

Yawning matters:
What can hiatus tell us about the lost Greek novels?
What can the heroon in honor of Kineas
on the Banks of the Oxus River tell us
about *The wonders beyond Thule*?

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1. *Introduction: what is hiatus, and why does it matter?*

The aim of this study is to contextualize the fragments of the *The Wonders beyond Thule* in the set of lost novels that have come to us in papyri to gain a fuller understanding of this novel's stylistic ambitions in comparison with its fragmentary fellow-texts.¹ To do this, I will devote special attention to a specific issue which offers valuable information about the style and literary level of the text: the treatment of hiatus.

Following Devine and Stephens: “Hiatus denotes a situation where a syllable ending in a vowel stands before a syllable beginning with a vowel, particularly if a word boundary intervenes between the two syllables; the result is a sequence of sounds both of which have the degree of sonority normally associated with a syllable nuclei. A sequence of two contiguous nuclei in fluent speech does not conform to the preferential structure of syllables sequences, in which nuclei are separated by margins”.²

I am not the first to acknowledge that the subject of hiatus is not – at first glance – very exciting. Reeve conceded as much in the opening remark of

¹ Occasionally, a same papyrus comprises several fragments – they could be even in different libraries –. It is clear that the papyri themselves are, in turn, fragments of a complete roll or codex.

² Devine and Stephens 1994, 253.

his magisterial article of 1971: ‘Life offers various amusements, and anyone these days who can choose among them will come late to the study of hiatus in Greek prose.’³ Nevertheless, paying attention to the presence (or absence) of hiatus yields valuable rewards for it helps us to determine the literary ambitions of an author or the literary register of a passage in a text. The liberty with which Greek prose writers permitted hiatus is one of the criteria that, since antiquity, has been used to measure the status of a literary author, with Isocrates as the most extreme example of the tendency to avoid it. Hiatus could be also linked with the type of discourse in each particular passage of the same work, in the sense that an author could not follow a consistent policy throughout the whole text because a great set piece might require more polish than a rapid narrative, for example.⁴ Hiatus relates too to the practice of the scribe and other material issues involved in the support and transmission of the text.⁵ Data relating to the practice of retaining or eliding final vowels in a text (*scriptio plena* / *scriptio elisa* respectively) and the appearance or not of the *apostrophe* are usually provided in the bibliography.⁶

When studying hiatus, we are, therefore, facing a complex problem in which many factors are involved: spelling, pronunciation, rhythmical prose, type of clause, and emphasis for pronouncing the speech. In previous

³ Reeve 1971, 514.

⁴ Parsons 2016b, 16. Regarding the deliberate use of hiatus with stylistic purpose in Attic orators, see Pearson 1975 and 1978.

⁵ Almost all the *editiones principes* – as the first editions of these texts are called – of Greek papyri make specific reference to the work of the scribe regarding the hiatus. I will try to clarify the distinction between the practice of the author and the practice of the scribes although it will be not easy to distinguish because sometimes the role each one plays is not very clear. Of course, the ‘intellectual property’ over the text corresponds only to the author, but the scribe – as he is also a reader – could be more or less scrupulous speaking, reading and writing the text. At the end, he is able to introduce a number of additional changes – sometimes of not minor importance – regarding accent, pronunciation, spelling and/or punctuation. In this sense, we could say that the scribe has certain *auctoritas* over the text. If I may, it is comparable with the capacity of the actor with the text written by the dramatist.

⁶ *Scriptio plena* refers to an unelided vowel before another vowel (e.g., the last short vowel of δέ before another vowel). The opposite is *scriptio elisa*, (e.g., δ’). This elision can be indicated by *apostrophe* or not. *Apostrophe* is the mark ’ resembling a reversed letter C that is used by the scribe who copies the papyri to indicate the elision of a vowel. Regarding the conditioning of elision in Greek, Hedning 2000. I take this opportunity to thank Francisca Pordomingo from the University of Salamanca for providing me with her contribution – Pordomingo 2016 – when it was still awaiting publication, and Antonio Stramaglia for informing me about Rohden 1875.

editions of Greek prose, the tendency was to elide the final vowels almost mechanically. This was done in the case of particles, conjunctions, prepositions (except *περί* and *πρό*), combinations like *μάλ' ἐὺ*, *μὰ Δί'* and other sophistry contained in the manual by Lejeune.⁷ However, the validity of this editorial procedure is currently under review, and as a result, many final vowels have now been restored where the editorial tradition had previously elided them. This has happened in recent editions of the speeches of Demosthenes, for example.⁸

So what tendencies do we see among the texts of the ancient novelists?⁹ All novelists allow hiatus freely after *καί* and *δέ*, between sentences and after the definite article. Hiatus is also quite common in the following positions: before *ἀλλά*, *ἦ*, *οὐδέ*, a second *οὔτε*, a second *εἴτε*; before *μέν*, *δέ*;¹⁰ before and after a vocative; before or after an adverbial clause or noun clause; before or after a participial phrase; before or after a parenthetical or epexegetic clause or phrase;¹¹ before a relative clause; before asyndeton; before and after direct speech and the verb *ἔφη(ν)*.¹² In addition to Reeve's classification, I include the positions in contact with *ι* and *υ* of the diphthong because both of them could be pronounced as a semivowel and could not be counted as hiatus.¹³ To illustrate some of these tendencies, I will begin with a brief survey of Chariton's practice in his novel, *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, which is the benchmark for my comparative analysis of Diogenes' text.¹⁴

2. Case-study: Chariton

Of the novelists whose complete texts have been preserved, I have chosen Chariton for three fundamental reasons: firstly, because there are two recent

⁷ Lejeune 1972, 316-20.

⁸ Hernández Muñoz 2008, 83-7.

⁹ In general terms, the next classification follows the one established by Reeve 1971, although it is not without difficulties and it is often hard to distinguish which category a particular case corresponds to.

¹⁰ "Not, of course, before *δέ* itself but before the group of words it belongs to", Reeve 1971, 516, n. 2.

¹¹ Following Collings English Dictionary on line, *epexegetis* is: "1. the addition of a phrase, clause, or sentence to a text to provide further explanation. 2. the phrase, clause, or sentence added for this purpose".

¹² It is the case of *ἔφη* "οὐ..." or "ἐγὼ" *ἔφη*, for example.

¹³ Pearson 1975, 140, n. 7.

¹⁴ The editions of the text of Antonius Diogenes' papyri which have served as a reference is Schmedt 2020.

editions available;¹⁵ secondly, because four papyri fragments have been preserved, apart from a fragment of a codex that is now lost,¹⁶ and, finally, because it is likely that Chariton and Antonius Diogenes came from the same geographical region, Aphrodisias, and could even have been contemporaries.

The general opinion is that Chariton avoids hiatus. However, this is an over-simplification of his practice, as we shall see. However, we should not confuse greater permissiveness regarding hiatus with literary negligence, for sometimes the presence of hiatus may be an intentional feature. It could even be a conscious imitation of the archaic style before Isocrates who, as we have seen, stringently avoided it.¹⁷

The positions where Chariton permits hiatus freely are: after *μή, ῆ, εἰ, μοι, σοι, ὅτι, τί, τι, περί, κύ, μέ, πρό, ὄ, ὦ*; after short vowels: *πολύ* (3 times), *πανύ* (2), *μεταξύ* (2), dative singular (11); before a verbal prefix (8); before augment (5); before *οὖν* (4) and after *ἐπειδή* (2). On the basis of Blake's edition,¹⁸ Reeve detected a total of 40 cases of hiatus that do not fit into these positions. Of these 40 cases, only 6 remain in the editions by Reardon 2004 and 16 in the case of Sanz Morales 2020.

