

NARRATIVE STRUCTURE AND NARRATIVE TEXTURE
IN THE 'AITHIOPIKA' OF HELIODORUS

James Alan Pletcher

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1997

Full metadata for this item is available in
St Andrews Research Repository
at:

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:

<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/15450>

This item is protected by original copyright

**Narrative Structure and Narrative Texture
in the *Aithiopika* of Heliodoros**



James Alan Pletcher, Ph.D.

12 September 1997

ProQuest Number: 10171087

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10171087

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Tu C336

DECLARATIONS

(i) I, James Alan Pletcher, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 85,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date: 7 July 1997

Signature of Candidate.!

(ii) I was admitted as a research student in September 1993 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in September 1994; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1994 and 1997.

Date: 7 July 1997

Signature of Candidate

(iii) I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date: 7th July 1997

Signature of Supervisor.....

A Unrestricted

In submitting this thesis to the University of St. Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any *bona fide* library or research worker.

Date. 7 July 1997

Signature of Candidate.

ABSTRACT

This thesis consists of four individual studies, divided into two sections: “Narrative Structure” and “Narrative Texture”. The first chapter (“Heliodoros and the Conventions of Romance”) addresses the issue of the essence of romance; it attempts to get behind the narrative of the *Aithiopika* in such a way as to reveal how Heliodoros works within the boundaries and received practice of the genre ancient romance, and how he adapts and deviates from them. The second chapter (“Hearing Voices: Incorporated Genres in the *Aithiopika*”) deals with genre, but in a different context. This study takes a concept—incorporated genre—from the theorist M.M. Bakhtin, and applies it to Heliodoros’ narrative. Here the term “genre” takes on a broader significance, meaning not the romances themselves, but types of narrative, and ways of narrating, which Heliodoros has introduced into his story. Both chapters one and two are systematic analyses of the text; they deal with how Heliodoros has structured his narrative in ways conventional and unconventional.

In the final chapters the term genre encompasses specific works and literary groupings. These studies help to demonstrate how Heliodoros has fleshed out the basic structure of the *Aithiopika*, or, in other words, they provide a feel for some of the texture of the romance. “Heliodoros and Homer” is explicitly narratological in outlook, showing one way in which Heliodoros has provided a paradigm for reading, perhaps not just the novel itself, but specifically within the novel the references to and allusions from Homer. “Heliodoros and Tragedy” tackles the meaning of theatricality, and references to the theatre, in an author writing in the late Roman Empire. But this chapter, too, provides a glimpse at the narrative texture, especially with regard to the way in which Heliodoros co-opted yet another literary predecessor, Euripides.

PREFACE

I first came to the University of St. Andrews as a provisional research student, enrolled in the M.Phil. course. After a year of study, under the guidance of my first supervisor (whom I thank here), Mrs. Elizabeth Craik, I was accepted into the Ph.D. course. From there I switched supervisors to Mr. Peter George, who promptly pointed me towards the ancient novel. He was the first to read, correct, and criticise parts of this thesis, and I also extend my gratitude to him. After his retirement I was again reassigned supervision, this time to the newly appointed Professor, Stephen Halliwell, who has always generously made time for me during the busiest of schedules, and provided invaluable criticisms throughout my study. Thanks are also due to: Dr. Adrian Gratwick and Dr. Christopher Smith for answering various questions and for consistent encouragement; Prof. Ralph Rosen for reading parts of this, and being helpful in general; and Dr. John Morgan for early advice (and off-prints of his articles); and the secretarial staff at the department. I would like to thank Miss Caireen O' Hagan, who has been supportive in an especially difficult time; but above all, thanks to my mother and father, whose contribution to this is beyond estimation.

The transliteration of names and works is an evergreen problem. I have tended to use a literal transliteration (e.g. Heliodoros, *Aithiopika*), except where Latinate forms were the norm (e.g. Longus, Achilles). In some cases this has produced an unsightly hybrid (Achilles Tatius' *Ephesiaka*). The bibliographical references are according to the Harvard system (e.g., "Rohde 1914, p.9"), with full details at the end. The only abbreviation I have used is *CAGN* for Reardon's *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*; all English translations of the novelists, notably Morgan's translation of Heliodoros, are quoted from there. Finally, the Greek text I have used is the standard Budé edition of Rattenbury and Lumb.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declarations	
Abstract	
Preface	
Introduction	1
Part I—Narrative Structure	11
Chapter One:	
Heliodoros and the Conventions of Romance	12
Chapter Two:	
Hearing Voices: Incorporated Genres in the <i>Aithiopika</i>	62
Part II—Narrative Texture	120
Chapter Three:	
Heliodoros and Homer	121
Chapter Four:	
Heliodoros and Tragedy	159
Bibliography	213

The fortunes of the Ancient novel, and of scholarship on it, are peculiar. Practically ignored by its contemporary intelligentsia (witness the lack of a single term for the genre), the novel, in particular those texts we have designated the Greek romances, enjoyed increasing popularity with the Byzantines¹, whom we have to thank for their very preservation, and continued to benefit from rising status through the Renaissance. Unfortunately, changing tastes in both literary composition and scholarship conspired to demote the romances to secondary status amongst the works of antiquity, even the works of late antiquity. The publication of Rohde's *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* in 1876 was a landmark event; with hindsight, it can be seen as a curious paradox, both a benefactor and a hindrance to the study of the genre.

Rohde's book was a good thing for the Ancient novel, if only from the perspective of raising awareness of these texts. It was also (not surprisingly) very influential, laying out the guiding principles of approach to the romances.² For example, it was Rohde's account that filled in the basic background for M.M. Bakhtin's understanding of the Greek romances (Bakhtin 1981, pp.4, 64), who used the ancient texts themselves as a foundation for some of his own theory, including thought on the stylistic development of the novel, and the emergence of heteroglossia. Not all of Rohde's legacy is quite so constructive; after his book, the issue of the-origins of the genre became, for the few scholars still interested in it, the key question, to the near exclusion of other topics. Perry's 1967 book *The Ancient Romances: A Literary-Historical Account of Their Origins* was another landmark, because it represented the opposite end of the spectrum from Rohde's quest for origins. Shifting emphasis from the myriad literary precursors which Rohde had so painstakingly set out, Perry drew attention to the creative impulse of one man, the creator of the genre of Greek romance, whoever he may have been.

¹ For the legacy left by the ancient romances for Greek novelists of a later era, see Beaton 1989, pp.51-66.

² Although soon after publication some of its basic premises (e.g. the chronology of the extant texts) were beginning to appear obsolete; cf. Hägg 1983, p.5-6, and Sandy 1994, p.131-2.

But time has seen the fortunes of the Greek romance restored, if not to the place in educated society it enjoyed in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, then at least to a thriving field of Classical studies. Scholarship on the romances has diversified, encompassing, in one recent collection, everything from “Natural History and Realism” in Longus, to the readership of the romances, to a study of the representation of women and marriage in the romances. And it is not only the approach to the romances which has diversified, but the entire construct of late antique prose fiction. In this same collection we can find articles on Antonius Diogenes, *Apollonius, King of Tyre*, Dictys of Crete, and the *Acts of Peter* alongside Heliodoros and Longus, all under the umbrella of *The Search for the Ancient Novel*.

Perhaps it will have been noticed that in the first two paragraphs of this introduction, I spoke unapologetically of the “genre” of Greek romance, and even blurred the distinction between Greek romance and Ancient novel. I did so at my own risk, because the pressing question concerning these texts no longer seems to be “where did they come from?”, but “do the five ancient works of Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tattius, Longus and Heliodoros constitute a genre?” This is an important question, which affects our outlook on the works themselves as well as the other, “marginal” texts such as the Apocryphal Acts, or even some of Lucian’s writing. The question also reveals something about how much (or, more appropriately, how little) we understand the background of these five texts: there is no ancient account of their genre, and the main problem lies in this lack of ancient attestation, not only of specific writers and works, but also of a generic classification. “Among the ancients... books of this kind were so persistently ignored by literary critics, and so far from being recognized as constituting a distinct or legitimate form of literature fit for discussion, that no proper name for them as a species, such as the modern words novel and romance, ever came into use.” (Perry 1967, p.4) Yet most of the major handbooks or large scale analyses of these texts use, as their starting point, their interrelatedness, and assume that they do constitute

a genre, or at least a significant subgenre (a concept to which I shall return)³ Some are quite forward in their generic boundaries (“The term ‘Ancient Novel’ should...only be used to refer to the idealistic novels and to those works clearly derived from them and containing constant associative links, i.e. the comic-realistic novels.” Holzberg 1995, p.26), while others are willing to allow those boundaries to be stretched (“... a priori definitions of literary forms, and defiances of common usage, usually do more harm than good.” Heiserman 1977, p.4). Why is this assumption made so quickly, and often without apology? Because the texts are remarkably similar to each other in plot, and, to a certain extent, theme. I shall not spell out these similarities here; what the texts have in common, that is, the very essence of romance, and how Heliodoros both deviates from and adheres to this essence, is the subject of my first chapter. Here I will simply quote one of the many outlines of romance offered in the literature, a description of what Létoublon has called “un genre essentiellement répétitif”. “And in essence the texts *are* remarkably similar to each other. Their stories revolve around a common theme of a young man and woman who fall in love, who are subjected to ordeals at the hands of chance or *tyche*, and who eventually marry. All *do* share the same basic pattern and all repeatedly use the same motifs... .” (MacAlister 1996, p.2)

Not everyone, however, agrees with this picture of the genre. Recently, a few voices have dissented from this generic status quo, arguing (mainly from the evidence of fragments) that synopses such as MacAlister’s do not provide an accurate portrayal of the types of texts in existence during Imperial times, but rather only reflect the “genre” as selectively preserved for us by the Byzantines. Selden (1994, p.43) states outright that “there is no evidence that before the modern era the range of texts that we have come to call the ‘ancient novel’ were ever thought of together as constituting a coherent group”, and Sandy (1994, p.142) concludes at the end of his essay, “I have attempted to dispel the

³ Reardon 1991, Perry 1967, and MacAlister 1996 all deal with the five canonical “romances”; Heiserman 1977 includes more works, but clearly has the basic romantic paradigm at the center of his analysis (cf., e.g., “In [hagiography] the material and technical conventions of romance... undergo surprising transformations”); and Holzberg 1995 and Hägg 1983 subdivide the prose narratives, e.g. “The Ideal Greek Novel” (Hägg), “The Idealistic Novel” (Holzberg).

notion that Greek prose fiction adhered to an idealized norm.” In both of these essays the main concern seems to be that by “canonizing” the five fully extant romances in the genre of “Ancient novel”, other texts will be marginalized and be “judged” against them (Selden 1994, p.44), or that we will fail to “appreciate the diversity of plot, tone and form achieved by Greek writers of prose fiction” (Sandy 1994, p.142), much in the same way, perhaps, that the romances themselves were devalued in comparison to literature from the Archaic and Classical periods by previous generations of scholars.

Perhaps the loudest, and certainly most impressive, dissenting voice in this debate has been that of Stephens and Winkler, as expressed in their publication of the fragmentary novels. They do not seem convinced at all that the pattern established by the five remaining texts was something typical of the genre at all, ascribing the similarities to the same god who plays such a prominent role in the novels themselves: “As chance has it, the ‘big five’ Greek novels fall into a single pattern.” (Stephens and Winkler 1995, p.4) Throughout the general introduction, as well as the commentaries on individual fragments, attention is constantly being drawn to ways in which the fragments exhibit aspects not in keeping with the “idealized” version of the generic model. One example is the *Phoinikika* of Lollianos, which, far from ideal, “is to be located in the seamier regions of criminal-satiric fiction” (Ibid., p.315), dealing with “criminal low-life and cult groups, often in an amusing or slightly scandalous fashion”. (Ibid., p.7) Sandy (1994, pp.139-41) also adduces this fragment, along with *Iolaos*, as evidence for a wider generic construct. Holzberg, on the other hand, has Lollianos grouped under the heading “Idealistic Novel”, so presumably he does not find it as subversive to the generic conventions as Winkler et al. do. “However, our fragments show no trace of comic or satirical traits, so we have no reason to number the *Phoenicica* amongst the comic-realistic novels.” (Holzberg 1995, p.55) To this one might add that low-lives do appear even in the “ideal” novels; if we had only 2.15 of Achilles Tatius’ novel, what would we conclude from the bandits’ disembowelment of Leukippe, and subsequent cannibal meal?

Another of the fragments which Stephens and Winkler use as evidence for a broader concept of the genre is Antonius Diogenes' *Incredible Things beyond Thule*. In what must have been a very long work⁴, Diogenes' subjects include, but do not afford pride of place to, the theme of love. Stephens and Winkler (1995, p.109-10) are quick to point out the problem that this may pose for Diogenes and the genre: "If teen romance is regarded as the core of the novel-writing project, then Diogenes' work is by definition a marginal work, not a central masterpiece." How a work can go from masterpiece to marginal simply by its exclusion from a group of other works is another subject; here the point is that Diogenes' remains ought to be included in any discussion of the Ancient novel. This amounts to broadening the spectrum of the genre from the outside, that is, bringing in or including works which are constructed differently from, and deal with other themes than, the five extant romances. On the other hand, the genre may also be broadened from the inside. Iamblichos' *Babyloniaka*, while not surviving in its original form, does come down to us in summary form in Photios' *Bibliotheka* (73b24-78a39). Unlike Diogenes' work, Iamblichos' story is romantic in theme, and is included under "Ideal Romance" in both Hägg's and Holzberg's treatments. Yet, because of the "lurid effects" (Holzberg 1995, p.85), and the "emotional tension that is constantly breaking out between the hero and heroine", Stephens and Winkler (1995, p.179) conclude that "it is a wonder that anyone could ever refer to this work as an 'ideal romance'." In other words, just as the genre of the ancient novel should include non-erotic works, even the assumptions behind the genre based on some of the texts (albeit fragmentary) should be reassessed. Yet this contention ignores the critical commentary of the man who is our source of information about the *Babyloniaka* itself, Photios. Far from commenting on its distance from the other romances in terms of its dissolution, Photios points out that ἔστι δὲ τῆ αἰσχρολογίᾳ τοῦ μὲν Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ Τατίου ἦττον ἐκπομπεύων, ἀναιδέστερον δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ Φοῖνιξ Ἡλιόδωρος προσφερόμενος· οἱ γὰρ τρεῖς οὗτοι σχεδόν τι τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν προθέμενοι ἐρωτικῶν δραμάτων ὑποθέσεις ὑπεκρίθησαν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἡλιόδωρος σεμνότερόν τε καὶ εὐφημότερον, ἦττον δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰάμβλιχος, αἰσχροῶς δὲ

⁴ Our sources include a summary by Photios (109a6-112a2), quotations from other writers, and two papyri; see Stephens and Winkler 1995, pp.120ff.

καὶ ἀναιδῶς ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀποχρώμενος. (73b25-32) On Photios' testimony, then, the *Babyloniaka* would fit well into the generic pattern established in part by Heliodoros and Achilles Tatius, not undermine it.

I do not wish to discredit the position of those who are attempting to “broaden” the genre, however. This impulse can be a positive one; after all, it was a similar questioning of the status which helped to bring the romances themselves to a level of acceptability within the canon of “classical” literature. What I want to do is to isolate the main concern of this line of thinking. It seems to me that there is a fear that some works will become, or remain, marginal, if we continue to focus on the romance as the central paradigm for the genre. This fear is informed by the viewpoint that generic definition is, at root, negative; that is, the act of generic classification serves only to enshrine certain texts, thus guaranteeing their dissemination and prolonged prestige, while excluding certain other texts, which may often be read as “subversive” to the genre as a whole. Moreover, by grouping texts together by genre, we may devalue the individuality of any one work in favor of emphasising certain generic or common features which that particular text may lack. In this sense, genre is viewed as a negative concept, one which limits our interpretation and appreciation of a text by the imposition of *a priori* conventions or expectations. This negativity is especially pronounced in the case of ancient prose fiction; unlike tragedy or comedy, or even, to a lesser extent, epic and philosophy, there is no ancient testimony as to what might have been included in, or looked for from members of, the genre.⁵ But while generic classification can, indeed, be tyrannical, it is not necessarily so. The delineations and expectations we can formulate in such a classification can also be enlightening and helpful, instead of merely restricting. Viewed in this way, genres can be viewed as guidelines and signposts to approaching a text, pointing out areas of commonality, not limitations built around a corpus of literature like a fence which allows no passage from one area of interpretation to another. Genre can be a positive concept

⁵ Selden (1994, p.39) also draws attention to this point; “All ancient genres originated in important and recurrent real-life situations.”

because it can illuminate; it is a useful tool, not for exclusion, but through comparison through which “diversity of plot, tone and form” (Sandy 1994, p.142) can be more fully appreciated.

Does the state of scholarship on the Ancient novel warrant such a reassessment of the generic construct anyway? It is undeniable that the romances occupy a central place, along with the works of Petronius and Apuleius; but they are the only set of directly connected texts in existence, and the values and conventions which inform these romances (and which I shall articulate in this dissertation) do seem to have concerned every author of prose fiction in antiquity to a greater or lesser extent, whether through the convention of travel and adventure (Antonius Diogenes, Lucian’s *A True Story*, *The Pseudo-Clementines*) or love (the fragments *Chione*, *Sesonchosis*, *Ninos*). As I stated above, both Hägg and Holzberg in their introductions to the genre divide the prose fictions into subgenres, of which the romances are only one. Other categories include the Historical Novel, Hagiographic Novel, and the Roman Comic Novel⁶ (Hägg), or the Comic-Realistic Novel, which includes *Iolaos*, Pseudo-Lucian’s *Ass*, and the Roman Novels (Holzberg). In fact, it seems to me that such divisions are inevitable; as I stated above, they are a necessary and useful step in our coming to terms with and appreciation of these texts.⁷ In the final analysis, everyone who is concerned with these texts, and their interrelatedness, must impose some guidelines— even Stephens and Winkler (1995, p.248) speak of the “*sine qua non* of novelistic adventure”. Based on what we now know, it seems unlikely that the five romances will lose their central place as the major subgenre; for one thing, they are perhaps the most engaging to the contemporary mind, since they are the direct precursors of modern prose fiction, and, for another, they are the most workable, since they are fully extant (the epitome of the *Ephesiaka*

⁶ One important issue raised by Stephens and Winkler concerning the fragments is the interrelationship between Greek and Roman comic novels, previously assumed to be a parody of the former by the latter; that assumption is called into question by some of the content of some of the fragments. Cf. Stephens and Winkler 1995, p.7.

⁷ Nor should it be particularly troubling when one hears mention of the “genre” of romance, though it is best thought of as a subgenre; we often refer to subgenres as genres in themselves, e.g. “the genre of the Crime novel”.

notwithstanding). The fragments are helpful, and can help us to understand the original breadth of the genre, but in the end they are limited because they are fragments. To a certain extent, this is ultimately a semantic argument; if we broaden the definition from “romance” to “novel”, and in so doing include the works of Lucian, pseudo-Lucian, and pseudo-Callisthenes (amongst others), the relationship between the other five texts remains unchanged, and we are then dealing with a subgenre rather than a genre.⁸

If we have come to a solution concerning the question of genre, there is still a related problem to be resolved. What, exactly, do we call our subgenre of Chariton, Xenophon, Longus, Achilles Tatius and Heliodoros? Again, the root of problem lies in the lack of ancient attestation. I have been cheating with regard to this problem already; in my discussion I have used both the terms “romance” and “novel” without defining either clearly. The five extant works listed above I have referred to as romances; this is for the simple reason that romance is a central issue in all five of them. Other works of prose fiction do not have the theme of love so centrally placed, and these have been referred to more broadly as novels. Thus, we return to the issue of genre and subgenre: the romance, in other words, is to novel as a square is to a rectangle— not all Ancient novels are romances. This, it seems to me, is the clearest way to apply existing terminology to the genre as a whole.⁹ My studies on Heliodoros use both terms; in the first chapter, romance is the term of preference, since the theme of romance is prominent in my analysis. In the other chapters, I often use the term novel to describe the *Aithiopiaka*. This is not meant to be provocative. Neither of these terms has any particular ideology behind it in my analysis, but both are accurate in generic classification of Heliodoros’ long work.

⁸ Also, as I noted above, the two recently published collections hardly overemphasize the romances; of the twenty-four articles in Tatum 1994, six articles deal explicitly with “marginal” works, and in Morgan and Stoneman 1994, the second section (“The love romances”) accounts for only six out of sixteen articles.

⁹ Both Hägg (1983) and Holzberg (1995) eschew the title of romance for Heliodoros et al., preferring “Ideal” or “Idealistic Novel” instead. Perry (1967) and Reardon (1991) use romance; the “term, as used on the continent of Europe, includes everything that we mean by novel, along with other and kindred varieties of narrative which we shall have to consider...”. (Perry 1967, p.3)

This discussion of generic strictures is relevant to these studies in Heliodoros, not only because it lays a necessary foundation for the romance and its genre, but also because it raises the very issue of genre itself. This concept, in different ways and in various manifestations, informs all four of the chapters. The first study (“Heliodoros and the Conventions of Romance”) addresses the issue of the essence of romance; it attempts to get behind the narrative of the *Aithiopika*, to strip down the narrative in such a way as to reveal how Heliodoros works within the boundaries and received practice of the genre, and how he adapts and deviates from them. In this way, I hope that this chapter will help to clarify my contention that generic boundaries need not limit our appreciation of an individual author’s nuances, deviations, and idiosyncrasies; inclusion in a genre does not have to translate into a discounting of any text’s power of innovation. The second chapter (“Hearing Voices: Incorporated Genres in the *Aithiopika*”) deals with genre, but in a different context. For this study I have taken a concept—incorporated genre—from the theorist M.M. Bakhtin, and applied it to Heliodoros’ narrative. Here the term “genre” takes on a much broader significance, meaning not the romances themselves, but types of narrative, and ways of narrating, which Heliodoros has introduced into his story. Both chapters one and two are systematic analyses of the text; they deal with the way Heliodoros has structured his narrative in ways conventional and unconventional.

In the final chapters the term genre again encompasses specific works and literary groupings. These studies help to demonstrate how Heliodoros has fleshed out the basic structure of the *Aithiopika*, or, in other words, they provide a feel for some of the texture of the romance. “Heliodoros and Homer” is explicitly narratological in outlook, showing one way in which Heliodoros has provided a paradigm for reading, perhaps not just the novel itself, but specifically within the novel the references to and allusions from Homer. “Heliodoros and Tragedy” tackles a slightly thornier issue, that of the meaning of theatricality, and references to the theatre, in an author writing in the late Roman Empire.

But this chapter, too, provides a glimpse at the narrative texture, especially with regard to the way in which Heliodoros co-opted yet another literary predecessor, Euripides.

Part I

Narrative Structure

Chapter One

Heliodoros and the Conventions of Romance

We speak of a genre, of a group of texts linked together closely, and include in that genre *Chaereas and Kallirhoe*, *Ephesiaka*, *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, *Daphnis and Chloe*, and Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*. But why do we call these works a genre? What is the relationship between these texts that allows us to classify them together? Any casual reading of them will reveal certain similarities; they are all written in prose, are all fairly long, and are fictional. If we analyze them more carefully, we might come to agree with the basic synopsis of Reardon: "The outline of these stories is usually as follows: a handsome youth and a beautiful girl meet by chance and fall in love, but unexpected obstacles obstruct their union; they are separated, and each is launched on a series of journeys and dangerous adventures; through all their tribulations, however, they remain faithful to each other and to the benevolent deities who at critical junctures guide their steps; and eventually they are reunited and live happily ever after." (Reardon 1991, p.5) This list gives some structural elements that these stories all have, to some extent, in common. They differ, of course, according to the space they allot to these elements; there is little travel in Longus (but this is not the same as saying that there is little adventure; there is plenty of that, after a Pastoral fashion), as has been well noticed¹⁰, and in a strict sense Kleitophon does not remain faithful to Leukippe (5.27; although he and others do their best to cover it up, 8.5, 11); but all of these elements can be found in one form or another in each of the romances.

This is a general outline of the genre of Greek romance, including some of its characteristics. A general outline of plot features does not, however, give a full picture of all the thematic elements of a genre, no more than if epic were explained as a verse work about heroes, sometimes including battles and sometimes including travel, or a mixture of the two. There are overarching themes that these romances have in common, as well as structural similarities. A quick glance at the above definition will show that love seems to play a major role; in fact there is no more dominant theme in these texts than love and its

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Reardon 1991, p.30ff.

vicissitudes, what an individual endures for the fulfillment of his and/or her love, and even the superiority of different types of love. Love is responsible, ultimately, for the adventures of our heroes and heroines, for Daphnis as for Kallirhoe, and for Leukippe as for Habrokomes. And that leads to another feature which these five texts all share: love's fulfillment, or, to put it another way, the happy ending. Perry summed up the genre accurately after all with an offhand remark, referring in passing to the stories as "a love affair that ends in complete felicity." (Perry 1967, p.5) These are two themes that are undeniably present in, and at the fore of, each of the romances. No other theme or motif, not travel, adventure, or chastity can be traced so clearly in their plots; and in fact one may see how these other themes are a subset of, or made possible by, love and the happy ending. In discussing Chariton's romance, Reardon said "Certainly it makes the most of one set of possibilities that the form of prose fiction has developed in various periods—its potential for 'romantic' content, in fact. In such a story, convention rules: Beauty will lead inevitably to Love, Love to Marriage, and Marriage—after vicissitudes—to Felicity." (Reardon, *CAGN*, pp.20-1) This convention, of love and the happy ending, is the basic defining feature of the genre.¹¹

Perhaps a brief look at the texts in question will help to show that these themes were established convention for the genre. First, Chariton: we have the testimony of Reardon, quoted above, as well as other commentators¹². In the very first sentence, Chariton gives the basic statement of his romance. . πάθος ἐρωτικὸν ἐν Συρρακούσαις γεινόμενον διηγῆσομαι. (1.1.1) This is deliberate understatement, but not deception. That love is the theme of the work is highlighted by the fact that he (Eros) is the first active character, introduced even before the hero, Chaereas. Ὁ δὲ Ἔρως ζεῦγος ἴδιον ἠθέλησε συμπλέξει (1.1.3), and it is his devising that propels the story on its way. Eros' mother,

¹¹ It is important to stress here that my purpose in so clearly defining the genre is not to make all these works seem as similar as possible, but to point out their basic similarities as belonging to the same genre. As Hägg (1983, p.6) says, "It is true that the novels build on a common theme, but the variations are many and the individual authors should be clearly distinguished." I hope to thus distinguish one of these authors in this chapter.

¹² "The most straightforward and unpretentious love story..." (Anderson 1982, p.13); "Romance as it should be written" (Perry 1930, p.129).

Aphrodite, plays no less prominent a role, for example, through her divine intervention at 8.1, as well as the closing scene of the romance, which presents Kallirhoe in the temple of Aphrodite. At 8.8.15, Χάρις σοί... Ἀφροδίτη is the cry on her lips for her and Chaereas' safe return. And this likewise establishes the second element of the romantic convention, the happy ending. These elements are so clear in Chariton that he perhaps would be looked to as the "father of romance", if the fragments did not exclude that title on chronological grounds. But whether Chariton established the conventions of romance, or inherited them, it is possible that his story was imitated by another romance writer (Xenophon of Ephesus¹³), and it is probable that it solidified romantic convention.

That brings us to the second of the romances, Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaka*. It is not difficult to prove his dependence on romantic convention; in fact, its translator called "the narrative...the basic pattern of late¹⁴ Greek romance... The story thus offers a model against which more developed examples may be measured."¹⁵ Eros again is introduced early in the story, at 1.1, and at 1.2 the god of love intervenes in the lives of hero and heroine in that familiar way. ἐνταῦθα ὀρώσιν ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἀλίσκεται Ἀνθία ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀβροκόμου, ἠτῶνται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἔρωτος Ἀβροκόμης... (1.3.1) Love plays a part in the subsequent adventures, often to the detriment (e.g. 1.15, 2.3, 11, 13, and 5.4), but ultimately to the benefit of the hero and heroine. Love is also the theme of two significant digressions in the story, at 3.2 and 5.1. In the story of Xenophon, the generic conventions of the fulfillment of love and the happy ending are barefacedly prominent; and the romance found its basic expression. "If we want to learn about the novel as it might have looked in its original shape... then we have to stick to Chariton and Xenophon..." (Hägg 1983, p.34-5)

¹³ See the introduction to Anderson's translation of Xenophon, *CAGN*, p.126; Papanikolaou 1973, p.153ff; and Hägg 1983, p.18ff.

