

KRYSTYNA BARTOL

Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu
ORCID: 0000-0001-5810-1128
krbartol@amu.edu.pl

WHILE THESEUS WAS SAILING AWAY... *PSI XV 1468 (= FR. 37 APHex): A FEW THOUGHTS*

ABSTRACT. Bartol Krystyna, *While Theseus Was Sailing Away... PSI XV 1468 (= fr. 37 APHex): a Few Thoughts* (Gdy Tezeusz odpływał ... Kilka myśli na temat *PSI XV 1468 (= Fr 37 APHex)*).

The article presents a new proposal to supplement v. 12 of the anonymous hexametric piece containing, most likely, the lament of Ariadne abandoned by Theseus on Naxos. The suggestion offered here (οὐκ or, better, οὐδ' αἰδ]ῶς ἐν ὄνειροι instead of δῆλ]ωσεν ὄνειροι or ὡς ἐν ὄνειροι developed by other scholars) allows us to guess that the piece may have expressed Ariadne's contradictory feelings and her moral dilemma.

Keywords: anonymous late Greek poetry; Ariadne's lament; Theseus; soliloquy

The heavily damaged end sections of sixteen hexametric lines preserved on the verso of a papyrus of unknown provenance dated to the 4th century CE contain the remnants of a female character's speech.¹ An additional marginal line with the words ἔπλεε Θησεύς visible, written by a different hand,² strongly suggests that the speaker is Ariadne, awakened from her sleep on Naxos. She is lamenting her fate,³ as she realises that she has been abandoned by Theseus.⁴ The

¹The text was edited in 1979 by V. Bartoletti and M. Manfredi under the reference number 1468 (Bartoletti Manfredi 1979). See also C. Pernigotti (2003: 64). The recent commented edition by Perale (2020: 352–356) includes the critical overview of scholars' positions and new suggestions for reading the text.

²See McNamee (2008: 455): "written at a right angle to the text", Miguélez-Cavero (2008: 49): "a marginal line written from the top to the bottom", Perale (2020: 352): "a second, larger hand added one line written at a right angle to the main text, placed at about 1.5 cm from it".

³Ariadne's lament was called by Schoess (2022: 224) her *literary attribute* because of the frequency with which ancient authors took up this theme.

⁴One has to agree with Perale's diagnosis (Perale 2020: 352) that the text preserved on the verso "seems indeed to bear no connection" with the text written on the recto of the papyrus (fr. 94 *APHex*) on Odysseus' deeds during the expedition to Troy. See also Miguélez-Cavero (2008: 49), who cites approvingly the opinion of the *editores principes* on the possible topic: "potrebbe trattarsi ... di una 'storia' di Arianna ... A meno che non si narrasse il ratto di Elena bambina da parte di Teseo ... O ancora la storia di Ulisse ... che aiuta Tindaro a risolvere il problema dei

marginal line, similar to the phrase used later by Nonnus in his tale of Ariadne (ἀμείλιχος ἔπλεε Θησεύς, *D.* 47.270), may suggest that the author of our passage is telling the story of the sleeping girl abandoned on the island of Naxos in a similar way to Nonnus, perhaps using the same earlier source as the famous Panopolite poet.⁵

The remains of the verses in Perale's edition are as follows:

. . . c . [.
]επα[.
] . ιθ[...(.)] c
] . ονηϕ[ι]ν
]βροτοῖσιν
]δαήμων
]ε τεκοῦσης
] . σιν αἰδώς
] . ον ἐδέγμην
]μιν ὄρην
]ασσα
]ωσεν ὄνειρῶι
] . ἐπι λέκτρῶι
]σι πεσοῦσα
]ναιουσ
]ερ.(.)των
 m²] . . [...] ἐπλεε Θησεύς

Scholars are rightly inclined to conclude that this is a part of Ariadne's lamenting monologue, in which she recalls her dream about her marriage to Theseus. They suppose that the treatment of the theme here must be similar to that of Nonnus,⁶ who takes up the version of the myth in which Ariadne remains a virgin and did not lose her virginity either in "reality"⁷ or in a dream, since she wakes up mid-way through it and is not even allowed to imagine the longed-for scene of consummating her relationship with Theseus in any details:⁸ ἀλλά με

pretendenti di Elena, a patto di ricevere in compenso la mano di Penelope", and concludes: "too little remains to have a clear idea of the contents".

