vāmiq's reply as worded in PF94–95:

⁹ Akhilleus Tatios is quoted throughout in the translation of J.J. Winkler in Reardon (ed.) 1989:170–284.

I have run away from the oppression of an oppressor,
 I have attached myself to the benevolence of Fuluqrāt.
 Maybe that fortunate king will receive me
 (and) count me among his servants.

He thus omits any hint of his kinship with Fuluqrāt! Still the poet seems to allude to it somewhat further on, when the queen, *Nānī, is astonished by his looks and says to him (in PF100–101): “O, afflicted young man,/on you are manifest the ways of kings. . . . I shall tell your story to the king.” *DN* has ‘Adhrā dryly remarking: “My mother did not give him anything but promised to send something.”

Mother and daughter thus leave Vāmiq who is in full confusion and asks himself what “misfortune” could have befallen him (PF106). His companion, Ṭūfān, at once understands what has happened and warns him in despair (in PF110):

O, you who are bound in new love,
 do not go near the breath of that dragon!”

Then Ṭūfān goes up to the “idol” (presumably, the cult statue of Hera) and prays for its (her) protection of his poor friend (PF114–116). ‘Adhrā, in her turn, is similarly bewildered, trying to conceal her feelings from her mother. The physical symptoms that both lovers experience as a result of their first meeting—‘Adhrā walks away “swaying to and fro”, “the fresh colour of her face” withering (PF103–104), while sweat streams from Vāmiq’s body (97) and he cries tears of blood (108, 112)—are in accordance with the corresponding descriptions in the Greek novels. For instance, Khariton’s Khaireas, having seen Kallirhoe for the first time, “could barely make his way home; like a hero mortally wounded in battle, he was too proud to fall but too weak to stand” (1.1.7), while Kallirhoe, like ‘Adhrā (1.1.8), fears exposure. The bewilderment and desolation expressed in Vāmiq’s monologue have close parallels in that of Habrokomes in Xenophon’s novel (1.4.1): “Ah me for my troubles! . . . What, unlucky that I am, has happened to me?” We may perhaps surmise that young Metiokhos, home in the Khersonesos, was described as the same chaste defier of Eros as Habrokomes (and, of course, as Euripides’ Hippolytos); his speech on Eros at the symposium (cf. below) certainly shows that attitude. The role that Vāmiq’s friend plays in grasping the secret and warning him is also totally in character (cf., in particular, Polykharmos in Khariton *passim*).

In both PF and *DN* it appears that ‘Adhrā is brought to despair

when her mother seems to have forgotten her promise to do something for the stranger. In PF there is an incomplete verse and then a lacuna at this stage (119: “[When her mother] did not . . . , ‘Adhrā wreathed . . . in pain’ + some four missing verses), but here *DN* comes to our assistance with a full description:

When we came to the palace, he was forgotten, and I was ashamed of reminding my mother. I brought up that temple, saying: “O mother, there is no place of worship like the one of our island.” My mother came to think of that youth.

After this, PF is again much more detailed. *Nānī approaches her husband and tells him eloquently about the handsome young man who has come to Samos in order to seek the protection of its king. Fuluqrāt immediately orders his master of ceremonies to bring him to the palace. (In *DN* it is simply stated that the queen “sent someone and called for him”.) There is an elaborate description of how Vāmiq is approached and brought to the palace (PF125–132). On his arrival, the king meets him at the door, greets him warmly and embraces him (PF133, quite summarily in *DN*).

According to PF, Vāmiq is brought straight to the banqueting hall, where he is addressed by the king with, among others, the following words: “You have come to your own home and city” (in PF136). Though this is a normal phrase of politeness, in the present context it is difficult not to take it as a reference to their actual blood relationship—which has, however, still not been mentioned explicitly. To investigate that matter further, we turn to the main Greek fragment, which seems to begin exactly at this point, Metiokhos arriving at the court and being greeted by Polykrates. GF1, much damaged in its first 33 lines (= Col. I), starts with Polykrates welcoming Metiokhos. He obviously knows where the young man comes from, who he is and that he has been the victim of his “father’s contempt”; the king seems to offer his assistance in one way or another (GF1.2–7). This indicates beyond reasonable doubt that Polykrates has already been told the story of the stepmother and the flight, either by Metiokhos himself just before GF1 starts or (more likely) through his wife and daughter, who will consequently, when they first met Metiokhos at the Heraion, have received more specific information about his identity than is the case in PF (but cf. *DN*). Included in that information will have been the detail about the kinship, crucial to explain both Metiokhos’ destination and now Polykrates’

hearty welcome. Though the Persian poet mentioned the kinship already back in PT108 and PF70 and now seems to take it for granted in PF136 (“your own home and city”), he has obviously omitted the intermediate passage(s) where Metiokhos’ identity was disclosed to his relatives on Samos. There seems to be no lacuna in PF where this piece of information could naturally have been passed on.

Next in the mutilated Greek text, Polykrates appears to move his young relative to a higher position at the table, closer to Parthenope (GF1.8–10). This would correspond to PF134 where it is stated that he “made him sit in a very honoured seat”. Polykrates’ preceding words, however (GF1.2–7), have no direct equivalent in the Persian poem, except the general “treating him well” (PF134) and the mentioned words of greeting (PF135–136). Nor is there any counterpart whatsoever in PF to Metiokhos’ answer (GF1.10–24) in which he makes the comments on his father, his stepmother and his own situation in the Khersonesos that we have already discussed in connection with the corresponding (authorial) description in PF42ff. All those present marvel at the young man’s courage, and Polykrates announces the beginning of the symposium, to relieve the sorrows (GF1.24–29). Attention is turned to Anaximenes, and a topic for philosophical discussion is proposed, though the fragmentary state of these lines prevents us from seeing what topic, and who announces it (GF1.30–33).

Meanwhile, in the Persian poem, ‘Adhrā has been brought in by the hand of her mother, the music has started, and, at the sight of ‘Adhrā, Vāmiq’s heart has “jumped like a fish on dry land” (PF137–139)—all elements that are absent in GF. There also seems to be a discrepancy here between the version of PF and that of *DN*. The latter gives the impression that some time passes before the symposium, and the symposium itself is just presented as one in a series: “When some time had passed after that, I used to take part together with that boy in the wine feasts, until one night I rose and went near him.” This corresponds to a long story in PF but, if the logical order of the leaves of the fragment is followed (see above p. 78), there is only one symposium. PF’s close connection between arrival and symposium receives support from GF1, but that fragment breaks off before it is possible to decide whether there was one or several symposia.

After one completely unreadable verse (PF140) come two partly readable ones in which it seems as if the king directly sets out to

examine his young guest's rhetorical ability and "vision" (PF141–143). There follows immediately the introduction of the court philosopher (PF144: "an outstanding sage"); his name falls in PF145, with a slight variant in PT76:

There was a wise man, his name *Nakhminūs,
whose hand was kissed by knowledge.

*Nakhminūs is a reconstructed Arabic/Persian form of Greek Anaximenes, the famous philosopher who in the Greek text is introduced at GF1.30 (though the damaged state of the papyrus does not allow reading more than his name). We get no help from *DN* at this stage, since there is no reference whatsoever there to the proceedings of the symposium so fully described in PF (continuing until PF257). According to PF146–147, this *Nakhminūs watches the two lovers, their shiny eyes and furtive glances, and divines their secret. He is curious and wants to look into Vāmiq's heart by making him speak about his love (PF148–150). Obviously entrusted with leading the symposium, he starts the discussion by turning to the suspected lover with a question about the characteristics and appearance of "the effigy of love", i.e. Eros. This personification of 'Love' (Pers. *tan-i dūstī*) is definitely a foreign element in a Persian poem/story and must have had a Greek model. The symposiarch's question, however, is strangely absent in GF1.