¹⁴ I do not know what Anderson means by "late Greek romance". In "romance" he must be including all ancient literature with romantic content, in which case Xenophon would be relatively late; amongst the extant romances, the consensus is that his is chronologically the second in order, perhaps as much as 300 years before Heliodoros.

¹⁵ Anderson *CAGN*, p.125.

The romances of Chariton and Xenophon are the two non-sophistic romances; that is to say, these texts do not reflect the influence of the Second Sophistic.¹⁶ The romances of Longus and Achilles Tattius are products of the Second Sophistic, however; and as such, they ought to, and do, represent variations on the romantic convention. But if these novels are sophistic romances, they are romance first and sophistic exercise second, for they still follow to a large extent the prescriptions of the genre as seen in Chariton and Xenophon. Achilles Tattius is very much praised for his “sophistication”, for his introduction of the ego-narrative, and for the elements of humor in his story.¹⁷ But even for all this, the main plot line, and the major recurring theme of the romance, has to do with love. Certainly this is a refined form of love—it is not the “simple and naive concept we saw in Chariton” (Reardon 1991, p.37) — but love is Achilles the Artist’s main topos, even in his ekphrases¹⁸ (1.1-2,5,15, etc.) and digressions (1.8, 16, 2.1, etc.). But here we are beginning to see the first testing of the bounds of romance; Reardon commented on the author’s use of ambiguity towards the presentation of love, saying that “he is almost guying the convention, in fact; making sport of the simple sentiments that inform a naive romance... It seems easier now to see it as verging on parody, though perhaps not unmitigated parody—there is much in the work that would not after all be too out of place in another romance... . ‘Achilles Tattius,’ said Rattenbury, ‘seems to have been to Greek Romance what Euripides was to Greek Tragedy. He broke down the conventions.’” (Reardon 1991, p.37-8) He certainly broke down some of the conventions, at any rate; and yet in basic thematic outline his romance is still conventional, even if his practice is ambiguous. The fulfillment of the love of Leukippe and Kleitophon is the main and overriding theme; this is the premise from the start, and even though Achilles takes liberties with the theme of chastity and fidelity, this is still the theme at the end, where the story ends, in keeping with romantic convention, happily ever after. Thus even the

¹⁶ On the Second Sophistic, see Anderson 1993; Hägg 1983, p.104-8, and a fuller bibliography on p.242; Reardon 1991, p.89-90, and ch. 6 for influence on romance; also *CHCL* 1.4, pp.95-102.

¹⁷ “His writing about a serious love affair, freely invented, as about something that happened in his own time (but not to himself personally) is without parallel, insofar as I can recall, in ancient literature.” Perry 1967, p.113.

¹⁸ See Bartsch 1989.

subversive Achilles Tatius falls in line, in the end, with much of the generic prescription for romance.

Longus, then, remains to be analyzed in our brief account of romantic convention. And it is fitting that he should be the last, since his romance is, in a sense, the most straightforwardly romantic of all. The lack of adventure could be a stumbling block in the way to understanding the romantic nature of this work, as could be the exceedingly refined and erudite— in a word, sophisticated, in the fashion of the Second Sophistic— style of the author. But as Reardon points out, “The elements are all there; the difference is in the presentation, not in the content.” (1991, p.33) Love as a theme, and a plot force, in *Daphnis and Chloe* is overwhelming. The statement of the author after the opening ekphrasis illustrates this neatly, where the author dedicates his book to Ἐρωτι καὶ Νύμφαις καὶ Παισί, and then expresses his hope that Eros will keep him from the passions he is writing about. Hardly could anything be presented as being more singular to the proposed significance of a work, however one interprets an author’s statement of intention. There are, of course, other themes and motifs in this novel, not least of which is the pastoral theme¹⁹ (notice in particular how, after introducing love in his work, the author immediately sets out to establish the pastoral basis by narrating the discovery and naming of the children, instead of turning straightway to the meeting and falling in love of the protagonists as Chariton, Xenophon and Achilles do); but love is the major player, both thematically and in the plot. *Daphnis and Chloe* includes Love’s only epiphany in the romances (2.3). As for the conventional happy ending, this is more of a topical issue; whether or not we read the final sentence as “ominous”²⁰, the ending is happy in the traditional sense—the lovers are in love, and in the end each receives, with much rejoicing, their beloved. So the generic conventions of romance obtain in Longus, as well as the other three authors.

¹⁹ See Hunter 1983, pp.59-98.

²⁰ See Winkler 1990, p.124, and Goldhill 1995, pp.30-45.

Of course, such a simplification of the genre leaves out other important features of the romances. One of these features is the use and/or influence of older works. Prominent in this area is epic, especially Homer. "The novel is the genuine heir of epic — in function, in structure, and also from a historical and chronological point of view. The *Odyssey* is the prototype of the Greek novel... ." (Hägg 1983, p.110) Romance's inheritance from epic is more than function or structure, however. Individual authors make use of Homer for their own thematic purposes, as well. Chariton's use of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is striking; the quotations practically leap off the page²¹, as he adopts phrases or entire lines directly into the syntax and dialogue of his characters. At 3.5, for example, we see Chaereas' mother beseeching him, quoting *Iliad* 22.82-3. "Τέκνον" φησί, "Τάδ' αἶδεο καί μ' ἐλέησον / Αὐτήν, εἴ ποτέ τοι λαθικηδέα μαζὸν ἐπέσχον." Achilles Tatius' characters also quote Homer (e.g. 2.36, cf. *Iliad* 20.234 ff.), and Xenophon of Ephesus is not without his own Homeric echoes (1.8, in his description of Ares and Aphrodite on the tapestry). Heliodoros is the example *par excellence* of manipulation of Homeric allusion, though, as we shall see when we consider the question of his use of Homer. Literary allusion is not limited to epic, of course; Longus excels in pastoral. Historiography is also prominent, as is drama, both tragic and comic, New as well as Old comedy. These literary reminiscences, quotations and allusions form an important part of the way romance was written, an integral (if not essential) part of the generic conventions which Heliodoros inherited in turn when he wrote his *Aithiopika*.

Heliodoros' romance has always been considered one of the better specimens of the genre, for various reasons. Reardon summed up the relationship between Heliodoros and the previous authors. "[The *Aithiopika*] is the romance to end all romances. Anything you can do, the author seems to be saying to his predecessors, I can do better, and at twice the length. It is spectacular as no earlier romance is spectacular... ." (1991, p.38-9) But

²¹ Especially in Reardon's translation, where they are set off from the rest of the text, centered on the page.

how, exactly, is Heliodoros to be distinguished from his predecessors? Is it a question of quality? Such a question will never receive a satisfactory answer, because each of the romances has its own merit, each is strong in a unique way. Is it then a question of scale—in other words, is Heliodoros a superior artist because his canvas is larger? Again, the answer to this question is obvious; would Longus have necessarily improved his romance merely by lengthening it? I think one part of the answer is found in Heliodoros' narrative ability, as manifested both in the structure and in the composition of the text. For example, his is the only extant work of the genre to begin *in medias res*, which represents a break with the established romantic convention, and an allusion to epic convention. There are also the inset tales of the romance; they are certainly more substantial than any which precede them in any other romance, and they play more of an active role in the plot structure itself. An example of this is Kalasiris' flashback narrative, from 2.25.5 to 5.1.3, and 5.17.2 to 5.33.3. This narrative fills in the details that happened before the story began, as well as serving other narrative purposes; it is the best known example, but not the only one, and I shall return to these analeptic narratives in this paper. These are some specific things in which Heliodoros distinguishes himself from his predecessors. However, I do not think that this is the only way he may be distinguished; I shall argue that the *Aithiopika* is marked out from the romances not only by way of its stylistic or structural features, but also by the generic assumptions which underlie the text.

Before I explore Heliodoros' relationship to romantic convention, a word of explanation is in order. The *Aithiopika* is a romance, no doubt about it. I shall argue, however, that there are aspects of the generic features of romance of which Heliodoros was less than univocal in acceptance. That is to say, the "sentiments which inform romance", and the features by which we recognize Ideal Greek Romance, still inform and still obtain in Heliodoros' work. To take another example: there are many of the conventions of pastoral which surface in *Daphnis and Chloe*, but these conventions do not dominate the text, because if they did, we would speak of it as a prose pastoral rather than a romance. Heliodoros must have been aware of these considerations, even if the genre

was as yet unnamed, and used them; he had to, after all, if he wanted to write a romance and not something else. Yet there is something different about Heliodoros, I think; even in using the conventions of romance, he is ambiguous towards them in a way different from Longus or Achilles Tatius. For, as we have seen in the basic outline of romantic convention, the basic themes of love, and its fulfillment (the happy ending), form the underlying theme of all four previous romances. It remains to be seen exactly how Heliodoros dealt with these themes, the very essence of romance.

A problem facing any writer of fiction is, What am I going to write about?²² The solution the genre of ideal romance offered was to write about a pair of lovers, both beautiful, and their troubles in finding fulfillment of that love, troubles imposed from (usually) outside the relationship by circumstances beyond their control. The way the writers of romance held (or attempted to hold) their readers' attention was to build suspense around the outcome of the troubles the lovers encountered. Now, we have already seen that, according to the genre, the outcome was guaranteed; the lovers would find happiness. So the author was left with the dilemma of having to build suspense between the poles of stock beginning (two ideal lovers) and stock ending (love's fulfillment). And individual authors had individual solutions; Chariton used the idea of marital strife and domestic violence (caused by false rumors) to begin the problems of his characters, then used historical personages to build a sense of grand struggle in his story. Xenophon was master of the *Scheintod*, and near death experience. Longus made the ignorance of his protagonists the main obstacle to the happy ending (but also used some stock romantic and New comic characters to threaten their happiness once ignorance was no longer a problem), and Achilles Tatius toyed with the heroism of his hero, along with having the usual pirates and shipwrecks. But in all of these romances, even with their various approaches, the main conflict of the text is, these two handsome youngsters are in love, but how will they overcome their obstacles? This conflict is, as we have seen,

²² A discussion of this question, and the various solutions of the romance writers, can be found in Reardon 1991, ch. 5.

central to the genre, and, as a central consideration, it exists also in Heliodoros. All of the elements are there: a beautiful maiden, a handsome youth, and an undeniable love between them. Thus from the beginning of the text, from the very first scene, in fact, the basic convention is evident; these are the signposts that say, "Welcome to Romance." In fact, the first section (up to the meeting of Knemon and Kalasiris, and the latter's narrative) is dedicated to the establishment of the theme of Romantic Love.

The first major danger to our lead characters is Thyamis, the bandit chief, who wants to marry Charikleia; this danger is averted in part by Charikleia's delaying tactics, but also by Thyamis' apparent slaying of Charikleia in the cave, to which I shall return in the analysis of character development. It is necessary to note here that both dangers are primarily towards Charikleia, first towards her chastity, then towards her very life. However a threat to one character is, by implication, a threat to both, since if anything were to happen to one of them, it would prevent their love's fulfillment. Yet, observing on whom the danger is focused can reveal how much importance an author places on any particular character; and in this case we can see that already most of the early action centers on Charikleia, and is presented as a danger primarily to her. This is the case with the proposed marriage, the locking in the cave, and the mistaken identity murder; they are threats that come from a menacing source, and spell certain doom for Charikleia if they are carried out (or are as they appear to have been carried out). The only danger to Theagenes directly comes not from a menacing or murderous boukolos, but from himself; he thinks that Charikleia has been killed, and so he wants to kill himself, the only honorable recourse for a romantic hero. Although he contemplates suicide (2.2.1, 2.5.1), however, Knemon is at hand to make sure he is no real danger to himself, either by knocking the sword from his hand (2.2.1), stealthily removing it (2.3.4), or recognizing Charikleia's living voice through the depths of the cave (2.5.3). Even in the earliest phases of the text, there seems to be much more danger and suspense surrounding Charikleia's well-being than Theagenes'; but this is jumping the gun, the ground of romance has hardly been laid.

There is, again, little doubt that the generic conventions are being followed in the early parts of the text. Romance is truly in the air when Theagenes and Charikleia are reunited (2.6.3): Καὶ ἡ μὲν "ἔχω σε, Θεάγενες", ὁ δὲ "ζῆς μοι, Χαρίκλεια" πολλάκις ἔλεγον καὶ τέλος εἰς τοῦδαφος ἀθρόον καταφέρονται καὶ εἶχοντο ἀλλήλων ἄναυδοι μὲν ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἠνωμένοι καὶ μικροῦ ἔδει ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτούς. Yet there is another theme introduced in the earliest part of the novel, a theme that will develop into rivalry even with the conventional theme of love and its fulfillment: this theme is nostos, or homecoming, and tied in with it is the idea of recognition by one's parents.²³ It first surfaces with Knemon's tale: there are many themes wrapped up in the story of his domestic intrigue, but the recounting of his exile from home ends unresolved; that is to say, he knows that he is able to go home, but for some reason known only to him, he has been unable to return. He relates how his friend Charias told him the resolution of Demainete's plot, her suicide clearing the way for his return. So Knemon's tale ends in a sort of limbo, or in deferral; nostos is possible, but is unfulfilled for some unknown reason. He is not the only character (besides Charikleia) in exile in book 1, however. In his speech made to appeal for Charikleia's hand in marriage, Thyamis reveals some of his background, as well. Ἐγὼ γάρ, ὡς ἴστε, παῖς μὲν προφήτου τοῦ ἐν Μέμφει γεγονώς, ἀποτυχὼν δὲ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπαναχώρησιν, ἀδελφοῦ νεωτέρου ταύτην παρελέσθαι παρανομήσαντος... (1.19.4) Heliodoros intensifies the situation at the end of book 1 by explaining the surprise attack on the boukoloι as a plot of Thyamis' brother Petosiris; and at 7.2.2 we are told the background for Thyamis' exile, a background strikingly similar to Knemon's. But this, again, is jumping the gun. Finally, there is another element introduced quite unexpectedly. At 2.16.1, Charikleia has a dream in which an ominous looking man puts out her right eye. She assumes that this means she and Theagenes are to be separated, but Knemon has a very different interpretation. "ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἄλλη πη φράζεσθαι τὸ ὄναρ καταφαίνεται· καὶ εἶγε σοι πατέρες εἰσὶν

²³ This theme carries the full force of both nostos as well as anagnorismos. For brevity's sake I shall refer to it simply as the nostos theme, and point out the elements of parental recognition where they are especially significant.

ἀπόκριναι." Τῆς δὲ ὁμολογούσης καὶ "εἶποτε ἦσαν" εἰπούσης, "οὐκοῦν τὸν πατέρα σοι τεθνηκέναι νόμιζε" ἔλεγε. (2.16.5) Here, the idea of separation from one's parents is evident, as it was in both Knemon's and Thyamis' tales. But the most intriguing aspect of this exchange is Charikleia's response to Knemon's (apparently straightforward) question: εἶποτε ἦσαν. It seems that Charikleia does not know if her parents are alive or dead; and it is implied that she has never even known her parents. This is Heliodoros' subtle way of introducing the theme, to become of paramount importance, of Charikleia's separation from her parents.²⁴

The first part of the romance ends with Knemon and Thermouthis heading off, with plans to reunite at Chemmis. The narrative follows Knemon's activity, as he leaves Thermouthis to his fate, and eventually meets Kalasiris, not Charikleia and Theagenes, at Chemmis. This is the unofficial break between the first and second parts of the romance, with the recollected narrative of Kalasiris forming a substantial portion of the novel as a whole. A word is in order here about the difficulties of interpretation in dealing with flashback narrative. It introduces a dichotomy in the text, whose respective parts are known (according to narratological lingo) as *récit* and *histoire*. *Récit* refers to the text as it stands in narrative order, that is, the text as it is, with the flashback narratives as flashback narratives. *Histoire*, on the other hand, refers to the events narrated in the text, but as they would have occurred in a normal chronological narration of them. Thus, for example, according to *récit* Kalasiris' account of Theagenes and Charikleia falling in love occurs after we already know that they are in love, but according to *histoire*, the events at Delphi took place before the opening scene at the Heracleotic mouth of the Nile. This is an important distinction because, although we encounter characters and events according to *récit*, we tend to reckon character, plot and thematic motivation according to *histoire*. This is why, although the opening scene is nearly 120 pages before the battle of the pirates which created it, we say that Charikleia and Theagenes were on the beach at

²⁴ For discussion of the interpretation of this dream, see Winkler 1982, pp.115ff. Although he argues that the dream's solution is to be found in the death of Kalasiris, the statement "Yes, if ever they were." retains its cryptic significance.

1.1.1 because of what happened at 5.32.1. This is a simple example; but this interplay of *récit* and *histoire* is important for understanding the underlying themes of the *Aithiopika*, as we shall see.

As it turns out, it is in this narrative that the theme of the *nostos* and parental recognition of Charikleia receives its first full expression, and becomes linked with the generically conventional theme of the fulfillment of love. Knemon, having discovered that Kalasiris knows Theagenes and Charikleia, presses Kalasiris to tell him their story. Kalasiris reluctantly agrees, but he first— “as the logical way to present [his] narrative and an indispensable preliminary” (2.24.5)— tells Knemon of his own origins. This “indispensable preliminary” includes the story of his own leaving home, again under very similar circumstances to both Knemon and Thyamis (who turns out to be his son). In his exile he travels to Delphi, where he is greeted by an oracle : Τέτλαθι, σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ κυαναύλακος Αἰγύπτιοιο / αἶψα πέδον δώσω. (2.26.4) The emphasis on the theme of homecoming is evident—and not just in broad terms, but specifically concerning Charikleia. Kalasiris meets another priest by the name of Charikles, who relates to the Egyptian priest Kalasiris the story of how he was entrusted by an Ethiopian with a daughter of obvious wealth (notice the jewels and band given with the girl) but uncertain parentage. This girl, of course, turns out to be Charikleia. Thus, before we are given the background to Theagenes and Charikleia’s love, we are given the background to Charikleia’s birth; in other words, the first main theme of Kalasiris’ narrative is the unresolved *nostos* of Charikleia. Recognition, too, will play its important part, for the band and jewels that belong to Charikleia will also play an important role. This is no doubt the “logical” presentation of the narrative, the “indispensable preliminary”; just how indispensable remains to be seen.

This story of Charikles and Charikleia sets the stage, as it were, for the reintroduction of the love theme. It presupposes the meeting and falling in love of Theagenes and Charikleia, which happens in book 3. But before they actually fall in love,

or even see each other, there occurs an event which, I will argue, is central to an understanding of the themes of nostos/recognition, and love/its fulfillment. Theagenes is introduced by Kalasiris at 2.34.1, immediately after Charikles has confided his despair over Charikleia's unwillingness to accept love, let alone the marriage he has arranged between her and his nephew. He is introduced with much flourish, and occupies center stage for a moment, but only for a moment, because it is then that the truly important event happens. This event is the oracle at 2.35.5.

Τὴν χάριν ἐν πρώτοις αὐτὰρ κλέος ὕστατ' ἔχουσαν
 φράζεσθ', ὦ Δελφοί, τὸν τε θεᾶς γενέτην
 οἷ νηὸν προλιπόντες ἐμὸν καὶ κῶμα τεμόντες
 ἴξοντ' ἡελίου πρὸς χθόνα κυανέην,
 τῆ περ ἀριστοβίων μέγ' ἀέθλιον ἐξάγονται
 λευκὸν ἐπὶ κροτάφων στέμμα μελαινομένων.

The ultimate explanation of this oracle is not clear to the Delphians; but any experienced reader of romance should be able to see what is happening. The elements are all there: a young girl, spurning love and facing an unwanted marriage, a young man, equally beautiful and equally arrogant, and an oracle whose first line contains a clear reference to both of their names uniting them in travel and ultimate happiness. This much is in keeping with romantic convention; but there is another element in this oracle, not yet clear (but present nonetheless), which shows that the happiness of the lovers, and Charikleia's nostos and recognition, are intertwined. That is the last line of the oracle: λευκὸν ἐπὶ κροτάφων στέμμα μελαινομένων. This, combined with knowledge that we will discover with Kalasiris a little later, makes the ultimate happiness of the couple dependent on the return to ἡελίου πρὸς χθόνα κυανέην, and reception of their white crowns. But this is not fully worked out until later in the story; for the reader at this stage, her knowledge and understanding of the events to come may be like Kalasiris': πρὸς ὑπόνοιαν τῶν ἐσομένων ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων κεκινημένος. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἀκριβῶς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἐξῆς χρησθέντων συνέβαλλον. (3.5.7)

During the next portion of the novel, romantically conventional love is at the fore; and this is to be expected, after all, for this is a romance, and even if there are unconventional forces at work, the convention must dominate for it to retain its force as a romance. So we have the description of the meeting and falling in love of our heroes, complete with a physiological account (3.5.1-6). The effect of love on both Theagenes and Charikleia is made clear (3.7.1-3.11.4). But as with the first part of the romance, where the conventional theme of love was also most clear, the theme of *nostos* is not forgotten. In this case, we have a dream—if it was a dream and not really an epiphany—of Kalasiris' in which Apollo and Artemis, presiding deities of the festival at which Theagenes and Charikleia met, entrust these two to Kalasiris, saying, ὄρα σοι... εἰς τὴν ἐνεγκούσαν ἐπανάκειν, οὕτω γὰρ ὁ μοιρῶν ὑπαγορεύει θεσμός. (3.11.5) So the *nostos* of Kalasiris is foretold, and, in fact, it serves as the impetus for Charikleia's journey onwards with Theagenes. In the meantime, Theagenes gets to prove his love for Charikleia by winning a footrace, while Kalasiris contrives a way to get them together and out of Delphi. Although he is not sure of what the gods have in mind, he (again, like the reader) is beginning to guess, knowing that somehow he must contrive to see the band left with Charikleia at birth. And he does indeed get to inspect the embroidered band, from which he learns the truth about Charikleia and her identity. She is, in fact, the daughter of the Ethiopian queen, who was set out at birth²⁵, because of her unusual appearance (she was born white to black parents). The role that the band is to play is not at all ambiguous, for in it Persinna, the Ethiopian queen, says to her daughter καὶ ἔσται σοι τὰ τῆς γραφῆς, ... εἰ μὲν περισωθείης, γνωρίσματα... (4.8.8) She did live, and it does function as a recognition token, in book 10. But before this, it functions to the reader as the solution to the puzzle of the oracle, explaining the meaning of ἡελίου πρὸς χθόνα κυανέην. (2.35.5) The black land of the sun is Ethiopia, Charikleia's homeland; and the crown of white is the crown she will inherit as the daughter of the king and queen. In fact, this oracle, combined with the information on the band, makes the *nostos*

²⁵ Such a setting out of a child with tokens was familiar to the conventions of romance, see e.g. *Daphnis and Chloe*; Ancient readers would have recognized it as coming from New comedy, and, beyond that, from myth.

and recognition of Charikleia the *sine qua non* of the fulfillment of her love with Theagenes; for the oracle clearly hinges their ultimate happiness upon her homecoming. In other words, no Ethiopian royal inheritance, no happy marriage. Kalasiris, the perceptive reader of events that he is, realizes this himself, as he talks Charikleia into running away from Delphi. It is framed in the context of her love for Theagenes, but that is appropriate since the two themes are now codependent. Kalasiris promises her γένος μὲν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς φύντας κομίζεσθαι Θεαγένει δὲ ἀνδρὶ συνεῖναι γῆς ὅποι καὶ βουλόμεθα συνέπεσθαι παρεσκευασμένω, ξένου τε καὶ ὀθνείου γνήσιον καὶ ἄρχοντα βίον ἀνταλλάξασθαι σὺν τῷ φιλότατῳ βασιλεύουσιν... (4.13.2) In other words, “Let’s go, if you want to return home and get back to your parents and be queen—and don’t worry about Theagenes, he’ll tag along no matter what.” The emphasis here is on the homecoming, as opposed to the marriage with Theagenes, and this is because the former guarantees the latter.

Even in a very different analysis of the function of these recognition tokens, Morgan pays tribute to their importance. “The care with which these γνωρίσματα are handled and the prominence afforded them create the presumption that they will have some significance later in the story. They are most naturally read as preparation for and foreshadowing of a recognition scene between Charikleia and her parents; they are tokens of plot-development as well as of recognition.” (Morgan 1989a, p. 302) They are tokens of more than this, too. I would add that they are tokens of the basic opposition of the two themes. On the one hand, the generic expectations are that the love be the motivating factor in the plot of the romance. On the other, Heliodoros has constructed a competing theme that shifts attention away from the lovers as a couple, and on to another conflict, on whose resolution the happiness of the lovers depends. Theagenes and Charikleia launch on their journey together, united by love no doubt, but propelled by the nostos of Charikleia.

It is this “competition” of themes that makes up the basic dialogue behind the *Aithiopika*. It is possible to overstate this dialogue, however, and attempt to distinguish the two themes so clearly as to make a dichotomy which does not actually exist in the text. These two themes are competing, it is true, in the sense that one is generically assumed or expected, and the other is an innovation (or an introduction) that comes from without the genre. However, the themes also cooperate, in the sense that they are made to serve the same master, the story. The themes, as we have seen, are joined in such a way that they are interdependent; Charikleia and Theagenes' love has made it possible for Kalasiris to see the identity tokens, but those identity tokens in turn provide the clues to the earlier oracles which establish the nostos as the *sine qua non* for the fulfillment of their love. However, the two themes do compete for prominence; the one has the claim of generic conventionality, and therefore ought to be more prominent, but the story has been constructed in such a way that the other theme, the nostos, is the more important. This explains why at times the novel is overwhelmingly conventional such as at 5.2.7-10, where Charikleia laments in Nausikles' house, but at other times it seems less concerned with the romantic love of the heroes than with the homecoming and recognition of Charikleia, a theme which is not found in other Greek romances.²⁶ The origins for this can ultimately be found in the *Odyssey*, a work to which the *Aithiopika* is indebted in many ways. Heliodoros himself betrays this connection with the *Odyssey* at 5.22, where Odysseus appears to Kalasiris in a dream, and this in turn highlights the nostos theme at the expense of romantic love. τῶν ὁμοίων ἐμοὶ παθῶν αἰσθήσῃ, Odysseus promises Kalasiris; but as for Charikleia, he promises a τέλος δεξιόν. This brings out the theme of nostos in two ways. The first, and most obvious, is the immediate connection one makes with the figure of Odysseus. Who better to associate with nostos? This is emphasized by his premonition of the dangers to face Kalasiris very soon. But the main way in which this dream establishes the nostos of Charikleia is by the fact that Odysseus mentions her

²⁶ The search to return home is a stock feature of the romance, of course; however in no other romance is the fulfillment of the love of hero and heroine explicitly linked to one place, let alone made to depend on their reaching this place. Also, the hero and heroine in other romances come from the same place to begin with. And while recognition plays its part in *Daphnis and Chloe*, there is no overt nostos theme, since they never leave the island.

at the end. There is no mention of Theagenes whatsoever, the focus is entirely on Charikleia. Notice the closing words of the dream: τέλος αὐτῇ δεξιὸν εὐαγγελίζεται. The promise is not made to *them*, but to *her*. The mention of Charikleia alone, plus the literary persona of Odysseus (and all that he implies), makes me think that the “happy ending” mentioned here refers primarily to the successful nostos of Charikleia, complete with recognition. Of course, the fulfillment of their love is also implied; if Odysseus is associated with nostos, he also is associated with fulfillment of romantic love, along with Penelope.²⁷ Thus this dream brings out the two themes in both their competition and their cooperation, the dialogue between romantic convention and the nostos theme.