⁵ Perale (2020: 352) with bibliography.

⁶ Ariadne's lament in Nonnus (*D.* 47. 295–418) is called by Fayant (2003: 45) "particulièrement brillant tant par sa composition que par la complexité des mouvements psychologiques qu'il exprime".

⁷ Inverted commas are used deliberately here and below with reference to Ariadne's "life". As a warning and reminder, I quote Webster's words (Webster 1966: 23): "Greek myth are so vivid that we think of the figures in them as real people and argue about their characters and what made them do what they did. We forgot (...) that the people never existed".

⁸ As Shorrock (2014: 322–324) vividly put it. See also Rose's remark (Rose 1940: 395 n. a): "A bit of orthodoxy on Nonnos' part; a god's bride must be virgin"; he is obviously referring to the nuptials of Ariadne and Dionysus.

φεύγων / ὄχετο καλλείψας ἔτι παρθένον (D. 47.328–329⁹). Decipherable words and their parts on the verso of the scrap¹⁰ of the papyrus entitle us, I think, to be tempted to see a slightly different treatment of the theme of Ariadne's dream¹¹ and her subsequent lamentation in this anonymous piece of poetry.

In the version of the myth alluded to in the fifth century by Nonnus, Ariadne appears to be disappointed that she has remained a virgin¹² and asks Hypnos to spread a sweet dreamy erotic vision over the departing Theseus so that he will decide to return to her. In our *adespoton*, however, the case seems to be quite different.

Let us start our considerations with Perale's brilliant suggestion ἀ]δαήμων, *inexperienced*, in v.6,¹³ suggesting Ariadne's lack of amorous or erotic experiences. She confesses or even underlines it, perhaps in the context of self-presentation as a person who has retained αἰδώς (v. 8) a sense of shame, modesty, a coyness regarding the dealings with the opposite sex, so she still will be able to be perceived by people as virtuous¹⁴ (perhaps βροτοῖσιν in v. 5 refers to people Ariadne hopes to socialise with in the future, not, as Manfredi proposes,¹⁵ to her being the most beautiful among people). However, what follows in lines 9–14 suggests some love matters: there are references to her receiving (ἐδέγμην, v. 9) someone/something, for a short while (μῖαν ὥρην, v. 10), bed (ἐπὶ λέκτρῳι, v.13), her falling (perhaps into someone's arms) – πεσοῦσα, v. 14, and not excluded that to wedding (Ἰναίους, v. 15, with Bartoletti's supplement ὕμε[.

Verse 12 may be crucial to understanding the sense of the fragment. It seems most plausible to recognise an *omega* in the first decipherable letter of the line, not *eta*, as postulated by Meliadò.¹⁶ Perale considers two possibilities: δήλ]ωσεν ὀνειρώι with the instrumental dative perhaps referring to Hypnos, who would send, at Ariadne's request, an erotic dream upon Theseus, forcing him to return

⁹Shorrock (2014: 322) nicely captures the ambivalence of references contained in these verses when translating: "Ah, what a sweet dream I had – but it/he has escaped my grasp and left me still a virgin".

¹⁰Cm 4.6 x 7.5, see Bartoletti Bastianini Messeri Montanari Pintaudi (2008: 36) - n. 1453–1574.

¹¹Let us recall at this point Miguélez-Cavero's opinion (Miguélez-Cavero 2016: 555–556) that the use of dreams of love and marriage in late poetry, especially in Nonnus, belongs to the novelistic 'type-scenes' to which poets often resorted.

¹²See Sharrock (2014: 323).

¹³Perale (2020: 354): "ἀ]δ- malim" (in apparatus); "I take this to be feminine (see τεκούσης in the following verse) and referred to Ariadne".

¹⁴See Cairns (1993: 120): "category *aidos* is concerned with the social role of men and women, while in the latter it relates to a coyness regarding sex" and von Erffa (1937: 155–156), who stresses that the *aidos* in relations to women's behaviour means *scheue Zurückhaltung, Keuscheit*.

¹⁵See Perale (2020: 354).