In fact, not only is the elaborate question missing in GF1 but so is the whole motivation for starting a discussion of Eros at the symposium, so carefully worked out in PF: Anaximenes' growing suspicion and his clever way of having it confirmed. There is room for some of these elements, in a summary form, in GF1.30–34, but nothing like the detailed description in PF144–153. As was suggested above in the discussion of the transformations of the text (Ch. IV, pp. 189f.), the explanation may be that the Greek version found in the papyrus is abbreviated, and that the original (from which the model for the Persian adaptation descended) had a development of the story better corresponding to what we read in PF (cf. also below, p. 252).

Next, it is PF that is short and GF1 fuller (and better). Between *Nakhminūs' question and Vāmiq's answer (beginning PF154), there is nothing in PF (and no lacuna). After GF1.30–34, on the other hand, where at least the topic of Love must have been mentioned in some way, there is a description of the young lovers' reaction

(confusion²), as they recall their recent experience (falling in love at the temple of Hera) (GF1.35–36). Metiokhos blushes and professes himself unqualified for discussing this topic (GF1.37–39). Still, he starts the discussion, and his way of doing so is consistent with how the sage formulates his direct question in PF151–153 (raising the question of young or old, and how Eros is conventionally depicted).

Back to the Persian poem. In reply, Vāmiq states—after a lacuna of some eight verses (perhaps continued praise of the host, and of the city and the assembly²)—that he has no personal experience of this ‘Love’ (PF156–157). But, according to what he has heard, he gives two pictures of it, both as a young, innocent-looking but pugnacious boy, with a flame in one hand and a bow in the other, and as a seemingly feeble old man who turns irresistibly strong, when one gets into his clutches (PF154–167).

In the Greek fragment, most of Col. II is much better preserved than Col. I, so here it is possible to see more clearly both the overall similarity between Greek and Persian text and the freedom with which the Persian poet (or some intermediary) has restructured and reworded the argument; it partly looks more like a free composition on a common topic than an adaptation, but still retains the typically Greek erotic paraphernalia: torch,¹⁰ bow, arrow, etc.¹¹ It is reasonable to suspect that such a rhetorical and philosophical exposition of a Greek mythological subject invited more deviations than would be the case in the more plainly narrative parts of the plot. Anyway, in GF1.39–62 Metiokhos, like Vāmiq, declares that he has not experienced Eros himself—nor does he want to. But his main contention is that the young Eros of the old tales, a child equipped with wings, bow and torch, is a ridiculous concept. Being of primeval origin,

¹⁰ The fire is first part of Love’s beauty, then it is used as a burning weapon (PF160–163); cf., in the Greek tradition, e.g. Plutarch, *Moralia* fr. 135 Sandbach: “And so poets speak of Love, and sculptors and painters fashion him, as the bearer of fire, because fire, too, has a splendour that gives the greatest pleasure, but a power of burning that inflicts the greatest pain.”

¹¹ The Persian version also retains, even emphasises, the dual character of Eros: young/old, innocent/pugnacious, feeble/strong. Such duplicity or ambiguity is an essential part of the “alternative” Greek concept of Eros; cf. the comic poet Alexis (ca. 375–275 BC), *Phaidros* fr. 247 K-A (from Athenaios 13.562a–c), as analysed by Lasserre 1943:114–116 (“... un composé de contraires, hardiesse et lâcheté, folie et raison, violence et persévérance”). See now also the detailed commentary of Arnott 1996:691–702 (esp. 692–694 on the possible background of these “oppositions” in Plato’s *Symposium*).

Eros must have reached maturity; since of divine nature, he cannot have stopped growing like a deformed human being. Furthermore, a baby could not travel over the whole world and cause the torment and kindle the fire in lovers' souls that love does. Finally, however, the idea of personification as such is rejected: love, in fact, is "an agitation of the mind occasioned by [beauty] and increasing with familiarity" (see further the footnotes and comments to the translation of GF1.39–62 in Ch. IIa).

In the Greek as well as the Persian text, the word then passes on to the heroine. According to PF168–178, 'Adhrā reacts sharply to Vāmiq's words. She both desires to talk to him and wants to refute him. Unfortunately, there is a lacuna of some four verses (PF170/171) where her reaction must have been described in more detail. One would suspect that she is upset by Vāmiq's statement that he has not yet experienced Love, but in her actual reply (PF171–178), after a courteous introductory formula, she chooses to argue against the picture of Love as an old man, saying that love arises between young people. It does not concern old people and it stays young: "like [will to like]", "everything grows old except love". The following verse (PF179) introduces a reaction by her father and the other participants in the banquet, which we cannot follow, because there is a break here in the fragment.

In the Greek interlude between the two directly quoted speeches (GF1.62–68), it is Anaximenes who explicitly asks Parthenope to "pick up the inquiry", and it is stated that the girl is angry with Metiokhos for not admitting, nor wanting, any experience of love. She then starts her argument directly, without any courteous phrases (as Metiokhos too had done in GF1.39—such civilised apostrophe as in PF154 and 171 is obviously a Persian, or Arabic, addition). She declares that Metiokhos has spoken "idle nonsense", and (presumably) that what poets, painters [and sculptors] have taught us [cannot be wrong: Eros is a god, and he is young!]. Unfortunately the papyrus breaks off in the middle of her positive statement. There is reason to believe, however, that her speech contained more or less the same ideas about the young Eros as we find in that of 'Adhrā (PF171–178); for the argument as formulated there by the Persian poet is very close to one of the main sources of the traditional Greek debate about Eros young or old, namely, Agathon's speech in Plato's *Symposium*. One may compare, with 'Adhrā's words, e.g. the following (*Symp.* 195a–b): "... it is in Love's nature to loathe old age and

to keep well away from it. He is a constant companion of young men and (given the validity of the old saying that like always clings to like) he is therefore young himself. . . . my claim is that he is the youngest of the gods and is forever young.”¹² The novelist will have created his own variation on this old theme to put in Parthenope’s mouth; and ‘Adhrā’s speech, in turn, reflects that version. It is worth noting that through this double filtering process, from Plato to the novelist and from the novelist (via an intermediary?) to ‘Unṣurī (PF175b), the old proverb about “like clinging to like” (*homoion homoiō aei pelazei*) has passed intact.

From here on (PF180), the edition of the Persian fragment published by Shafi (and reproduced by Kaladze) presented the leaf—and parts of leaf—in an order different from our edition. The order chosen by Shafi conveys the impression that there was more than one symposium; but a careful analysis by the present editors, based on a dummy of a reconstructed original manuscript, bound at the top of the leaf (cf. above pp. 77f.), makes this less likely, although not impossible. At all events, at least one leaf, i.e. about 22 verses, is missing after PF179. We may guess that the lost text, whether written on one or several leaves, contained the interventions of others: certainly of the king, probably of *Nakhminūs, and perhaps of other symposiasts as well. In particular, they will have voiced their reactions to Vāmiq’s provocative demythologisation of Eros. When we come back to the preserved text of PF (180, as reconstructed in our edition), someone (the king?) calls down a benediction on someone (Vāmiq?); and then the poem passes on to a new episode.

The minstrel of Fuluqrāt is introduced (PF181–182 & PT78). His name is spelt in various ways, all of which seem to go back to *Īfuqūs, an Arabic/Persian rendering of Greek Ibykos, the 6th-century BC lyric poet from Rhegion in southern Italy, known *inter alia* for an encomiastic poem on Polykrates.¹³ He is here characterised as an excellent singer, a learned musician and a wise man, and hyperbolically said to be famous all over Iran, Rūm (i.e. Greece) and India; but the more detailed presentation of him that will have followed is lost in a lacuna of some thirteen verses in PF (184/185). However, *Īfuqūs, we are told, performs at every festive event organ-

¹² Trans. Waterfield 1994:32f.