There is yet another prophecy, like the two visions and the oracle, which links Charikleia’s homecoming with the happy fulfillment of her love with Theagenes, at 6.15.1-4. The Egyptian woman has raised her son from the dead, to find out whether her other son would return home alive. Again, the theme of safe return is present. It is the concluding words of the corpse which join the themes of nostos and romantic love. The dead son upbraids the woman for performing her rites in front of a high priest, and, what is worse, a maiden. He then, like Odysseus in Kalasiris’ dream, singles out Charikleia for a special prophecy, this time mentioning her lover, ᾧ μετὰ μυρίους μὲν μόχθους μυρίους δὲ κινδύνους γῆς ἐπ’ ἐσχάτοις ὄροις τύχη σὺν λαμπρᾷ καὶ βασιλικῇ συμβιώσεται. (6.15.4) Here Theagenes is at least acknowledged, though still not by name; and their ultimate happiness is linked yet again with Charikleia’s recognition as Ethiopian royalty.

But if Heliodoros has established the theme of nostos through forward-looking oracles, then he has also given a few less obvious indications of this theme. We have already seen how Charikleia and Theagenes are not the only characters away from home;

²⁷ There is a subtle difference between the nostoi of Charikleia and Odysseus, as well. Odysseus had to return home in order to be reunited with his wife, since she was in Ithaka all along; Charikleia, on the other hand, could presumably have been married to Theagenes anywhere along the line. This may give us a clue as to why Heliodoros has so closely joined the nostos and the wedding in the oracle, so as to achieve the maximum potential from his ending, and to keep suspense high (Will they return? Will they be married?).

both Knemon and Kalasiris have narrated their own backgrounds, which include in both instances an exile, and a desire to return. Knemon's exile is not explicitly ended in the course of events in the text, but it is quite heavily anticipated. Charikleia expresses her hope that he will regain his homeland as she plays matchmaker for Knemon and Nausikles' daughter (6.7.9) Nausikles offers Knemon the hand of his daughter, along with a substantial dowry. ...γῆμαί τε βουλομένῳ θυγατέρα ταυτηνὴ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀρμόζω Ναυσίκλειαν... (6.8.1) It is possible that Knemon's homecoming is anticipating Charikleia's, complete with a marriage; and it seems likely that this is true as the other exiles in the text also enjoy their own nostoi and recognitions. Book 7 contains the homecoming of both Thyamis and Kalasiris, and their mutual recognition (7.7.2). It is especially the nostos of Kalasiris which is important, for it is a turning point in the text, as we shall see when we consider questions of characterization. It is sufficient to mention here that the successful nostoi of characters point to the nostos of Charikleia; they serve as types, especially when coupled with recognition as between Thyamis and Kalasiris. Charikleia herself has a mini-recognition scene at 7.7.4-7, which also might be called a type for her later recognition by her parents. There is a similar pattern: she approaches her beloved, is not accepted, and then has recourse to the pre-approved recognition signals. Perhaps it is this experience of initial rejection which teaches her to bide her time when making unrecognized claims for her identity. In any case, this scene, along with the nostoi of Kalasiris and Knemon, anticipates Charikleia's own appearance before her parents in her homeland; they are types of successful nostoi, and as such strengthen that theme's presence in the text.²⁸

Of course, since the *Aithiopika* is a romance, the theme of love and its fulfillment must not be neglected for too long; and even in the spate of nostoi, Heliodoros is quick to keep alive the generic convention. In the midst of the homecomings of Kalasiris and Thyamis, Arsake is introduced, and she represents a danger (at first) primarily to

²⁸ Comparison between the nostoi of Kalasiris and Charikleia also reveals a similar pattern, exile — oracle presaging return — nostos and recognition.

Theagenes, unlike much of the early danger, which was a threat primarily to Charikleia. It seems as if this episode is Heliodoros' attempt to reestablish the romance as such, an emphasis on the generic aspect of the story after paying so much attention to the nostos theme; and this is also seen by comparing the development of the Charikleia's and Theagenes' characters, as we shall see. In the part of the romance about the intrigue at Arsake's palace, it is safe to say that the romantic love of our heroes is predominant. This, in fact, may be the most conventionally romantic extended scene in the novel, for here the main concern is truly with lovers' faithfulness to one another. It is also conventional because the threat of the "other man/woman", represented here by Arsake, is a staple of romance.²⁹ Yet even here Heliodoros does not forget his other theme. In her lament for Kalasiris (which turns out to be more for herself than for him) Charikleia says ...ὁ ξεναγὸς τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν, ὁ τῶν φύντων ἀναγνωρισμός, ...ἢ πάντων τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄγκυρα Καλάσιρις ἀπόλωλε... . (7.14.7) Nostos is never totally absent from the text, nor should it be since the fulfillment of the chaste love, which is being so severely tested by Arsake, is dependent upon it. And it is not only Charikleia or Kalasiris who expresses this; Thyamis, too, in his state of half-knowledge³⁰ tells Arsake that all the couple want is γένος τὸ ἴδιον ἀνακομίσασθαι καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν ἐπανήκειν. (8.3.7) Arsake, of course, refuses his request to free the young couple; and her jealousy eventually leads to her attempts on Charikleia's life. The first attempt goes wrong, and Arsake's nurse Kybele ends up on the wrong end of a cup full of poison; Charikleia is framed for murder on the grounds of witchcraft, and she is sentenced to be executed by burning. This is the climax of the part of the text which, as I have stated, is most conventional in its emphasis on the love of Theagenes and Charikleia. Here is what appears to be the ultimate threat to their final happiness, the execution of Charikleia. Yet the burning becomes a showpiece, not for the love of the heroes, but for the recognition tokens. It turns out that one of the gems amongst the recognition tokens is the source of

²⁹ Cf. e.g. Dionysus in Chariton, Corymbos in Xenophon, Melite in Achilles Tatius, and Lykainion in Longus.

³⁰ He is still under the impression, I assume, that Theagenes and Charikleia are brother and sister (1.21.3); that is why he says "...their family...land of their birth". But why, then, does he not recognize Charikleia and renew his love for her?

her preservation in the flames, as Charikleia explains at 8.11.7-9. The connection between the tokens and her safety in the flames is provided by the dream of Kalasiris, which she had had the night before her execution. But Kalasiris also appeared to Theagenes that night in a dream, and gave him this oracle: Αἰθιόπων εἰς γαῖαν ἀφίξεαι ἄμμιγα κούρη / δεσμῶν Ἄρσακέων αὔριον ἐκπροφυγόν. (8.11.3) Theagenes himself offers an interpretation of the oracle which is all gloom and doom, but Charikleia, along with perhaps every hopeful and alert reader, corrects his interpretation. The oracle, as Charikleia recognizes, is about their return to Ethiopia. So while he builds this part of the narrative along the most conventional of romantic lines, Heliodoros has his hero and heroine moving through their adventures propelled by a prophecy, not about their imminent marriage, but about the return to Charikleia's homeland. And he gives the game away at 8.17.5, where he mentions that Charikleia and Theagenes are escorted ἐν αἰχμαλώτῳ τύχῃ πρὸς τῶν ὀλίγων ὕστερον ὑπηκόων... . These people cannot become their subjects unless Charikleia and Theagenes become rulers; and they cannot become rulers until Charikleia returns home and is recognized by her parents.

Though he gives the ending away, Heliodoros is by no means predictable. Even as we anticipate Charikleia's recognition, a twist is introduced when Hydaspes takes the two lovers as prisoners of war, and sets them aside for sacrifice (9.1.4). But her recognition is anticipated at 9.1.3, when Hydaspes feels strange emotions at the sight of Charikleia. And, although book 9 is a long digression on the siege of Syene, the nostos theme is not neglected. About to be presented to Hydaspes, Theagenes and Charikleia discuss the theory of recognition (9.24.7). And, as it turns out, Hydaspes has dreamt about Charikleia; "Τοιαύτην" ἔφη "τετέχθαι μοι θυγατέρα τήμερον καὶ εἰς ἀκμὴν τοσαύτην ἤκειν ἀθρόον ὄμην... ." (9.25.1) These things look forward to the great drama in book 10, where the dialogue between the themes of nostos and recognition, and love and its fulfillment, is played out.

Almost regardless of how one reads the romance, book 10 represents the climax of the action in the novel. Theagenes and Charikleia have reached Ethiopia, and by 10.3.4, they are standing at the altar, not to be married, but to be sacrificed by Charikleia's parents. And this is the conflict which hangs over the events in the last book, the impending sacrifice, first of Charikleia, then of Theagenes. And the heart of this conflict is that it is her own father about to do the sacrifice, while her recognition is pending. The theme of recognition in the scene which is the completion of Charikleia's nostos is so dominant that Theagenes is all but absent from 10.7.3 until 10.18.1, at which point Charikleia's identity is firmly established. The individual characters' role, however, will be examined below; here we are investigating the themes of nostos and the fulfillment of love. That the recognition of her lost daughter will be the outcome of the sacrifice is in no doubt from the start, given Sisimithres' words to Persinna about finding the lost member of the royal household (10.4.2). This establishes immediately what the main theme in question will be. And the dramatic irony at 10.7.4 also serves the same purpose, as Persinna laments over the young girl she thinks must be sacrificed, likening her to the daughter she lost years before. For the brief time that Theagenes is the focus of the narrative, even he recognizes the importance of Charikleia's recognition, knowing that they have no hope of survival without her acceptance by her parents. Charikleia acts boldly, at last taking the initiative in revealing herself. From 10.9.3, the narrative is entirely taken up by the interplay between Charikleia and Hydaspes, with Persinna and Sisimithres taking the former's side in the dispute. Hydaspes is unwilling to believe the news at first, but after the production of the recognition tokens and testimony from his wife and chief priest, he accepts his daughter. He makes an emotional speech designed to move the crowd to prevent him from the sacrifice, and it has this very effect. The religious scruples of Hydaspes have been dealt with, and Charikleia's nostos and recognition are complete.

Of course, the romance can not, and does not, end here; what about Theagenes? He is reintroduced at 10.18.1 after being set aside for fourteen chapters. This is no accident,

however, on Heliodoros' part; it is only now that the nostos of Charikleia has been realized, and she is established as heir to the Ethiopian throne, that his part of the story, and their love, can be resolved. He has traveled ἡλίου πρὸς χθόνα κυανέην (2.35.5), reached γῆς ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις ὄροις (6.15.4), made it Αἰθιοπῶν εἰς γαῖαν (8.11.3); the τύχη λαμπρᾶ καὶ βασιλικῆ has been substantially achieved, and all that waits now is for him to spend his life (συμβιώσεσθαι, 6.15.4) with Charikleia. How Heliodoros resolves this part of the thematic dialogue will be investigated below. Here it is enough to note that Theagenes is reestablished as a main character, as he must for the generic conventions to obtain. At last, through the intervention of Charikleia and Sisimithres, Theagenes is spared, and, ὥσπερ λαμπάδιον δράματος³¹, they are married. They receive the mitres of priesthood; it is here that Charikleia recalls the oracle, ἕξεσθ' ἡλίου πρὸς χθόνα κυανέην, / τῆ περ ἀριστοβίων μέγ' ἀέθλιον ἐξάψονται / λευκὸν ἐπὶ κροτάφων στέμμα μελαινομένων, and this again makes clear the connection between her return home, and the ultimate happiness of her and Theagenes. It shows in retrospect, as it showed in prospect, that her nostos was *sine qua non* for the ultimate fulfillment of their love. But this is still a romance, and, as such, it is the theme of love and its fulfillment which must have the last word in the dialogue; the events of the narrative close in the penultimate paragraph with Theagenes and Charikleia being escorted off to their marriage. Thus the love of our heroes is fulfilled, and we are sure once again, despite the thematic counterpoint, that we have been reading a romance.

The fact that the love theme is less noticeable in this romance than in the others has drawn the attention of some commentators, prompting one to remark that "their return home is the main theme of the novel." (Keyes 1922, p.44) (It is not, technically speaking, "their" return home; as far as we know, Theagenes never returns to his home, but adopts Charikleia's as his own.) Reardon also commented that "As for Heliodoros, ... he is not really interested enough in the love-theme to make it the center of his story..."

³¹ The significance of this analogy is explored in Arnott 1965, and below in chapter four.

(Reardon 1991, p.122), and my above analysis would concur with this to a limited extent. However, I would attribute the (partial) displacement of the love theme not to lack of interest, or to a desire merely to display rhetorical or stylistic flair, but to the emergence of the second, competing, and non-conventional theme of nostos. But it would be inconceivable to think of such an important dialogue of themes at the very heart of the romance that did not create ripples throughout the work. For instance, if the basic convention of romance is love between a man and a woman, then it is given that there will be two main characters, the hero and heroine. However, if a theme other than the generic love is introduced, such as nostos, a theme which directly concerns only one of the characters, then it follows that that character should become, as far as the second theme is concerned, more prominent in the course of the narrative. In other words, in order for the thematic dialogue between love and its fulfillment and nostos to be fully expressed, there must be a corresponding dialogue between the characterizations of Charikleia and Theagenes. We have already seen how, in terms of the plot, Theagenes is dependent on Charikleia inasmuch as his destiny depends on the outcome of her nostos; in the next section, I will investigate the characterization³² of Theagenes and Charikleia, to see if such a dialogue of characterization does exist.

There are noticeable differences between the introduction of Charikleia and Theagenes, and the introduction of other romance protagonists. For example, the story does not begin with a blatant introduction of them at all; we are not given their names until 1.8, and even then it is not through the narrator's voice, but the characters' own words, that we find out their names. It is interesting that in Heliodoros alone of the romance writers the background of the hero and heroine is not made clear until well into the work—and that not without reason, as we shall see. Our main characters are introduced together, somewhat mysteriously. Yet we can tell that they are lovers from the exchange at 1.2.4, and even more so by the romance's first lament at 1.8.2. Here is

³² By characterization I mean how they are presented by the author in the narrative: what they say, how they act, and what those words and actions reveal about their "priorities".

the first substantial glimpse of the characterization of the heroine. She, along with Theagenes, is separated from her parents, and has endured much. She is desperate for death— not an uncommon sentiment amongst romantic characters³³— and even, if it should come to that, suicide. All of these things mark her out so far as a typical heroine of romance. But there are other things to be noticed here, as well. For instance, her main concern here is not her love, nor the prospect of happiness with her beloved, but herself, and, more specifically, her chastity. She is worried about her own purity, even going to the pains of pointing out that not even her own lover has violated her in any way. This aspect of Charikleia, her concern with herself and her eagerness to act on her own, will become important in the course of the novel as her character becomes increasingly identified with the *nostos* theme.

I mentioned briefly above how the danger in book 1 centers very much on Charikleia, and how that centering of danger can in turn betray what is important to the author. I return here to that same passage (1.19ff.) in which the first developed threat to our heroes is presented. To begin, Thyamis reveals his desire to marry Charikleia; this represents a threat, not just to Charikleia and her all-important chastity, but also to Theagenes, since (by the convention of romance) a threat to the heroine's safety is a threat to the hero's, and vice versa. Nonetheless, the danger is primarily directed at Charikleia, and she responds accordingly by making up a story (1.22.1-7) designed to put off the marriage for a while. Here Charikleia is emerging as the dominant character already, not only in that the danger has been directed to her primarily, but also in that she is the one who does the talking and plotting for the couple, and that not for the last time. It is interesting, furthermore, how Heliodoros presents her in this scene. Ἡ δὲ πολὺν τινα χρόνον τῆ γῆ τὸ βλέμμα προσερείσασα καὶ πυκνὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπισειούσα λόγον τινα καὶ ἐννοίας ἀθροίζειν ἔφκει... (1.21.3) This is a direct allusion to *Iliad* 3.216ff., where Odysseus is presented about to speak: ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολύμητις ἀναΐξειεν Ὀδυσσεύς, / στάσκειν, ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πῆξας... Charikleia, by

³³ Cf. e.g. *Chaereas and Kallirhoe* 1.5, *Ephesiaka* 2.1.

implication, is like Odysseus in the manner of her speech, and not just in preparation or appearance, but in substance as well— she lies, as Odysseus does so often. This subtle characterization of Charikleia along Odyssean lines is all the more striking when the theme of nostos is considered.

Theagenes' reaction to Charikleia's speech reveals much about him as well. While Charikleia makes up an elaborate tale for their protection, Theagenes takes advantage of the situation to... cry (1.25.1). He is only able to see the situation in terms of his love for Charikleia. She, for her part, corrects him, reassuring him of her love. Yet no sooner is she consoling him than she begins to talk again about her chastity.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ δυστυχεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἄρνοῦμαι, μὴ σωφρονεῖν δὲ
οὐδὲν οὕτω βίαιον ὥστε με μεταπεισθῆναι· ἔν μόνον οἶδα μὴ
σωφρονουσα, τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ σοὶ πόθον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον
ἔννομον· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐραστῇ πειθομένη ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνδρὶ
συνθεμένη τότε πρῶτον ἑμαυτὴν ἐπέδωκα καὶ εἰς δεῦρο
διετέλεσα καθαρὰν ἑμαυτὴν καὶ ἀπὸ σῆς ὁμιλίας
φυλάττουσα, πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιχειροῦντα διωσαμένη, τὸν δὲ
ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν συγκείμενόν τε καὶ ἐνώμοτον ἐπὶ πᾶσι γάμον
ἔνθεσμον εἶ πη γένοιτο περισκοποῦσα. (1.25.4-5)

This passage betrays much about their respective characters: Charikleia, on one hand, is crafty, inventive, and concerned with preserving their love, but also, and no less importantly, her chastity. Her character is one which answers to no one but herself, with her own desires and plans; and she is also closely aligned with the theme of nostos, as her mention of exile and likening to Odysseus demonstrate. Theagenes, on the other hand, is defined (as a character), not as an independent man of action, but according to his love for Charikleia, or even according to Charikleia herself, as when he asks καὶ τί γένοιτ' ἂν... καινότερον... [ἦ] Χαρικλείας δὲ λήθην ἐμοῦ λαβούσης καὶ πρὸς ἄλλων γάμους ἐπινευούσης; (1.25.2)

With the second major threat to Charikleia, the attempt by Thyamis to kill her in the cave, Theagenes becomes even more defined according to romantic convention. His response to finding Charikleia's supposed corpse is to kill himself; again, this is a standard generic response to adversity of this sort in romance. It is interesting to note again, incidentally, that of the danger which has confronted our heroes, the threats towards Charikleia have come from a source of real power—the bandit chief Thyamis, once with the approval and power to marry her, and once with the intention and apparent success of killing her. The danger confronting Theagenes, by contrast, comes from himself. While he is emerging as a character throughout books 1 and 2, it is only in terms of his relationship to Charikleia. This is seen also at 2.4.1, with his lament over what he presumes is the slain body of his beloved. There are three similarities with this lament and the one uttered by Charikleia at 1.8.3: they both take account of their past sufferings, they both end in a pledge of suicide, and they both have as their subject, Charikleia.

Charikleia is not entirely without her generic traits, as well; and this comes as no surprise, since she is the main character in this romance. For example, her dream at 2.16.4 causes her to fear for Theagenes, of whom she says, ὀφθαλμὸν ἐγὼ καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ πάντα ἐμαυτῆς πεποίημαι. No mention here of her chastity. But Heliodoros is diverting our attention away from the conventionally romantic, both in theme (as we have seen) and in character, for immediately Knemon corrects her interpretation, suggesting instead the idea of lost parents. So, while Theagenes is unabashedly conventional, characterized in keeping with the theme of love and its fulfillment, Heliodoros' Charikleia is at turns conventional and unconventional, characterized not so much by her love and desire to see it fulfilled, but by her sense of self, a sense of self which takes on more direction as the theme of nostos develops in the romance.

At this point, I will analyze Theagenes and Charikleia as they are presented in the narrative of Kalasiris. Kalasiris himself, along with Knemon, Thyamis and other minor characters, will be analyzed below. As for this section of the romance, I believe it is safe

to say that, except for the narrator himself, Charikleia is the main character. This is important, because as a result of the themes developed here, she becomes the dominant character, even as she was beginning to become in the earlier part of the romance.³⁴ Kalasiris begins with an account of how he came to Delphi, and how he came to know Charikles, in whose charge is Charikleia. She is the subject of the tale up to the point where Theagenes is introduced at 2.34.1. He is drawn impressively, with his purported lineage, his stature, and his appearance all described in some detail. Yet almost as soon as he is brought on stage, the crucial oracle is uttered at 2.35.5, which links the themes of nostos and love. As a result, Theagenes is not allowed to stand alone as a character for even the briefest stretch of narrative; even in all his physical splendor, he is irrevocably linked with Charikleia. During the procession Theagenes again begins to dominate the narrative (... ἡ τῶν παρόντων ὄψις καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἵππαρχον-- ἦν δὲ τὸ μέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν Θεαγένης-- ἅπας ἐπέστρεψεν..., says Kalasiris [3.3.4]). Yet once again, he is immediately made second to Charikleia, though not unapologetically. ...ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐξήλασεν ἡ καλὴ καὶ σοφὴ Χαρίκλεια, τότε ὅτι καὶ Θεαγένην ἠττηθῆναι ποτε δυνατὸν ἔγνωμεν, ἀλλ' ἠττηθῆναι τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἀκραιφνὲς γυναικεῖον κάλλος τοῦ πρώτου παρ' ἀνδράσιν ἐπαγωγότερον. (3.4.1) They, of course, fall in love, and when Theagenes appears in the narrative again, it is as the love struck romantic. He is the heroic man of action at 4.2, where he wins the race to receive the palm branch from Charikleia, and again at 4.6.5, where he is eager to meet his beloved. All of these things point to Theagenes as the hero of the novel; but if he is the hero, he is the generic hero. Theagenes is the character dictated by the theme of love and its fulfillment, the conventional romantic required by the romantic convention.

It takes two to make the plot of romance, however, and Charikleia is every bit as much in love as Theagenes at this point. Much of Kalasiris' story is taken up with his cajoling the truth out of Charikleia, and his exchanges with the neurotic Charikles. But if both Theagenes and Charikleia are suffering from love equally, Heliodoros (or is it

³⁴ This is logical according to both *récit* and *histoire*.

Kalasis?) certainly pays more attention to her side of the story. The interplay between Kalasis and Charikleia is much more drawn out, much more interesting than between the Egyptian sage and Theagenes. Compare, for example, 3.17.1 and 4.5.2 ff. In the former, Theagenes seeks out Kalasis for help with his affliction; the priest thinks it over, does a little hocus pocus, then declares that Theagenes is in love. When Kalasis is with Charikleia for exactly the same reason, he has the same approach. But instead of it taking a few lines, he draws out his quack charlatany for five chapters! This entails more attention on the character of Charikleia, of course, but it is also necessary because during the course of his "curing" of Charikleia, Kalasis finally manages to finagle a look at her recognition tokens. It is remarkable that only here, about halfway through a very long romance, do we get the background of our heroine. It is even more remarkable, however, that, except for a "dubious" mythical claim at 2.34.2-4, we never get any background whatsoever on Theagenes. His parents are never mentioned, nor is his exact social standing; and this is unique for the romances. There is no other hero or heroine whose background is not given in substantial and important detail. The effect of this is that Theagenes can then only be defined as character according to his love for Charikleia, for this is the only real fact about him that the reader ever knows, that he is in love with her. The reader knows much more about Charikleia, however; so much more that she is characterized as much by her background, her parentage, her homeland, and her desire to return, as by her love for Theagenes.

And it is with the revelation of Persinna's message that the nostos theme reaches its first full expression. More time and attention are paid to Charikleia throughout Kalasis' narrative because it is her story that he is interested in knowing (after all, he was sent on a mission to find her, 3.12.3); the love between her and Theagenes becomes the means through which he can get what he wants, namely, a look at the band containing the information of Charikleia's birth. The oracle at 2.35.5, along with the embroidered story told by Persinna, indicate clearly that Theagenes' future is intertwined with Charikleia's. Thus the development of Charikleia into the main character (upon whom the destiny of

Theagenes rests), and the development of the theme of nostos (upon which the completion of the generic theme of love rests), are linked at this point.

The narration surrounding the flight of Charikleia and Theagenes from Delphi contains some interesting statements about the main characters. As Kalasiris reveals the truth to Charikleia about her homeland, and his plan to start her journey homeward, he explains the meaning behind the oracle, telling Charikleia that she will return home if she leaves Delphi, εἴ τι δεῖ θεοῖς τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ χρησμῷ τοῦ Πυθίου καταπιστεύειν. (4.13.2) It is clear that Kalasiris has the vision of Charikleia returning home, and rightfully so, since that is his mission. But his words betray the fact that Theagenes' destiny is reliant upon Charikleia's, that the nostos is the necessary prelude to the marriage. And if this is the case, it betrays the fact that Theagenes as a character must be dependent on Charikleia; or, in Kalasiris' words, he is prepared to γῆς ὅποι καὶ βουλόμεθα συνέπεσθαι. And there is a passage at 4.18.4 which likewise is very revealing as to the roles played by Charikleia and Theagenes in the romance, and how they relate to each other. In this passage, Charikleia has just been "abducted" from her home by the Thessalians, led by Theagenes. The band of young men rode off home, to decoy any chase the Delphians might give, but Theagenes and Charikleia have met up with Kalasiris, to begin the next leg of their plan. They are both very uncertain as to what the future might hold, so that, when Kalasiris leaves to arrange their escape, Charikleia insists on a vow of purity from Theagenes (4.18.4). It is clear with what she is primarily concerned at this point in the narrative: not being with her loved one, but having her chastity protected.³⁵ And even not just that, but to have her chastity honored until she gets home (οὔτε ὁμιλήσει τὰ Ἐφροδίτης πρότερον ἢ γένος τε καὶ οἶκον τὸν ἡμέτερον ἀπολαβεῖν, 4.18.5). It is clear that her priority is to make it home, chastity intact; this explains her intense concern with her chastity which we observed in books 1 and 2. Charikleia is being characterized by her drive to be returned to her parents in an

³⁵ On this topic I am in disagreement with Konstan, who does not see a unique emphasis in the *Aithiopika* (or the Ancient Novel in general) on chastity, although he does grant that "... it may be the case that Heliodorus betrays a greater preoccupation than the rest [of the novelists] with the ritual purity of the body." (Konstan 1994, p.55)

acceptable form, not just at this point, but repeatedly; in other words, it is the nostos theme which stands behind Charikleia. But this passage is equally revealing about Theagenes. His response is not given in full, but only reported by Kalasiris; and this perhaps is a clue as to which of the two characters Heliodoros wants the reader to notice, when one character's words are given, and the other's merely condensed. In any case, though, he takes the oath demanded by his beloved. This is not surprising, even with his token objection; what better suits a romantic hero, than an oath for his love?³⁶ But the oath itself is worth investigation. ἐπώμνυε δ' ὅμως Ἐπόλλω τε Πύθιον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν καὶ Ἀφροδίτην αὐτὴν καὶ Ἔρωτα, ἢ μὴν ἅπαντα οὕτω ποιήσειν ὡς ἠβουλήθη Χαρίκλεια καὶ ἐπέσκηψε. (4.18.6) It would be difficult to imagine a statement which would make one character more dependent upon another than this. In fact, we have already seen the substance of this oath in action, in the earliest stages of the book, where Charikleia instantly devises a plan to stave off the marriage to Thyamis, while Theagenes stands by, not understanding, crying, but going along with the ploy. And this dynamic is seen again later in the narrative, with Charikleia taking the lead in most important situations. So this vow shows Charikleia as the dominant character, learning about her destiny and becoming increasingly driven by it; Theagenes' dependency on her is becoming clear, as his destiny is dependent on hers.

Book 5 contains the completion of Kalasiris' long narrative, during which we see again more interaction, and distinction, between the hero and heroine. The passage at 5.4.7 is notable because it contains one of Theagenes' solitary moments of inspiration, when he suggests the idea of signs by which they might recognize one another, should they be separated, which, of course, they are, just three chapters later.³⁷ But this flash of brilliance becomes ironic later in the romance, because when they are finally reunited (at 7.7.5), Theagenes fails to recognize Charikleia! And this despite their protestations over the necessity of recognition signs. Εἰ δὲ εἰς ταῦτόν γίνονται, ἀρκεῖν μὲν ἑτέρῳ τὸν

³⁶ Cf. *Daphnis and Chloe*, 2.39 for a comparable oath.