Reardon himself explains in his preface the reasons why, in many cases, he avoided hiatus by changing the order of words or slightly modifying the text: 'Reeve de hiatu disputavit, in aliis prosae orationis generibus multum tractato sed in his fabulis ut diu parvi factis ab editoribus fere neglecto. accurate autem perspicienti clarum fit Charitonem saepe praecepta ab Isocrate constituta re vera observare, sed librariorum incuriam vel ipsorum usum textum auctoris deformasse; quam ob causam frequentius in hac editione verba transposita vel similis generis emendationes invenies'.¹⁹

When the earlier edition by Blake was published, the papyri of this novel were as yet unknown. We now have four papyrus fragments,²⁰ all of which

¹⁵ Reardon 2004 and Sanz Morales 2020, that I have just received. Regarding the critical editions of Chariton, cf. Sanz Morales 2020, xv.

¹⁶ *P. Oxy.* 1019 + *P. Oxy.* 2948, *P. Michael.* 1 and *P. Fay.* 1.

¹⁷ Cf. Ruiz-Montero 1994 for the case of Xenophon.

¹⁸ Blake 1938.

¹⁹ 'Reeve discussed the hiatus, a topic very often treated by the editors with respect to other genres of discourse in prose but almost neglected regarding these novels, not so much appreciated for a long time. However, it is evident to those who analyze it in detail that Chariton often observes the precepts established by Isocrates, but the carelessness of the scholars or of the authors themselves has distorted the text used; for this reason, in this edition you can find frequently transposed words or corrections of a similar type' in Reardon 2004: XIII-IV. See also Sanz 2006, 452-3.

²⁰ Cf. n. 14.

are from approximately the same period: second-third century, the period to which most of the Greek papyri found in Egypt belong. The papyri present a text that is very similar to that of the manuscript tradition, but some divergence also occurs, as the following three examples will show:²¹

I) 2.4.7

ὄν οὐκ οἶδας οὗτ' ὀπόθεν ἦλθεν F : οἶδα Π²²

In this first text, both Reardon and Sanz Morales adopt the reading of the manuscript without hiatus, *οἶδας*. In the papyrus, however, *οἶδα* appears in hiatus position, which has been attributed to a scribal error.

II) 2.4.8

Τίνα εἶδες Π : Τίνας F²³

In this second case, both Reardon and Sanz Morales accept the reading of the papyrus with the singular pronoun, which has hiatus. *Τίνας εἶδες*, with the plural pronoun, is the reading in the manuscript.

III) 2.11.6

ἦ Πλαγγὼν ὑπέλαβεν κἀγὼ περὶ τούτων Π : ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔγωγε' F²⁴

In this last example, the papyrus reading without hiatus has been adopted by Reardon. The manuscript, however, presents a text with hiatus adopted by Sanz Morales: *ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔγωγε*. There are, however, difficulties in this passage because neither of the variants can be explained satisfactorily.²⁵

Thus, two of the three reported cases of hiatus are from papyri versus the manuscript tradition. In conclusion, we can say that, without reaching Isocrates's level of obsession, Chariton conspicuously avoids hiatus, but that this practice is more conspicuous in the manuscript tradition than in the papyri, where hiatus seems to be allowed more freely. This discrepancy between the two traditions highlights the important role played by the mode of

²¹ The first one is the text accepted by Reardon; the second, following the colon, are other variants. The Roman letter in capital F represents the reading of the manuscript and the Greek letter Π indicates that of the papyrus.

²² 'You do not even know where he came from'.

²³ 'Who did you see?'

²⁴ 'Plangon interrupted her, I about it'.

²⁵ Sanz 2002, 115.

transmission in matters of hiatus. We need to bear this in mind as we move to examine the texts that are preserved in the papyrological tradition only.

3. *Fragments of lost novels*

The editions of papyri by Stephens and Winkler and López-Martínez were very useful in their day but have now been superseded, because from 1998 to 2021 new texts and/or new studies about the fragments have been published.²⁶ After López-Martínez (1998) fourteen new papyri have been added to this corpus: a short fragment from *Parthenope* (*P. Mich.* inv. 3402v);²⁷ the two new papyri from a novel with a Homeric theme, entitled *Ephemeris Belli Troiani*, which is supposedly attributed to a man called Dictys, nicknamed the Cretan (*P. Oxy.* 4943 and 4944);²⁸ a fragment where the protagonist is a woman named Panionis (*P. Oxy.* 4811);²⁹ a new episode of the *Φοινικικά* by *Lollianus* (*P. Oxy.* 4945);³⁰ the papyrus recounting the sexual encounter between a donkey and a woman (*P. Oxy.* 4762);³¹ a fragment about Semiramis or a queen and her pyramids (POxy. 5264);³² two new

²⁶ Regarding the bibliography before 1998, we refer to LM, 407-27. Specially, we would like to mention here: Dolstálová 1991, Pecere and Stramaglia 1996, López-Martínez 1997, 1998b and Morgan 1998. Other general studies about novel fragments after 1998: Stramaglia 1999, 2000, López-Martínez 1998-1999, 2010, 2021, Messeri 2010, Bastianini and Casanova 2010, Henrichs 2011 and Whitmarsh and Thomson 2013. See also: Kanavou and Papatthomas 2020 (*P. Freib.* IV 47), Kaltsas 2020 and López-Martínez and Ruiz-Montero forthcoming (Antheia) and López-Martínez and Ruiz-Montero 2021 (Tinouphis). With regard to chronology: Bowie 2002 and Tilg 2010. Regarding material aspects: Cavallo 1996 –repr. 2005 – and Del Corso 2010. López-Martínez 2022 is a web focused on the papyri of ancient Greek novels.

²⁷ Alvares and Renner 2001.

²⁸ Hatzilambrou 2009 and Hatzilambrou and Obbink 2009. Gómez Peinado 2015 edited all the fragments.

²⁹ Parsons 2007b and 2010. See also Luppe 2008, Stramaglia 2011 and López Martínez 2016.

³⁰ Obbink 2009. See also: Cioffi and Trnka-Amrhein 2010, Casanova 2014a, 2014b and 2019. I wonder if the fact that four particularly cultivated people, three of them connected to Oxyrhynchus, (the sophist Hoerdonius Lollianus from Ephesos, a teacher – *P. Oxy.* 3366 – and a literated woman – *P. Oxy.* 1467 and *P. Oxy.* 1475 –) are called Lollianos, is only a simple coincidence.

³¹ Obbink 2006b. Other editions and studies: Luppe 2006, Barchiesi 2006, Horváth 2008, May 2010, Lapini 2010, Stramaglia 2010, Zanetto 2010, Hunter 2010, West 2010 and Puglia 2013.