¹³ Cf. Hägg 1985:96 (with further refs.) and D’Alfonso 1995–98.

ised by King Fuluqrāt, playing the instrument *barbat* (Greek *barbitos* or *-on*, a variety of the lyre), singing the songs of Diyānūs, i.e. Dionysos (strictly, then, “dithyrambs”, but here perhaps more loosely “symptotic poetry”?). Unexpectedly, the poet inserts an explanation of Diyānūs: this is said to be the Greek name for Hārūt, in Islam a fallen angel who knows arts forbidden to men (PF189).

Now *Īfuqūs sings of the beauty of ‘Adhrā and Vāmiq (as the historical Ibykos had, in his most famous poem [fr. 282], of the beauty of young Polykrates), but the song is not quoted (PF190). When he has finished and put the *barbat* aside, Vāmiq is moved, rises, stretches out his hand and takes . . . (PF191–192). What he takes must, of course, be the *barbat*, but another lacuna in the Persian fragment, of some fifteen verses, starts immediately before the object is specified (PF192/193).

But a new Greek papyrus scrap (GF4) seems to fit in nicely here: it begins with somebody taking something “with his left hand”, striking with an ivo[ry plectrum against the strings with his right hand?], and presumably offering to sing. They all shout in approval, and Metiokhos (now the name is explicit) starts singing, to the sound of the lyre,¹⁴ a song of the love of Pitys and Pan, and of Apollo and Daphne. Though the text is damaged and the names of the male deities involved have to be supplemented, there is no doubt that these two parallel stories of unconsummated love are the topic of our young lover’s song. Both these love stories are celebrated in song in later novels as well, that of Pitys and Pan in Longos (1.27.2) and that of Apollo and Daphne as symposium entertainment in Akhilleus Tatios (1.5.5; for further details and discussion, see the comments to GF4 in Ch. IIa).

It is possible that the fifteen verses missing in PF told not only of Vāmiq playing and singing—the song just being reported and characterised, not directly quoted—but also how the song moved his beloved ‘Adhrā, demonstrating what direct impact music has on human feelings (as we have already seen remarked in PF187–188 and 191–192). But when the narrative is resumed in PF193, interest has been

¹⁴ The fact that the Greek text here uses the word *lyra* for the instrument, does not disprove that *barbitos* or *-on* may have been used earlier; the terminology for these various string instruments does not seem to have been very strictly observed in literary texts (in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, the same instrument is variously referred to as *khelys*, *phorminx* and *lyra*).

transferred to the instrument on which Vāmiq performed. One of the participants in the symposium (the philosopher?) asks who was the first to construct the *barbat*, whereupon the king replies that he has heard many explanations without getting a clear idea—and then this leaf of PF ends, and an unknown number of verses are missing.

After two unconnected fragmentary verses (PF196–197) and an unknown number of verses missing again, we are back on firm ground from PF198. Here, Vāmiq enters the discussion (to which several of those present may already have contributed) and begins on a remarkably detailed account of the invention of this musical instrument (not ending until PF235). This story has already been examined in detail by the present authors, from a Greek point of view by Hägg (1989) and from an Iranian by Utas (1997), and we explicitly refer to those treatments. Only features that are important with regard to the narrative structure will be repeated here.

It may be stated from the start, however, that the main traits of the story of invention, as narrated in PF, probably go back to *M&P*, though the story deviates in many respects from the “orthodox” account of the invention of the lyre (as told in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, in Sophokles’ satyr play *Ikhneutai* and elsewhere), many of the divergent details are to be found scattered at various places in other, later Greek or Roman literature. In addition, the rationalistic nature of Vāmiq/Metiokhos’ story and his deliberate demolishing of the mythological version are totally in character with his speech on Eros. More or less traditional tales, quoted in direct speech, occur in other Greek novels as well, most frequently in Akhilleus Tatios; the closest parallel to the present one is a priest telling Kleitophon and Leukippe, in a similarly rationalised version (8.6), the aetiological myth of the invention of the pan-pipes (*syrix*).

In PF, the person to whom Vāmiq attributes the invention of the *barbat* is called Hurmuz (PF199, 205, 222), while a lexical verse (PT116) instead writes Hurmus, which is the ordinary Persian spelling for Greek Hermes (generally referring to Hermes Trismegistos). It is difficult to say what this difference means—if anything at all. Hurmuz is, in fact, the ordinary New Persian spelling of the Old Iranian supreme god Ahuramazdāh, surviving as a name of a day in the Zoroastrian calendar and of the deity presiding over it (also the planet Jupiter). Possibly, the spelling Hurmuz for what certainly originally was Greek Hermes was chosen to suggest a divine origin for the *barbat*.

A second, more mysterious person involved in the construction of the instrument, is called something like Hazhrah-man (with a silent second h). After Hurmuz has found the withered carcass of a tortoise on a high mountain, he wants to reproduce the sound he heard the wind making in its bare sinews; but he gets into difficulties and is unable to solve the problem. Then he meets an old man with his head bent down in thought (PF221). PT116–117 (variant of PF222–223) continue:

Hurmus said to him: “Why are you depressed?
 You are not like me, with your heart struck by grief,
 Because this instrument of mine that has been built
 does not become finished at all.”

Hazhrah-man is an otherwise unknown name. There is a possibility that it was introduced here as a kind of translation of Greek Terpan-dros, the legendary musician from Lesbos who (according to Pindar, fr. 125, and later sources) invented the *barbitos*.¹⁵ The first part of the name could be a slight contraction of Persian *hazhīrah* ‘beautiful, agreeable, pleasing’ (corresponding to the Greek *terp-* as in *terpō*, ‘to delight, please’), and the second the suffix *-man(d)* ‘furnished with’ or the stem *man* ‘thinking, mind’ (whereas *-andros* in the Greek name means ‘man’). Whatever its etymology, this is a Persian name that could not have been shared with Arabic (which does not have the sound/letter zh/ḥ)! In the pair Hurmuz and Hazhrah-man we have one of the few apparent Iranisations of the epic poem. Hazhrah-man is, in addition, reminiscent of Ahraman, the old Angramainyu, the evil adversary of Ahuramazdāh.¹⁶

Whoever he is, he helps Hurmuz to finish the construction of his instrument. Unfortunately, the verses that describe the arrangement of the strings and pegs are too mutilated to allow of a coherent translation (PF230–231). A following verse (PF232) obviously compares the instrument to the human body, the playing being analogous to the breathing of the body. Then a leaf of PF ends, and we do not know for sure if there is anything missing here; but the beginning of the next leaf (PF233) fits in well, stating that our (human?) nature is built into it (the *barbat*). With this (and with an incomplete

¹⁵ Cf. Hägg 1989:61–65.

¹⁶ Cf. Utas 1997:149–151.

and seemingly misplaced verse, PF235) Vāmiq ends his speech, and the audience is duly filled with admiration. This is especially the case with ‘Adhrā; badly wounded by love, she fights to conceal her metaphorical “tears of blood” (PF236–240).

After a lacuna of some six verses in PF, the poem apparently returns to the minstrel *Īfuqūs, who feels dejected and abandoned (PF241–244). Night is falling, and *Nānī takes ‘Adhrā away. A room has been arranged in the palace for Vāmiq as well (end of leaf in PF, unknown how much is missing). After the lacuna we find Vāmiq in his room, together with Ṭūfān. He cannot sleep but is writhing on his bed like a snake (PF249–251). Meanwhile, Fuluqrāt, still in the banqueting hall, praises the young man’s qualities, and his companions congratulate him on this acquisition (PF252–257).

THE EVENTS LEADING TO THE SEPARATION OF THE LOVERS

The circumstances of Vāmiq’s stay in the palace of Fuluqrāt are not too clear in PF. Probably some leaves are missing, others are incomplete, and there is also some uncertainty about their internal order. *DN* is very summary on these events, but on the whole follows the lines of the story discernible in PF. The leaf that seems to come next in PF begins with the description of a dark, starless night in which Vāmiq walks around, tears in his eyes, until he comes to the gate to ‘Adhrā’s quarters (PF258–260 + a blank line: for a heading?). There he turns to the “Righteous Omnipotent” (Greek: Zeus?) in a long soliloquy, lamenting over the burden of his love and contrasting his own supplicant state with the privileged position of his beloved, “herself reposing in joy and delicacy” (PF261–267).