³⁷ The reader expects this, however, since he knows they have already been separated from Charikleia's lament at 5.2.7.

ἕτερον καὶ μόνον ὀφθῆναι, οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον εἶναι ὅσος ἀμαυρῶσαι αὐτοῖς τῶν ψυχῶν τὰ ἐρωτικά γνωρίσματα. (5.5.2) Fortunately, they do agree on signs, and Charikleia is recognized by Theagenes. And this exchange of signs is followed immediately by the crisis situation that leads to their separation. In the face of another onset of attackers, Theagenes wants to give up, surrender, and “yield to fate”; Charikleia, on the other hand, wants to continue the struggle against their outrageous fortune, arguing that they have escaped similar predicaments in the past. Theagenes’ response? Ποιῶμεν ὡς βούλει. (5.7.2) He is, after all, only honoring his oath to do what she wills. Unfortunately, they have debated too long over fate, and they are captured by pirates; but not before Heliodoros underlines again the relationship between them.

At 5.8.1, Nausikles claims Charikleia as his slave “Thisbe”, and Theagenes is left behind, unable to do or say anything. Kalasiris picks up his narration again, telling of how they fled from Delphi, were taken by pirates, and ended up on the shore in Egypt, where the romance began. Along the way, he tells of his dream of Odysseus (5.22.1-3), which, as we have already seen, plays an important role in the thematic dialogue. Theagenes has no mention in this dream; and Charikleia is singled out, not for her love for Theagenes *per se*, but for τὴν σωφροσύνην. And, again, the happy ending is promised to *her*, not to *them*. But this is in keeping with the consistent characterizations of Theagenes and Charikleia: the *Aithiopika* is very much her story, she emerges as the main character through the developed theme of nostos in the course of the romance. Theagenes, for his part, is ready to follow her, willing to do as she says and bids, because the fulfillment of his love relies upon her successful return home.

Charikleia continues to display her craftiness and sense of self (remember, she was called καλή καὶ σοφή at 3.4.1) as the danger mounts. For the second time she becomes the object of her captor’s desire; and for the second time she lies to buy time— in Kalasiris’ words, she is χρῆμα σοφώτατον. (5.26.2) One could never imagine Kalasiris calling Theagenes σοφώτατον. Kalasiris repeats this sentiment at 6.9.7; δεινὴ δέ τις

ἔοικας εἶναι σοφιστεῦσαι κατὰ τῶν ἐπιχειρούντων διαδύσεις τε καὶ ὑπερθέσεις, he says to her. But there is undeniably a romantic element to her character as well. This is seen, for instance, at 6.5.2, and her lament at 5.2.7, both of which show that she does, indeed, love Theagenes in the conventional way. Yet it is as the willful, “clever little minx” that she makes her greatest impression, drawn in contrast to Theagenes’ straight, conventional romantic hero. He is brave, to be sure, as at 5.32 in the battle of the pirates, defeating Peloros. But in an ironic twist—whether intended by Heliodoros or not— it is Charikleia who is responsible for the outcome of the battle in two ways. First, and most obviously, it is her cry of encouragement which gives Theagenes the ability to win his *mano a mano*. But also, during the melee, she sat apart from the battle, picking off random opponents with her arrows. It was early in the book, remember, that the opening description of this scene occurred; in that account of the battle's aftermath, there were many dead, but οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι βελῶν ἔργον καὶ τοξείας γεγενημένοι. (1.1.5) So even from a distance, Charikleia controls the outcome of the battle, and the actions of Theagenes. He is absent, apart from a few mentions, in book 6, an absence paralleled in other romances because of the motif of separation, which is prominent throughout the genre. This is a particularly notable absence, however, because during it his destiny is again irrevocably linked with Charikleia's nostos, through the prophecy of the corpse at 6.15.

Book 7 contains a pair of recognition scenes. First, Kalasiris meets and reconciles his two sons, Thyamis and Petosiris. Then, Charikleia and Theagenes are reunited, and I have already looked at this scene in terms of the characterization of Theagenes, as well as how it functions along with Kalasiris’ nostos, as a type for Charikleia’s later recognition. These events, and the intrigue at Arsake’s palace which occupy all of book 7 and most of book 8, come after an extended period of the romance during which Theagenes has been largely absent, and, if one looks further back, an even longer period during which it would be fair to say that his character was third in importance, behind both Charikleia and Kalasiris. It is for this reason, I think, that Theagenes becomes the focus of the

narrative (though not without reservation) until about 8.3.1, where the next attempt on Charikleia's life is made; remember, this romance has been hero-less for a long stretch, since at least 5.32. Theagenes' starring role in this section is Heliodoros' re-establishment of the generic aspect of his narrative. After a section dedicated to Charikleia, who has become increasingly identified with her own nostos, and Kalasiris, whose nostos has just been completed, Theagenes needs to be resuscitated as a romantic hero if the generic conventions are still to obtain. He has to be, as it were, taken out of mothballs; and what better way to show his romantic heroism than to put him under the threat of a powerful *femme fatale*, that tried and true romantic convention? Theagenes comes through as Mr. Romance in this section: he is resolute, brave, and above all, loyal to his love. The only possible transgression—when Arsake steals a kiss on the lips instead of on her hand— is not entirely his fault.

Yet even here, the relationship between the dominant Charikleia and the subordinate Theagenes does not disappear. When confronted by Kybele, Arsake's scheming nurse, Theagenes realizes the threat; and like Charikleia, he lies, but only after a hint from his "sister". It seems that Charikleia is still dictating the strategy for getting out of trouble; and why not? It worked for her twice before. This scene is repeated at 7.18.3, again with Charikleia prevailing in her advice over Theagenes. In the midst of this, Charikleia has time to lament for Kalasiris, at 7.14.6— except that it turns out to be a lament for herself as much as anything else. Then there is an exchange between Charikleia and Theagenes at 7.21.4-5, in which, not for the first time, they discuss their rival strategies for dealing with their present circumstances. Theagenes advocates a flat out rejection of Arsake, whereas Charikleia wants to persist with the current deception, again with the purpose of biding their time. It is interesting that, in this case, Theagenes wins the argument, but with Charikleia adding the warning, *μη λάθης εἰς μέγα κακὸν ἡμᾶς ἐμβάλλων*. The different strategies reveal the different characterizations. Charikleia is σοφή, content to not reveal too much, confident that destiny will bring about deliverance and her nostos. Theagenes, on the other hand, is only able to see this

situation in terms of their love. He is bound by the convention by which he is defined to say “no” to Arsake, to assert his love for Charikleia. As it turns out, his rejection is not quite “point-blank”. It puts off the immediate evil, Achaimenes’ marriage with Charikleia³⁸; but it also has the effect of eventually landing them in great danger, Theagenes in chains, Charikleia at the stake. But this is exactly where they need to be to make this story a romance. Theagenes has been revived as the romantic hero (for example at 8.6.4, where he is the very picture of devotion to Charikleia), but not necessarily for good.

At the end of the Arsake episode, Charikleia reemerges as the dominant force in the couple. For example, the burning scene, as I stated above, turns into a display for the recognition tokens. Following this, at 8.11.5, they recall how Kalasiris appeared to them both on the same night in a dream, giving Charikleia advice for how to escape her execution³⁹ (which she unwittingly follows), and delivering to Theagenes a prophecy. Theagenes immediately assumes that the prophecy is foretelling his death, but Charikleia understands the true (but not very mysterious, despite Theagenes’ attempts to be cryptic) meaning—they will make it to Ethiopia. She has now a firm sense of her destiny, and a strong desire to complete her nostos. Theagenes persists in his pessimism, not able to see beyond his present circumstances; but Charikleia is more optimistic. Even after they have been taken prisoner, and set aside as sacrifice, by the Ethiopian general (who, of course, turns out to be her father), and after a very long digression about the taking of Syene, Charikleia is driven by her nostos, and her sense of her own destiny. At 9.24.3 she lectures Theagenes on the virtue of patience in making surprise revelations, and the need to wait until exactly the right moment⁴⁰; looking forward to her nostos, she begins to plan for her recognition (9.24.7-8).

³⁸ And this is Charikleia’s main concern, as well; cf. her advice to Theagenes at 7.25.6 to give in to Arsake, where she is again first in her own thoughts. “By consenting to [the union with Arsake] you will be able to prevent mine [with Achaimenes].”

³⁹ I cannot help but be reminded here of the scene in *Star Wars*, where Obi-Wan Kenobi appears to Luke Skywalker to tell him to “Use the Force”.

⁴⁰ She says famously, ὦν γὰρ πολυπλόκουσ τὰς ἀρχὰς ὁ δαίμων καταβέβληται, τούτων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ τέλη διὰ μακροτέρων συμπεραίνεσθαι, a phrase which perhaps helps to explain the length of Heliodoros’ novel.

If Charikleia was the “star” of Kalasiris’ narrative, she resumes that role for the first half of book 10. To recap some of the passages I pointed out above, which demonstrate Charikleia’s dominance of the sacrifice/recognition scene, there is the prediction by Sisimithres at 10.4.2 that a long lost member of the royal household will be returned; there is the praise for Charikleia’s beauty uttered by Persinna at 10.7.4, where she feels sorry that Charikleia has to be sacrificed, given that her own daughter (had she not been taken from her) would be about the same age. Then there is the passage at 10.9.1-3, where Theagenes, having been proven chaste, urges Charikleia to reveal herself. This time, she agrees: πλησίον ὁ ἀγών, she announces with a feeling of self-important destiny, καὶ νῦν ταλαντεύει τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἢ μοῖρα. It is as if she is saying, “This is my story; I will take over from here.” She certainly does take over, leaping upon the gridiron designed to prove chastity (and we have seen how keenly she has protected her chastity), and forcing a court-room scene⁴¹ with Hydaspes to prove her identity. She wins her case, of course, with the aid of Persinna and Sisimithres. But this takes time, and, as a result, Theagenes, the hero, is neglected for a significant period of time. At 10.18.3, Charikleia’s identity having been established, Theagenes’ fate can be determined. In other words, the nostos theme has been exhausted for this romance; what remains to be done is the reassertion of generic convention, love and its fulfillment. The nostos was its necessary precursor, but the romantic convention has the last word. Theagenes is therefore resuscitated for the second time, as at Arsake’s palace. This time, however, it is not through a conventional method, such as the *femme fatale*, but by a ploy more characteristic of a Second Sophistic author.

Hydaspes asks Charikleia who her fellow prisoner is (10.18.3). It is Theagenes, and the time for his recall from the sacrificial altar has come. Charikleia, too embarrassed to tell the truth straight out (still, perhaps, concerned about her chastity), hints around at the truth, which leads Hydaspes to think that she is merely feeling compassion for a fellow

⁴¹ This is another generic convention, cf. e.g. *Chaereas and Kallirhoe*, 5.1ff.

captive and exile (10.20.1), which is not a good enough reason to call off the sacrifice. After more banter between Hydaspes and Charikleia, she is about to tell the truth, when suddenly Hydaspes breaks out in lament over his confusion. "ὦ θεοί" ἔφη, "ὡς κακὰ τοῖς καλοῖς εἰκόκατε μινύναι καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐλπίδος μοι δωρηθεῖσαν πρὸς ὑμῶν εὐδαιμονίαν τὸ μέρος κωλύειν, θυγατέρα μὲν ἀπροσδόκητον ἀλλὰ παράφρονά πως ἀναδείξαντες. (10.22.1) Now perhaps we know from whom Charikleia got her penchant for melodramatic self pity. He tells Persinna to take Charikleia away, while he attends to official business. At this point, the embassies are introduced, and Charikleia is promised to Meroebus, Hydaspes' nephew. It is curious that Theagenes' fate was being discussed before his very eyes, while he only looked on silently; and this, I think, is one of the reasons for the embassies being presented at this point. It has been clear that Theagenes' destiny was dependent on Charikleia's, as she herself says at 10.19.2. However, it appeared for some time that not only would his rescue be due to who Charikleia was, but it would be accomplished for him by her entirely, with him simply standing by. And this, perhaps, would be less than fitting for a hero of a romance of the scope of the *Aithiopika*. So it is at this juncture that Hydaspes asks for the embassies to be introduced, bearing their gifts, while a suitable sacrificial replacement for Charikleia is found. Meroebus' offering to Hydaspes is a giant, who challenges all to a contest, with no one taking up his challenge... yet. Amongst the other gifts is a curious beast about which Heliodoros devotes an extended description. The beast, it turns out, is the giraffe.⁴² It is this sort of description that so often marks out the writers of the Second Sophistic. And it also this sort of digression which has often produced criticism from scholars as irrelevant, distracting, and mere stylistic showmanship. But this giraffe, and that wrestling champion, turn out to be more than sophistry; they are, in fact, the means by which Heliodoros reasserts his hero's romantic heroism, and, thereby, the conventionality of his romance.⁴³ For it is the giraffe which frightens the bulls and horses near Theagenes. One of the bulls takes off for fright, and Theagenes performs a

⁴² For more on this giraffe, and a possible source for Heliodoros' description of it, see Morgan 1988, pp.267-9.

⁴³ Morgan (1989a, p.317) calls this section Theagenes' "aristeia".

distinct feat of heroism by bringing it back under control. But this does not secure his reprieve from sacrifice, nor does it fully reestablish his heroism, not with that undefeated giant hanging around. And wrestle the giant he does; he wins, and then finally says a few words to Hydaspes and Meroebus about Charikleia, although making no outright claims. He defeats the giant, and, in so doing, it may be, symbolically defeats the proposed marriage between Charikleia and Meroebus⁴⁴, who is not seen in the text again. Theagenes' true identity as Charikleia's betrothed is brought about by Charikles' unexpected appearance in Meroe. Sisimithres again sets the story straight, and Persinna tells her husband that, yes, Virginia, there will be a marriage. "Πάντα οὕτως ἔχειν, ἄνερ, πίστευε" πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγε "καὶ νυμφίον εἶναι τοῦ θυγατρίου τὸν Ἕλληνα τουτονὶ νεανίαν ἀληθῶς γίνωσκε, ἄρτι μοι ταῦτα ἐκείνης καὶ μόλις ἐξαγορευσάσης." (10.38.2) But at this point it does not matter too much how Theagenes is saved; he is now above reproach as a romantic figure, having once again been revived. And by the end, we are sure that this is truly a romance.

This analysis has been undertaken with a view to showing how the dialogue of themes between nostos and love and its fulfillment affects the characterization of the two protagonists. Theagenes, in the course of the narrative, comes to be strongly identified with the generic theme, because he is constantly representing the conventional romantic hero. Also, because in the *Aithiopika* the resolution of the traditional theme is made dependent on the nostos, Theagenes becomes dependent on Charikleia. That is to say, not only is his destiny resting on the success of her nostos, but his very character is defined in relation to her.⁴⁵ Yet, I have asserted that the generic has the last word; and that is seen likewise in our hero and heroine, who are finally presented as a romantic couple. Thus the *Aithiopika* remains a romance because the generic convention, a hero

⁴⁴ This perhaps ties the loose of end Meroebus somewhat, if we see Theagenes as having bested him for Charikleia's hand by beating his champion; see also LaPlace 1992, p.210.

⁴⁵ Other analyses of Charikleia, often with an emphasis on her as the main character, can be found in Johne 1987, pp.30ff (comparison with Dido), Hani 1978, and Keyes 1922, pp.44ff ("Chariclea is the chief character... of the novel."); see also Konstan 1994, p.15 ("Hapless Heroes").

and a heroine in love, seeking their ultimate happiness, remains intact despite the theme which seeks to gain prominence in the work.

One would not expect a drastic change to the very heart of the generic structure without other noticeable effects, however. Because *nostos* as a theme places such an emphasis on one character, there will probably also be a new dynamic of characterization amongst the remaining populace of the romance. One part of this we have just seen, in the relationship between hero and heroine. But there is also, in the *Aithiopika*, a number of secondary characters, such as Kalasiris⁴⁶, who play a major role. I want to investigate the development of two of these characters, Knemon, and Kalasiris, to explore their relationship to the dialogue of themes in the *Aithiopika*.

The first person of whom the reader has any substantial knowledge in the romance is neither the hero nor heroine, but Knemon, the Athenian. He is introduced at 1.7.3, and by 1.9.1 he is telling Theagenes and Charikleia his life story. An important connection is made between him and Theagenes and Charikleia, though, through his care for Theagenes, and the fact that they are all apparently Greek. It is important to notice here that he is first paired with Theagenes, both before (1.8.5), and more explicitly, after his tale (1.24.3, 27.1). When the boukoloï are attacked, Knemon escorts Charikleia to the cave, promising her that he will protect Theagenes. And he does this, not only from the dangers of battle, but from Theagenes' own suicidal tendencies (1.31.4, 2.2.1, 2.5.1). It is Knemon who recognizes Charikleia's voice through the depths of the cave, and leads Theagenes to his reunion with Charikleia. Thus, Knemon and Theagenes are side by side in the text; although he has interactions with Charikleia as well, it is in the scene in the cave, where he saves Theagenes from despair, that Knemon is most strongly associated with one of the two protagonists. Later, as we shall see, Knemon is married to Nausikles'

⁴⁶ There have been a few accounts of his presence in the text, notably Winkler 1982, and Morgan 1991.

daughter; this marriage is the vehicle through which Heliodoros eliminates Knemon from the narrative.⁴⁷ Marriage is, of course, the most romantic of all endings, as well as part of its legacy from New comedy. Because of this, I think Knemon is to be identified with the conventional theme in the work, that of love and its fulfillment. Notice, for example, the dominant theme of his own story: it is love, and not unlike the love to be found in romance elsewhere.⁴⁸ Knemon has another function, and that is as the bridge between the opening scenes in Egypt, and the introduction of Kalasiris.

Knemon meets Kalasiris at Chemmis, which is the appointed rendezvous spot with Theagenes and Charikleia. He implores Kalasiris to tell his tale; perhaps he learned his persistence from Theagenes and Charikleia, who similarly pressed upon him to tell his own tale (1.9.1). Kalasiris does indeed tell his story, and much, much more, over nearly half of the entire romance, 2.24.5 to 5.1.2, and again from 5.17.2 to 5.33.3. It is through this tale, as I have demonstrated, that the nostos theme reaches its first full expression. Also, Kalasiris, as he reports it, has much more extended contact with Charikleia than Theagenes. Thus, he becomes assimilated to the nostos theme, as opposed to the generic. This can also be seen in the scope of his character; no other secondary character in any of the other romances has such a prominent role, even though sidekicks and advisors are stock for the genre.⁴⁹ There would be no space for such a character as Kalasiris in a purely conventional romance; his association with one of two characters, and the subsequent development of that character as the dominant one, goes against the basic feature of romance which expects relatively equal time for hero and heroine. Even if only one character figures directly in parts of the narrative, such as in *Chaereas and Kallirhoe*, what occurs during that part of the narrative is still influenced by the absent character substantially, because the theme of love and its fulfillment is concerned with both

⁴⁷ Egger (1994, pp.269ff.) analyses the legal and traditional side of this marriage, and others, including Charikleia's two refusals (to Charikles and Hydaspes).

⁴⁸ Knemon has fallen victim to the *femme fatale*, a common theme in Heliodoros as well as all of the ancient romances.

⁴⁹ Cf. Plangon and Polycharmos in *Chaereas and Kallirhoe*, Hippothoos in *Ephesiaka* (who is perhaps a unique character in his mixture of friendship and threat to the hero and heroine), Kleinias in *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, and Philetas in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

characters. This is not the case with Kalasiris' flashback narration. It is here that Charikleia learns of her identity, and of her destiny; Theagenes is not directly influential in this knowledge, except that it is their love which gives Kalasiris the excuse to see the recognition tokens, which he had wondered about previously. Neither is he directly influential in the decision to leave Delphi, and seek Charikleia's nostos to Ethiopia; as Kalasiris said, wherever they go, Theagenes will follow. Thus, Kalasiris becomes strongly associated with nostos, an association which becomes even stronger with his own homecoming, as we shall see.

One of the problems with having important secondary characters is that they need clear resolutions to their part of the story in a way that an incidental character does not.⁵⁰ This is especially true of the genre of romance, where the end of the story must be centered on the hero and heroine in happiness; therefore any minor characters must be taken care of beforehand, lest they prove a distraction from the "happily ever after". In the case of Knemon, he is eliminated from the story through a happy resolution to his own wanderings. He receives Nausikles' daughter's hand, and their marriage is celebrated immediately (6.8.3). But this resolution of Knemon's character is significant also because it has the effect of finalizing his association with the generic convention, with the fulfillment of love—though not without its overtones of nostos, as I pointed out above. His marriage, and subsequent elimination from the text, is interesting also because of where it occurs. Knemon is married at 6.8.3, after Kalasiris' long tale has finished, and just before Kalasiris and Charikleia set out together to find Theagenes. Charikleia's emergence as the dominant character at this time is strengthened by Knemon's disappearance from the text; in fact, it almost demands it.

It is not too long after Knemon's marriage that Kalasiris and Charikleia make it to Memphis, in time to prevent his two sons from killing each other. This is a homecoming for Kalasiris, a nostos complete with a recognition. It is also here that Kalasiris is

⁵⁰ Thus, Charikles, who is important because he was Charikleia's father for some time, is brought back on to stage in book 10, to facilitate Theagenes' reprieve as well as to tie up his loose end.

eliminated, somewhat abruptly, from the text. After all the excitement, Kalasiris entrusts Theagenes and Charikleia into his sons' hands, goes to bed, and dies. (7.11.4) In this way a character who had been so prominent for the majority of the romance to this point, more prominent, perhaps, than the hero himself, is resolved. He does make a later appearance, to Theagenes and Charikleia in their dreams; his death is the end of his major influence on the plot, but his strongest influence on the thematic dialogue, as his return home strongly prefigures Charikleia's nostos. And, like Knemon's marriage, Kalasiris' death is interesting for where it occurs: in Memphis, where Arsake will pose such a threat to Theagenes. Kalasiris, so strongly associated with the nostos theme, in his relationship to Charikleia as well as in his successful nostos, is removed from the text at exactly the point where Heliodoros reasserts the romantic, where he revives Theagenes as the hero of the romance. If Knemon's happy ending assisted Charikleia's emergence as the lead character, and the nostos theme, then Kalasiris' nostos and death is necessary for Theagenes to become the hero of the romance, indeed, for the conventions of the genre to ultimately obtain. Kalasiris had developed into such a strong character that I suspect Heliodoros had no other choice but to eliminate him one way or another, for romance can only have one male lead.

These two analyses of the *Aithiopika*, one of theme, one of characterization, have established the dialogue in the romance between the convention and nostos. It would be additionally useful here to include a third analysis which also sheds light on this dialogue. This will be an analysis of the presentation of danger in the romance, to which I have already alluded in earlier parts of this paper. Underlying the idea of danger in the romance, however, is the persistently nagging fact that, both according to the rules of the genre as well as being admitted in the text, the reader is fully aware that the story has a happy ending.⁵¹ One of the problems of romance was how to produce excitement in a

⁵¹ Morgan 1989a offers an explanation of this problem of romance, and Heliodoros' attempt to resolve it by defeating reader expectations.

work whose genre guaranteed a happy ending. Different authors, again, had different approaches to this, but in the long run what ultimately came to matter in the plot was “not so much... *what* will happen as... *how* it will happen.” (Hägg 1983, p.111) However, there was also a problem subsidiary to this one, and that was, how to present the characters in threatening situations without producing an apparently unrelated series of adventures. It is in his failure to do this that Xenophon is often criticized, for example.⁵² Heliodoros’ approach to this challenge involved a series of escalating dangers, whereby the next danger seemed more threatening than the last as the hero and heroine came closer to their destination. Thus, for example, the first danger which confronts Theagenes and Charikleia is the unknown bandits at 1.1.1, who are soon chased away by a bigger group of bandits, 1.3.4. This pattern can be more or less traced throughout the romance; I will here concentrate on a few instances.

As we have seen, the first major threat of the romance comes when Thyamis, leader of the boukoloi, proposes marriage to Charikleia, who agrees in order to buy time to wait for deliverance (1.26.4). And they are soon delivered from this predicament, but by an even greater danger— an attack on the island on which they are staying (1.27.1). It is during this attack that the peak danger of this section occurs, when Thyamis returns to the cave where Charikleia is hidden in order to kill her, which he apparently does (1.29.7). Of course, it turns out that he has killed Thisbe by mistake, and that Charikleia is fine, after all; but this brief example gives an idea how Heliodoros escalates danger. We saw Theagenes and Charikleia captured by the boukoloi, then an imminent but unwanted marriage to Charikleia, then an attack on the boukoloi by a larger group, then a physical assault on Charikleia. Each of these successive dangers seems more threatening than the last, as it moves from marriage to apparent murder. There are many more dangers over the course of the course of the novel, yet it always seems as if, as soon as one danger is resolved, a new one, from a more threatening source, arises.⁵³

⁵² See for example, Anderson *CAGN*, p.126.

⁵³ It would be fair to ask, how can the danger be escalated throughout the work, when much of the danger confronting Charikleia and Theagenes is told in flashback? Basically, the mounting danger

I will look at another section of the text which is crucial for an understanding of the danger in the *Aithiopika*. This begins at book 7, where Theagenes and Charikleia are taken into the palace of Arsake after the death of Kalasiris. The immediate danger is evident: Arsake, the powerful wife of the Satrap Oroondates, desires Theagenes. This is a mirror image of the very first danger in the romance, where Thyamis, the powerful leader of the boukoloi (who, ironically, is the reason for Theagenes being at Memphis at all, and later makes an appearance as Theagenes and Charikleia's advocate), desired Charikleia. And we know that this reversal is due to the greater textual strategy of characterization: in book 1, Charikleia was developing as the main character in order to establish the theme of nostos, whereas here in book 7, Theagenes is being revived as the romantic hero. The danger of this situation is complicated when Achaimenes makes a play for Charikleia (7.23.5); now it appears that not only is Theagenes stuck between the choice of offending the Queen by his refusal or giving in to her passion, but Charikleia is about to be given away to another, as well. Theagenes relieves the latter threat by his confession to Arsake (7.26.5) But this is only temporary relief, for Achaimenes sets off immediately in vengeance to tell Oroondates the whole story, and Theagenes takes his place as Arsake's slave. Thyamis then approaches Arsake, to ask for Theagenes and Charikleia to be handed over to him because of his promise to his father to take care of them (8.3.4). This arouses Arsake's jealousy, and she conspires with Kybele her nurse to have Theagenes tortured in order to break his will, and get him to give in to Arsake's desire; when this fails, they decide to assassinate Charikleia. Their attempt fails, with Kybele swallowing the poison instead. But once again, the danger of assassination is alleviated only to be replaced by a larger and more inescapable threat: Charikleia is framed for the murder of Kybele (a framing facilitated by her own desperate confession, 8.8.5), and sentenced to execution. The pattern here begins with a threat to the chastity and fidelity of Theagenes and Charikleia, and escalates through torture finally through an

of the romance is perhaps seen best according to *histoire* rather than *récit*. This is because the threats of which Kalasiris tells can carry only a limited threat, since the reader is aware that they will emerge from them as chaste and unharmed as they were at 1.1.1, or at the start of the flashback narrative.

assassination attempt, and the death penalty. This shows again how Heliodoros produces a bigger “kick” for the reader with each successive threat; but we have not reached the end yet.