³² Trnka-Amrhein 2016c and López Martínez 2017c.

fragments of *Sesonchosis* (*P. Oxy.* 5262 and *P. Oxy.* 5263);³³ a new text from *Calligone* (*P. Oxy.* 5355);³⁴ a new fragment about certain Eusyene (*P. Oxy.* 5356);³⁵ and, finally, the tree new fragments from *Tà úπερ Θούλην ἄπιστα* (*P. Oxy.* 4760, 4761 and 5354).³⁶

Hereinafter the fragments will be referred to by the following numbers: 1 (*P. Berol.* 6926 + *P. Gen.* 85), 2 (*PSI*1305), 3 (*O. Edfü.* 306), 4 (*P. Berol.* 9588 + *P. Berol.* 7927 + *P. Berol.* 21179), 5 (*P. Oxy.* 435), 6 (*P. Mich.* inv. 3402v), 7 (*O. Bodl.* 2722), 8 (*P. Oxy.* 2466), 9 (*P. Oxy.* 3319), 10 (*P. Oxy.* 1826), 11 (*P. Oxy.* 5262), 12 (*P. Oxy.* 5263), 13 (*P. Oxy.* 4943), 14 (*P. Tebt.* 268), 15 (*P. Oxy.* 2539), 16 (*P. Oxy.* 4944), 17 (*P. Oxy.* 5264), 18 (*PSI*981), 19 (*P. Oxy.* 5355), 20 (*PSI*151), 21 (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 260), 22 (*P. Oxy.* 5356), 23 (*P. Oxy.* 4811), 24 (*PSI* 1220), 25 (*P. Colon.* inv. 3328), 26 (*P. Oxy.* 1368), 27 (*P. Oxy.* 4945), 28 (*P. Oxy.* 4762), 29 (*PSI* 1177), 30 (*P. Oxy.* 3012), 31 (*P. Oxy.* 4760), 32 (*P. Oxy.* 4761), and 33 (*P. Oxy.* 5354).

What picture, then, emerges from the papyrus fragments of lost novels, especially, in those cases where we have several papyrological testimonies:³⁷ *Ninus*, *Parthenope*, *Sesonchosis*, *Bellum Troianum*, *Apollonius*, *Panionis*, *Calligone*, *Phoinikiká*, *Ass* and *Ἄπιστα*?³⁸ We begin with two novels which are similar in a number of ways: *Ninus* and *Parthenope*. Both correspond to the early stages of the development of the genre; both enjoyed the same success in the Imperial period; both protagonists are mentioned in several historical sources (Thucydides, Herodotus, Ctesias and Diodorus, among others); Lucian quotes *Ninus*, along with *Metiochus* and *Achilles*;³⁹ *Ninus* and *Metiochos* and *Parthenope* are depicted in two different mosaics from the same *villa* that is known as “The House of the Man of Letters” in

³³ Trnka-Amrhein 2016a and 2016b.

³⁴ Parsons 2018, Ruiz Montero 2020 and López Martínez 2021.

³⁵ Parsons 2018.

³⁶ Parsons 2006a, 2006b and 2018. Nunzio Bianchi identified a scholium in *Codex Marcianus gr.* 450 which could possibly be another new fragment from this novel. Regarding texts and all the materials about Antonius Diogenes, cf. n. 65.

³⁷ The editions of papyri of lost novels which have served as a reference to date have been those by Stephens and Winkler and López-Martínez. Stephens and Winkler 1995 – hereinafter S&W –; López-Martínez 1998a – hereinafter LM –, who is preparing a new edition of all the fragments of lost novels for the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*. The editions of reference before 1998 are Lavagnini 1922 and Zimmermann 1936. Kussl 1991 is not a comprehensive edition.

³⁸ I have focused my research on clear readings. Supplements in the lacunae are excluded from this study.

³⁹ *Pseudol.* 25. Cf. Stramaglia 1996a, 129.

Antioch;⁴⁰ and, finally, it is possible that both novels are related to the texts that we can read in two *ostraca* from first century A. D.⁴¹

3.1 Ninus:

1 (*PBerol.* 6926 + *PGen.* 85), 2 (*PSI* 1305) and 3 (*OEdfu.* 306)⁴²

Ninus is the most important chapter in any publication about ancient lost novels, as its fragments are the oldest testimonies of the genre. *Ninus* consists of two different papyri (fragments 1 and 2). From a material point of view, they are professional, standard products for habitual readers. The texts are quite extensive – 315 lines in fragment 1 and 51 lines in fragment 2 – and their literary level is very high.⁴³

Papyrus 1 comprises three smaller pieces (A, B and C): the two largest are in Berlin (AB); the third, a much shorter one, in Geneva (C). The text appears in the *recto* and it is dated to the end of the first century B. C.⁴⁴ In the *verso* there are some accounts that correspond to 100-101 A. D. The scribe practises elision (fragment B, column I, line 20 οὐδ' ἀν-; B, II, 25 ἀπ' αὐτῶν; B, III, 15 καθ' ἡκαστον; B, III, 20 ἡ κατ' ἐκ[; B, III, 37 ἐπ' Αἰγυπτί[υς; A, II, 16 δι' ἐλάττονος; A, III, 1 παρ' ἡμῶν; 11 δὺ' ἔτη; 21 μ' ἐκδέχονται and A, IV, 13 ἐφ' ὑμῶν), which can be indicated using the apostrophe.

The features of papyrus 2 are very similar, and it too is dated to the first century A. D.⁴⁵ The last literary testimony of this novel, fragment 3, is an *ostrakon* from Apollinopolis Magna from the end of the first or beginning of the second century, whose reading and attribution are uncertain.⁴⁶

Based on papyrus 1, we would say that the author tends to avoid hiatus but retains the inherent flexibility of novelists.⁴⁷ There is only one exception in A, III, 197-198: τετρακαίδεκα ἐτῶν κυφοροῦσιν γυναῖκες καὶ τινες, νῆ Δία, καὶ τίκτουςιν.⁴⁸ This case could be justified easily as an echo of

⁴⁰ Regarding these mosaics: Levi 1947, Quet 1992, and Newby 2007.

⁴¹ Stramaglia 1996a and b, 120-7 and 151-3, S&W, 93-4 and LM, 68-9 and 135.

⁴² Kussl 1991, 13-101, 1997, S&W, 23-71 and LM, 37-80.

⁴³ Anderson 2009, López-Martínez 1998c, 2010: 110-2, 2017a, 2017b, 2019a, 2019b, Gärtner 2010 and Fernández Garrido 2021.

⁴⁴ I appreciate the valuable help of Fabian Reiter of Trier Universität, who is not responsible for the errors that I can make.

⁴⁵ The papyrus is now in the Egyptian Museum in Alexandria. Bastianini 2010 published a new edition of this text accompanied by a commentary.

⁴⁶ The *ostraca* are generally potsherd.

⁴⁷ Regarding hiatus in this novel: Vitelli 1894.

⁴⁸ 'At fourteen years, women can get pregnant, and some, Oh Zeus, bear children'. I appreciate the interesting remark of Ewen Bowie of Oxford University about the clause

Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (1,4,16), where it is stated that Cyrus, when he reached the age of fifteen, was looking forward to marrying: ἀμφὶ δὲ τὰ πέντε ἢ ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη γενομένου αὐτοῦ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως γαμεῖν μέλλων ἐπεθύμησε.⁴⁹ It is clear that this work by Xenophon is one of the models by which *Ninus* is inspired. In the case of papyrus 2, the author also permits the hiatus in the positions that we find in Reeve's classification. Despite the brevity of fragment 3, we see that the treatment of hiatus corresponds to that of the papyri (καὶ ἐν οὐκ ἀγν[οεῖς τῆν] λέσχην· οὔτε ν[υκτὸς] γὰρ οὔτε ἡμέρας καθεύδω).⁵⁰

3.2 Parthenope:

4 (*P. Berol.* 9588 + *P. Berol.* 7927 + *P. Berol.* 21179), 5 (*P. Oxy.* 435), 6 (*P. Mich.* inv. 3402v) and 7 (*O. Bodl.* 2722)⁵¹

Parthenope consists of three papyri with many lacunae and an *ostrakon*. Papyrus number 4 comprises three smaller pieces (*P. Berol.* 9588 + *P. Berol.* 7927 + *P. Berol.* 21179), has been dated by Cavallo to the second century and combines two types of writing: one smaller and one larger module.⁵² It seems to be a rather careless piece of professional work, with mistakes of all sorts and signs *supra lineam*.⁵³ Sometimes the scribe marks elision and sometimes neglects it. *Parthenope* is written in learned Greek, with echoes (both in content and in form) of Greek literature from the Archaic and Classical times, such as Homer, the Classical historians and Plato.⁵⁴ On the basis of papyrus 4, we would say that the tendency of this author is to avoid hiatus to the same extent as in Chariton and *Ninus*.