The internal sequel and the reading of the following verses in PF are somewhat uncertain. One verse (PF268) seems to refer to the reaction of Vāmiq’s companion, Ṭūfān; but then attention appears to pass over to ‘Adhrā, who has lost patience with her father’s rebukes and restrictions and leaves her quarters at night (PF269–275). She, in her turn, breaks out in a soliloquy on the pains of love, supposedly imposed by the evil eye (PF276). Her father’s house has become a prison, so she now tears “the veil of shame” from her heart and “invites affliction” (PF280–281). Parts of the monologue are missing (PF276/277 and 282/283); and because of the fragmentary state of this whole passage (PF276–288), it is impossible to ascertain whether

it all took place on one occasion or several. Anyway, she addresses her bitter fate (PF284), enters the house (285), complains that her beloved is not aware of her sufferings (286), but then obviously loses courage and decides to return home (288). Possibly, the phrase “until one night I rose and went near him” in *DN* refers to this nocturnal excursion.

Maybe another of our Greek fragments, the short and lacunose ostrakon text (GF3), belongs somewhere in this context. It is Metiokhos who addresses his beloved: “Are you [. . .], Parthenope, [. . .] and forgetful of your Metiokhos? For my part, from the day you [. . .], I [. . .] and [can]not sleep, my eyes wide open as if glued with gum.” If we suppose that what has been copied on the ostrakon is part of a monologue (other possibilities are discussed in the comments to GF3 in Ch. IIa), the sentiment it expresses is indeed close to what we have just heard both Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā complaining of in their monologues; compare, in particular, that Vāmiq accuses his beloved of “reposing in joy and delicacy” (PF266), implying that she has forgotten her love, and that ‘Adhrā suspects that “his heart is not aware of my suffering” (PF286). We may also note that Vāmiq’s “eyelids are cauterised by (tears of) blood” (PF259), while in the Greek fragment Metiokhos talks of his eyes, i.e. eyelids, being “glued with gum”. Yet, it is also possible that the ostrakon text belongs somewhat further on in the action, when the two have been separated, not only by being lodged in different parts of the palace, but by Parthenope having been abducted from Samos. The suggested reading in line 6, “from the day you [*went away*]”, would suit that alternative (but there is just one sole letter clearly readable to support the restoration). On the other hand, Metiokhos lying sleepless in his bed, complaining of Parthenope’s forgetfulness, would receive an extra ironic effect if juxtaposed to the girl actually approaching his quarters but, in the end, not daring to enter.

Incidentally, irrespective of the exact location or character of GF3, there is a Persian lexical quotation that might have been culled from the same monologue (or letter), PT16:

The sight in my eye is on account of you;
the movement of my body originates in you.

Though it is evident that such a statement may belong to any declaration of love in the novel, the mood appears quite close to what we overhear in GF3. One further lexical verse, with Vāmiq alluding

to the famous lovers of Greek myth, Hero and Leandros, may or may not belong to the same context (PT65):

I am not less than *Landarūs/Leandros in love,
Hārū/Hero not better than ‘Adhrā in visage.

The reference to ‘Adhrā in the third person may imply that the context is different, but it is also possible that the name, instead of a second-person pronoun, was used for rhetorical effect (“Parthenope” as a new prototype for beauty, replacing “Hero”).

At this stage in the Persian poem, a new actor is introduced. In PF (289 etc.) and PT (53, 135) his name is spelt Filāṭūs, which might correspond to the Greek Philitas or Philetas. If so, he is presumably so called after the well-known Hellenistic poet and philologist Philitas, born on Kos in ca. 340 BC and later, at Alexandria, entrusted with the education of the future monarch, Ptolemy II, bearing the title of *didaskalos*, ‘teacher’. Longos employs the name Philetas for the old countryman who teaches Daphnis and Khloe about the power of Eros. Here, in *V&A*, Filāṭūs is a wise and learned man and the tutor of ‘Adhrā (PF289–291). *DN* just quotes ‘Adhrā saying, “I had a teacher”. He is the guardian in whose care Fuluqrāṭ has entrusted his daughter (PF292). He watches her day and night, and now he possibly follows her when she again leaves her quarters, tears of longing in her eyes (PF294, then end of a leaf). Subsequently, PF has a lacuna of at least twenty-two verses; and when we are back, the perspective is that of King Fuluqrāṭ. He is obviously worried about his daughter and summons Filāṭūs in secret, telling him about his suspicions about Vāmiq (PF296–303)—and then the leaf ends.

Next in PF comes a scene in which Filāṭūs follows ‘Adhrā who is (again) walking around alone at night. He even brings a poisoned sword. ‘Adhrā is aware of the fact that he is following her but still proceeds to Vāmiq’s quarters. Her tutor sneaks after her, saying to himself that he has to see with his own eyes (PF308–312). After a lacuna of a few verses, the two lovers are seen together, and they are overheard by Filāṭūs. ‘Adhrā asks Vāmiq about his feelings for her and Vāmiq understands that she loves him (PF313–315). Filāṭūs goes to Vāmiq’s chamber and finds Ṭūfān whom he accuses of helping to spread “the seed of corruption”, abusing the women of the palace and the hospitality of Fuluqrāṭ (PT135, PF316–320).

Here a leaf or two may be missing in PF. The missing passage probably depicts the continued meeting of the two lovers and their

mutual declarations of love. A testimonial verse may belong here (PT130):

They did not have the power to resist the fire of love;
jointly from the two of them a cry rose.

When PF resumes, Filāṭūs is reproaching ‘Adhrā with harsh words, asking her if she has no shame left, surrendering herself to a destitute foreigner (PF321–324). ‘Adhrā reacts with desperation, uttering a shrill cry and falling down unconscious, as if she were dead, while Filāṭūs regrets his words and addresses her devotedly (PF325–329).

There is a new lacuna in PF, in which a meeting between Filāṭūs and Vāmiq must have been described. One of the testimonial verses might fit in there (PT55):

The heart of the wise man was not without hope;
his graceful behaviour is not apparent from the vow.

Vāmiq promises Filāṭūs that he will never look at ‘Adhrā with “bad intent”, and the tutor feels relief, seeing Vāmiq now “bound with a fetter for which there [is] no key” (PF330–333). In PF’s version, ‘Adhrā’s mother, *Nānī, is not directly involved, until she sees her daughter like “a fresh rose withered, . . . stupefied as if dead” (PF335), while she has a more active role according to *DN*:

That teacher of mine came to my mother and told what her daughter was doing. My mother called for me and blamed me, and I said: “O mother, love for that boy has invaded my house of shame. If you do not give me to him, I shall kill myself.” When my mother heard this she spoke to my father about it.

Before we arrive at the next preserved piece of PF (339, a new leaf), ‘Adhrā has obviously already found out that Vāmiq (in accordance with his vow) has turned away from her. Somewhere in this lacuna, the following two testimonial verses may belong (PT138&54):

He/she had taste neither for sleep nor food;
the dripping from his/her eyes did not stop.

Because that freshly blooming rose
in the wind became like the (yellow) fenugreek.

When we meet her again in PF, she is complaining bitterly, says that only death remains for her and takes farewell of Vāmiq with the noble wish that his heart, after her death, will “be [happy] with

[someone] else better than me in face and hair and virtue” (PF339–346).

There are parallels in the extant Greek novels to much of this. ‘Adhrā withering away for (supposedly) unrequited love, with her mother as an anxious witness, reminds one of Habrokomes and Antheia in Xenophon and their parents’ concern (1.5.5–6). Her death-like fainting in PF327 has several parallels (e.g., Khar. 1.1.14), and so has her expectation of death when she thinks Vāmiq does not love her any more (PF341–346).