Charikleia is not executed; the pantarbe ring, one of the things set out with her at birth, saves her from the flames. The danger has not passed, however, for she immediately is to await trial and execution again. At this point in the text, the important double dream of Kalasiris occurs (8.10.1). The promise he makes to Theagenes seems to indicate an end in sight for their suffering at the hands of Arsake, and even an end of their travels and troubles. They are indeed delivered from Arsake, when Oroondates’ letter, spurred by Achaimenes’ confession, arrives. They are sent to Oroondates in the field; however, on the way they are captured by an Ethiopian ambush, and taken to the Ethiopian general (9.1.3). The general is Hydaspes, Charikleia’s father. And he pronounces what is to be the greatest threat in the romance: they are to be offered as victory sacrifices, at Hydaspes’ own hand, no less (9.1.4; 10.7.1). But before this danger can be examined, I want to look at the character of Hydaspes.

There is a long stretch of text during which it appears Heliodoros has utterly forgotten about his heroes. This part of the text, book 9, narrates Hydaspes’ siege of Syene, and subsequent battle against the Persians. Because of the prolonged absence of Theagenes and Charikleia, and the fact that these episodes have no apparent influence on the final outcome, except to bring Theagenes and Charikleia to Hydaspes, and to send them back to Meroe together (which could have been done much more quickly), it seems a long portion of the romance to dedicate to a relative irrelevancy, even for a Sophistic author. I would suggest that book 9 is more than a display of pseudo-historiography by Heliodoros, more than sophistry. We have just seen how the danger of the romance has mounted to the point where it comes from the source closest to the heroine, her father. Yet, the reader knows next to nothing about Hydaspes, other than that he is Charikleia’s father; contrasted to this is the fact that we have already heard from her mother by way of

the embroidered band at 4.8.1. In the course of book 9, of which Hydaspes is the main character, we learn some important things about him. To begin with, he is pious, immediately thinking of the gods of his homeland when he captures his first “enemies” (9.1.4). He is also an ingenious general capable of winning his battles without bloodshed; his ploy of surrounding the city with a ditch, then flooding it, produces the capitulation of Syene without the loss of any lives. He further demonstrates his leniency to the people of Syene despite Oroondates’ treachery (9.7.1, 9.11.1, 9.12.3), but then proves that he is a great general in the heat of battle as well, routing the Persians (9.14.1-9.20.1). He is determined yet forgiving, powerful yet reverent, in short, a model king and ruler. His character is developed quickly but thoroughly by Heliodoros in book 9, and not without reason; if the sacrifice of Charikleia (and, incidentally, Theagenes) at the hands of her father represents the climactic danger in the romance, how much is the dramatic tension of the sacrifice heightened if the father, Hydaspes, is also good, forgiving, reverent, wise? It would be a scene out of tragedy if Charikleia were sacrificed at the hands of her own loving and pious father, his only flaw his ignorance of her existence. This is the tension I believe Heliodoros is trying to create, and this is why book 9 is dedicated to establishing Hydaspes’ character.⁵⁴

The sacrifice is the greatest danger, because it is a threat to the lives of both Theagenes and Charikleia from Charikleia’s very own parents. There are, moreover, two different ways to look at this conflict as the climax. On the one hand, this represents the apex of romantic adventure; Hydaspes is the greatest threat to Theagenes and Charikleia because he is the most powerful figure we encounter in the romance: he defeated the satrap whose wife (Arsake) owned the slaves (Theagenes and Charikleia) who were captured by the brigand-turned-priest (Thyamis) from the commander who captured them from the brigand (before he returned to his priesthood) who found them on the beach stranded from a war between pirates who took them from their search for home. But this

⁵⁴ Morgan (1989a p. 308) gives a good account of the function of book 9, including its role as a “cliffhanger”. Also he comments on the tension surrounding the sacrifice and the dynamics of the recognition scene, p.307 ff.

danger is also inseparably linked with the nostos theme. The dramatic tension of the sacrifice is high, not simply because Theagenes and Charikleia are to be killed, but because Charikleia in particular is to be killed by her own father, the search for whom has been the object of all her suffering and searching. From a thematic standpoint, such a sacrifice would be horribly ironic. But this is not tragedy, of course, it is romance; Charikleia is recognized, and only Theagenes awaits his reprieve, which also comes in time. But the tension is for the most part relieved with Charikleia's recognition. This is why, in part, that Theagenes has to pull off his feats of heroism, to be reestablished as a character and the hero, and to get the reader interested in his fate, as well, after the resolution of the nostos, for he is still waiting at the (sacrificial) altar. The danger, like the travels⁵⁵ of Theagenes and Charikleia, lead to Ethiopia and Hydaspes and Persinna; and more than leading home, they point to nostos as being near the center of the *Aithiopika*'s composition, informing plot as well as character and theme.

.

I have in the course of this paper been analysing what I have termed the "dialogue" at the heart of the novel, between the themes of nostos and love and its fulfillment. The latter represents the generic convention inherited by Heliodoros, the former, a voice introduced by the author into his work. In this conclusion I would like to explore some tangential questions surrounding this argument, dealing with questions of genre and cultural context.

As I mentioned above, Heliodoros' writing was heavily influenced by the cultural revival called the Second Sophistic, as were Longus and Achilles Tatius. Could it be that the thematic complexity of the *Aithiopika* is merely a coincidental complication of Heliodoros' sophistic influences, that there is no dialogue of themes, but a story on a grander scale? This is a possibility, but not one that bears investigation. For example,

⁵⁵ In many instances the dangers are not distinguishable from the travels, as is common in romance.

Longus, very much the sophist in his ekphrases, shows no such thematic dialogue; this is not to say that he did not contribute to the development of the genre in his own way, just that the basic convention of romance is the unanswered voice in *Daphnis and Chloe*. Achilles Tatius may be another matter, depending on whether one views the text as parody; but even in this instance, the parody is of other generic features, such as the chastity and self-control of the lovers, or the hero's heroism in the face of danger, not of the basic thematic construct of love and its fulfillment. Heliodoros is also prone to passages of sophistry; the description of the procession at Delphi (3.1.2), or example, or of the amethyst Kalasiris gives to Nausikles (5.14.1). But in these cases, the influence of the Second Sophistic can be traced only to individual passages of stylistic flourish.⁵⁶ The fact that he has an extended description of a giraffe is a mark of sophistic influence; but the way he uses that description as a part of the dialogue, reestablishing the conventional over the nostos, goes beyond this influence. There is more to this dialogue than "sophistication" in the third century A.D. sense. Here is not just a more complex, more descriptive, more erudite (though all these apply in their way) work, but a romance which works within the conventions of the genre, submits to them (or else it would not be a romance), while at the same time positing another thematic voice which tests the boundaries of those conventions. I assert that Heliodoros was aware of the generic conventions of romance⁵⁷, if not the genre itself (the two are distinguishable), and would have known that his work followed in the footsteps of other writers; but he was also aware of his own literary ability, and his romance reflects the tension between these two elements. Ask: what is the basic difference between Chariton, the first full (extant) expression of the genre, and Heliodoros? There are passages of sophistic tendencies in Heliodoros not found in Chariton, to be sure, and this is why the *Aithiopika* can be classified as "sophistic". But there are also tensions with the basic elements of romance not found in Chariton, or Xenophon, or Longus or Achilles Tatius for that matter. These

⁵⁶ For an analysis of how Heliodoros uses his ekphrases as more than decoration, see Bartsch 1989, pp.46-8, 77-9, 109-77.

⁵⁷ Reardon (1991, p.113) also states something similar in his discussion of how Heliodoros dealt with some of the difficulties of romance. "Heliodoros, looking back by his time over a whole romance tradition, appears to have learned from Longus' fundamental reshuffling of the cards...".

tensions are not due merely to sophistication, but to another, deeper struggle with the genre itself. Speaking of individual creativity, Perry (1967, p.26) said “Every writer’s expression has two aspects: what is peculiar to himself as an individual, and what belongs in kind to a more or less popular pattern of thought and style. Much the greater part of his expression falls normally into the last-named category, hence the genres; but the potentialities of individual expression are wide and only loosely controlled by the social and intellectual milieu as a whole... .” I think that Perry’s words apply especially to Heliodoros; perhaps his claim to fame is the dialogue he established between the “pattern of popular style” and his own individual expression.

There remains a question to be answered: what is the importance of this thematic dialogue? Why does it matter that Heliodoros knew the convention of romance, used it, but posited other voices in the narrative? The full answer to this is beyond the range of this paper, or my scope as a scholar of prose fiction. I do know however, that this demonstrates that the ancient romances were capable of obtaining a degree of thematic complexity perhaps previously denied them by scholars and critics alike. Yet, in the course of this analysis I have come to be aware of the demanding rigidity of the romantic convention: no matter what other themes are present, regardless of characterization, the two people must be in love, and they must live happily ever after. Any violation of these two rules, and the end result is something that may fall on the far side of the boundaries of romance. This is why I believe that Heliodoros in many ways wrote the “romance to end all romances”. He developed the dialogue of themes as far as possible; however, because he was writing romance, because, in other words, he chose to follow in the established tradition, the generic convention in the end wins out. For this reason, although I have argued that there is a dialogue in the work, it is not truly heteroglossic; the voices in the dialogue do not speak with the same authority, for the generic has the last word in this dialogue. Had this not been the case, had Theagenes been sacrificed at the altar, and Charikleia married to Meroebus, then my analysis would not be of a romance at all, but of a novel in a truly modern sense.

Chapter Two

Hearing Voices: Incorporated Genres in the *Aithiopika*

One of the outstanding narrative features of the *Aithiopika* is the author's use of oracles and dreams to advance the plot.⁵⁸ Whenever they appear, they are distinguished by their demand for interpretation by characters and reader alike⁵⁹, and make the reader look forward to what he or she expects in the novel, or back to what has already been learned for reinterpretation. Yet oracles and dreams are not the only form through which Heliodoros advances his plot, nor do they alone pose interpretative problems to the reader. The characters in the *Aithiopika* write more letters to one another than in any other extant ancient Greek romance, and these letters, as we shall see, play more than a decorative role in the plot. There is also, along with the genuine oracles and magic practiced in the *Aithiopika*, faked oracular pronouncement, so that the genre of oracles in the novel includes not only the great rumblings of the oracle of Delphi but also the chicanery of Kalasiris before Charikleia, Charikles or Nausikles. These things, taken together, constitute a group of elements in the novel which I shall collectively refer to as incorporated genres.⁶⁰

The extent to which Heliodoros uses incorporated genres is remarkable. They are spread thickly throughout the novel, and often have a proleptic function; that is, they often foreshadow events to come in the novel, acting as hints, or else as snares, for the reader. The incorporated genres also have an analeptic function, or, to put it another way, they look back to what has occurred previously in the novel, or to what the reader has

⁵⁸ This has been discussed in part in Bartsch 1989; see especially the chapter "Dreams and Oracles".

⁵⁹ Of course, dreams and attempts to interpret them have a long literary tradition, from Homer to Artemidoros. I shall briefly investigate some of this tradition, as well as recent criticism on it, below.

⁶⁰ This term is taken from Bakhtin 1981, "Discourse in the Novel"; "...one of the most basic and fundamental forms for incorporating and organizing heteroglossia [is the category] 'incorporated genres'. The novel permits the incorporation of various genres, both artistic (inserted short stories, lyrical songs, poems, dramatic scenes, etc.) and extra-artistic (everyday, rhetorical, scholarly religious genres and others). In principle, any genre could be included in the construction of the novel, and in fact it is difficult to find any genres that have not at some point been incorporated into a novel by someone." (Ibid., p.320) In the course of this paper I take as examples (by no means exhaustive of all incorporated genres in Heliodoros) those letters, oracles and dreams whose contents are narrated explicitly in the text.

already learned. And in a few cases, the pro- and analeptic⁶¹ are found in the same letter, oracle or dream, requiring the reader to assimilate her knowledge of what has happened already with the foreshadowing with which she is then confronted. These functions give the novel its closure, its feeling of inevitability, a feeling which might otherwise have seemed much more random. They act as “broad framers of the events that come to pass in the novel and [provide] thereby an underlying sense of purpose and divine planning to the haphazard progressions of the plot.” (Bartsch 1991, p.94) But perhaps the most remarkable thing about the incorporated genres is their influence on the action of the romance itself. It is not just that the oracles frame the story, although they (and one of them in particular) certainly do, nor is it simply a matter of an oracle eventually motivating its own fulfillment. In fact the most striking aspect of the incorporated genres in Heliodoros is that every major event of the plot in the novel is instigated or accompanied by one or another incorporated genre.

Heliodoros’ novel is distinct from the other extant ancient Greek romances for many reasons, but one of the most noticeable is its nonlinear construction; the reported narratives and complex character connections (“interdigitations” as Sandy calls them [Sandy 1982a, p.37]) help to build the sense of suspense around its outcome. Included in this plot complexity is the enigmatic oracle given at 2.35.5.

Τὴν χάριν ἐν πρώτοις αὐτὰρ κλέος ὕστατ’ ἔχουσαν
 φράζεσθ’, ὦ Δελφοί, τὸν τε θεᾶς γενέτην·
 οἱ νηὸν προλιπόντες ἐμὸν καὶ κῦμα τεμόντες
 ἴξοντ’ ἠελίου πρὸς χθόνα κυανέην,
 τῆ περ ἀριστοβίων μέγ’ ἀέθλιον ἐξάψονται
 λευκὸν ἐπὶ κροτάφων στέμμα μελαινομένων.

I shall call this the great oracle, because of its centrality for the text. Of course, Apollo’s oracular seat at Delphi played an important role throughout much of the history

⁶¹See Genette 1980, pp. 33ff. In his analysis he is “...designating as *prolepsis* any narrative maneuver that consists of narrating or evoking in advance an event that will take place later, [and] ... *analepsis* ... [as] any evocation after the fact of an event that took place earlier in the story than where we are at any given moment...” (p. 40)

of Greek literature, from tragedy and history to the novel itself.⁶² It is in fact the Delphic oracle of earlier times that Heliodoros represents in the *Aithiopika*, for, as we know from Plutarch (*De Pythiae Oraculis*, *De Defectu Oraculorum*), by 100 A.D. this important seat of prophecy, which Herodotos portrays as a center for consultation of great political importance, as well as personal devotion and guidance, had declined into a place where the inquiries (when there were any) were usually of a personal nature. “They no longer came to ask about war, sedition, revolution, foundation of colonies, but about private matters— marriage, a voyage, a loan, farming, a contest, buying a slave— or at most a community would inquire about the harvest or public health.”⁶³ Heliodoros represents the oracle as thriving, as an international center of religious devotion, a function it had largely lost by his own time. It is true, however, that while the “old Greek oracles” were in decline, other oracles of Apollo, in Asia Minor, were increasing in activity. “While mainland Greece had largely sunk into a backwater, the Asiatic Greeks were in the full current of contemporary life. This increase in population and prosperity was mirrored in the growth in importance of the oracle-centres of Asia... . In the sixth century B.C. the Greek colonies had chiefly looked to Delphi, in the second century A.D. they looked to their own shrines.”⁶⁴ Heliodoros, being an Asiatic Greek, may well have been influenced by the flourishing of contemporary Asian oracles; but even so, his Delphi is reminiscent of that of Herodotos and Euripides, and of the Classical period in general.⁶⁵

It is the oracle at 2.35.5, given at Delphi, which serves to shape the destinies of Theagenes and Charikleia, even before they meet. Even though it is not officially presented in the novel until 2.35, it is, in fact, responsible for the situation at 1.1.1, as we shall see. Therefore it shapes the entire romance, both what comes before and after,

⁶² For an analysis of oracles in literature, see Fontenrose 1978, esp. ch. III, “The Transmission and Attribution of Narrative Oracles”. See also his “Catalogue of Delphic Responses”, section IV, “Fictional Responses”, pp. 412 ff.

⁶³ Levin 1989, p. 1607; cf. *De Pythiae Oraculis* 26-28. This article gives a good introduction into the oracles at Delphi, Didyma and Claros during the Roman Imperial period. For a more general treatment, see Parke 1967.

⁶⁴ Parke 1967, p. 137.

⁶⁵ See the oracles listed in Fontenrose's index pp. 240 ff., e.g. L28, where Xuthus goes to Delphi to inquire about a son, *Ion* 70-1.

although we only realize its influence with the earlier part of the story after the fact. Heliodoros did not leave the earlier part of the text unmarked by that oracle, nor does he leave the reader without a clue as to its significance. At 2.11.5, as Theagenes, Charikleia and Knemon ponder the dead body of Thisbe, they have the following remarkable exchange.

"Ἐὰρ οὖν εἴποις ἄν" φησὶν ὁ Θεαγένης "καὶ ὅπως ποτὲ καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἔδρα τὸν φόνον;" "Καὶ πῶς ταῦτα ἄν εἰδείην;" ἀπεκρίνατο "οὐ γὰρ δὴ μαντικόν με τόδε τὸ σπήλαιον ἀνέδειξε καθάπερ τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς Πυθοῦς [καὶ ἐν Τροφωνίου λόγος θεοφρονεῖν τοὺς ὑπελθόντας]." Ἐνώμωξαν ἄθροον ὁ Θεαγένης καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια καὶ ὁ Πυθοῖ καὶ Δελφοί" θρηνοῦντες ἐβόων, ὁ δὲ Κνήμων ἐκπέπληκτο καὶ ὁ τι πεπόνθοιεν πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Πυθοῦς οὐκ εἶχε συμβάλλειν.

Why exactly are Theagenes and Charikleia affected by the name of Pytho? The reader, like Knemon, cannot be sure, in fact, cannot have more than a guess, at this point in the novel. Why does Heliodoros mention it? Probably in part because he loves to make his reader guess at the meaning of apparently mysterious events, like, for example, the *aporia* of the opening scene with the first group of bandits wondering about the beautiful woman and man they see, or even the confused slaying of Thisbe, which, as Bartsch has shown, requires interpretative effort from the reader.⁶⁶ But also in part because he is weaving the thread of the oracle of 2.35.5 throughout his romance so that, when having read to the end of Kalasiris' tale, the reader can put together the story into a coherent whole. Thus the mention of the *μαντικόν... καθάπερ τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς Πυθοῦς*, and the response it elicits from Theagenes and Charikleia, is *proleptic*; it anticipates the pronouncement of 2.35.5, and it alerts the reader that Delphi and the Pythonic oracle are in some way responsible for the current situation of Theagenes and Charikleia, in the brigands' cave in Egypt.

⁶⁶Bartsch 1989, pp. 97ff.

We next come across the oracle itself, given in full as it was first heard by Kalasiris in the course of his life's story at 2.35.5.⁶⁷ In a sense, the narrating of the oracle is neither analeptic nor proleptic, if we are (as I am here to a certain extent) reading the romance as a series of actions inspired by this oracle; in this way, this is narrative ground zero, the starting point, because it is here that Theagenes' and Charikleia's destinies are made one and the same. All other mentions of or references to the oracle must be pro- or analeptic in reference to this point in the text, since without this passage, they would not exist. They either foreshadow the pronouncement of the oracle here (e.g. 2.11.5), or else they refer back to it.

Yet, we must read the plot as more than just the events inspired by the oracle; we must eventually be able to read it as the events that transpire between the oracle's pronouncement and its fulfillment. In this sense, then, the passage at 2.35.5, the great oracle itself, is distinctly proleptic because it looks forward to the end of the story. And if the original pronouncement of the oracle is proleptic, then every successive mention or reference of it must also be an implied prolepsis. For example, the very next mention of the oracle at 3.5.7 by Kalasiris:

ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς μίαν τὴν παρατήρησιν τῶν νέων
 ἡσχολούμην, ἐξ ἐκείνου, Κνήμων, ἐξ οὐπερ ὁ χρησμὸς ἐπὶ
 Θεαγένει θυομένῳ κατὰ τὸν νεὼν ἦδετο, πρὸς ὑπόνοιαν τῶν
 ἐσομένων ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων κεκινημένος. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ
 ἀκριβῶς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἐξῆς χρησθέντων συνέβαλλον.

The most striking feature of these lines is the attempt at interpretation, but here I am concerned with the temporality of the reference to the great oracle. It seems at first decidedly analeptic; for one thing, it is spoken of in the past tense (ἦδετο, κεκινημένος,

⁶⁷ The structure of this oracle has elements typical of Delphic oracular pronouncement in general. For example, the warning to the Delphians in the second line of the oracle, φράζεσθ', reflects a common tradition of caveats, especially at the beginning of oracles. "Another frequent opening is *Phrazou / Phrazen / Phrazeo*, usually in the meaning 'Beware,' 'Take heed,' but sometimes 'Notice.'" Fontenrose 1978, p. 170.

συνέβαλλον). Kalasiris is recalling a past event, the singing of the oracle through the temple, and his thoughts at the time. But notice the part of the sentence which draws attention to the words “τῶν ἐσομένων”. This turns the emphasis from past to future; Kalasiris’ analepsis is, as it were, only the platform for his proleptic cogitations on the future significance of the oracle. This mention of the great oracle is at one and the same time both analeptic and proleptic, both recalling its source and looking to its conclusion.

We again get a glimpse into Kalasiris’ pondering of the oracle at 4.4.5.

ἐγὼ δὲ αὐθις ἄπνος ἦν τὴν τε φυγὴν ὅποι τραπόμενοι
λάθοιμεν ἂν ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ πρὸς τίνα χώραν ἄρα παραπέμπει
τοὺς νέους ὁ θεὸς ἐννοῶν. Τὸν μὲν δὴ δρασμὸν μόνον ἔγνω
κατὰ θάλατταν εἶναι ποιητέον, ἀπὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τὸ συνοῖσον
λαβὼν ἔνθα ἔφασκεν αὐτοὺς

κῦμα τεμόντας

ἴξεσθ’ ἡελίου πρὸς χθόνα κυανέην.

Here is the same dynamic between analepsis and prolepsis. On the one hand, we see Kalasiris recalling the oracle, an analeptic action because it guides us to a previous point in the text, 2.35.5. On the other, his speculation is directed to the future, and where to turn next. And his decision on what to do is, in the end, inspired by the oracle, namely the lines which anticipate sea travel. So the oracle, and its ongoing interpretation, is shaping the action of the romance. And Heliodoros is doing an interesting thing with the foreshadowing of his novel; he is not merely giving hints of what is to come, but he is firmly and clearly grounding these hints in the great oracle itself, thus making this prolepsis based in analepsis.⁶⁸ There are other, independent prolepses (such as Kalasiris’ dream of Odysseus, or the prophecy of the corpse at Bessa), but these are isolated

⁶⁸ Likewise at 6.9.5, where Kalasiris mentions the oracle to encourage Charikleia.

events⁶⁹; the great oracle is a singular event that is used repeatedly in the novel to look to its ending.

There is another example of an incorporated genre which is woven throughout the text, and interwoven with the great oracle. This is the ταινία left by Persinna amongst Charikleia's recognition tokens. Below I shall consider how this band functions as a letter and as a token of recognition at different points in the text; here I want to emphasize its persistency throughout the text, and how Heliodoros uses it in the greater scheme of the romance. Like the great oracle, we are aware of the band's existence before we know its exact contents; but, unlike the cryptic outburst over the mention of Delphi (2.11.5), when Charikles mentions the band in his story of how he became the father of Charikleia at 2.31.2 (telling Kalasiris what he was told by Sisimithres), he is somewhat more forthcoming of its significance.

Συνεξέκειτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ λίθων ὄρμος ὄν ἀρτίως
ἐπεδείκνυον καὶ ταινία τις ἀπὸ σηρικοῦ νήματος
ἐξυφασμένη γράμμασιν ἐγχωρίοις καὶ διηγήματι τῶν κατὰ
τὴν παῖδα κατάστικτος, τῆς μητρὸς οἶμαι σύμβολα ταῦτα καὶ
γνωρίσματα τῇ κόρῃ προμηθευσαμένης·

Here the temporal threads are harder to separate than with the oracle. This mention of the band is analeptic in a broad, nonspecific way because it refers back to the child's origins, whatever they may be. But it is proleptic because it leaves us wondering what exactly the child's origins are, and in due course we eventually learn what the band says. This is also a prolepsis in another, more general way, however; Sisimithres designates this band (and a necklace) as tokens of recognition, even pointing out the mother's foresight in leaving these things. Any mention of recognition tokens in a story where there has not already been a previous recognition scene must *per se* anticipate or suggest a recognition, whether or not it actually occurs in the text, that is, it must be proleptic of a

⁶⁹ Except perhaps for the part of their message which concerns Charikleia and her happy ending.

recognition scene. Heliodoros baits this hook even more by having Sisimithres emphasize the importance of the child, even threatening his shepherds with punishment should the secret get out. So we know that the child has important parents by Sisimithres' reaction, and by the expensive recognition tokens; and we know that one of the tokens, the band, has the story of the child. All we need to know now is what that band says to have a complete picture of the child's life.

We do get to read the band somewhat later in the story, at 4.8.1-8.⁷⁰ Here the analeptic aspect of the band itself is complete, with the story of Charikleia from her birth until her time with Sisimithres filled in, and it is the past history which takes up most of its text (4.8.1-6). But, in the end, it is the proleptic which marks this band as important. There are small and subtle hints as to what will happen in the story, such as where Persinna advises her daughter to μεμνήση τῆς εὐγενείας τιμῶσα σωφροσύνην. Her chastity plays a role in the final recognition scene through the gridiron test which establishes her as a virgin, and thus suitable for sacrifice (10.9.3). Persinna also singles out a certain one of the tokens (4.8.7).

μεμνήση δὲ πρὸ πάντων τῶν συνεκτεθέντων σοι
 κειμηλίων δακτύλιόν τινα ἐπιζητεῖν καὶ σεαυτῇ περιποιεῖν,
 ὃν πατὴρ ὁ σὸς ἐμοὶ παρὰ τὴν μνηστεῖαν ἐδώρησατο
 βασιλείῳ μὲν συμβόλῳ τὸν κύκλον ἀνάγραφτον λίθῳ δὲ
 παντάρβη καὶ ἀπορρήτῳ δυνάμει τὴν σφενδόνην
 καθιερωμένον.

It is this pantarbe ring which saves Charikleia from Arsake's execution fire at 8.9.13, and, so that we can connect that event with Persinna's mention of the pantarbe ring here, Heliodoros has Charikleia dream of Kalasiris at 8.11.2, who says

παντάρβην φορέουσα πυρὸς μὴ τάρβει ἐρωήν,
 ῥηίδι ὡς μοίραις χά τ' ἀδόκητα πέλει.

⁷⁰ For more on the band, "an obscure piece of paradoxography with a key role in the plot", and its possible connection to an Ethiopian honorary device, see Anderson 1979.

So this mention of the pantarbe in the band is proleptic, and the recognition tokens make repeat appearances at important junctures throughout the romance. But the main prolepsis of the band lies in its self-identification as a recognition token (4.8.8). καὶ ἔσται σοι τὰ τῆς γραφῆς... εἰ μὲν περισωθείης, γνωρίσματα, εἰ δ' ὅπερ καὶ ἀκοὴν λάθοι τὴν ἐμὴν, ἐπιτύμβια καὶ μητρὸς ἐπικήδεια δάκρυα. If Charikleia lives, the band will reveal her for who she really is. This is what happens, and, although Heliodoros attempts to maintain a degree of suspense in the second half of the clause (“but if that occurs which I pray never to hear of, then it will take the place of a mother's tears and sorrow at your graveside”), we never expect anything else.

The effect of the band on Kalasiris is noteworthy (4.9.1). He tells Knemon how he immediately understood (and was amazed by the fact) that the gods had brought about the whole situation, and he connects the oracle and the band, διαχεομένης μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγνοουμένων εὔρεσιν καὶ τῶν χρησθέντων ἤδη τὴν ἐπίλυσιν, ἀδημονούσης δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων ἔκβασιν... . This is the first time that the two main examples of extended incorporated genres, the ταινία and the great oracle, meet in the text. Here they are intertwined in Kalasiris' interpretative effort; it is the band which helps him to solve the oracle. The result of this meeting is that he speculates on the future, that is, he looks directly ahead at what is to come. This we might term an indefinite prolepsis, because we are not given any indication as to what is to come, only that it is uncertain and (seemingly) troublesome. And this indeed is the immediate future of Charikleia, with her noisy abduction from Delphi, capture by pirates, shipwreck, etc. It is important to see here not only that Heliodoros uses incorporated genres throughout his romance, nor that he develops some of them consistently, but that they are also intertwined, woven into the text separately and together, analeptically and proleptically.