Papyri 5 (*P. Oxy.* 435) and 6 (*P. Mich.* inv. 3402v) are not particularly illustrative from this point of view and the *ostrakon* neither.

τεσσαρα καὶ δεκ' ἐτῶν in verse epigram. Other similar examples are: Παυλίαν φθιμένην ἐννέα καὶ δέκ' ἐτῶν / Ἀνδρόνικος ἱητρὸς ἀνὴρ, μνήμην ἀγιάζων, Cougny 1890, 706. 1-3, and ὥστε τεττάρων μὲν καὶ δέκ' ἐτῶν γεγενημένων ἀφ' οὗ τὸν πατέρ' ἡμῶν ἀφείσαν D. 38, 6.

⁴⁹ 'When he (Cyrus) was about fifteen or sixteen years old and was going to get married, the son of the Assyrian king, desired...'

⁵⁰ 'You do not ignore the rumor; I can not sleep at night or day'.

⁵¹ Kussl 1991, 165-7, S&W, 72-100 and LM, 121-44. See also Davis 2002, Hägg 2004, Hägg and Utas 2003 and the complete study by Hägg and Utas 2009, 153-86. López-Martínez and Ruiz-Montero 2016a, 2016b and 2020 present new editions of papyri 4 and 5.

⁵² Cavallo 2005, 216 and 220.

⁵³ They are written above the writing line.

⁵⁴ Hom. *Il.* 9.447-451; *Od.* 7.238, 8.572-ff., 9.19; Hdt. 1.35.12 and Pl., *Smp.*, amongst others.

3.3 Sesonchosis:

8 (*P. Oxy.* 2466), 9 (*P. Oxy.* 3319), 10 (*P. Oxy.* 1826), 11 (*P. Oxy.* 5262) and 12 (*P. Oxy.* 5263)⁵⁵

The papyri relating to this novel are dated later than the material of *Ninus* or *Parthenope*. Nowadays, *Sesonchosis* consists of four fragments from roll-format and one from a codex-format.⁵⁶ Papyri 8 and 9 are made by two different scribes who worked in the early third century and possibly in the same *scriptorium*, transcribing the same roll. This was a workshop where copies for *pepaideumenoí* – the literary elite – may have been produced. The handwriting corresponds to the early third century, although it is difficult to date them because they are professional, highly standardized and formal products. The texts are written in the *recto*, and the *verso* of the two papyri is blank. In the case of fragment 8, the scribe is systematic in elision (*scriptio elisa*), except in some specific cases involving proper names. However, in papyrus 9, the scribe consistently practises *scriptio plena* and adds paragogic *vu* when the text demands it. In contrast, the scribe of fragment 10, is not systematic regarding the choice *scriptio plena* (δέ ἔνα, line 8 *verso*) or *scriptio elisa* (ἀλλ' ἐχουί, line 3 *verso*). From a material point of view, this fragment is a sheet from codex of medium-low quality. It marks the transition period between the roll-format and the codex-format. The text from number 11 is very short and difficult to read: it presents thirteen lines from the center of a column in a very poor state of conservation. The scribe is not consistent in the use of *scriptio elisa* or *scriptio plena*: [οὐ πολλὸν δ' ἄπωθε – lines 4-5 –, but ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος] – line 6 –. The scribe of fragment 12 practises *scriptio plena* in the case of ἐκάλεσεν δὲ αὐτὸν – column II, line 31 –.

Based, therefore, on papyri 8 and 9, we would say that this author systematically avoids hiatus except in those positions where it is allowed by the other Greek novels (for instance: *περὶ αὐτόν* – papyrus number 8, line 17 – is also allowed by Chariton and the slip in *τὰς αὐτοῦ ἀ[μ]αρτίας* – papyrus number 9, column III, lines 5-6 – can be explained by the semivowel).

Fragment number 11 is not particularly illustrative from the point of view of hiatus and the case of [c. 4] *τῷ ἀπεμέρισε* – line 9 – can be explained because of the preverb.

In contrast, papyrus 10 is baffling because the author appears not to take care to avoid hiatus. In addition to the positions where it is permitted by

⁵⁵ S&W, 246-66 and LM, 357-75. See also the edition of two new papyri of the Oxyrhynchus collection by Trnka-Amrhein 2016a and 2016b and the recent study by López Martínez 2021.

⁵⁶ Del Corso 2010, 260-1.

other novelists, in fragment number 10, we find cases that do not appear in the contexts listed by Reeve: ἐκεῖνα ἀδεῖη[(6 *verso*) and τότε αὐτὸς (7 *verso*). Regarding papyrus 12, the author does not avoid hiatus, for instance: ἐλυπεῖτο ὀρων – column I, line 17 –; ἐγένετο ὀμη – column I, line 21 –; πλείεστα ἔθνη – column I, line 30 –; and εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα ἄβατα – column II, line 25 –.

Can this discrepancy be explained by postulating the existence of different versions of the novel? Is it possible that more than one Greek text based on the same legend exists? It is necessary to bear in mind that the novel was inspired by a character who had a very ancient and rich native literary tradition.⁵⁷

3.4 *Ephemeris Belli Troiani*: 13 (*P. Oxy.* 4943), 14 (*P. Tebt.* 268), 15 (*P. Oxy.* 2539) and 16 (*P. Oxy.* 4944)⁵⁸

From the Greek original of the apocryphal *Journal of the Trojan War* by Dictys of Crete, we have four papyri of varying sizes. Important news about this novel was produced in the period (1998–2018).⁵⁹ We already knew fragments 14 and 15, a translation into Latin by Septimius and versions by Byzantine scholars. Two new fragments, 13 and 16, were published in 2009.

Fragment 13 appears in *verso* and has been dated by Hatzilambrou in the second century. In the *recto* there is a document. The script on the *verso* is sure and rapid and the style has a curvilinear character. The scribe sometimes practises *scriptio plena* (line 8: τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα αἴτιον and line 13) and sometimes, *scriptio elisa* (line 5: τὸν Ἀπόλλων' ἐμφορηθῆναι is the text of

⁵⁷ The story is inspired by an Egyptian Pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty. Literary texts inspired by this dynasty were written during the Middle Kingdom and we have a Demotic legend of Sesostris. The main Greek sources about this figure are Hdt 2, 102–110; D.S. 1, 53–58 and the Greek *Alexander Romance*. Σεσόγῳσις is also known as Σέσωστρις, Σεσόσις and other variants of the name. “Diodorus Siculus (1, 53) notes that both Greek writers and Egyptian priests told varying and conflicting histories about the legendary pharaoh.... These variables are significant, since the possible interaction and influence between Greek and Egyptian Fiction has been a topic of growing interest as more attention is paid to Demotic literary texts”, Trnka-Amrhein 2016a: 20. Regarding the existence of different versions of Chariton’s novel, see Sanz 2009.

⁵⁸ Merkle 1989, Pellé 2002, Hatzilambrou 2009 and Hatzilambrou and Obbink 2009, Luppe 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2011, Lelli 2015 and Gómez-Peinado 2015.