¹⁶Meliadò (2013: 54): "Leggerei ἦσεν in luogo di ἴωσεν dato come sicuro da Pernigotti (]. σεν Manfredi)".

to Naxos,¹⁷ or ὡς ἐν ὀνειρώτῳ introducing a simile.¹⁸ It does not, however, seem unreasonable to consider yet another possibility, namely something like οὐκ or οὐδ' αἰδῶς ἐν ὀνειρώτῳ, which would introduce into Ariadne's soliloquy the theme of contradictory feelings¹⁹ or the motif of polarisation of her attitudes towards *aidos* – this in “reality” and that in the dream. In “real life”, she remains a modest young woman who has not experienced an erotic relationship with a man. The rejection of *aidos* in her sweet dream that lasted only for a short while might imply that she dreamt that she acquiesced to Theseus' advances, and having no compunction about *aidos*, she lost her virginity. Thus what happened in the dream, did not happen (and will not happen) in “reality”. The idea of Ariadne's confession might be in a way similar to Achilles' declaration of being not ashamed to say something²⁰ in Aeschylean *Myrmidons* (ἀφείναι τοῦποσ οὐκ αἰδῶς μ' ἔχει²¹) except that she also was ready and not ashamed to *do* something²² in a dream (and then to reveal it). Perhaps we are dealing here with one of many treatments of Ariadne found in Greek and Latin literature,²³ a treatment that exposes the moral dilemma of this character.²⁴ Adherence to *aidos* rules in “reality” and breaking them in a dream vision creates an interesting psychological construct that must have intrigued the reader.²⁵ Moreover, Ariadne's speech gives a profoundly disturbing, provocative and paradoxical answer to the question of what happened to her at the very moment when Theseus was sailing away. This was the kind of not-so-obvious treatment of the topic that readers of Late Antiquity were very fond of. If the term *aidos* and contrasting contexts of its use

¹⁷ As in *D.* 47.345–347. See Perale (2020: 356).

¹⁸ Perale (2020: 356).

¹⁹ As in Medea's famous monologue in Apollonius, often juxtaposed with the lament of Ariadne, see Calzascia (2015: 453): “Medea, la figura che nel poema di Apollonio è per molti aspetti parallela all'Arianna”.

²⁰ See von Erffa (1937: 156) who argues that *aidos* refers “nicht nur” to “das Geschehnis selber”, but also to the act of “davon zu sprechen”.

²¹ Aesch. Fr. 132c.1 Radt = 225.12 Mette.

²² This *something* does not seem right according to the social rules of the society in which she was brought up. Cf. the phrase *nec pudor* signifying the absence of shame in love-related activities in *Ov. Ars* 2. 251, 3. 203; *Rem.* 352.

²³ For an overview of ancient literary images of Ariadne and their modern reception see Brunel (1996: 118–127). The lament uttered by Ariadne in misery on Naxos is, next to the motif of her gazing out to the sea, one of the most frequently cited elements of the story of her abandonment by Theseus. For Ariadne's gaze motif see J. Elsner and his two nearly identical texts of 2007, Elsner (2007: 20–33) and Elsner (2007a: 67–109).

²⁴ For the soliloquies as rhetorical or ecphrastic ethopoeiae in the poetry of Late Antiquity see Verhelst (2017: 221–225).

²⁵ For readers of this text Ariadne appears as an amalgam “of a number of versions made in a handbook of mythology”, as Webster 1966, p. 23, diagnosed late representations of mythological characters. “She is at the same time clothed and naked” – the viewers in Late Antiquity, who knew the mosaics with images of Ariadne on Naxos, could say; for the mosaics devoted to this theme see Shorrock (2014: 314–318).

is indeed the keyword here,²⁶ this time-crippled anonymous piece of late Greek poetry should be considered more sophisticated and meaningful than it might appear at first glance.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions

- Bartoletti Manfredi 1979: V. Bartoletti, M. Manfredi, *Papiri della Società Italiana* XV, Firenze 1979.
 Perale 2020: M. Perale, *Adespota Papyracea Hexametra Graeca (APHex)* I, Berlin 2020.