Later in the text the recognition tokens and the oracle are encountered together again, although in a broader way. After debating the meaning of their dreams at 8.11.1-

11, Charikleia tries to encourage Theagenes from his pessimistic attitude. Καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια "Θάρσει" ἔφη: "παντάρβην ἐτέραν ἔχομεν τὰ μεμαντευμένα..." (8.11.11) The pantarbe, remember, has just spared Charikleia from burning at the stake, and Charikleia has just recounted her dream of Kalasiris which foretold this, a dream which, as we have just seen, strikes a chord with Persinna's admonition in the band to keep the tokens safe. So when Charikleia says that the oracle is a another pantarbe, she means, in essence, that it will protect them from any trials to come; in other words, their destiny is guaranteed, and so is a happy ending. Like the passage at 4.9.1, where they were first intertwined, this passage is also essentially proleptic, in that it looks directly ahead to the conclusion of the story. It also has an implied analepsis, because of the reference to the pantarbe and the prophecy (the great oracle); but these things are now securely in the background as they press on to the end of their story.

The tokens of recognition are mentioned again at 9.24.7, where Theagenes urges Charikleia to reveal herself to Hydaspes.

" Ἄλλὰ τὰ γνωρίσματα" ἔφη ὁ Θεαγένης, "ἃ φέρειν σε οἶδα καὶ διασώζειν, ὅτι μὴ πλάσμα ἐσμὲν μηδὲ ἀπάτη συλλήψεται." Καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια "Τὰ γνωρίσματα" ἔφη "τοῖς γινώσκουσιν αὐτὰ ἢ συνεκθεμένοις ἐστὶ γνωρίσματα, τοῖς δὲ ἀγνοοῦσιν ἢ μὴ πάντα γνωρίζειν ἔχουσι κειμήλια τινάλλως καὶ ὄρμοι κλοπῆς, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, καὶ ληστείας τοῖς φέρουσιν ὑπόνοιαν προσάπτοντες."

Charikleia's reasoning here is to wait, and wait they do, as she looks forward to her proper recognition. They are chosen for sacrifice, and find themselves before Hydaspes and Persinna in Meroe, about to be offered. Finally Charikleia decides to present her case, and she brings forth as evidence the band of Persinna at 10.13.1. She reads the band, as does Sisimithres and Hydaspes. Here, unlike at 4.8, the band is purely analeptic; it reminds Persinna of her daughter, and it reveals her altogether to Hydaspes. This is the

end of the recognition tokens in the story, especially the band; they have no more function to fulfill because Charikleia has been recognized. But one can also state this in terms of their order⁷¹; the band ceases to be important for the story when it no longer possesses a proleptic aspect, when it is no longer the source of interpretation, speculation or foreshadowing. The same will eventually be true for the great oracle, as well.

The great oracle is never far from the minds of the characters, it seems, least of all from Theagenes as he stands before Hydaspes. Charikleia has been revealed and accepted as his daughter through the recognition tokens, but Theagenes still remains designated for sacrifice. This is not in keeping with the oracle, and Charikleia knows this, as she tries to dissuade her father from the sacrifice, saying enigmatically. "' Οτι" ἔφη "ἐμοὶ καὶ ζῶντι συζῆν καὶ θνήσκοντι συντεθνάναι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῷδε πρὸς τοῦ δαιμονίου καθείμαρται." (10.19.2) This is another example of the combined proleptic/analeptic function of the oracle: Charikleia is looking *forward* to what the oracle (and other prophecies along the way) *already promised*, that is, a happy ending. And, in the end, she gets it. Theagenes is rescued, and they get married. The romance closes, of course, with her remembering of the great oracle itself, at 10.41.2.

οὐ γεγονότος ἐνθύμιον τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ὁ
 Χαρικλῆς ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις βεβαιούμενον τὸ πάλαι
 παρὰ τῶν θεῶν προαγορευθὲν ἠύρισκεν, ὃ τοὺς νέους
 ἔφραζεν ἐκ τῶν Δελφῶν διαδράντας
 ἴξεσθ' ἡελίου πρὸς χθόνα κυανέην,
 τῆ περ ἀριστοβίων μέγ' ἀέθλιον ἐξάψονται
 λευκὸν ἐπὶ κροτάφων στέμμα μελαινομένων.

This is fitting; it is the great oracle which has been the source of so much action in the romance, and so the action of the romance should come to an end with the fulfillment of the great oracle. Anything beyond this is unnecessary. The oracle has been exhausted, there is no more to get out of it. It anticipates nothing else, because it has been

⁷¹ Again, I am using Genette's terminology: Genette 1980, pp.33 ff.

accomplished. At 10.41.2, the oracle is purely analeptic; Charikles recalls it just as its last promise is complete, the crowning of Theagenes and Charikleia. So the great oracle has passed through all stages, from pure prolepsis at 2.35.5, where it foreshadows all of the events to come, to an aspect of mixing both analepsis and prolepsis, to pure analepsis, where it must collapse of its own weight, and the story with it.

While the great oracle and the ταινία may be the most persistent of the incorporated genres in the *Aithiopika*, there are many others to keep them company. In fact, it is not very far into the text before we encounter our first example of an incorporated genre, Thyamis' dream at 1.18.2. Dreams are to play quite an important role throughout the novel, and so it is necessary to give some background, both literary and cultural, to fully appreciate the scope of Heliodoros' use of the dream motif.

Long before Heliodoros wrote, or the novel had even been conceived, the Homeric poems were making use of dreams as incorporated genres themselves and exploring the process behind their interpretation. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* even refer to the practice of dream interpreters—in book one, Achilles recommends an ὄνειροπόλον, καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν, (1.63) to Agamemnon in order to find out the reason for the plague the Achaians are experiencing. Dream interpreters are again mentioned at *Il.* 5.149, where the sons of Eurydamas, described as ὄνειροπόλοιο γέροντος, are slain. Homer also calls upon the dream as an image of fleetingness, using it in similes or comparisons, once in the *Iliad* (ὡς δ' ἐν ὄνειρῳ οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν, 22.199), and twice in the *Odyssey* (τρὶς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἴκελον ἦ καὶ ὄνειρῳ / ἔπτατ', 11.207-8, and ψυχὴ δ' ἠὲ ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται, 11.222). So dreams and their interpretation were part of the Homeric world; and they also occupied the thoughts of at least one major character, Penelope (*Od.* 19.535 ff.), as we shall see in a moment. But dreams are more than a passing thought or reference; just as in the *Aithiopika*, they occur at turning points in the plot, and sometimes even motivate these turns. For example, in

Iliad 2 Zeus (unable to sleep himself) sends a deceptive dream to Agamemnon, encouraging him to take up arms anew against the Trojans, for the fall of the city (so he leads Agamemnon to believe) is imminent. The Achaians follow the dream, and, as a result, we have the first major battle scene in the *Iliad*.⁷² Then in book 10, as Diomedes is about to slay Rhesus in his sleep, κακὸν γὰρ ὄναρ κεφαλῆφιν ἐπέστη / τὴν νύκτ', Οἰνεΐδαο πάϊς, διὰ μῆτιν Ἀθήνης. (10.496) Again, just at the point of an important event, there is an incorporated genre. Homer, however, does not use this technique nearly as often as Heliodoros, for in the latter author we find evidence of a dream, letter, or oracle at nearly every major plot turning.⁷³

A study on the interpretation or literary representation of dreams in the ancient world would be likely to take as a basic reference point the passage in the *Odyssey* where Penelope describes to Odysseus the origin of dreams.⁷⁴

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια·
 "Ξεῖν', ἦ τοι μὲν ὄνειροι ἀμήχανοι ἀκριτόμυθοι
 γίγνοντ', οὐδέ τι πάντα τελείεται ἀνθρώποισι.
 δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων·
 αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχεται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι·
 τῶν οἱ μὲν κ' ἔλθωσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος,
 οἱ ῥ' ἐλεφαίρονται, ἔπε' ἀκράαντα φέροντες·
 οἱ δὲ διὰ ξεστῶν κεράων ἔλθωσι θύραζε,
 οἱ ῥ' ἔτυμα κραίνουσι, βροτῶν ὅτε κέν τις ἴδῃται."

(*Od.* 19.559-567)

⁷² It is interesting to note that, despite this Homeric precedent, none of the dreams in the *Aithiopika* are specifically designed to be misleading to any of the characters. Any difficulties in the outcome of the dream are due to an individual's inability or failed attempt to interpret it, not because Zeus (or any other god or power) has sent the dream to purposefully mislead him or her, as he does here to Agamemnon and the Greeks, who interpret the dream according to what it says, and because of the personality of he who has had the dream (2.81).

⁷³ This technique is found in the *Odyssey*, as well as the *Iliad*, though. E.g. *Od.* 6.13ff., where Athena brings about the meeting of Nausikaa and Odysseus through a dream, or 20.87-90, where Penelope talks of sleeping with Odysseus in a dream just before the slaying of the suitors, and his recognition scene with Penelope.

⁷⁴ For example, Cox Miller 1994, which surveys much of the ideas of oneirocriticism from Homer to Gregory of Nyssa. For a discussion of this passage in Homer, see pp. 15-17.

While the meaning of the two gates through which the dreams come is often the focus of discussion about this passage⁷⁵, I want to emphasize Penelope's caveat about the difficulty of interpretation, because it would be an appropriate aphorism to apply to the attempts made by characters in the *Aithiopika* at interpreting their own dreams. There are statements of the same tenor made at various points in the romance. For example, Kalasiris on the attempts to interpret the great oracle by the public:

Ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἀνεῖπεν ὁ θεός, ἀμηχανία πλείστη τοὺς
περιστώτας εἰσεδύετο τὸν χρησμὸν ὃ τι βούλοιο φράζειν
ἀποροῦντας· ἄλλος γὰρ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τὸ λόγιον ἔσπα καὶ ὡς
ἕκαστος εἶχε βουλήσεως, οὕτω καὶ ὑπελάμβανεν. Οὕτω δὲ
οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐφήπτετο, χρησμοὶ γὰρ καὶ ὄνειροι τὰ
πολλὰ τοῖς τέλεσι κρίνονται. (2.36.1-2)

While these statements are not formulations of identical ideas, they do both reflect, in their own way, a homage to the difficulty of dream interpretation; for Penelope, dreams are ἀμήχανοι ἀκριτόμυθοι, while Kalasiris for his part points out the trouble the ἀμηχανία πλείστη the bystanders had in interpreting it, attributes the efforts they do make at interpretation to their own wishful thinking, and then says that oracles and dreams are most often solved when they are fulfilled, anyway. In between these two complementary positions on dream and oracle interpretation is Artemidoros, the second century author of the *Oneirokritika*, who echoes both opinions on the difficulty of interpretation, and on the outcome being the only sure standard for interpretation. At 3.66 he says, τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τρόπον καὶ οἱ ὄνειροι μεμιγμένων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς σημαυνομένων εἰκότως εἰσὶ ποικίλοι καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς δυσερμήνευτοι. Complex dreams— like the complex oracle at 2.35.5— as Penelope would agree, are hard to interpret, especially for οἱ πολλοί. And in book 4 of the *Oneirokritika*, dedicated to his son Artemidoros, who is following his father into the practice of dream interpretation, he gives this advice. εἰ δὲ ποτέ τινα ὄνειρον μηδενὶ τῶν ὄνειροκριτικῶν θεωρημάτων

⁷⁵ See, e.g., Amory 1966, pp.3-57, reviewed in Lord 1968, pp. 34-46, and responded to in Amory 1971; also Morris 1983.

ὑποπίπτοντα μὴ δυνηθείης κρίναι, μὴ ἀθυμῆσης· καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τινες πρὸ <τῆς> ἀποβάσεως ἄκριτοι... . (*Onir.* 4.24) In other words, sometimes you just have to wait and see what happens before you know for sure, just as Kalasiris asserts.

Artemidoros of Daldis, known to us through the *Oneirokritika*, is indeed a valuable source for dreams during the second century.⁷⁶ His work is divided into five books, the first three dedicated to Cassius Maximus⁷⁷, and the last two dedicated to his own son Artemidoros as a guide to setting him up in his own practice of oneirocriticism. Artemidoros classifies dreams by their predictive quality; a primary distinction he makes is between ὄνειρος and ἐνύπνιον, the former being a “movement or condition of the mind that takes many shapes and signifies good or bad things that will occur in the future”⁷⁸ (*Onir.* 1.2), the latter containing “not a prediction of a future state but rather a reminder of a present state.” (*Onir.* 1.1) Concerning the ἐνύπνιον, Artemidoros goes on to say that “it is natural for a lover to seem to be with his beloved in a dream and for a frightened man to see what he fears, for a hungry man to eat and for a thirsty man to drink and, again, for a man who has stuffed himself with food either to vomit or choke.” (*Onir.* 1.1) The category of ὄνειροι is further defined as being of two types. “Ἐπι τῶν ὀνειρῶν οἱ μὲν εἰσι θεωρηματικοὶ οἱ δὲ ἀλληγορικοί. καὶ θεωρηματικοὶ μὲν οἱ τῇ ἑαυτῶν θεᾷ προσεικότες... ἀλληγορικοὶ δὲ οἱ δι’ ἄλλων ἄλλα σημαίνοντες, αἰνισσομένης ἐν αὐτοῖς φυσικῶς τι [καὶ] τῆς ψυχῆς. (*Onir.* 1.2, cf. 4.1) Most of the rest of the book

⁷⁶ Although value for application of Artemidoros’ writings to broader cultural issues is disputed. See Bowersock 1994, pp. 77-98, where he challenges the championing of Artemidoros by Winkler (via Foucault) as “uniquely qualif[ied] ... as a witness to common conceptions... .” (Winkler 1990, p.11). Bowersock also questions the extent of Artemidoros’ applicability to dreams in Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tatius, and Chariton (p.88).

Despite Bowersock’s opinion that our confidence is somewhat misplaced in Artemidoros as an accurate cultural or interpretative medium through which to read the dreams in the ancient novel, however, the *Oneirokritika* does occupy a privileged position in recent scholarship. His interpretative theories are put to work in Winkler 1982 and, to an even greater extent, in Winkler 1990, Bartsch 1989, and MacAlister 1996. There is also Cox Miller 1994, which, although engaged extensively with Artemidoros (p.77 ff.), especially as “a type of imagination that was deeply embedded in the culture at large”, refers only in passing to any of the Greek novelists.

⁷⁷ “...Quite probably none other than the great rhetorician Maximus of Tyre.” (Bowersock 1994, p.94; see esp. n.44)

⁷⁸ English quotations from Artemidoros are from White 1975; the text is R.A. Pack’s Teubner edition. The technical distinction between ἐνύπνιον and ὄνειρος are not upheld in Heliodoros, Homer, or other literature. Artemidoros himself recognizes this. See *Onir.* 4.proem., ὅταν δὲ κοινῶς τις λέγη, καταχρηστέον τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ὡς καὶ ὁ ποιητής “κλύτε, φίλοι, θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος.”

consists a listing of actual dreams which Artemidoros has recorded⁷⁹, and their interpretations (he is only concerned with ὄνειροι, dreams with bearing on the future⁸⁰) according to the images used in them. Because of the numerous dreams in the *Aithiopika*, the allegorical nature of some of them as opposed to the seemingly straightforwardness of others, the novel is especially open to reading with an Artemidoran subtext.⁸¹

We return, then, to the romance at 1.28.2. We have already met our hero and heroine by this point in the story; we know that they are lovers from their exchange at 1.2.4, and her lamentation at 1.8.2, at which time we also learn their names—Theagenes and Charikleia. However, Thyamis, the brigand chief who has captured the pair, knows none of this when ὄναρ αὐτῷ θεῖον ἔρχεται τοιόνδε (1.18.3). In the dream Isis appears to him in Memphis (his hometown), and presents him with Charikleia in a temple lit with torches. As she does, she says the following words: ὦ Θύαμι, τήνδε σοι τὴν παρθένον ἐγὼ παραδίδωμι, σὺ δὲ ἔχων οὐχ ἔξεις, ἀλλ' ἀδικῶς ἔση καὶ φονεύσεις τὴν ξένην· ἡ δὲ οὐ φονευθήσεται (1.18.4). This is indeed an enigmatic dream, and Thyamis feel compelled to interpret it, which he does, ἤδη...πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν (1.18.5), to mean that he shall marry Charikleia. The way in which Heliodoros manipulates Thyamis' interpretative efforts to bring about the fulfillment of the dream is well documented.⁸² His initial reaction to the dream, as we have seen, is to take it according to his own desires, and to interpret it as foreboding marriage. This interpretation is indeed

⁷⁹ There is a further subdivision of allegorical dreams into the classes of personal, alien, common, public, and cosmic, but Artemidoros shows these divisions to be problematic. (*Onir.*1.2)

⁸⁰ In *Onir.* 4.prooem., Artemidoros says this about dreamers: "You must bear in mind, moreover, that men who live an upright, moral life do not have ἐνύπνια or any other irrational fantasies but rather dreams that are by all means meaningful (ὄνειροι) and which generally fall into the theorematic category. ... In short ἐνύπνια and other irrational fantasies do not appear to a serious man." This theory may explain why nearly all the dreams (except Knemon's dream at 2.20.4) in the *Aithiopika* are proleptic, and also why they are seen by priests (Kalasiris, Charikles, Hydaspes), priestesses (Charikleia, Persinna), or other morally upright people (Theagenes, the Tyrian merchant).

⁸¹ Although the main aim of this section is to demonstrate the frequency and use of the incorporated genre by Heliodoros, of which the dream is only one example, I shall mention points of interest concerning Artemidoros and the dreams of the *Aithiopika* as they affect the interpretation of the characters, or our understanding of the dream.

⁸² In Bartsch 1991, pp. 94-99, and Winkler 1982, pp. 117-118.

reinforced when Charikleia appears to agree to marry him, although not until they reach Memphis.

ἐπὶναι δὲ καὶ ὁ Θύαμις ἐκὼν τε τὸ μέρος καὶ ἄκων ὑπὸ
μὲν τῆς περὶ τὴν Χαρίκλειαν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν
ἄραν ἀπέραντον χρόνου μῆκος εἰς ὑπέρθεσιν ἡγούμενος, ὑπὸ
δὲ τῶν λόγων ὥσπερ τινὸς σειρήνος κεκλημένος καὶ πρὸς τὸ
πείθεσθαι κατηναγκασμένος, ἅμα δέ τι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐνύπνιον
ἀναφέρων καὶ τὸν γάμον κατὰ τὴν Μέμφιν ἔσεσθαι
καταπιστεῦον. (1.23.1-2)

However, he is forced to revise his interpretation during the attack on the bandits' lair just afterwards.

Ἄπερ ὡς εἶδέ τε καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ Θύαμις, ἐνθύμιον αὐτῷ
τὸ ὄναρ γίνεται καθ' ὃ τὴν Ἴσιν ἐώρα καὶ τὸν νεῶν ἅπαντα
λαμπάδων καὶ θυσιῶν ἀνάμεστον, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνα εἶναι τὰ
νῦν δρώμενα· καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία τῶν προτέρων τὴν ὄψιν
συνέβαλλεν, ὡς ἔχων οὐχ ἔξει τὴν Χαρίκλειαν, ὑπὸ τοῦ
πολέμου ταύτης ἀφαιρεθείσης, καὶ ὡς φονεύσει καὶ οὐ
τρώσει, ξίφει καὶ οὐκ Ἀφροδίτης νόμῳ.

(1.30.4)

Marching off to the cave where he had Charikleia hidden, he enters it and slays a woman speaking in Greek, assuming it to be Charikleia. It is, famously, not Charikleia; and as Thyamis is captured, both interpretations of his own dream turn out to be wrong. Yet, while they are both wrong, they feed into its final outcome, both by facilitating Charikleia's deception (1.23.2), and then by leading him to slay Thisbe. According to Winkler, "Thyamis' exegetical shortcomings are serious; he does violence to the text (ἔλκει), he lets his need and desire for a particular meaning project that meaning onto the dream, and above all lacks the patient attentiveness and the ability to suspend the demand

for immediate completion which every reader of a long and sophisticated novel must have.” (p.118) And in Bartsch’s words, “...the incorrect interpretation does more than engender surprise... . In bringing about Thyamis’ attempted murder it fulfills the true meaning of the dream, which we only now grasp and Thyamis himself does not until much later.” (p.98)

MacAlister (1996) argues that in fact the apparent self-fulfillment of the dream (Thyamis’ inadvertent slaying of Thisbe), which would make the dream allegorical according to Artemidoros, is a “typical Heliodoran red herring.” MacAlister proposes that the actual fulfillment of the dream occurs when Thyamis inherits the priesthood of Isis from his deceased father, pointing out the torches burning in the temple and his new role as protector of Charikleia as elements from the original dream vision, and classifying the dream as an Artemidoran theorematic dream (pp. 78-81). While I agree that this is indeed another viable interpretation, I do not think that it necessarily invalidates the earlier events as fulfillments of the dream. Artemidoros himself points out that “Some dreams proclaim many things through many images” (1.4), and also that “theorematic dreams come true on the spot and at once”—although he does mention one exception to this rule—whereas “allegorical dreams inevitably come true after a certain lapse of time of either a long or short duration.” (4.1) Also, it is acceptable to Artemidoros that a dream be broken into its different elements: “You should divide compound dreams into their main components and interpret each of them separately. For example, if someone were to dream that he was sailing and, then, that he got out of the boat and walked upon the sea, you must interpret both the sailing and walking upon the sea by themselves.” (*Onir.* 4.35) Thus one might interpret the part of the dream as pertaining to Isis and her priesthood, and part of the dream as pertaining to Charikleia, and Thyamis’ attempts to slay her. This, however, may not be necessary to understand the dream’s role in the text. I think that, in fact, Heliodoros has cleverly devised a dream that is not meant to be tied to one interpretation, but in fact has three: Thyamis’ first, incorrect guess at its meaning, his second attempt to fulfill it by killing Charikleia (an allegorical interpretation), and his

restoration as priest of Isis (a theomatic interpretation; see MacAlister 1996, p.81; cf. *Onir.* 4.1).

In any case, though, it is appropriate that Isis should appear to Thyamis, and not just because he is to become her priest (which we do not know until book 7), according to Artemidoros, *Onir.* 2.39.⁸³ “Serapis, Isis, Anubis, and Harpocrates in person as well as their statues and rites and every story that is told about them and about the gods who share their temples and altars signify disturbances, dangers, threats, and crises from which salvation will come when one’s hopes and expectations have been abandoned.” It would be hard to imagine a more fitting description of Thyamis’ future following his dream of Isis. His “disturbances, dangers, threats, and crises” range from the attack on his hideout, to despairing over Charikleia and killing her, throwing himself into the throes of the battle suicidally, and then eventually facing his own brother in hand to hand combat. As for when his “hopes and expectations have been abandoned”, his attempt to kill Charikleia is as desperate an action as we have in the romance; Heliodoros describes him as ἀπογνῶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν (1.30.6). But after his total despair here, his salvation is eventually realized in his reinstatement as priest of Isis. So, one way or another, Artemidoros can help us sift through the complex of images and events surrounding Thyamis’ dream.

The attentive reader need not follow Thyamis into the cave to kill Charikleia, however. When Thyamis instructs Knemon to hide her in the cave, Heliodoros furnishes us with a detailed description of the cave (1.28.2-1.29.3). The emphasis is on the complexity of the labyrinth (οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς μυχοὺς πόροι καὶ αὐλακες πῆ μὲν ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ τεχνικῶς πλανώμενοι πῆ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐμπίπτοντες καὶ ριζηδὸν πλεκόμενοι), and

⁸³ It is also appropriate from an historical point of view. “Closely linked, in turn, to the role of dreams in medicine is the widespread phenomenon of incubation: commonly an individual sleeps in a temple or other sacred precinct in order either to be healed by the god of the sanctuary or to obtain a remedy for subsequent healing, a remedy given by the god in a dream-vision.... Sarapis and Isis were also credited not only with dream cures, but also dream sending apart from healing. A number of other deities and sites are attested for the practice of incubation, though none is as widespread as Asclepius and Isis-Sarapis.” Hanson 1980, p.1398.

the need for expertise to navigate through it. As Knemon takes Charikleia through the maze, πρὸς τὸ ἔσχατον τοῦ ἄντρου διεβίβασε τῇ πείρᾳ χειραγωγήσας, he tries to cheer her with some encouragement. She will have none of it, though, in her despondency. οὐδὲν φθεγξαμένην ἀλλ' ὥσπερ θανάτῳ τῷ κακῷ βεβλημένην καὶ ὥσπερ ψυχῆς τοῦ Θεαγένους ἀφηρημένην, ἄπνουν καὶ σιγῶσαν ἀπολιπὼν ἀνεδύετο τοῦ σπηλαίου. (1.29.3). The details of note here are that a) the cave is very difficult to find one's way in, especially to the ignorant, and Charikleia has been taken to the very furthest part (τὸ ἔσχατον τοῦ ἄντρου), and b) she is totally silent with grief. These are important details; when Thyamis enters the cave to kill Charikleia, αὐτοῦ που περὶ τὸ στόμιον ἐντυχὼν τινι Ἑλληνίδι τῇ γλώττῃ προσφθεγγομένη. (1.30.7) Note the difference; Charikleia was left deep in the cave, but this woman is περὶ τὸ στόμιον, "just by the entrance". And again, this woman is speaking in Greek; yet Charikleia was left ἄπνουν καὶ σιγῶσαν with grief over her separation from Theagenes. Unless she got over her grief at being separated from her lover, and then found her way in the dark through the complex cave of which she had no prior knowledge (other than having been led through it), the woman slain by Thyamis simply cannot be Charikleia. But of course any experienced reader of romance knew this already; how could the heroine die in the first book?

Heliodoros is doing more here than playing interpretation games, although he is doing that, as well. One of the effects of Thyamis' misinterpretation, it is true, is the fulfillment of his dream. This is one way in which it advances the plot. But there is more to it than this, because Thyamis' slaying of Thisbe has serious plot repercussions that are felt for some time in the novel. When Thermouthis, Thyamis' right hand man, comes looking for his beloved Thisbe whom he hid at the top of the cave (2.12.2), and finds her dead, he also finds Knemon, Charikleia and Theagenes. This in turn entails Knemon and the pair of lovers splitting up, in order to get rid of Thermouthis; when they go their separate ways, Charikleia and Theagenes are recaptured, and Knemon, having lost the Egyptian bandit, finds his way to Chemmis, where he meets Kalasiris. The rest, as they say, is history. This very quick summary of events following the murder of Thisbe shows

how Thyamis' dream, and consequent interpretations and actions inspired by it, turns out to be a major plot event. One could go so far as to say that the dream at 1.18.2 provides the impetus for the first major plot turning in the novel, the separation of the lovers and Knemon, which leads to the eventual capture of Theagenes, who is not reunited with Charikleia for some time, and serves also to introduce Kalasiris into the romance. One need not take such a deterministic view, however; it is enough to note that Thyamis' dream inspires him to kill Thisbe unwittingly, and that Thisbe's death is made much of by Heliodoros, in order to comprehend the author's skillful use of the incorporated genre.