⁵⁹ On Dictys and Dares: Pavano 1998, Merkle 1999, Garbugino 2011, Gainsford 2012, Movellán-Luis 2015, Gómez-Peinado 2015, 2017, Brescia, Lentano, Scafoglio, and Zanusso 2018, and López-Martínez 2019c. Regarding the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*, cf. Squire 2011, amongst others. We should also mention two Gandhāran reliefs depicting the scene of the wooden horse being brought into Troy, cf. Mairs 2015, 13–4.

the *editio princeps*, although there are other possibilities). Fragment 16 comprises three fragments that probably correspond to the end of the roll. The writing is severe style ascribed to the third century. Here the more variable treatment of *scriptio plena* / *scriptio elisa* is found again: sometimes, elision (lines 18, 47 and 75); sometimes, *scriptio plena* (lines 27, 28, 70, 93 and 107). Fragment 14 is dated to the third century and it is in very poor condition. The text is quite long: we have two columns of 54 lines on the back of a papyrus in the *recto* of which there is a document with accounts. Here too we find a mixture of *scriptio plena* / *scriptio elisa* as in fragment 16.

In fragment 13, Ἀπόλλωνα αἴτιον – line 8 – is a proper name and λαοὶ οἱ εἶναι – line 9 –, a case of article and/or semivowel.

The cases of τὰ ὄστρα Ἀχιλλέως – fragment 14, II, 90 – and πλὰρὰ Ἀντή[νορι] – fragment 15, 22 – involve proper names. In fragment 16, ἀφελόμενου αὐτοῦ – II, 12 – is a semivowel but the case of παραμένη ἄπινος – col. II, line 16 – does not appear in the contexts listed by Reeve.

In conclusion: the author seems to permit hiatus to a bit greater extent than other novelists. The critical question is whether this freedom is an indicator of literary neglect by the author or of a consciously archaizing style.

3.5 Semiramis or another uncertain Queen and her pyramids: 17 (P. Oxy. 5264)⁶⁰

Papyrus 17 comprises six fragments written along the fibres in an upright round bookhand. It should probably be dated to the late second / early third century. There is a *vacat*⁶¹ but no punctuation. Iota adscript and other signs have been added to facilitate the reading: a rough breathing and an acute accent to differentiate between αὔτη and αὐτή.

In the case of προσκα[τεστρέ]ψατο Αἴγυπτ[ον] – lines 1-2 – and ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτή – lines 6-8 –, we must bear in mind that the hiatus would be conditioned to the appearance of a proper name.

⁶⁰ Trnka-Amrhein 2016c and 2018, regarding the possible connection of P. Oxy. 5264 with Alexander, Sesonchosis and Ninus. See also, López Martínez 2017c y 2019b.

⁶¹ *Vacat* is the blank space to mark a pause.

3.6 Calligone:**18 (*PSI*981) and 19 (*P. Oxy.* 5355)⁶²**

Papyrus 18 is in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and dates to the end of II AD.⁶³ The scribe of 18 is not consistent regarding *scriptio plena/scriptio elisa* – δὲ αὐτὸ 18.28 and ἀλλ’ Ἑλληνῆς 18.37 –. *Scriptio plena* is the norm in papyrus 19.

Both papyri are comparable regarding the hiatus: the author avoids it to the same extent as in Chariton. Nevertheless, the cases of ῥίψαα ἐαυτήν – 18, II, 3-4 – and ἐφαίνετο αὐτῆι – 19, I, III, 26-27 – could be a bit difficult to explain.

3.7 Apollonius:**20 (*PSI*151) and 21 (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 260)⁶⁴**

These fragments date to the third century A.D. The scribe practises *scriptio plena* and the author avoids hiatus to the same extent as we find in Reeve’s classification.

3.8 Eusyene:**22 (*P. Oxy.* 5356)⁶⁵**

The author of this fragment seems to avoid hiatus to the same extent as we find in Reeve’s classification, but the papyrus is too fragmentary to allow reliable conclusions on this matter.

3.9 Panionis:**23 (*P. Oxy.* 4811) and Staphylus: 24 (*PSI*1220)⁶⁶**

Papyrus 23 is known by the name “Panionis”. Several revisions to the text have been published since its *editio princeps* in 2007. For paleographic reasons, papyrus 24, known as “Staphylus”, has been attributed to this same volume and/or novel. This identification is based on several similarities

⁶² S&W, 271-276 and LM, 145-148, nr. 16. See also Stramaglia 2000, 36 and 207, n. 8, Braund 2005, 38-45, Del Corso 2010, 260, Ruiz Montero 2020, López Martínez 2021a and 2021b. Regarding P. Oxy. 535, ed. pr. by Parsons 2018.

⁶³ Cavallo 2005, 226 and 222.

⁶⁴ S&W, 391-9 and LM, 329-36, ‘Dionisio’. Stramaglia 2003 edited and translated into Latin both fragments.

⁶⁵ Parsons 2018.

⁶⁶ Fragment 24: Norsa and Vitelli 1933, Vitelli 1935, S&W 1995, 431-7 and LM 1998, 307-16. Parsons 2007b is the edition princeps of 23. Regarding this fragment, see also: 2010, Luppe 2008, López-Martínez 2016. Stramaglia 2011 offers a new edition and interpretation of both fragments.

regarding the informal hand and the layout.⁶⁷ The scribe practises *scriptio plena* (δὲ ἐκόμωκεν in line 1, ἡ δὲ ἔφ[η] in line 4 and δὲ οὐχὶ in line 8) and sometimes *scriptio elisa* (καθ' ἡμέραν in line 6).

The style of the dialogue is simple, even colloquial, and the author seems permit hiatus to a greater extent than other novelists and in cases that do not fall within the categories established by Reeve (– ἐνοχλοῖτο ἀκρωμένη lines 3–4 –).⁶⁸

3.10 *Phoinikika* by Lollianos:

25 (*P. Colon. inv.* 3328), 26 (*P. Oxy.* 1368) and 27 (*P. Oxy.* 4945)⁶⁹

Three papyri from the *Phoinikika* by Lollianos have been preserved. Number 25 is a papyrus codex dated to the middle of the second century, according to Cavallo.⁷⁰ Subscriptions with the author's name, the title of the work and the number of the book are written at the bottom of some pages. It is possible to identify two different styles of writing that could correspond to different hands. The scribe corrects his own mistakes, but some of them remained uncorrected. He practises both *scriptio plena* and *scriptio elisa* and is not systematic in his use of the apostrophe. Cavallo dated papyrus 26 to a period between the second and third century and Del Corso to the half of the third century A.D.⁷¹ The novel is written on the papyrus *verso*; on the *recto* there is an account. The scribe tends to mark elision. Fragment 27 is dated to the third century and is written on the *recto*, while the back is blank. The handwriting is a variety of the severe style. The scribe does not very often elide final vowels.

The author, therefore, introduces hiatus freely in fragment 25, but there are a lot of *lacunae* in the text, so in some cases it is difficult to specify the type. In papyri 26 and 27 it is clear that the author allows hiatus. We can therefore cautiously conclude that the author of the *Phoinikika* exemplifies a very different practice from that of the other novelists. The critical question here is whether this freedom is an indication of actual low literary quality on Lollianos' part or if it is just a pose.

⁶⁷ S. A. Stephens *per litteras* in Parsons 2007b, 48–9.

⁶⁸ Parsons 2007, 47.

⁶⁹ S&W, 314–357 and LM, 163–208. *Ed. pr.* number 27 by Obbink 2009. See also: Cioffi and Trnka-Arnrhein (2010), Casanova, 2010, 2014a, 2014b and López Martínez and Ruiz Montero 2019.