After PF346, we can no longer reconstruct the plot in any detail. ‘Adhrā’s tutor, Filāṭūs, appears in one more testimonial verse (PT53):

When he heard the sound of the hoofs of the horses,
the heart of Filāṭūs at once started to palpitate.

This already has a ring of misfortune. In *DN*, ‘Adhrā summarises this part of the story in the following way:

They planned to give me to him. At this time my mother died, and my father changed his decision and did not give me to him. They were still mourning, when an enemy of my father appeared. My father went to war. They seized him and executed him, and the throne of my father went to a stranger. And he seized that boy and me and imprisoned us both, and he wanted to take possession of me. I did not comply.

Thus, Polykrates and his wife, seeing their daughter wasting away, decide to let her marry her young lover, as other parents in similar situations do in other novels (e.g. Khar. 1.1.8–12; Xen. Eph. 1.5–7). Then, however, there follows an atypical turn of events: the mother dies and the father changes his mind. And soon afterwards, there is another twist: an enemy appears (can that be what we overhear in PT53, quoted above?), and Polykrates goes to war. Here it is time to bring in Herodotos for comparison (GT3a). According to his account, Polykrates is tricked into crossing over to Asia Minor, in spite of his daughter’s warnings, and is executed there by the Persian satrap. In general terms, the summary version in *DN* harmonises with Herodotos. But there is in the historian no sign of acts of war taking place on Samos itself, as seems to be implied by *DN* and perhaps (as we shall see at the end of the present section) in PF as well. Furthermore, it remains uncertain whether the novelist took over the motif of Parthenope having her ominous dream, warning her father not to go and, on his departure, being threatened with a prolonged

maidenhood (Hdt. 3.124). However novelistic this motif may seem, there is no trace of it in any of our fragments or testimonia proper.

In Herodotos, Polykrates is succeeded as tyrant of Samos by his secretary, Maiandrios, whom he had left in charge when he went to Magnesia (Hdt. 3.123, 142). In *DN*, as we saw, his throne “went to a stranger”, who imprisons the young lovers and tries to “take possession” of ‘Adhrā. The vague reference to the “stranger” should be combined, however, with a note among the Persian testimonia that seems to refer to the same course of events. The testimonial verse PT48 runs thus:

‘Adhrā leaped upon him like a furious lion;
she struck with the hand and scratched out the eye of Adānūsh(?).

We possibly have a continuation in PT113:

Hot blood flowed from his eyes;
with the teeth she tore the skin from his body.¹⁷

The dictionary of Asadī explains the otherwise unknown name Adānūsh as “the name of a man whom Mandārus sent to ‘Adhrā (saying) that she should be with him; ‘Adhrā in a rage scratched his eye out.” This is undeniably a way not to “comply”. Mandārus is a quite natural way of rendering Greek Maiandrios in an Arabic/Persian form. This certainly corroborates the version given in *DN*; but further details seem to escape us. It should be noted, however, that according to Herodotos (3.143) Maiandrios did start his rule by imprisoning people, and that these were later (more or less accidentally) killed in prison (see GT3a).

That a potentate who has become enamoured of the heroine sends an agent to summon her and she unexpectedly refuses is a motif encountered in other novels too, but without the violence displayed here (compare, e.g., the eunuch approaching Kallirhoe on behalf of the Persian king in *Khar.* 6.5 and 6.7). The name of the present agent, Adānūsh(?), might possibly be read as Otanes, who in Herodotos (3.141–149) is a prominent Persian who is active in the next stage of Samian history, Maiandrios being deposed in favour of Polykrates’ brother, Syloson. If this is the name to be read, the novelist has changed the roles drastically; a more natural agent for Maiandrios,

¹⁷ It is perhaps more likely, though, that this verse belongs to a battle scene.

if we remain within the Herodotean gallery of persons, would have been his brother Lykaretos (Hdt. 3.143), but that name cannot underlie the Persian form.

There are, among the Persian testimonia, two references to something called “the war of ‘Adhrā” (*jang-i ‘Adhrā*)—her war or the war about her?—which may belong somewhere here. First, there is a note on PT57, the verse quoted above presenting King *Aqrāšus/Kroisos of *Afrījah, saying that ’FR’ṬŠ (i.e. *Aqrāšus) “was the husband of NṬYŠ, whom they killed in the war of ‘Adhrā” (Tarbiyat, without giving his source). The second reference is still more mysterious. PT122–123 run:

I had in my heart this thought and suspicion
 that the matter of you and me would go in the same way
 As before this in the case of Afrūtshāl(?)
 to whom Alfatīsh(?) continually was a companion.

This might be Vāmiq speaking to ‘Adhrā on some occasion during the turbulent events that finally separated them. Explaining the strange name written ’FRWTŠ’L, Asadī writes “the husband of ’LFTYŠ whom they killed in the war of ‘Adhrā”. It would seem that Afrūtshāl(?) and Alfatīsh(?) are variants of ’FR’ṬN (i.e. *Aqrāšus) and NṬYŠ, respectively; but who was killed, the husband or the wife? In Greek historical sources, it should be added, no wife or “companion” of King Kroisos is ever mentioned. When and how he died is not clear.

The remaining part of PF gives very few clues to the further unravelling of the plot. The preserved lines are to a great extent incomplete, the order of the leaves is not certain. There are, however, battle scenes in which both ‘Adhrā and Vāmiq take part (PF348–356 and 357–368). The final passage (PF369–380) seems to refer to war and feasting in which Fuluqrāt is still taking part—provided the reconstructed reading by Shafi is correct, and provided the tyrant is not just mentioned in retrospect. These scenes might belong to the above-mentioned “war of ‘Adhrā”. At any rate, they end on a sinister note (PF379–380):

- - - everybody to a quiet place,
 the world became dark, the palace empty.
 - - - dark-coloured and a night like jet,
 it was as if earth had strangled day-light.

This may refer to the coming of a hostile army, raising so much dust that day is turned into night, as we read in PT134:

From the hoofs of the horses and the dust of the army
the earth (was) moon-faced and the moon earth-faced.

Other testimonial verses feature both Vāmiq (PT91, 98) and ‘Adhrā (PT97) in battle scenes at an unknown stage of the story.

THE PEREGRINATIONS AND VICISSITUDES OF THE LOVERS

In *DN*, ‘Adhrā simply ends her story by saying:

They took me and sold me, and I ended up in slavery. Today it is
four years that I have been weeping night and day.

This gives the framework of the part of the plot in which the hero and heroine are separated. What could have happened during those four years?

It is probable that ‘Adhrā/Parthenope was first abducted eastwards. The clearest indication of this is in Lucian (*Salt.* 54) who describes some kind of theatrical performance that was staged in Asia Minor and had its plot first set on Samos, “with Polykrates’ calamity and his daughter’s wanderings as far as Persia” (GT2b). The word for “wanderings”, *planē*, may well include involuntary movements.

To get an idea of what this visit to Persia may have implied, we turn to Khariton’s novel and the *Martyrdom of St Parthenope* (*MSP*), chs. 7–11, for inspiration. King Darius of Persia may, like his colleague Artaxerxes in Khariton’s novel (4.1.8; 4.6.4), have heard about the beautiful girl in captivity (with Maiandrios on Samos or with one of the king’s own satraps?). There may have been a political motive in addition to the erotic: this is Polykrates’ daughter. He has her abducted (as in *MSP* 7.2–8.2) or summons her (as in Khariton 4.6.8). He duly falls in love with her and offers riches and marriage (cf. *MSP* 4.3 and 8.6). We happen to have a lexicon verse that fits such a royal proposal excellently (PT33):

Whatever I have of dominion and army and treasure,
all belongs to you and the enjoyment of it is yours.