This first major plot turning is, in fact, marked by more than one incorporated genre, for when Knemon and Theagenes find Thisbe's body, they discover a letter which she was holding. The text of this letter is found at 2.10.2, although the letter itself is mentioned at 2.6.2, where Theagenes does not allow Knemon to read it because he wants to find Charikleia. When they do stop to read the letter, they discover the reason why Thisbe was with the brigands in the first place. "Ἐπειτα φράζω κατὰ τήνδε με νυνὶ εἶναι τὴν νῆσον δεκάτην ἤδη ταύτην ἡμέραν πρὸς τινος τῶν τῆδε ληστῶν ἀλοῦσαν, ὃς καὶ ὑπασπιστῆς εἶναι τοῦ ληστάρχου θρύπτεται... (2.10.2) In the complex mechanics of the plot, this letter, or rather Thisbe bearing this letter, is relatively crucial. She is the link between Nausikles the merchant, and Kalasiris/Charikleia; it is eventually "because of" Thisbe that Kalasiris is able to meet up with Charikleia, as it is in search of Thisbe that Nausikles discovers Charikleia and brings her back to his house, where Kalasiris and Knemon are waiting. This helps to explain, incidentally, why Heliodoros devoted as much space as he did to Knemon's life story in book 1; in addition to establishing the character of Knemon, it also introduced Thisbe into the story, who plays a very active role in the action of the next two or three books, even if she is dead. The letter itself is important because it gives the reader an immediate explanation as to why Thisbe was in the cave. But the letter is also indicative of Heliodoros' persistent use of the incorporated genre. It is remarkable that Thisbe turns up in the cave, the substitute for Charikleia in an attempted murder; but that she is also carrying a letter of explanation reveals something

about how the author organizes the plot of his novel. Here the letter helps to solve a mystery, but later Thisbe's death will contribute to another mystery during Knemon's sleepless night. As Knemon and the pair of lovers split up in the middle of book 2, which, as we have seen, is a major event in the novel, we discover the situation precipitated by a dream and including a letter, two examples of the incorporated genre. But this is not all, not even for this part of the novel; this is simply the tip of the proverbial iceberg compared to the way Heliodoros has woven one other particular example of the incorporated genre throughout the entire *Aithiopika*.

There is one more example in this section of the romance I want to look at before I turn to the long narrative of Kalasiris. This is Charikleia's dream at 2.16.1, analyzed in depth by Winkler (1982, pp. 114-7). In this dream Charikleia has her right eye put out by ἀνήρ τὴν κόμην ἀύχμηρὸς καὶ τὸ βλέμμα ὑποκαθήμενος καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἔναιμος (2.16.1). Although the characters themselves disagree over the meaning of the dream, it seems most likely that this dream receives its fulfillment in the death of Kalasiris, and I accept this interpretation. The problem with the interpretation of the dream is not just the conflicting accounts of what it might mean, but the length of text between the dream's occurrence, in book 2, and its fulfillment, in book 7. "...Although it gives rise to a long discussion on its possible meaning [the dream] seems, for almost the whole duration of the novel, to have foreshadowed nothing at all." (Bartsch 1989, p.99) This means that not only do we have here another example of the incorporated genre of the dream, but that "Charikleia's mysterious dream... points forward to a significant turn in the plot, namely the death of the narrator, Kalasiris." (Winkler 1982, p.115) The struggle for interpretation is something with which we are familiar from Thyamis' efforts at 1.28; the difference here lies in the fact that we are not sure for so long whether Knemon's suggestion is accurate, and if so, which of Charikleia's "many 'fathers'"⁸⁴ is to be

⁸⁴ Winkler's list: "an Ephesian aristocrat, according to her early lie (1.22); Charikles, 'her supposed father'... Hydaspes, her natural father; and the man who is most often called her father during the course of this novel, Kalasiris." (1982, p.115) That Knemon's interpretation is in keeping with Artemidoros' guidelines (*Onir.* 1.26) is noted by Winkler (1982, p.115), Bartsch (1989, p.99 n.8), Morgan (*CAGN*, p.389 n.40), and MacAlister (1996, p.96-8). MacAlister also gives possible support to Charikleia's suggested interpretation.

presumed dead. With Thyamis' dream however, it became clear quickly that both of his attempts at interpretation were incorrect, and what (one of) the real meaning(s) of his dream was. Despite these differences, though, we do see here again how a dream is more than just a digression or insignificant imbedded narrative, because it, if not motivates, then at least anticipates plot movement far into the novel. I would add to this the observation that in its immediate context, the dream comes just before the crucial decision to separate; although it is not explicitly linked with this decision in any way, it does again indicate how each event in the novel is accompanied by some sort of incorporated genre, in the case of the events preceding Kalasiris' tale, two dreams and a letter.

If saying that every major plot turn is accompanied by an incorporated genre is a strong claim, and not proven conclusively from the part of the romance before Kalasiris' tale, the story and even the actions of the Egyptian priest will reveal the extent of Heliodoros' use of the technique. The telling of the tale is masterfully set up; Knemon meets Kalasiris by chance, and also by chance discovers that Kalasiris has a great concern for Theagenes and Charikleia (2.21.4-23.2). Knemon persuades him to tell their story, which begins with background information about Kalasiris himself, at 2.24.5. It is not very far into his story before we run into our first oracle, at 2.24.6-7, where Kalasiris tells how he became aware of impending danger, ἦν ἐμοὶ σοφία προέφηνε μὲν διαδρᾶναι δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκε... . As it turns out, the "change for the worse" (τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον... μεταβολήν) is a woman by the name of Rhodopis, ἀρχὴν δὴ τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ προαγορευθέντων μοι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δυσχερῶν τὴν γυναῖκα φωράσας (2.25.3-4). Resolving not to bring his priestly office into disrepute, Kalasiris decides to flee Memphis altogether. But it is not only the one oracle, but in fact two of them, which motivates his self-imposed exile. ὁ δέ με πρὸ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξήλαυνεν οἱ παῖδες ἦσαν, οὓς ἡ ἄρρητός μοι πολλάκις ἐκ θεῶν σοφία ξιφήρεις ἀλλήλοις συμπεσεῖσθαι προγγόρευε. (2.25.5) Thus Kalasiris' exile is caused by oracles which forewarned him of coming troubles. His exile, of course, is really the starting point of his

involvement with Theagenes and Charikleia. As Kalasiris tells it (leaving out a few details, a maneuver which I shall return to later) he comes then to Delphi. No sooner does he enter into the temple than the oracle bursts into prophecy to greet him.⁸⁵

Ἴχνος ἀειράμενος ἀπ' ἐυστάχους παρὰ Νείλου
φεύγεις μοιράων νήματ' ἐρισθενέων.
Τέτλαθι, σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ κυαναύλακος Αἰγύπτιοι
αἶψα πέδον δάσω· νῦν δ' ἐμὸς ἔσσο φίλος.

(2.26.5)

Although this oracle is far clearer in its message than Thyamis' dream, it too leads eventually to its own fulfillment, albeit less directly. As a result of this favorable oracle, Kalasiris became something of a celebrity in Delphi amongst the philosophers; of these, there is one "with whom [Kalasiris] had struck up a close acquaintance— Charikles... ." (2.29.1) This leads immediately to Charikles telling Kalasiris about Charikleia, about whom Charikles is concerned because she refuses to marry or even fall in love.

Here we enter into the third level of narrative, Heliodoros telling Kalasiris telling Charikles telling. It seems that Charikles, like Kalasiris, received a prediction of tragedy in his life; and when that tragedy happened, again like Kalasiris, Charikles started to travel. In Egypt he meets an Ethiopian who entrusts him with a young orphan girl, as well as the girl's recognition tokens, named as such at 2.31.2. Amongst these tokens is the ταινία. This band is nothing other than a letter adopted for the specific purposes of a recognition token, and in time it will come to serve both as a letter (like Thisbe's) and as

⁸⁵ The fact that the oracle greets Kalasiris spontaneously, without his having posed a question first, is noteworthy, if not rare; as Fontenrose (1978, p. 116) points out, "the spontaneous response is characteristic of Legendary oracles." A similar oracle is found at Herodotos 1.65 (Fontenrose index reference Q7; see also Parke and Wormell 1956, p.14)), where Lykurgos is likewise greeted with a spontaneous oracle:

ἦκεις, ὦ Λυκόοργε, ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηδὺν
Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.
δίξω ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον·
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόοργε

In addition to the spontaneity, another similarity is that the oracle also addresses both Kalasiris and Lykurgos as φίλος.

a recognition token, as we have already seen. But the point I am making here is that even at this, the fourth (for it is Charikles telling Sisimithres telling the girl's story at 2.31.2) narrative level, the plot action still stems from and is marked by the incorporated genre. Notice that the girl is accompanied by a letter of recognition (which will play an important part in the story repeatedly), and also that Charikles is in a position to take up the girl because of an oracle which led to a family catastrophe. As we come down to the second level, we know that Kalasiris is hearing Charikles' story because of the friendship started by the friendly oracle, and he is in Delphi anyway because of a prophecy

It is at this point in the text, when we have learned some things, but not everything, about Charikleia, that Kalasiris introduces Theagenes. Just as we have learned Charikleia's background, we learn some things about Theagenes, where he is from, and even whom he claims as his ancestor (he claims Achilles). It happens that the reason for Theagenes' presence in Delphi is to bring a sacrifice to Neoptolemos. As soon as he enters the temple to begin this sacrifice, what else should be heard from inside the temple than the great oracle? This is the grandest oracle in the novel, and, as we have seen, can be considered to be the central event of it as well. It causes immediate attempts at interpretation (2.36.1-22), which is important because the interpretation of this oracle will be the cause of much action throughout the romance. In fact, we get a hint of the oracle's importance soon after, when Theagenes and Charikleia meet for the first time. The first meeting of the hero and heroine is, needless to say, a very important moment in this romance, as indeed in all romance. And since it is important, it is not surprising to discover that the oracle of 2.35.5 is also mentioned in the text there. As Kalasiris narrates their meeting, he also tells us how he recognized the names in the oracle, and began to figure things out for himself. ...πρὸς ὑπόνοιαν τῶν ἐσομένων ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων κεκινημένος. Ἄλλ' οὐδε ἀκριβῶς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἐξῆς χρησθέντων συνέβαλλον. (3.5.7) Not long after the oracle is given, indeed even as Charikleia and Theagenes meet for the first time, Heliodoros is helping the reader along with its interpretation; he does

not show all his cards, however, but keeps back much of the information right to the very end.

Hero and heroine are now in love, the reader is sure, and Kalasiris is the only one who has been able to assemble the first part of the oracle. What is more, no one but him seemed to notice the significant exchange between Theagenes and Charikleia at 3.5.4-6. There is something going on here that is beyond the recognition of most of the people involved. Perhaps then it is no wonder then that Kalasiris should have a revelatory dream.

"Ἦδη δὲ μεσοῦσης τῆς νυκτὸς ὄρω τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ὡς ὄμην, εἶ γε ὄμην ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀληθῶς ἐώρων· καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸν Θεαγένην ἢ δὲ Χαρίκλειαν ἐνεχειρίζεν· ὀνομαστί τέ με προσκαλοῦντες "ὦρα σοι" ἔλεγον "εἰς τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν ἐπανήκειν, οὕτω γὰρ ὁ μοιρῶν ὑπαγορεύει θεσμός. Αὐτός τε οὖν ἔξιθι καὶ τούσδε ὑποδεξάμενος ἄγε, συνεμπόρους ἴσα τε παισὶ ποιούμενος, καὶ παράπεμπε ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ὅποι τε καὶ ὅπως τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον." (3.11.5)

The significance of this dream is multiple. Firstly, it is, if not the fulfillment, then at least confirmation of the oracle first given to Kalasiris at Delphi at 2.26.5. Remember that the oracle of 2.26.5, which promised a return to Egypt for Kalasiris, led eventually to its own fulfillment via the friendship of Charikles. This dream is a step on the path to that fulfillment, as it is through Charikles that Kalasiris has met Charikleia and Theagenes. But this dream also contributes to the fulfillment of the great oracle at 2.35.5 as much as it confirms the one at 2.26.5. This is a divine mandate given to Kalasiris, which becomes almost a *carte blanche* in his actions concerning the lovers. As we shall see shortly, he repeatedly deceives Charikles, the legal father of Charikleia, and in fact he dupes the whole of Delphi, all as he assembles the meaning of the great oracle. I wonder if this is how we are to take ὁ μοιρῶν ὑπαγορεύει θεσμός, as a reference to the great

oracle. In any case, the will of the gods is clear enough here: to return to Egypt, the “land of [Kalasiris’] birth.” Yet Kalasiris does not have all the answers, either. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συνίειν ὡς ἐωράκειν, εἰς τίνας δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἢ εἰς τίνα γῆν παραπέμπεσθαι τοὺς νέους τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον ἠπόρουν. (3.12.1) While it is clear that they are to head on to Egypt from Delphi, the big question is, what then?

Over the next few days, Kalasiris takes steps to ensure that Theagenes and Charikleia are in love with one another, and that he is in a position to guide them both.⁸⁶ While the two lovers are losing sleep over each other, though, Kalasiris is occupied with the grander scheme of things to come. We have already seen Kalasiris losing sleep in his attempts to work out the oracle above (4.4.5-5.1), in looking at the great oracle's presence throughout the text. Again, it is easy to see here how the great oracle is influencing the plot as Kalasiris begins to assimilate its elements. He had recognized the allusions to their names at 3.5.7, and now, with some divine instruction (3.11.5) he knows to take them away. Kalasiris is here concerned with where to take the couple after they arrive in Egypt. ὦρα σοι... εἰς τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν [i.e. Egypt, cf. 2.24.5, 'Εμοὶ πόλις μὲν Μέμφις] ἐπανήκειν... αὐτόν τε οὖν ἔξιθι καὶ τούσδε ὑποδεξάμενος ἄγε... καὶ παράπεμπε ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ὅποι τε καὶ ὅπως τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον. But Kalasiris' ignorance does have a purpose, and that purpose is to bring out the ταῖνια which Charikles told him was part of Charikleia's recognition tokens. From seeing the band Kalasiris εἰκὸς γὰρ εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ὑπονοηθέντας ἤδη παρ' ἐμοὶ γεννήτορας τῆς κόρης ἐντεῦθεν ἐκμαθεῖν... (4.5.1). So it seems that when Heliodoros has Kalasiris in ignorance, he is actually setting up an opportunity to reintroduce into the story the band from Persinna.

⁸⁶ This is where we meet another theme, the theme of phony divination. While it does not constitute an incorporated genre in itself, since it does not have its own text as the other letters, oracles and dreams have, it is a noticeable motif in this part of the romance. I am referring to Kalasiris' practice of false divination or magic, which he uses to bring less suspecting or gullible people under his influence. Examples of this are found at 3.17.1-2, 3.18.3, 4.5.2-4, 4.6.3-5, 4.7.1-2, 4.7.12, 4.10.1-12.1, 4.14.1, and 4.15.2-3. There is also the episode at 5.11-15, where Kalasiris uses sleight of hand to procure a ransom for Charikleia which appears to “come from the gods”. For the perception of Egyptian magic and how Kalasiris exploits this perception, see Winkler 1982, pp. 129-33.

Thus Kalasiris connives to see the band. Its contents are given in full at 4.8.1-8, and it is the longest single example of an incorporated genre in the novel. In it we discover that Charikleia is the daughter of Persinna and Hydaspes, queen and king of Ethiopia. We also find out why it was that Charikleia was exposed, because of her skin color, and how she came to have white skin from black parents in the first place. At this point in the novel, the band is functioning more as a letter than as a recognition token.⁸⁷ Even in the text of the letter there is reference to the incorporated genre, for, as Persinna tells it, Charikleia was conceived through a direct command to Hydaspes communicated in a dream (4.8.4).⁸⁸ So we have here, at the point where Kalasiris is beginning to put it all together and form a plan (4.9.3), an extended letter and incorporated genre. The band seems to be the final clue that he needed to solve the great oracle. Especially notable is that he claims to have worked out the great oracle at last. *διαχειομένης μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγνοουμένων εὕρεσιν καὶ τῶν χρησθέντων ἤδη τὴν ἐπίλυσιν...* (4.9.1) Unfortunately, Kalasiris never explains to Knemon exactly how the band helped him to solve the “riddle of the oracle”, nor does Heliodoros ever explain it to the reader. Are we, like Kalasiris, meant to have worked it out by now? Twice before Kalasiris has specifically explained parts of the oracle: at 3.5.7, where he mentions the reference to the names of Charikleia and Theagenes in the oracle, and at 4.4.5, where he understands part of the oracle in reference to upcoming travels. Certainly, we have the information necessary to work out the oracle; we know that it concerns Theagenes and Charikleia, that they are to leave Delphi for Ethiopia via Egypt, and that Charikleia is the daughter of the king and queen of Ethiopia, the “white crowns on brows of black” (2.35.5). Why, then, is there no specific explanation here of the rest of the oracle, as there is at other times? Perhaps because Heliodoros is teasing us, letting us know that all the clues are out there if we want to be like Kalasiris and solve the mystery, but at the same time not

⁸⁷ In the sense that it tells those ignorant of Charikleia’s identity about her, as opposed to revealing her to those who already know or have known her.

⁸⁸ It could even be said that, just as Theagenes’ presence in Delphi is because of the oracle there and the sacrifice he had to bring to it, that Charikleia’s very existence is due to a dream! “In fact, the very ‘conception’ of the story lies within divine control:... a dream, that is, a divine vision, instructs King Hydaspes to have sexual intercourse with his wife, thereby causing the engendering of Chariclea (4.8.4).” (Sandy 1982a, p.50)

spelling it out in case we have not worked it out. And if we do think we know the answer, well, we shall have to read on to find out if we are correct; Heliodoros is not going to tell us before it's time.

The next example of an incorporated genre is found at 4.14.2. This is the self-narrated dream of Charikles, καθ' ἣν ἀετὸν ὄμην ἐκ χειρὸς ἀφεθέντα τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ ἀθρόον καταπίναντα τό τε θυγάτριον ἐκ κόλπων, οἴμοι, τῶν ἐμῶν ἀναρπάσαντα γῆς ἐπ' ἔσχατόν τι πέρασ οἴχεσθαι φέροντα, ζοφώδεσί τισιν εἰδώλοισι καὶ σκιώδεσι πλήθον... (4.14.2). As Kalasiris says, ἐγὼ μὲν ὄπη τείνει τὸ ὄναρ συνέβαλλον (4.15.1), but he lies to Charikles in order to put off any suspicion, making up another interpretation which feeds off Charikles' own desire for his "daughter" to marry Alkamenes. In the process, Kalasiris manages to set up Charikleia's successful abduction by convincing Charikles to give her all of the recognition tokens under the guise of a bridal gift (4.15.2). Kalasiris' deliberate misinterpretation helps to facilitate the proper fulfillment of the dream by setting up the flight from Delphi to Egypt and Ethiopia which the dream so clearly prefigures.⁸⁹ This dream may be important for the progression of the plot, but it is not the only one that Charikles has in the novel. Back at 3.18.2, Charikles mentions almost in passing a bad dream he has had. The content of this dream is, however, never related⁹⁰; is this just Heliodoros' way of letting us know something is about to happen without committing himself to a specific course of action? Similar to this is Charikles' reaction at 4.19.3 to Kalasiris' attempts to persuade the Delphians to chase after Charikleia's supposed abductors. It would seem as if Charikles was in a no-win situation from the start; having committed an act of sacrilege, he knew by an oracle that one day he would be deprived of τῆς τῶν φιλτάτων ὄψεως, and he has had two "alarming" dreams, one of which (we know) prefigured the loss of Charikleia. One gets the feeling that the message here is, "Charikles did not deserve to keep Charikleia, because he was unable to read the

⁸⁹ Cf. Bartsch 1989, p.104.

⁹⁰ This cannot be the same dream as the more famous one at 4.14.2, where Charikles specifies ὄνειρασι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ οἷς τῆς παρηκούσης ἐξεδειματώθην νυκτός. The dream at 3.18.2 occurred 3 days earlier.

signs given to him.” But because Kalasiris, the narrator, reads the clues successfully, so can we, and therefore see ahead of time the abduction of Charikleia.

Now we have come to the flight of Charikleia and Theagenes from Delphi, a major event in the romance. Kalasiris makes it clear, if it is not already, that the gods are providing for the escape. Wondering how to get Theagenes and Charikleia on their way to Egypt, he is on the way to pose a question to Apollo's oracle. But the god circumvents him, ὡς δὴ καὶ τότε πρὸς τὴν οὐδέπω γενομένην πεῦσιν ἔφθη τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὁ Πύθιος <δούς> καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπεσήμαινε τὴν ὑφήγησιν. (4.16.3) It is important to note here Kalasiris' mindset regarding what is about to happen: he sees it as an oracle of its own, presented not in words, but in circumstances. It is almost as if he has come to expect such guidance from the gods. In this case, the guidance is that Kalasiris meets a group of strangers on the way to the temple, and they bid him to join in their sacrifice. These strangers are merchants en route to Libya, ὀλκάδα μυριοφόρον Ἰνδικῶν τε καὶ Αἰθιοπικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀγωγίμων φέροντες, who happen to be spending time in Delphi. Why? Of course because one of them had a dream that he would win the wrestling competition at the Pythian games (4.16.7). I think that this episode provides a neat contrast with Charikles, putting further emphasis on the necessity of reading dreams correctly. Charikles, as I have shown, could not read the signs given to him and so lost his daughter. As for this merchant, although the text of the dream is never given, and so we can make no comments on the difficulty of interpretation, he does understand his dream perfectly; moreover, he has to persuade his shipmates of its validity, so his dedication to his interpretation cannot be questioned.⁹¹ In any case, he is made a champion for his efforts. And in the process of pointing out the rewards of discerning reading, Heliodoros uses the incorporated genre to provide the mechanism for plot progression, in this case, the getaway vehicle.

⁹¹ Although even those who misinterpret their dreams sometimes show a tenacity in acting on their misinterpretations, e.g. Thyamis. The champion's interpretation also is in keeping with Artemidoros, *Onir.* 2.37: “Seeing Heracles himself or a statue of him is auspicious for all those who govern their lives by sound moral principles and who live in accordance with the law. ... He is a good sign for those setting out for a contest, a lawsuit or a battle. For the god is called Καλλίνικος.” Cf. *Aith.* 4.16.7, “...καλλίνικος ἡμῖν ὁ τέως ἔμπορος ἀναδειχθείς.”

The three make good their escape, and eventually put in at Zakynthos. Eventually, however, they are forced to leave there in a hurry as well. Trachinos the pirate has caught a glimpse of Charikleia, and according to the usual logic of romance, being a pirate, he has fallen in love with her (5.20.6). Kalasiris, on hearing this bad news, decides that they must leave that very night, and makes plans to do so. The flight from Zakynthos is thus fully motivated within the action of the plot. But here, too, there is intrusion of a dream, at 5.22. An old man appears in this dream, and Kalasiris describes his appearance: a still powerful thigh despite the man's obvious age, a leather hat, an expression ἀγχίνου... καὶ πολύτροπον, and, as the last detail, wounded in one leg. In the course of the dream, the mysterious man talks about his home on the island of Kephallenia, and his many πάθη at sea and near land. In the end, though, he mentions that his wife said to say hello to Charikleia, since she puts her σωφροσύνη ahead of everything else⁹², adding that τέλος αὐτῇ δεξιὸν εὐαγγελίζεται. It is not any mystery at all, we quickly realize, but Odysseus himself.

This is an interesting dream, perhaps the most interesting dream in the romance, in my opinion, because it touches upon many of what I feel are important aspects of this novel, and the genre as a whole, including Homeric reference, characterization, and the tension of the guaranteed happy ending versus the need for suspense⁹³, a problem central to the concerns of romance. In addition to contributing to these aspects, though, it is also an example of what we have been considering here, the incorporated genre marking a major turning point in the plot. Note that here, unlike the dreams of Thyamis at 1.18.2 or Charikles at 4.14.2, this dream does not cause any misinterpretation that leads to its fulfillment.⁹⁴ In this sense, it is almost an external dream, that is, the story would be

⁹²She must have taken her mother's advice; cf. 4.8.7, and the analysis of that passage above.

⁹³I address each of these topics separately in other chapters of my thesis.

⁹⁴Kalasiris, if he is following the principles of Artemidoros, should be able to understand, or at least take encouragement from, this dream despite its partly harsh message. Cf. *Onir.* 2.40. "What need is there to speak about heroes and demons?... One should bear in mind that each of them must be wearing his own proper attire and that he must not change it or cast it off. He must not appear in simple clothes or be without his usual weapons, since, then, whether the god signifies something good or bad, he is lying and deceiving." It would appear that, despite his

largely unchanged if it were removed. The shipwreck, battles, and slavery that happen from this point in the lives of Theagenes and Charikleia⁹⁵ would be no more out of place in the story if this dream had never occurred, nor, certainly, would the τέλος δεξιόν Penelope promises to Charikleia. It would seem that, aside from purposes of characterization and generic content, the purpose this dream serves is to signpost a new episode in the plot direction, the change of scene from Europe to Africa, as is Heliodoros' habit.

The technique is used throughout the romance, however, and not just through Kalasiris' reported narrative. The great oracle is never far beneath the surface of the text; as Kalasiris is cheering up Charikleia during her separation from Theagenes, he says " Ἀλλὰ τούτου γε ἔνεκα θάρσει" ἔλεγεν ὁ Καλάσιρις, "ὡς ὄντος ἐκείνου καὶ σοὶ συνεσομένου θεῶν νευόντων, εἴπερ τι χρὴ τοῖς τε προθεσπισθεῖσι περὶ ὑμῶν (χρὴ δέ) πιστεύειν." (6.9.5) Kalasiris bases his optimism not just on an eyewitness report of Theagenes' health, but also on the inevitable reliability of the prophecies. I have already investigated how Heliodoros has woven the great oracle throughout the romance, but here I want to note how it is the motivation for action here in book 6, as it will be all the way through book 10.

During their search for Theagenes, they come upon a battle field, with bodies strewn about. Amongst the corpses is an Egyptian woman who tells them what all the fighting was about, that it was over a ξένος νεανίας τις κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει διαφέων (6.13.1). She promises to take them to the town in the morning, and they retire behind a hill, where Kalasiris falls asleep. Charikleia, however, watches as the woman performs her magic rites to raise her dead son, and wakens Kalasiris to witness it as well. Eventually she forces the corpse to talk, who rebukes her for her performing acts contrary

expression, Odysseus is not lying to Kalasiris in this dream, since he appears in "his own proper attire."

⁹⁵ Note that the promise of τῶν ὁμοίων ἐμοὶ παθῶν by Odysseus is directed to Kalasiris, not to Theagenes and Charikleia. In fact, Charikleia is singled out from Kalasiris at the end of the dream, and Theagenes is never mentioned.

to nature, especially in front of watchful eyes. He then begins to prophesy concerning the two spies, Kalasiris and Charikleia. The sin is not so great for Kalasiris watching, since he can keep a secret about the shameful things he has seen. Anyway, he is θεοῖς φίλος; and the corpse then tells about the situation between Thyamis and Petosiris, addressing Kalasiris as much as his mother. But it worse that Charikleia can see this scene, as well, a maiden caught in the throes of love, searching everywhere for her beloved. But like Odysseus, the corpse makes a statement about her future. ...μετὰ μυρίους μὲν μόχθους μυρίους δὲ κινδύνους γῆς ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις ὄροις τύχη σὺν λαμπρᾷ καὶ βασιλικῇ συμβιώσεται. (6.15.4) This prophecy gives the story's ending away, although here in more detail; as the story progresses, Heliodoros is dropping more and more specific hints as to the meaning of the great oracle for the reader to pick up. But within the story itself, these words cause action. They spur Kalasiris and Charikleia on to Memphis, mainly through the words directed at Kalasiris, in prospect of preventing the battle between his sons.

They do reach Memphis, not in time to prevent the battle, but at least in time to stop it before any fatalities. In setting the scene for the battle between the brothers, and in introducing Arsake into the story, Heliodoros gives a summary of previous events. He mentions the oracle which we first encountered at 2.24.6, which was the cause for Kalasiris' original exile from Memphis. This is part of the fine complexity of Heliodoros' plot, and the extensive use of the incorporated genre as a plot mover. For the oracle which led him out of Memphis, and into the lives of Theagenes and Charikleia, now (augmented by the corpse's prophecy) leads him back into Memphis, to settle the quarrel between his sons, but also to reunite the lovers. And it brings them unwittingly into a dangerous situation, as Arsake's designs on Theagenes are evident from the first time she sees him (7.4.2). So this turn in the plot, the reunion of the lovers in an ominous atmosphere, is marked by the presence of oracles.