⁷⁰ Cavallo 2005, 216 and 223.

⁷¹ Cavallo 2005, 216 and 223 and Del Corso 2010, 258–9.

3.11 The ass and the woman:

28 (*P. Oxy.* 4762)⁷²

Fragment 28 describes the sexual encounter between a woman and a donkey.⁷³ The text appears on the *verso* of a small roll that is dated to the third century A.D.⁷⁴ On the *recto* there is a register of accounts and the writing corresponds to a type known as *formal mixed*. The scribe practises *scriptio plena* and elision which can be indicated or not by using the apostrophe.

The author avoids hiatus with the flexibility of novelists.⁷⁵ The text is rhythmical and its literary level is colloquial and simple.⁷⁶

Among the fragmentary novels, therefore, we find the full spectrum of practice regarding hiatus: from zealous avoidance of it altogether (the *Herpyllis* fragment), to the opposite, liberal extreme in Lollianus' and Dictys' work; in between, we find the flexible-but-conservative tendencies that seem to be typical of the Greek novelists more generally (Chariton). I now turn to the papyri that transmit the work by Antonius Diogenes, to see how these fit this overall picture.

3.12 *Tὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα* by Antonius Diogenes:

29 (*PSI*1177), 30 (*P. Oxy.* 3012), 31 (*P. Oxy.* 4760), 32 (*P. Oxy.* 4761) and 33 (*P. Oxy.* 5354)⁷⁷

Fragment 29 is a papyrus from the early third century. The text appears on the back, while there is a record of accounts from the second-third century on the *recto*. The text is written in a slightly tilted *severe style* with some punctuation marks. The scribe uses *scriptio plena* and sometimes elision. Some editors have identified an *apostrophe* in lines 9 and 14, but this is not very clear. Fragment 30 is dated to the beginning of the third century.⁷⁸ The

⁷² *Ed. pr.* by Obbink 2006. Other editions and studies: Luppe 2006, Barchiesi 2006, Horváth 2008, May 2010, Lapini 2010, Stramaglia 2010, Zanetto 2010, Hunter 2010, West 2010 and Puglia 2013.

⁷³ *Luc. Asin.* 51-2 and *Apul.* 10.19-22. Cf. also *Vita Aesopi* W 75-6.

⁷⁴ Obbink 2006, 22.

⁷⁵ We have to bear in mind that the prosody of this fragment could require a special treatment regarding hiatus. Cf. West 2010, 37.

⁷⁶ According to Puglia 2013, the whole text is written in iambic trimeters. West 2010, 39 concludes: 'our papyrus brings us another version in the script for a cabaret act'

⁷⁷ S&W, 101-57. All the papyri and sources on this novel are available in the new edition by Schmedt 2020. Russo 2016 published a complete and systematic study about language and style in Antonius Diogenes with a specific section dedicated to the hiatus and K. ní Mheallaigh, C. R. Jackson and H. Schmedt prepare a volume of essays about Antonius Diogenes' novel.

⁷⁸ Del Corso 2010, 262.

novel's text is written on the *recto* in *severe style*. The back is blank. This is a good editorial product that has been made with care. The text preserved here is short. The scribe appears to have practised *scriptio plena*. Fragment 31 is written on the *recto*, like fragment 30, but this time in an expert semi-cursive handwriting from the second-third century A. D.⁷⁹ The *verso* contains a document. If αλ[λ (II, 9) is admitted,⁸⁰ this elision would not have been indicated. Although the attribution to the novel is not very clear, fragment 32 provides data that can improve our knowledge. Del Corso ascribes it to the second half of the third century⁸¹ but Parsons thinks it could be third or possibly early fourth century.⁸² It is a careless version of the *severe style*, also written on the *recto*, and the back is blank. It could be a copy made for or by an accustomed reader. The scribe practised both *scriptio plena* and elision. The novel text is on the back of the fragment 33 and it has been dated in II-III AD. Along the fibres, we find a long account. The scribe practised both *scriptio plena* and elision.

What can we observe with respect to the hiatus in these papyri? Many cases occur in fragment 29 but almost all of them could fit within Reeve's classification.⁸³ Tolerance of hiatus in fragment 30 occurs on the same terms as in fragment 29.⁸⁴ In line 9, we have problems with the reading before ῆδη; as the text is not clear, the nature of hiatus is not either. Fragment 31 has little to contribute to our present study because it does not have groups of words in hiatus.⁸⁵ In fragment 32, the author allows some level of hiatus, mostly in positions that are accepted by the other novelists:⁸⁶ after the article (column II, line and line 17), the particle δῆ (II, 11), at the end of clause (II, 12) after semivowel or before the augment (μόνωι ἔσται – line 3 –, παρθένοι οὐδ' αὐταὶ ἀνίεσαν – line 13 – and νύκτα ἐπόμηναι ἠνώχλων – line 22 –). We have one instance which is not included in Reeve's list: νύκτα ἐπόμηναι (line 22).

Parsons has the impression that there is no significant difference between papyri 31 and 32 and the other papyri of Antonius Diogenes,⁸⁷ and the new

⁷⁹ Second-third century A. D. – Parsons 2006a –, and early of second A. D. – Del Corso 2010 –.

⁸⁰ Parsons 2006a, 14.

⁸¹ Del Corso 2010.

⁸² Parsons 2006b.

⁸³ For specific data, cf. Schmedt 2020, 210-11.

⁸⁴ For specific data, cf. Schmedt 2020, 274.

⁸⁵ For specific data, cf. Schmedt 2020, 294.

⁸⁶ For specific data, cf. Schmedt 2020, 213-315.

⁸⁷ Parsons 2006b: 16.

fragment 33 is also very similar:⁸⁸ the author seems to avoid hiatus to the same extent as in Chariton, but there could be an exception with οὐπω ἄρα – I, 45 –.

3.12.1 *P. Dubl. C3.* and *P. Mich. inv. 5* + *P. Palau Rib. inv. 152*: are they by Antonius Diogenes?

In addition to the *testimonia* considered above, Antonius Diogenes' novel has sometimes been linked to another two papyri, *P. Dubl. C3.* and *P. Mich. inv. 5* + *P. Palau Rib. inv. 152*.⁸⁹

P. Dubl. C3 is also known by the name of its possible female protagonist as *Herpyllis*.⁹⁰ This text is, however, stricter regarding hiatus. The papyrus is dated to the second century. On the *recto*, there is a document and the novel-text is on the back. The scribe practised *scriptio elisa* regularly, although an example of *scriptio plena* also occurs. In this case, the author's pattern is clear: hiatus is systematically avoided. He does not allow it even in places that are permitted by all other novelists.

The same applies to the other papyrus (*P. Mich. inv. 5* + *P. Palau Rib. inv. 152*),⁹¹ which consists of two pieces of good quality. They are fragments corresponding to the same papyrus but they are kept in different libraries. Our text is written on the *recto*, and on the *verso*, there are remains of writing. According to Cavallo, it corresponds to the second century.⁹² Here hiatus is avoided as much as possible.⁹³

Therefore, these two papyri have little in common with Antonius Diogenes, with the novel by Chariton or with the fragments of *Ninus*, *Parthenope* and the longest two fragments of *Sesonchosis*. The fact that there is no hiatus even after *καί*, after the article, between phrases or before *δέ* seems suspicious to me.⁹⁴ Clearly, we must exercise caution and refrain from becoming mere hunters of hiatuses,⁹⁵ but we should not ignore such an obvious discrepancy, either.

⁸⁸ For specific data, cf. Schmedt 2020, 345-346.