But Parthenope remains unimpressed, her thoughts being with Metiokhos (cf. *MSP* 8.3–6; Khar. 6.1–7). She asks for a respite to adorn herself and make a sacrifice in privacy, but uses the opportunity to attempt (or pretend) to commit suicide (*MSP* 9–11). Her lifeless, unscathed body is brought westwards, as she has made the

king promise (*MSP* 9.5–10.1), she wakes up from her apparent death (as Antheia in Xen. Eph. 3.8.1–2 after her attempted suicide), and the story takes another turn.

This is, of course, only one of many possible scenarios. There is one tangible indication, however, that Parthenope/‘Adhrā did, at one stage of the action, embody the motif of apparent death. In a comment to PT2, a lexical verse that mentions an “evil-doing woman” Māshalā(?), “a catastrophe for the king”, the woman is identified in the following way: “the name of a woman who came up to the pillow of ‘Adhrā and thought she was dead.” We cannot know, however, if this really refers to the Persian episode.

Among the Persian testimonia, there are also a couple of verses that possibly refer to King Dārā, i.e. Darius. Thus PT115 (cf. comments in Ch. IIIb):

If there is no earth, I will extract it from Dārā (?).
 however much I am Sultan of Dārāvash (?).

However, the meaning and context of this verse are obscure. Another possible but vague reference to Darius is found in PT120:

The army heroes were with King Jam
 in the summer quarters, cheerful and happy together.

King Jam, i.e. the mythical Jamshīd, is commonly used in reference to any Persian Great King. In fact, the situation is reminiscent of *MSP* 10.1, which describes Darius as arranging “a feast for his grandees and dignitaries and all his troops.” Similarly, Perilaos in Xenophon’s novel (3.6.4) is entertaining guests while his bride, Antheia, swallows her poison in the bridal chamber.

Provided *MSP* builds on *M&P* in this second, Persian part of its plot, we may perhaps assume that its first part, staging Constantine the Great as a more reasonable suitor than the Persian king (2–6), was modelled on Parthenope’s dealings with Maiandrios in the novel: one Greek and one “barbarian” potentate as suitors. Maiandrios’ ambiguous character, as described by Herodotos, would accommodate both reason and violence. His attempts at seduction, first thwarted by Parthenope’s fierce attack on his agent (PT48), may finally have been interrupted by a summons from the Great King (cf. Dionysios in Khar. 4.6.8).

Except for the reference to Darius, the testimonial verses that we are able to locate thanks to the proper names they contain, all seem

to belong to ‘Adhrā’s vicissitudes in the Greek archipelago—her visits (as a slave) to “every island”, as her father’s dream had predicted (PF18).

The same is the case with the main Greek testimonia. The scholiast on Dionysios Periegetes v. 358 comments (GT1b):

... Parthenope of Samos, who searching for her husband wandered around to Anaxilaos <and X and Y>. . . Parthenope is so named because she preserved her virginity in spite of falling into the hands of many men. From Phrygia, having fallen in love with Metiokhos and cut off her hair, she came to Campania and settled there.

“Phrygia”, then (whatever it exactly refers to), represents the eastern end in this scenario, Campania in Italy the western, together with Rhegion further south, where Anaxilaos ruled (cf. GT3c). We may perhaps assume that western Asia Minor was the heroine’s first stop on her return from Persia—perhaps where she woke up from her apparent death? Did she have her hair cut (cf. *MSP* 1.3) in order to discourage suitors (cf. Eustathios’ “condemning herself to ugliness”, GT1c), presumably in devotion to her lost lover (cf. the young widow in Iamblikhos’ *Babyloniaka* 76b1), or perhaps to disguise herself as a man (cf. Thelxinoe in Xen. Eph. 5.1.7), or simply enforced by a slave-owner (cf. Antheia in Xen. Eph. 5.5.4)? Whether it took place in “Phrygia” or earlier (as her falling in love with Metiokhos manifestly did), does not emerge clearly from the text. The statement that she “settled” in Campania is probably due to confusion with her namesake, the siren Parthenope, whose tomb was venerated in Naples.

That Rhegion was one of the stations on the heroine’s wanderings and Anaxilaos one of her unwanted suitors, is confirmed by two Persian testimonia. The first is PT45 with comments:

They came from the sea to dry land;
they came from Barbary(?) to *Rīghiyūn/Rhegion.

Asadī explains that *Rīghiyūn “is a city in the sea in which they wanted to kill ‘Adhrā”, and *Burhān* adds: “she fled”. More information may be had from PT79:

There was a king by name of *Ankhalūs/Anaxilaos,
who was full of tricks, fraud and seduction.

Asadī explains the name *Ankhalūs: “a king who forcibly abducted ‘Adhrā”, and *Burhān* adds: “and with compulsion and violence”.

If Parthenope succeeded in escaping from Anaxilaos, she was surely captured and enslaved again, as happens repeatedly to heroines in other novels (cf. Xen. Eph. 3.8.3–5; 5.4.5–5.4). In any case, we find her escaping from captivity on the island of Kerkyra (Corcyra) as well, if the papyrus GF2 is correctly attributed to this novel. In that very fragmentary text, it appears that one Demo[xenos] is praised and rewarded by the Kerkyrans with a talent of silver (in the theatre?) and subsequently appointed the guard of Parthe[nope]. Again, a Persian lexical verse, and the comments to it, come to our assistance (PT13):

The heart of Damkhasīnūs became impatient
as to what fraud he could arrange in the case of ‘Adhrā.

The name Damkhasīnūs seems to be a simple prolongation (*metri causa?*) of *Damkhanūs for Demoxenos. This man was, according to Asadī, Auba’ī and Surūrī, “a merchant who stole ‘Adhrā from Manqālūs and took her away, so that she was saved thereby”—is it the last stage in this process we see enacted in the Kerkyran theatre? This Manqālūs, in turn, is mentioned in PT80 as well:

When they went to the island of Kayūs,
there was a man by name of Manqālūs(?).

Burhān explains Kayūs as “the name of an island where they sold ‘Adhrā, the beloved of Vāmiq”, perhaps Khios (Chios), known for its slave-trade. Asadī comments on Manqālūs(?): “it is the name of a man who used to buy girls and pander them and who bought ‘Adhrā”—a Khian slave-trader and procurer, then, perhaps by the name of Meneklēs. The same man is also somehow connected with a place called Fīzīdiyūs(?) (comment to PT3).

We need to harmonise the information we get from these Persian comments with what we read in the papyrus. Did Demoxenos, rather than stealing Parthenope from Meneklēs(?), perhaps *buy* her at the price of one talent—precisely a talent of silver is also the price paid for Kallirhoe in Khariton (1.14.5, 2.1.4)? And then take her to Kerkyra, in a speech to the people relate the story and promise to set her free, and as a result get back “the talent” from the Kerkyrans, who no doubt collectively rejoiced at her liberation, whereupon he was appointed her “guard”?

A further owner of ‘Adhrā, in her four years of slavery, is named in PT110:

There was a nimble man named Vādānūsh(?),
 over him much good and bad luck had passed (?).

It is from the comments of Asadī and Surūrī we learn of his function in the plot: “a man who sold ‘Adhrā”. *Burhān* adds other forms of the name: Davānūsh, Danvāsh, Dayānūsh. The last variant occurs in PT111 as well:

Over those fortune-hunting robbers
 there was a leader named Dayānūsh(?).

In *Burhān* it is added that this man “in the days of Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā committed theft and robbery by land and sea; and some people say it is the name of a person who sold ‘Adhrā”. Whatever his Greek name (Danaos has been suggested), this is, then, a man who in *M&P* played a role corresponding to that of the pirate chief Theron in Khariton, of Hippothoos, the leader of a notorious gang of robbers in Xenophon, and several others.