Studies

- Bartoletti Bastianini Messeri Montanari Pinaudi 2008: V. Bartoletti, G. Bastianini, G. Messeri, F. Montanari, R. Pinaudi, *Papiri greci e latini*, vol. XV, Firenze 2008.
 Brunel 1996: *Companion to Literary Myths, Heroes and Archetypes*, ed. P. Brunel, translated by W. Allatson, J. Hayward and T. Selous, London 1996.
 Cairns 1993: D. L. Cairns, *AIDOS. The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature*, Oxford 1993.
 Calzascia 2015: S. C. Calzascia, *Il carme 64 di Catullo e le Argonautiche di Apollonio Rodio*, Bologna 2015.
 Elsner 2007: J. Elsner, *Viewing Ariadne: From Ekphrasis to Wall Painting in the Roman World*, CPh CII (2007) 20–33.
 Elsner 2007a: J. Elsner, *Roman Eyes. Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text*, Princeton 2007, 67–109.
 Erffa von 1937: C. E. von Erffa, *ΑΙΔΩΣ und verwandte Begriffe in ihrer Entwicklung von Homer bis Demokrit*, Leipzig 1937.
 Fayant 2003: M.-Ch. Fayant, *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques*, tome XVII, texte établi et traduit par M.-Ch. Fayant, Paris 2003.
 McNamee 2008: K. McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*, Chippenham 2008.
 Meliàdò 2013: C. Meliàdò, *Note testuali a papiri epici*, ZPE CLXXXVI (2013), 51–56.
 Miguélez-Cavero 2008: L. Miguélez-Cavero, *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200–600 AD*, Berlin 2008.
 Miguélez-Cavero 2016: L. Miguélez-Cavero, *Nonnus and the Novel*, in: *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis*, ed. D. Accorinti, Leiden-Boston 2016, 549–573.
 Pernigotti 2003: C. Pernigotti, *Notizie relative allo stato attuale del XV volume dei Papiri della Società Italiana*, “Comunicazioni dell’Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli” V (2003), 61–72.
 Rose 1940: H. J. Rose, *Nonnos. Dionysiaca, Books 36–48* with an English translation by W.H.D. Rouse, mythological introduction and notes by H.J. Rose, notes on text criticism by L.B. Lind, Cambridge (Mass.) - London 1940 (repr. 1998).
 Schoess 2022: A. S. Schoess, *Objects of the Lusting Gaze: Viewing Women as Works of Art in Late Antique Poetry*, in: *Greek and Latin Poetry of Late Antiquity. Form, Tradition, and Context*, eds. B. Verhelst, T. Scheijnen, Cambridge 2022, 221–240.

²⁶As the *somnum* repeated in Ovid’s *Letter* 10.

*This publication is the result of research carried out within the project “Late Greek Poetry: A Selection (Edition, Translation, Commentary)” financed from the state budget under the programme implemented by the Minister of Education and Science (Poland) called the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities (no. 0082/NPRH9/H22/88/2021).

- Shorrock 2014: R. Shorrock, *A Classical Myth in a Christian World. Nonnus' Ariadne Episode (Dion. 47.265–745)*, in: K. Spanoudakis ed., *Nonnus of Panopolis in Context. Poetry and Cultural Milieu in Late Antiquity*, Berlin-New York 2014, 322–324.
- Verhelst 2017: B. Verhelst, *Direct Speech in Nonnus' Dionysiaca. Narrative and Rhetorical Functions of the Characters' "Varied" and "Many-Faceted" Words*, Leiden-Boston 2017.
- Webster 1966: T.B.L. Webster, *The Myth of Ariadne From Homer to Catullus*, "Greece and Rome" XIII (1966) No 1, 22–31.

WHILE THESEUS WAS SAILING AWAY
 PSI XV 1468 (= FR. 37 APHEX): A FEW THOUGHTS

S u m m a r y

The fragment of the anonymous hexametric poem preserved on the papyrus from the fourth century CE deals with the myth of Ariadne abandoned by Theseus on Naxos. It contains a monologue by the heroine. The article offers a new reading of verse 12 (οὐκ or, better, οὐδ' αἰδ]ῶς ἐν ὀνειρώτοι) and develops an interpretation of the text as Ariadne's confessions about *aidos* and her attitude to it. The adherence to the rules of *aidos* in "real life" and its rejection in the dream creates a dynamic image of her inner turmoil and sets up an interesting treatment of a woman in love.