⁸⁹ Cf. "Die unechten Fragmente", Schmedt 2020, 355-374.

⁹⁰ S&W, 158-72 and LM, 107-20. See also Börstinghaus 2010, 83-91.

⁹¹ S&W, 173-8, Stramaglia 1999, 258-65, LM, 227-37 and Stramaglia 2015, 164-166.

⁹² Cavallo 2005, 224.

⁹³ For specific data, cf. Schmedt 2020, 360.

⁹⁴ See also Stramaglia 2015, 164-166.

⁹⁵ Reeve 1971, 515.

3.12.2 Antonius Diogenes on the banks of the Oxus River?

At this point, finally, I would like to introduce materials from a Hellenistic city on the Banks of the Oxus River in Afghanistan that might have inspired Diogenes' novel. The modern name of the city is Ai Khanoum but it is not clear what it was called in Antiquity.⁹⁶ Here papyri of great value have been found⁹⁷ but my focus is rather on the archaeological site and the inscriptions which, I suggest, offer us tantalizing parallels for the fictional *mise en scène* of Diogenes' novel.⁹⁸

The first detail to note is that, according to Photius, Antonius Diogenes writes two letters at the beginning of his work. One of these letters is addressed to his sister Isidora, to whom Antonius dedicates his book because she is eager to learn. The second detail to note is that the final episode of the Greek novel presents the very well known literary cliché of the 're-discovered manuscript', which is used as an authenticating strategy by novelists.⁹⁹ The details of this cliché in the novel by Antonius Diogenes are quite complex (as is the whole novel). The author tells us that the text, written on cypress tablets, was found in a crypt along with six mysteriously inscribed coffins. The crypt was discovered by Alexander the Great after he seized Tyre. A soldier led Alexander, Hephaestion and Parmenion to a place outside the town. There was a crypt with several stone graves where the names of their occupants and the years they had lived were inscribed. The names were Lysilla, Mnason, Aristion, Mantinias, Derkyllis and Deinias of Arkadia. In the first entry, for example, one could read: 'Lysilla: lived 35 years'. They found a small cypress chest by the wall with a clear inscription: Ὡ ξένε, ὅστις εἶ, ἀνοιξόν, ἵνα μάθῃς ἄ θαυμάζεις, 'Stranger, whoever you are, open, so that you may learn marvelous things'. When Alexander the Great's companions opened the chest, they found the cypress tablets that contained the novel.

One of the first structures that was erected in the city of Oxus, Ai Khanoum, was a heroon in honor of a certain Kineas, who is considered as the probable founder of the city.¹⁰⁰ It is one of the few structures at Ai Khanoum, whose earliest phases have been traced back to the late fourth

⁹⁶ Bernard 1973, 2011, 2012, Martínez-Sève 2012, 2015, Mairs 2014a and 2014b.

⁹⁷ Rapin 1992.

⁹⁸ On the inscriptions: Canali de Rossi 2004: numbers 382, 383 and 384 and Merkelbach and Stauber 2005: 8-15.

⁹⁹ On authenticating strategy: García-Gual 1996, Merkle 1996, Hansen 2003, Ni Mheallaigh 2008, 2012 and 2013, Dowden 2009, and Prospero 2016.

¹⁰⁰ Regarding the heroon of Kineas, Merkelbach and Stauber 2005: 8-15 and Mairs 2014b.

century BC.¹⁰¹ The shrine of Kineas is decorated with an inscription written by a man named Klearchos. The first part of this text is an elegiac epigram that says:¹⁰²

1 ἀνδρῶν τοι σοφὰ ταῦτα παλαιότερων ἀνάκει[τα]ι
 ῥήματα ἀριγνώτων Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθείαι·
 ἔυθεν ταῦτ[α] Κλέαρχος ἐπιφραδέως ἀναγράψας
 εἴσατο τηλαυγῇ Κινέου ἐν τεμένει.

‘These maxims of renowned men of old are enshrined in the holy Pytho (Delphi). From there, Klearchos copied them carefully, and set them up here blazing them from afar, in the sanctuary of Kineas’.

The inscription is long and consists of 142 maxims.¹⁰³

Κλέαρχος is a very common name in inscriptions from the third century B. C. and several documented characters in literary sources bear this name as well.¹⁰⁴ This Klearchos could be the philosopher Klearchos of Soloi, who was a pupil of Aristotle’s.¹⁰⁵ He had Eastern interests, wrote extensively on Eastern philosophies and was a great connoisseur of Pythagorean tradition. Athenaeus says that Klearchos was an expert on anagrams, acrostics and other γρίφοι.¹⁰⁶

Other burial places at Ai Khanoum are outside its walls. One of them is similar to the structure evoked by Diogenes: it consists of partially subterranean vaulted chambers with a solid brick superstructure. It contains two types of burial: in sarcophagi and jars. The jars bore the names of their occupants and a short legend: Λυσανίου Ἰσιδώρας, τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς ‘Lysanias’s’, ‘Isidora’s’, ‘the little (male)’s one and the little (female)’s one’.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Bernard 2011 and Mairs 2014b.

¹⁰² Robert 1968, 421-457, Canali de Rossi 2004: 224, number 382. Cf. also Hollis 2011, 109-110.

¹⁰³ Canali de Rossi 2004, 225-226, number 383. The list of Delphic precepts: D.L. 1.30-1 and Stob. 3.21.26.

¹⁰⁴ *LGPN* s.v. Κλέαρχος: clas-*lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/igpn_search.cgi?name=Κλέαρχος*.

¹⁰⁵ Wöhrle, G. 2004, Merkelbach and Stauber 2005, 13-5, Dorandi 2011 and Tsitsiridis 2013, amongst others.

¹⁰⁶ 7.1.12: Κλέαρχος Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητής, Σολεὺς δὲ τὸ γένος, ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ περὶ γρίφων, amongst other passages of the work.

¹⁰⁷ Canali de Rossi 2004, 218, numbers 360 and 361. See also: Mairs 2014a, 75.

Additionally, in this area, at the site of Zhiga-tepe in the Bactra oasis, a fragmentary Greek funerary inscription on a ceramic plaque was found. It belongs to a man named Diogenes and contains a reference to Hades, if the restoration proposed is correct.¹⁰⁸

οἶος ἄνευ θα[νάτου(?) — —]
 <a>ὕξῆσει Γ[— — τοῖος —]
 Διογένης [— — —]
 οἴχηται Δ[— — —]
 πατρὸς [— — —]
 εἰς Αἰδ[ην — — —]

Perhaps it is a mere coincidence but I find curious similarities between the text by Antonius Diogenes and the archaeological elements we find in the region of Bactria:

1. The names of Isidora, Diogenes and Kineas: Isidora, Antonius Diogenes's sister and Isidora the female occupant of sarcophagi in the jar in Ai Khanoum.¹⁰⁹ Diogenes, the author of the novel and the man of Zhiga-tepe.¹¹⁰ Perhaps it is not going too far when thinking about a possible relationship between *Kineas* and *Deinias*.¹¹¹
2. A set of catacombs: The crypt that Alexander discovered outside of the city of Tyre and the subterranean vaulted tomb outside the walls in Ai Khanoum.
3. Inscriptions: the stone graves in the crypt and the cypress chest described by Antonius Diogenes; the inscriptions on the shrine of Kineas, on the tombs on jars and on the ceramic plaque in Bactria.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Was found in Bactria—Dilbarjin, Zhigaiga-tepe and it is dated to third-second century BC. Canali de Rossi 2004, 196, number 304. See also, Mairs 2014a, 75 and n. 67.