The “Conspectus of names” above (Ch. IIIe) contains further names of persons and places, so far unidentified, that occur in the lexical verses (and/or in the comments on them) and may have played a role in this part of the action. The Byzantine scholiast’s statement about Parthenope “falling into the hands of many men” (GT1b) seems amply confirmed. That she did so “searching for her husband” is less appropriate: she is apparently mostly carried around in slavery rather than actively influencing her itinerary; and we have no other indication that Metiokhos and Parthenope actually married before they were separated. The scholiast’s ancient source has probably confused this plot with others in which that was the case (of the extant ones, in Khariton and Xenophon).

That Parthenope also, in spite of her many suitors, “preserved her virginity”, as the scholiast says, would seem natural, in view both of her telling name and of the (later) genre conventions. The same would normally be the case with the hero too. Yet, there are some disturbing hints in our testimonia that one or both may indeed have contracted other marriages, before their reunion—or instead of it.

First, with regard to Metiokhos, we have the following lexical verses (PT132–133):

He ordered that Āsinistān(?) at dawn
 should come to the shining moon.
 To him he gave his fortunate daughter;
 with a jewel he adorned his star.

The proper name is explained in the following way by Asadī and Aubaʿī: “the father-in-law of Vāmiq, and in the end Vāmiq killed him”. It would have been easier to dismiss this just as a misunderstanding on the part of the commentators, had not the historical Metiochos in fact arrived in Persia and married there (GT3b): “Darius heaped him with benefits”, reports Herodotos (6.41.4). “He gave him a house, property, and a Persian wife. This Persian wife bore him children who are regarded as Persians.” His father-in-law is not named, though. Did the novelist somehow combine this marriage with his overall love story, as when Khariton’s Kallirhoe is forced to marry Dionysios, only later to escape from that marriage and resume her marriage with Khaireas?

In the case of ‘Adhrā, the evidence for another marriage is still more exiguous. PT146–147 run:

(Her) father had given her in childhood
to Ādhārtūs(?), that good wise man.
At the death of his master, Ādhārtūs(?)
killed himself because of grief.

Again, the proper name is explained by Asadī and Aubaʿī: “it is the name of a man to whom they had given the mother of ‘Adhrā”. *Burhān*, however, besides an identical statement, “the husband of the mother of ‘Adhrā” (I, 27), at another place has a more strange-looking one: “it is the name of a wise man to whom they had given ‘Adhrā in marriage” (I, 22). We may perhaps assume that the last note is due to a confusion between mother and daughter. Reference, then, must be to *Nānī/Nanis, whom Kroisos had perhaps first betrothed to Ādhārtūs, then (after the latter’s death?) to Polykrates. But on that hypothesis as well there is some contradiction: Ādhārtūs is said (PT147) to have killed himself at Kroisos’ death, but Kroisos seems to be alive when Polykrates arranges the marriage with his daughter (PT57, PT40).

There are also, among the Persian lexical quotations, some glimpses of other motifs that are typical of the travelling parts of these novels. Thus, in PT1, we may have part of the concrete description of pirates attacking the ship on which ‘Adhrā (or Vāmiq?) is carried:

They sought his/her plunder and ruin;
with a hook they got hold of his/her ship.

Another verse may also belong to the same maritime context, alternatively to a robber attack on land (PT66):

He/she searched his/her goods from one end to the other
in order to know how to find the gold and gems.

Shipwreck, of course, is another typical novel motif, as in PT21:

A few persons were saved from the waves of the sea;
they reached an island.

Since there are no proper names in these quotations, the Persian commentators provide us with no further information. We have to be content with the general likelihood, rather than any firm proof, that the verses in question really belong to *V&A* and, specifically, to ‘Adhrā’s “wanderings”.

THE POSSIBLE FINAL REUNION AND THE END OF THE STORY

If we are to believe that Fuluqrāt/Polykrates’ dream in PF16–20 is truly predictive, ‘Adhrā/Parthenope will return to Samos after her travels and tribulations and ascend her father’s throne. It is perhaps the prelude to this reunion that is mirrored in *DN* in the scene when ‘Adhrā tells her story to the merchant Hiranqālīs and the latter promises to bring her back to Vāmiq. The whole scene, including ‘Adhrā’s recapitulation of her (so far) tragic love story, may well have been taken over from the novel. Similar recapitulations are a regular feature close to the end of the Greek novels, and are variously motivated: as a story told to the people’s assembly in Khariton (8.7.3–8.11), as one lover’s report to the other in Xenophon (5.14), as part of a symposium conversation in Akhilleus Tatios (8.4–5), and so on.¹⁸ Here, the merchant turns to the slave girl who has arrived only recently and has been weeping night and day, and says:

O girl, what has happened to you, since you are weeping so?” ‘Adhrā said: “What shall I say, when I cannot separate myself from misfortune and when there is nothing but trouble and pain for my helpless, destitute and afflicted being?” Hiranqālīs said: “Tell me, for that will not cause you any trouble!” The poor ‘Adhrā got tears in her eyes and said: “You should know that I had as father a king of Greece. One day I went together with my mother to worship in the temple . . .

¹⁸ Cf. Hägg 1971:257–260, 272f., 279f., 286f., 328f. Such recapitulations are not always quite accurate if closely compared to the primary narration of the same events; this may perhaps explain the small deviations noted above between ‘Adhrā’s story in *DN* and the version we have in PF.

Then follows, of course, the story that we have utilised piecemeal in our reconstruction, ending thus:

“... Today it is four years that I have been weeping night and day.” Hirañqālīs said: “What a great misfortune it is that has struck you, and so much time has passed and your love has still not decreased!” Hirañqālīs burst into tears and said: “Do you know the name of that boy?” She said: “I know.” Hirañqālīs said: “What is his name?” She said: “Vāmiq.” Hirañqālīs said: “You are ‘Adhrā, the daughter of King Fuluqrāṭ!” ‘Adhrā said: “Yes.” He said: “All this time, why didn’t you tell me who you are, so that I could have treated you better than this and given you your right? But now I have set you free for the sake of God Almighty, because one cannot make a freeborn a slave;¹⁹ this is in order to take you and bring you to Vāmiq.” ‘Adhrā at once started to laugh from happiness, and her face became red as the rose. And during all those days she had never laughed.

This event may have taken place on an island the name of which is written Ṭarṭāniyūsh in PT69–70 (with a condensed variant in PT68):

It happened that after protracted sorrows
they again reached an island,
The name of which was Ṭarṭāniyūsh(?);
there was a king by name of Nūkiyūsh(?).

The lexicologists maintain that “Ṭarṭāniyūsh is the name of an island to which ‘Adhrā found her way and where she was set free” (Asadī) and “Nūgiyūsh is the name of a king of the island Ṭarṭāniyūsh, and that was the island where ‘Adhrā was landed and found liberation” (*Burhān*). Wherever it happens, ‘Adhrā is duly freed from her fetters and, we may presume, sooner or later brought to Samos in order to be reunited with Vāmiq.

When ‘Adhrā/Parthenope returns to Samos, after four years (?), Maiandrios is deposed and Polykrates’ brother Syloson installed as a ruler, for he is mentioned in that capacity in PT50:

Salīsūn was its lucky-starred king;
Fuluqrāṭ was the brother of the king.

¹⁹ Similarly, Dionysios in Khariton (2.5.10–6.3) cannot keep Kallirhoe as a slave once she has disclosed that she is the daughter of Hermokrates, “the ruler of all Sicily”.

According to Herodotos (3.144–149), the transfer of power was decided by Darius and executed by Persian forces under Otanes (see further GT3a). It may be that Parthenope too had to fight her way to her father's throne. If so, it is natural to think that—even if there is no hint of him in his prospective father-in-law's dream—Metiokhos took part in that fighting and showed his manliness, as Khaireas does at the end of Khariton's novel. The mosaic from Antioch (MOS1) may in that case depict hero and heroine together after their victory and reunion, Metiokhos in his general's uniform. Should perhaps the many martial subjects in the Persian poem (at the end of the fragment and in many of the lexical verses) rather be placed in this concluding part of the novel/epic (as in Khariton)? Does the “war of ‘Adhrā”, in which both ‘Adhrā and Vāmiq seem to take active part, occur here rather than in connection with Polykrates' death? It is true that PF seems to end with war, but the uncertainty about missing leaves makes it impossible to say at what point in the action these scenes really belong. In addition, there may of course have been more than one war described in the novel/epic.