¹⁰⁹ Ἰσιδώρα: 47 results in *LGPN* (clas-igpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/name/Ἰσιδώρα). Antonius Diogenes's sister is named Isidora in Photius 111a3. Regarding Isidora from Ai Khanoum: Mairs 2015, 10-11.

¹¹⁰ Διογένης: 1209 results in *LGPN* (clas-igpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/name/Διογένης).

¹¹¹ Κινέας: 40 results in *LGPN* (<http://clas-igpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/name/Κινέας>). See: Robert 1968, 432-438 and Mairs (2015, 8-9 and 21). Particular associations of this name with Thessaly have been suggested. I thank Ní-Mheallaigh, Johns Hopkins University, for the suggestion about the connection between the names Deinias and Kineas. On proper names in other Greek novels: Brotherton 1934, Hägg 1971, Ruiz Montero 1994: 1107-9, 2016, Kanavou 2006 and 2010, and López Martínez 2019.

¹¹² The inscription in the sanctuary of Kineas is dated to third century B.C. Regarding inscriptions and their use in ancient novels: Sironen 2003, Slater 2009 and Liddel and Low 2013.

4. Bizarre epitaphs: in the case of Antonius Diogenes we have ὦ Ω ξένε, ὄστις εἶ, ἀνοιξόν, ἵνα μάθῃς ἃ θαυμάζεις. In the case of Kineas, we have the epigram cited above.¹¹³
5. References to the age of the occupants of the sarcophagi: to the old age of Lysilla, Mnason, Aristion, Mantinias, Derkyllis and Deinias of Arkadia in *The Wonders beyond Thule*,¹¹⁴ compared with the youth of the two little Lysanias and Isidora in the case of Ai Khanoum.¹¹⁵
6. Curiosity about the afterlife: The visits to Hades made by the characters of the novel by Antonius Diogenes¹¹⁶ and the reference to Hades in the funerary inscription Zhiga-tepe.¹¹⁷
7. The presence of Pythagoreanism: Diogenes' novel is mentioned in the *Life of Pythagoras* by Porphyry.¹¹⁸ If Klearchos from Ai Khanoum is Klearchos of Soloi,¹¹⁹ we know that he was interested in Pythagorean wisdom.¹²⁰
8. Lovers of learning: Isidora, the sister of Diogenes the author of *Wonders beyond Thule*, is a woman φιλομαθῶς ἔχουσα.¹²¹ The interest in philosophy and literature among the population of Ai Khanoum is very clear because a fragment of a philosophical treatise was found in a room in the palace treasury next to the shrine of Kineas and near to the tomb of the little Isidora.¹²²

¹¹³ Canali de Rossi 2004, 224, number 382. See also: Merkelbach and Stauber 2005, Clayman 2007 and Hollis 2011, 109-10. Regarding inscriptions in Diogenes: Ruiz Montero (forthcoming). Sironen (2003: 299-300) establishes a typology of inscriptions in Greco-Roman novels.

¹¹⁴ Photios 111a41.

¹¹⁵ Canali de Rossi 2004, 218. Regarding the topic in Ancient inscriptions, Lattimore 1942.

¹¹⁶ Photios 109a29-109b3 and papyrus number 23.

¹¹⁷ Canali de Rossi 2004, 227, number 384, line 5 and Canali de Rossi 2004, 196, number 304.

¹¹⁸ Cf. S&W 1995, 112-4 and Bernsdorff 2009, 43-9.

¹¹⁹ Mairs 2014b: 'in fact, as it has more recently been stated with refreshing directness, we know nothing to support the view that he was the historical Klearchos of Soloi, or that the philosopher Klearchos even travelled in the east. The Klearchos of the inscription from the *temenos* of Kineas should be, until we gain evidence to the contrary, a citizen of Ai Khanoum, and his visit to Delphi fits within the growing body of evidence that third-century Bactria remained in constant interaction with the western Hellenistic world.'

¹²⁰ New edition of the fragments of Clearchos with commentary and translation into Modern Greek by Ioannis Taifacos 2008 and Dorandi (in preparation).

¹²¹ Photios 111a34. 'She is eager to learn'.

¹²² Editions and studies of the philosophical papyrus: Rapin 1992, Isnardi Parente 1992, Lerner 2003 and Canali de Rossi 2004: 269, number 457. Regarding the dramatic text:

9. The presence of Alexander the Great in the novel¹²³ and the Hellenistic foundation of Ai Khanoum.¹²⁴

To be sure, Diogenes and Isidora are very common names.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, these similarities – especially when considered cumulatively – open up the possibility that Diogenes could have been inspired by a real place or family saga.

4. Conclusions

Hiatus is a license that depends on the style of the author, but it can sometimes be attributed to an error by the scribe or the editor. It should be evaluated carefully from several perspectives (Phonetics, Syntax, Stylistics, History of the Language, Papyrology). It involves very different aspects: paleographic, linguistic and literary. What conclusions, then, can we draw from this comparative analysis of hiatus in Diogenes, Chariton and the fragmentary Greek novels?

1. The papyri of Antonius Diogenes avoid hiatus to the same extent as other novelists analysed here, i. e. Chariton and the authors of *Ninus* and *Parthenope*. On the other hand, the fragments of *Sesonchosis*, the *Phoinikiká* by Lollianos and, to a lesser extent, the *Ephemeris belli Troiani* by Dictys of Crete are more permissive than Antonius Diogenes. We should not attribute this freedom too readily to low literary quality or literary ambition in these texts because it could be a deliberate choice by the author. In the case of *Sesonchosis* or Dictys, an archaizing style is very much in tune with the theme and fictional Trojan war date of the work, as well as with the literary genres that are its references: epic (Homer) and historiography (basically, Herodotus and Thucydides). In the case of Lollianos, hiatus may occur because the linguistic register of the novel is adapted to the social and cultural level of the characters. Something similar is suspected in the case of Xenophon of Ephesus,

Canali de Rossi 2004, 270-2, number 458 and Hollis 2011, 107-9. Cf. also Mairs 2015, 14: ‘Greek Drama was read and performed in Bactria. There was a theatre at the city of Ai Khanoum, and a fragmentary Greek dramatic work on parchment was found in the city’s treasury.’

¹²³ Photius 111b4, 6, 22 and 112a4.

¹²⁴ On Alexander and Ai Khanoum, Bernard 1982 and Mairs 2014b, amongst others.

¹²⁵ Cf. n. 132 and 133.

- whose permissiveness regarding hiatus could mimic prose before Isocrates.
2. My analysis shows that *PDubl. C3.* and *P. Mich. inv. 5 + P. Palau Rib. inv. 152* probably do not belong to the novel by Antonios Diogenes because they do not allow hiatus in any case, even after *καί*, after the article, between phrases or before *δέ*.
 3. The texts preserved in the fragments of *The wonders beyond Thule* are littered with references to the philosophical tradition, their literary level corresponds to an educated Greek, and Diogenes' literary ambition is similar to *Callirrhoe*, *Ninus* and *Parthenope*. In my opinion, the 'implicit reader' would have belonged to the educated elite known by the term of *pepaideumenoí* and *pepaideumenai*.¹²⁶

To finish it seems to me plausible to suggest that a remote Hellenistic city on the Banks of the Oxus River in Afghanistan might have served as a model for scenes, details and/or characters of Diogenes' novel.

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¹²⁶ The concept of 'implicit reader' was proposed by Wolfgang Iser, *Der implizite Leser. Kommunikationsformen des Romans von Bunyan bis Beckett*, 1972, within the framework of reception aesthetics.

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