If Metiokhos does marry Parthenope in the end and she really becomes the ruler of Samos, we have a parallel to such a female succession to a throne and to the hero becoming a prince consort in Heliodoros' novel, where Kharikleia is finally recognised as the true child of the king and queen of Aithiopia and the legitimate heir to the throne (Book 10). Can our novelist have been a model?

If, on the other hand, we do not lay such stress on Polykrates' dream and suppress the romantic expectation of a happy ending, there are some factors that point towards a very different termination of the story. First, the name: does Parthenope/‘Adhrā in fact predict not only prolonged, but permanent virginity? Second, there is nothing among the Greek or Persian testimonia that explicitly points to a happy ending, nor do any of the lexical verses seem to have been extracted from a rhetorically impressive scene of reunion.

Third and finally, there are some intriguing traces of what seems to be a death by fire. St Parthenope, to save her chastity, commits suicide by throwing herself on the sacrificial fire (*MSP* 11.1). It has been suggested²⁰ that this may be an adaptation of a feigned death, i.e. a ruse, in the Greek original, and in ‘Unşuri's poem there are,

²⁰ Hägg 1984:71.

indeed, traces of some kind of simulated death. Thus, as we saw above, the lexical verse PT2 presents a certain *Māshalā*(?) as “a catastrophe for the king”, and the lexicologists explain that this is “the name of a woman who came up to the pillow of ‘Adhrā and thought she was dead”. To support the idea of such a death we have the (admittedly very late) testimony of *Lāmi’ī* in his Turkish version of *V&A*,²¹ in which *Vāmiq* (who may be a transposed ‘Adhrā) is burnt in a sacrificial fire and escapes with his body as untouched by the fire as St Parthenope did—but he does not die. In addition, as was described in Ch. IV above, the later poems on the theme of *V&A* display a number of fanciful endings, most of them featuring some kind of miraculous death of the heroine (& hero), at times also by fire.

Our Parthenope too may, after all, have found her death in some similar way. We should not take for granted that all deaths in the novels are only apparent—this early novel may well have been different, and the epic poem may have followed suit. In that case, of course, the order of events must be reversed: first all the islands, then Persia.

Unfortunately, the material available for the reconstruction does not permit us to do more than suggest these two possibilities. The true ending, of course, may have been different from both.

²¹ See Utas 1984–86 and 1995, and above, pp. 204–207.

CHAPTER SIX

PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

The main object of this work has been to present complete and reliable editions and translations of the source material, the Greek (Ch. II) as well as the Persian (Ch. III), to serve as the basis for future studies of the two texts and their literary and historical contexts. In addition, we have told the story of the modern rediscovery of the texts (Ch. I), tried to follow the diachronic line from the Greek novel to the Persian epic poem and beyond (Ch. IV), and attempted a reconstruction of their common plot and individual deviations (Ch. V). Thus, Chapters IV and V contain the main conclusions of our own prolonged study of the sources. In the present concluding remarks, focus will instead be on unsolved problems and remaining tasks.

We have been forced to leave one quite concrete task unaccomplished, namely, the personal inspection of the original Persian manuscript (PF), since it has remained unavailable to scholars. Work from photographs can never quite replace the examination of the manuscript itself. In particular, someone equipped with the necessary expertise in Persian palaeography and codicology, who succeeds in gaining access to PF, will be able to check the hypothesis of the connection and internal order of the leaves that underlies the present edition. Shafi's readings in parts of the manuscript that are unsatisfactorily recorded in the published photos also need checking.

Another obvious challenge is to reach further than the present editors in identifying the Greek names transmitted in Arabic/Persian form (see Ch. III.e "Conspectus of names in *V&A*"). Further reading of Greek historical and legendary texts will no doubt yield new names to test on our material. There remain combinations of personal names and place-names in the Persian testimonia (PT) that fresh eyes and minds, perhaps combined with a more profound knowledge of Greek onomastics, might be able to decipher. Moreover, a systematic search for comparative material in Arabic and Persian sources may yield more closely defined rules for the transformations of name forms. Already the systematic character of the distortions of many names found in *V&A* gives clues to new interpretations.

The identification of more people and places will, in turn, give added knowledge about the plot of the novel and the epic poem.

A special problem that would probably reward further scrutiny is the relationship between the novel and the epic poem as revealed in the part of the plot where the fragments overlap. Why is the organically motivated description of Anaximenes observing the young couple missing in the Greek fragment (GF1)? Why do we not find, in the Persian fragment, the expected topicalisation of the hero's kinship with the tyrant, or their dialogue about his father and step-mother which precedes the symposium in GF1? How do we explain that Vāmiq describes Eros differently from Metiokhos, while still keeping within the Greek concept of Eros and echoing Greek tradition? GF1, it is true, may be an abbreviated excerpt, as suggested above (pp. 189f.), and PF may inadvertently have omitted details essential for the plot (cf. pp. 223–226), but that would not explain the different, yet “Greek” speeches on Eros. Should we consider the possibility that it is a later Greek (even Byzantine?) version of *M&P* that underlies the Persian poem?

A further task for future scholarship would be the systematic search in Greek and Byzantine novels (and related literature) for parallels to the motifs and episodes discernible in *V&A*, in order both to complete the reconstruction and to find out more about the possible influence of *M&P* on later Greek fiction. An extra bonus from further study of *V&A* would be the possibility of identifying additional Greek papyrus fragments as belonging to this novel (cf. GF2, GF3, GF4, all now fairly well established as belonging to *M&P*).

A corresponding investigation of Persian narrative compilations (such as *DN*) and lexical works would no doubt produce further pieces to include in the framework of *V&A*, as fragments or testimonia. Obviously, a wealth of Greek stories, motifs and other elements has found its way into Persian narrative tradition, in prose as well as verse. Other Persian epic poems, such as ‘Unṣurī’s own “Happy of fate and Spring of life” and Jāmi’s “Salāmān and Absāl”, may also go back to Greek novels (cf. pp. 196–199). In the former case we do not even have a manuscript fragment, like PF; and a further collection and systematisation of lexical verses and search for narrative segments in various compilations will have to provide the basis for comparison with the extant Greek novels and the fragments. On a more general level, an uncovering of Greek components in the exceedingly rich tradition of Persian epic poetry and a

systematic analysis of such elements in a comparative framework would certainly yield new insights into the cultural and literary history of Iran. In that context, it might be possible to find out more about the reception and subsequent influence of the poem *V&A* outside of the circle of poems preserving that title.

The main outstanding problem with regard to the transformation(s) of the text from Greek novel to Persian epic poem (Ch. IV) is whether there has been an Arabic intermediary of some sort. Apart from the possibility that some Arabic manuscript containing (part of) the story will turn up one day, further investigation of Arabic narrative literature (Muslim as well as Christian) may provide us with clues to the solution of the problem. The alternative hypothesis of a direct translation from Greek into New Persian by al-Bērūnī or ‘Unṣurī himself, may be strengthened or weakened by increased knowledge about linguistic competence and mechanisms of cultural exchange in this period.

A daunting, but potentially rewarding task would be to follow the tradition of stories in various languages about “The ardent lover and the virgin” in the wake of our *V&A*. The main object, of course, would be to map a rich and varied landscape of narrative literature, sorting out the stories that build in some way on ‘Unṣurī’s composition from those that just use the title as a generic label. We have only been able to conduct such search on a very limited scale; but the example of the late Turkish composition by Lāmi‘ī (cf. pp. 204–207) shows that tantalising indications of intertextual connections may be found in unexpected places. Hopefully, the present book has at least provided a sufficient foundation, as well as an instigation, for such studies of literary traditions and transformations.

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