Arsake's devices—or those of her nurse, Kybele—to win the affection of Theagenes are numerous, and there is one in particular which I find interesting. As Kybele sets off to the temple where the couple are staying with Thyamis, we are aware of her complicity with Arsake over Theagenes from their exchange at 7.10.1-6. This is ostensibly the purpose of her trip to the temple, to gain Theagenes' confidence, as she does eventually by other means. But the pretense she gives at the temple for going there is notable: she claims to be bringing an offering from Arsake, who has had a disturbing dream. The temple, unfortunately for Kybele, is shrouded in sorrow over the death of Kalasiris⁹⁶, so she is not allowed to enter, and so the nurse has to try other means for her dubious purposes. Although her excuses do not succeed here, one can hardly blame Kybele for trying this method; with all the motivation provided by real dreams and visions elsewhere in the novel, and the eagerness of just about everyone to believe in them, it is hardly any wonder that a schemer such as Kybele would use an invented dream for the ends of her mistress.⁹⁷ This technique, as we have seen, was not even below the respected and sage Kalasiris.

Arsake fails in her attempts to seduce Theagenes, though certainly not from a lack of trying. She has him confined in prison and tortured, all in hopes of breaking his spirit. Meanwhile Kybele's son Achaimenes had developed designs on Charikleia; and when he sees his original scheme for winning her foiled, he decides to play the rat by informing Oroondates, Arsake's husband away fighting the Ethiopians, of the whole affair. Upset at his wife and intrigued by the report of the beauty of Charikleia (8.2.3), Oroondates puts a stop to the whole business by demanding that Theagenes and Charikleia ("the brother and sister", as he calls them) be brought to him. And his command is conveyed, of course, by letter (8.3.1). In fact, he writes two letters, to be certain that his wishes are carried out, one to Arsake and one to Euphrates, the Eunuch in charge of the household. The text of both of these short letters is given in full at 8.3.1-2. These are important because they are

⁹⁶ A death which we might, along with Charikleia (7.14.5-6), view as ominous for the future of the lovers.

⁹⁷ Arsake is also following a literary tradition of sending libations after an ominous dream; cf. Sophocles *Electra* 406 ff., and *Iphigenia in Tauris* 42 ff.

the cause of the release of Theagenes and Charikleia from Arsake's clutches when they are received at 8.12.5, and, of course, more adventures await them on the open road to Oroondates.

While they are still at Memphis, however, Charikleia finds herself in some trouble. Accused of poisoning Kybele, she willingly accepts her death sentence, having made a sort of suicide pact with Theagenes (8.9.8). Before the execution, Heliodoros gives us a few details about her preparation for it. ...τὰ τελευταῖά τε ὡς ἐδόκει κατασπασαμένη τούς τε συνεκτεθέντας ὄρμους ἀεὶ μὲν καὶ ἀπορρήτως ἐπιφέρεισθαι προνοουμένη τότε δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐντός καὶ ὑπὸ γαστέρα ζωσαμένη καὶ οἶον ἐντάφιά τινα ἐπιφερομένη... (8.9.8) When the execution (burning at the stake) is attempted, by some miracle Charikleia is not harmed by the fire. All are astounded; and as Theagenes and Charikleia think over the day's happenings in prison, they suddenly remember dreams that they had the night before, in which Kalasiris appeared to give them different predictions. To Charikleia he said, παντάρβην φορέουσα πυρὸς μὴ τάρβει ἐρωήν, / ῥήιδι ὡς μοίραις χᾶ ᾗ ἄδόκητα πέλει. (8.11.2) Charikleia works out the meaning of this one by herself a little later, which, as we have seen, is about the pantarbe jewel amongst her recognition tokens. Of course the extremely perceptive reader might already have figured out why Charikleia came to no harm in the fire, because of a statement made by Heliodoros earlier. This was rather earlier in the novel, at 4.8.7. It occurs in Persinna's band, where the Ethiopian Queen was describing the recognition tokens.

μεμνήση δὲ πρὸ πάντων τῶν συνεκτεθέντων σοι
κειμηλίων δακτύλιόν τινα ἐπιζητεῖν καὶ σεαυτῇ περιποιεῖν,
ὄν πατὴρ ὁ σὸς ἐμοὶ παρὰ τὴν μνηστειάν ἐδωρήσατο
βασιλείῳ μὲν συμβόλῳ τὸν κύκλον ἀνάγραπτον λίθῳ δὲ
παντάρβη καὶ ἀπορρήτῳ δυνάμει τὴν σφενδόνην
καθιερωμένον.

On the one hand, it may be asking much of the reader to remember a detail such as this from book 4 until book 8; but on the other hand, it would be odd if, having singled out the pantarbe jewel in this way, Heliodoros failed to use it later in the story. He calls attention to this very detail at 8.9.7, in the passage quoted above, where Charikleia ties the tokens around her waist. To put it another way, small details like that at 4.8.7 and 8.9.7 often grow into major events; they are the clues by which the reader can decipher some of the more mysterious happenings in the romance.⁹⁸

At the same time, Theagenes remembers his dream of Kalasiris, where he said to Theagenes Αἰθιόπων εἰς γαῖαν ἀφίξειαι ἄμμυγα κούρη / δεσμῶν Ἄρσακῶν αὐρίον ἐκπροφυγών. (8.11.3) This is straightforward enough, it would seem. We certainly have enough information at this stage in the story to be able to put together our own interpretation, knowing that Charikleia is a κούρη, and that she is from Ethiopia. The second line is even clearer, because they are, both when Theagenes had the dream and as they are discussing it, in chains ordered on them by Arsake. Yet Theagenes insists on offering an interpretation that is allegorical (as opposed to the other Artemidoran category, theomatic), and, as Charikleia hastens to show him, patently wrong.⁹⁹ She gives the obvious meaning behind the dream, and immediately after offers the explanation of her dream which I have just given above. As book 8 closes, then, we have our hero and heroine looking forward to an escape from Arsake; unknown to them, their release came via letters written by Oroondates. But they do know that it is marked by dreams, one of which explains how Charikleia survived her execution, the other giving a vague sense of direction for the future. And not only that, but Charikleia is yet able to

⁹⁸ Another example of a small detail that later plays an important part is a comment made in passing at 2.22.2, where Knemon and Kalasiris enter Nausikles' home. "...they were given the warmest of welcomes by their host's daughter, a young lady of marriageable age," This throwaway detail is in fact Heliodoros' method for getting Knemon out of the story at 6.6.1-8.3, where Knemon does marry Nausikles' daughter.

⁹⁹ Her rebuke is interesting. "My darling Theagenes... misfortune has been so constant a companion that you have grown used to putting the worst construction on everything." (8.11.5) Is she remembering Knemon's rebuke to her at 6.5.3? "That is an annoying habit of yours Charikleia.... you are always inclined to divine the worst, and you are always wrong—I am glad to say in this case."

derive a sense of destiny from the great oracle. Καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια "Θάρσει" ἔφη·
"παντάρβην ἐτέραν ἔχομεν τὰ μεμαντευμένα... ." (8.11.11)

Heliodoros' use of letters in the *Aithiopika* is varied. As we have seen, they can be used for explaining mysterious circumstances (Thisbe's letter), giving information from before the dramatic time of the romance (Persinna's letter), or moving the plot along (Oroondates' letters to Arsake and Euphrates); and each of these letters mark turns in the plot, as well. At 9.5.3, we find the curious example of the letter never received. Hydaspes has completed his siege tactic of creating a lake all around the city of Syene, so that they are stranded in their city and under danger of being flooded. This strategy works so well that Oroondates, in the city with his Persian troops, are forced to surrender (9.5.2). Unfortunately, they have no safe way of conveying this message across the water, and so they attempt to fire a letter across to Hydaspes. This proves to be an unsatisfactory method, as well, since all the attempts fall short, into the water. The message of the surrender is eventually communicated by a sort of mime (9.5.3-4). Whatever it was that Oroondates wrote is never communicated exactly, and it is not difficult to figure out why. Every other letter in the romance is read by someone; only these messages are not related, because they never reach their destination.¹⁰⁰ But all of the letters mark a turn in plot progression, and here it is the fall of Syene.

We have already seen one example of what may be termed a "double dream", at 8.11.1-11. There is another example of this in the romance which occurs later, and it is different from the dreams of Kalasiris which Theagenes and Charikleia had in Arsake's prison. When Hydaspes sees Charikleia for the first time, he is filled with joy, not because he realizes who she is, but because οὐκ εἰδὼς ὑπὸ [τοῦ] μαντευτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς

¹⁰⁰ The exact contents of Oroondates' letters to Arsake and Euphrates are narrated at the time of their composition, but they do eventually reach their addressees, and so may be taken as read (8.13.1, 15.2).

γινόμενος. (9.1.3) Then, when after the victory over the Persian army, the spoils of war are brought before him, this is his reaction.¹⁰¹

"Ἰλήκοιτε θεοί" φήσας αὐθις ἐπὶ συννοίας ἑαυτὸν
ἤδραζε. Τῶν δὲ ἐν τέλει παρεστῶτων ὅτι πεπόνθοι
πυνθανομένων, "Τοιαύτην" ἔφη "τετέχθαι μοι θυγατέρα
τήμερον καὶ εἰς ἀκμὴν τοσαύτην ἦκειν ἀθρόον ὄμην· καὶ τὸ
ὄναρ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ φροντίδι θέμενος νυνὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁμοίαν τῆς
ὀρωμένης ὄψιν ἀπήνεγκα." Τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἰπόντων ὡς
φαντασία τις εἶη ψυχῆς τὰ μέλλοντα πολλάκις <εἰς> εἶδωλα
προτυπουμένης... . (9.25.1)

Notice that here, as with other dreams, the immediate emphasis is on how to interpret it; Hydaspes originally ignored the dream, but now that Charikleia has reminded him of it, he has second thoughts. The courtiers know better than to ignore it, or perhaps they are just engaging in a bit of royal flattery when they suggest it may be significant. In the end, however, he rejects his courtiers' interpretation because his dream does not fit the facts before him; he dreamt only of a daughter, not of a daughter and a son, which (he thinks) he ought to have, since the girl before him has a "brother". Hydaspes questions the girl about her parents, Charikleia replies enigmatically that she fully expects their presence at the sacrifice, much to Hydaspes' surprise. Μειδιάσας οὖν αὐθις ὁ Ἰδάσπης "Ὀνειρώττει τῷ ὄντι" φησὶν "ἢ ὄνειρογενῆς αὕτη μου θυγάτηρ, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ μέσσην Μερὸν τοὺς φύντας ἀναπεμφθήσεται φανταζομένη." (9.25.4) Hydaspes' self-amusement at his word play is undermined by the irony in his words, for Charikleia is indeed ὄνειρογενῆς, as we know from the ταινία. Hydaspes, we will recall, was commanded in a dream to make love to Persinna, resulting in the conception of Charikleia (4.9.4). This again demonstrates the complexity of Heliodoros' plot; not

¹⁰¹ Like father, like daughter: Hydaspes' first words here— Ἰλήκοιτε θεοί— are identical to Charikleia's when she recalls the first of the double dreams at 8.11.1. This expression is also used twice at 10.16-17, the first of which is Hydaspes asking for the gods to have mercy on him for any possible blasphemy in shying away from sacrificing Charikleia (Ἰμεῖς δὲ ἰλήκοιτε ὧ θεοί... , 10.16.10), the second is the crowd's assurance that the gods have been merciful in saving her (Ἰλήκοιεν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς δοκούσης παρανομίας, 10.17.2).

only is there a proleptic dream, which Hydaspes fails to interpret, but it makes use of an earlier dream to heighten the irony around the impending sacrifice, and Hydaspes' opinion of the strange girl who has been brought to him.

Before we get the second half of the double dream, there are three letters in the text. The first occurs at 9.26.3; it is dictated by Hydaspes to Oroondates for the Great King of Persia, offering a peace between his kingdom and the Persians. This letter puts a sense of closure on the military aspect of the romance, which has been center stage for all of book 9. By this letter we know that Hydaspes is victorious, but also that he is gracious. I said above that all the letters in the romance were read; although we get no direct indication of this one ever reaching the great satrap, I think that there is a fair indication in the text that its contents are both received and accepted. When, at the end of the book, Charikles pops up in Ethiopia, he is carrying a letter from Oroondates, in which we discover that he is still a satrap of the Great King. This means that he has lived, and that he is still in favor with the Great King; it also carries a friendly tone between Oroondates and Hydaspes, which means that the original letter must have been accepted.

The other two letters between the narration of the double dreams are from Hydaspes to the gymnosophists and to Persinna, his wife. In the first letter, we find that the gymnosophists had in fact predicted his victory (10.2.1), and that they are to be present at the sacrifices, which we know are Theagenes and Charikleia. The second letter is more personal, being from husband to wife, and again concerns the sacrifices and the gymnosophists presence at them. These two letters begin to build the tension behind the sacrifice of Theagenes and Charikleia, sacrifices that are to take place with the full consent of their (unwitting) parents.

This letter in fact is what reminds Persinna of her half of the double dream.

Τούτων κοιμισθέντων τῶν γραμμάτων, ἡ μὲν Περσίinna
"Τοῦτ' ἦν ἄρα" ἔφη "τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὃ κατὰ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην

ἐθεώμην, κύειν τε οἰομένη καὶ τίκτειν ἅμα καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν
εἶναι θυγατέρα γάμου παραχρήμα ὠραίαν, διὰ μὲν τῶν
ᾠδίνων, ὡς ἔοικε, τὰς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀγωνίας διὰ δὲ τῆς
θυγατρὸς τὴν νίκην αἰνιττομένου τοῦ ὀνειράτος."

(10.3.1)

Her reaction to the dream is different from Hydaspes', but not any more effective in the long term. While Hydaspes failed to interpret his dream, and practically indicated that it had no significance at all, Persinna does not hesitate to interpret her dream. Unfortunately, her interpretation, while not demonstrably wrong, is clearly ironic, in that while she is searching for an allegorical meaning, the real significance of the dream, like Theagenes' at 8.11.3, is much more theorematic. We can see this as readers, but then, we have much more information than Persinna.¹⁰² It seems that Heliodoros is playing off the ignorance of Hydaspes and Persinna to build the suspense of the final scene. Just like in the horror movie, where we scream at the girl not to look in the closet because we know the monster lurks behind the door, we can see that Hydaspes and Persinna are heading for disaster. As it turns out, neither of these dreams are mentioned again, even after the recognition scene; as was the case with Thyamis' dream, the reader is left to work out for herself what the dreams actually signified, although in this case, their fulfillment is probably less unexpected¹⁰³ and certainly more obvious.

Despite Hydaspes' insistence, the gymnosophists are not enthusiastic to attend the sacrifice. They do consent however, after asking the gods *παρὰ θεῶν τὸ πρακτέων πυθόμενοι*. (10.4.2) In accepting her invitation, Sisimithres the chief gymnosophist, also tells Persinna of an prophecy from *οἱ θεοί*. This prophecy warns about some disturbance which will happen during the sacrificial ceremony, but this will turn out for good in the

¹⁰² For an analysis of Persinna's interpretation see Bartsch (1991), p.106.

¹⁰³ There are some structural differences between the double dreams of Theagenes/Charikleia and Hydaspes/Persinna. In the former, the dreams are related at the same time, but have different "texts"; in the later, they are related at different places in the text (because of Hydaspes' being absent from Meroe on campaign) but essentially the same texts.

end, ὡς μέλους μὲν ὑμῶν τοῦ σώματος ἢ μέρος τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολωλότης, τοῦ πεπρωμένου δὲ εἰς τότε τὸ ζητούμενον ἀναφαίνοντος. (10.4.2) Again, the import of this prophecy is quite clear: Charikleia, the lost limb of the royal house, will be found. Heliodoros, it would seem, does not want us to miss out on any of the significance, irony or tension of the upcoming sacrifice, and so he emphasizes it wherever he is able, even if it means, paradoxically, giving away the ending. And we know that we can trust the gymnosophists' prediction, just as the dual dreams of Hydaspes and Persinna confirmed one another; we know that we can trust them because no sooner do they relate their oracle about the sacrifice than they make another prediction that Hydaspes' return is imminent, a prediction which is immediately fulfilled. That prediction renders obsolete (what else?) a letter from Hydaspes about his arrival the next day. So not only are the sacrifices, in fact, the whole of the last book, marked out by the incorporated genres of letters and predictions, but even the incorporated genres are intertwined with other incorporated genres.

The ταινία makes its final appearance at 10.13.1. Unlike the other tokens of recognition, including Charikleia's birthmark, the band is more than just a material object with significance attached to it by circumstance. The band, as we have seen, is actually a letter, and one with an important message at that. When it was first read, it enabled Kalasiris to solve the great oracle (a complete solution which, remember, we ourselves are still waiting for) and make his plans to send Theagenes and Charikleia on the road that would eventually see them reach home. This time it is read by Persinna (10.13.1), then Hydaspes and Sisimithres (10.13.3). Hydaspes is still skeptical; he asks to see the other recognition tokens, which Charikleia then produces. Sisimithres is (nearly) convinced—but Hydaspes is still puzzled over the fact that Charikleia is white. Sisimithres reminds him that that has already been explained in the band, but has the picture of Andromeda from which Charikleia takes her likeness sent for anyway. It is, of course, identical, and everyone, including Hydaspes, is awestruck. Only the birthmark remains for final confirmation, and then a scene of joy over her recognition follows. It is

clear that, while the recognition was accomplished only with all of the signs and tokens (including an eyewitness testimony from Sisimithres himself), it is the band *as a letter* that makes the whole situation possible. The letter which began the journey of Charikleia towards her homeland has now also been responsible for her recognition, and is thus, in a way, the inspiration of much of the plot movement, especially, as we shall see, in conjunction with the great oracle.

And if it is a letter which is the prime mover in Charikleia's recognition, it is also a letter which starts the process of Theagenes' rescue. After Charikleia has attempted to tell her father about her lover (10.18.1-22.5, 10.29.2-30.1, 10.33.4), and after Theagenes has tried to tell him also unsuccessfully (10.31.1-2, 10.32.4-33.3), the letter from Oroondates arrives. In the letter, Oroondates asks Hydaspes to restore a young woman, captured by Hydaspes, to a man claiming to be her father. We have already considered this letter in connection with another, that of Hydaspes to Oroondates at 9.26.3, but here we shall consider it in connection with the man who brings it—Charikles. No sooner does he come before Hydaspes, than he has found his man, Theagenes, whom he believes to responsible for the kidnapping of his "daughter". Charikles explains the situation to Hydaspes (leaving out a few details, 10.36.1), who questions Theagenes over the affair. He names Charikleia as the supposed daughter of Charikles; Sisimithres intervenes, and eventually Charikleia comes out of the tent (where she has been explaining the whole thing to her mother) to set things straight with Charikles. Theagenes is rescued from his sacrifice, then, because he is promised in marriage to Charikleia; but it took a letter from Oroondates to save him, when not even Charikleia could bring herself to confess the whole truth to Hydaspes. The rescues of both Theagenes and Charikleia, then, were initiated by letters.

This brings us to the final example of an incorporated genre in the novel. To be more specific, that is, it brings us to the repetition of an earlier example. It is, of course, the repeating of the second half of the great oracle at 10.41.2. The pretext Heliodoros

uses for restating the oracle here is that Charikles remembers it as he sees all the adventures and trials of his adopted daughter and her abductor come to a happy end, just as Odysseus and the woman of Bessa's dead son promised.

Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν τὴν τε αὐτοῦ [sc. Ὑδάσπης] καὶ τὴν
Περσίννης μίτραν, τὸ σύμβολον τῆς ἱερωσύνης, ἀφελὼν, τὴν
μὲν τῷ Θεαγένει, τὴν αὐτοῦ, Χαρικλεία δὲ τὴν Περσίννης
ἐπίτιθησιν· οὗ γεγονότος ἐνθύμιον τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ ἐν
Δελφοῖς ὁ Χαρίκλῆς ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις βεβαιούμενον
τὸ πάλαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν προαγορευθὲν ἠϋρίσκεν, ὃ τοὺς
νέους ἔφραζεν ἐκ τῶν Δελφῶν διαδράντας
ἴξεσθ' ἠελίου πρὸς χθόνα κυανέην,
τῇ περ ἀριστοβίων μέγ' ἀέθλιον ἐξάπονται
λευκὸν ἐπὶ κροτάφων στέμμα μελαινομένων.
Στεφθέντες οὖν οἱ νέοι λευκαῖς ταῖς μίτραις, τὴν τε
ἱερωσύνην [ἅμα τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ] ἀναδησάμενοι καὶ τὴν θυσίαν
αὐτοὶ καλλιερήσαντες... ." (10.41.2-3)

Now he understands the great oracle, though he did not before; and now we know what Kalasiris knew at 4.9.1, when he claimed that “the riddle of the oracle had been solved.” It seems that Charikles, in place of the deceased Kalasiris¹⁰⁴, has become the most astute reader of events. The end of the novel— the happy ending for the lovers— coincides exactly with Charikles' full understanding of the great oracle. The conclusion of the romance, the final resolution of the plot (it seems that there will be no further adventures for the newlyweds; after all, “the omens were good” from the sacrifices), is indistinguishable from the oracle which predicted it, not least in the mind of the heroine. It is appropriate that the final deciphering of the great oracle should bear such a sense of

¹⁰⁴ It is possible that Charikles is demonstrated here as understanding the oracle because he is functioning in the text as a stand-in for Kalasiris, who displayed the greatest depth of insight during the course of the novel. Notice also that we are presented with pairs of equivalents at the end of the text: Theagenes and Hydaspes as priests of the Sun, Charikleia and Persinna as priestesses of the Moon, and Sisimithres and Charikles, as wise and enlightened men. We might have, four books earlier, expected Kalasiris to fill this role.

closure, though, because interpretation is a prominent theme throughout the romance, and also because so much of the plot was constructed around the actions inspired by it, and other letters, dreams, and oracles along the way.

I have focused solely thus far on the letters, oracles, and dreams found in the *Aithiopika*. There are, however, other sorts of incorporated genres to be found in it. The single most numerous group would be that staple of romance, the lamentation. I have separated these out in my analysis of the incorporated genre because they function in the text differently from the other sorts of incorporated genres. For one thing, they rarely are the instigator of action in the plot, for reasons that we shall see. Also, it would hardly be fair to say that these are specially employed by Heliodoros to mark the turns in plot of his text in the way that, say, letters are, since letters do not normally arise out of a given situation. On the other hand, we would only expect Charikleia or Theagenes to break into tears or mourning as a result of some catastrophic turn of events, whether real or imagined. The lamentations also have their own peculiar logic of temporal aspect which Heliodoros varies slightly to achieve different effects at different points in the text.

The lament, like the dream, has a long history in Greek literature, as well as having great significance in Greek culture from ancient to modern times. In any genre of Greek literature in which we meet death or a forsaken lover, we find the lament in one form or another. Alexiou (1974) outlines the various types of laments (although her examples deal almost exclusively with death or situations that involve death and destruction, e.g. chapter 5, “The Historical Lament for the Fall or Destruction of Cities”) that we find through various sources¹⁰⁵ from the ancient and Byzantine Greek worlds, as well as those which she documents herself from modern Greece. Alexiou makes three “basic distinctions” in her categorization of the ancient lament: the θρήνος, the γόος, and the κομμός. Of the first two she says, “These are tentative distinctions, drawn from pre-

¹⁰⁵ Thus she refers not only to Homer or tragedy, but also to inscriptions and epitaphs.

classical and fragmentary evidence only. In the classical period, the θρήνος was still remembered as a distinct type of lyric poetry, but it was interchangeable with γόος, especially in tragedy, and could be used to refer to any kind of lament, not necessarily for the dead. ... The κομμὸς is first known specifically as a type of tragic lament. The examples collected and analyzed by Diehl¹⁰⁶ suggest that it was accompanied by wild gestures and associated with Asiatic ecstasy... ." (Alexiou 1974, p.102) Heliodoros himself uses θρήνος most often (e.g., 1.8.1-4), but in her bitter lament at 6.8.3, during Knemon's wedding, Charikleia says (with the absent Theagenes in mind), αἰσώμεν αὐτῷ θρήνους καὶ γόους ὑπορχησώμεθα. Γόους here means something like "sorrows" (as Morgan renders it, *CAGN*, p.480), complementing the θρήνος she also wants to sing her absent lover. Both these terms in this instance refer to general misfortunes, as Charikleia does not believe Theagenes is dead when she makes this outburst. Certainly in the ancient novel, we find that the term θρήνος, by far the most popular term for lamenting, can mean either a formal lament for the dead, or wailing for grief in general, used in all five of our fully extant authors.¹⁰⁷

Some of the contemporary, as well as literary, background for the lament in the novel is filled in by Birchall (1996, pp.1-17). Birchall calls attention to the προγυμνάσματα, exercises in rhetoric involving declamation on, or defense of, mythological or hypothetical situations and figures.¹⁰⁸ In particular, an exercise called ἠθοποιΐα shows a likeness to the sorts of laments we encounter in the novel. "Among the *progymnasmata* the exercise entitled *ēthopoiia* seems frequently to have been a lament comparable with those in the novels, and provides us with some of the evidence about how students learnt to compose one. ... [The lament] and other rhetorical features shared

¹⁰⁶ Referring to *Anthologia Lyra Graeca*, Teubner (2nd ed.), Leipzig, 1925.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. lamenting for the dead: Chariton, *Chaereas and Kallirhoe*, 1.5.1, καὶ πανταχόθεν ὁ θρήνος ἤκούετο, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφόκει πόλεως ἀλώσει (people lamenting the supposed death of Callirhoe). For lamenting griefs in general, cf. *Chaereas* 1.8.3, 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλάκις αὐτῆς κεκραγυίας οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πλέον, ἀπήλπισεν ἐπὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐνθείσα τοῖς γόνασι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐθρήνει λέγουσα: "οἴμοι τῶν κακῶν ζῶσα κατώρυγμαί μηδὲν ἀδικούσα..." See also Xenophon, *Ephesiaka*, 3.3.2-3; Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 1.31.4; and Achilles Tatius, *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, 1.13.2.

¹⁰⁸ For further information on these exercises, see also Bartsch 1989, pp. 7-15, and s.v. προγυμνάσματα in her index.

by the novelists are already well developed in Chariton, which suggests that by his time (perhaps the middle of the first century A.D.) the systematisation of rhetorical training had already taken place, at least in those areas where it is manifest in the novels.”

(Birchall 1996, pp.2-3) We know, then, part of the tradition from which Heliodoros could draw his own representation of a lament; and we know perhaps how he was educated in composing it. The question that remains to be answered is, what did he do with these laments in his novels?

We do not have to wait for long before we find Charikleia in tears over her circumstances. In fact, there are a pair of lamentations at the start of the novel (it is not unusual to find laments in pairs in Heliodoros, as we shall see) which match the pair of brigands. The first is a brief “tragic outburst”.

"εἰ μὲν εἶδωλα τῶν κειμένων ἐστέ," φησὶν "οὐκ ἐν δίκη παρενοχλεῖτε ἡμῖν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστοι χερσὶ ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἀνήρησθε, ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ἀμύνης νόμῳ καὶ ἐκδικίας τῆς εἰς σωφροσύνην ὕβρεως πεπόνθατε· εἰ δὲ τινες τῶν ζώντων ἐστέ, ληστρικός μὲν ὑμῖν ὡς ἔοικεν ὁ βίος, εἰς καιρὸν δὲ ἤκετε· λύσατε τῶν περιεστηκότων ἀλγεινῶν φόνῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν δράμα τὸ περὶ ἡμᾶς καταστρέψαντες." Ἡ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπετραγῶδει... . (1.3.1-2)

In this, one of the shorter laments, we can discern a basic pattern of order.¹⁰⁹ There is analepsis, as Charikleia tells them what has happened to all the dead people they see before them; and there is a sort of false prolepsis, as Charikleia asks for, and so anticipates, death at their hands. This pattern is seen in even greater detail in the second half of the pair, at 1.8.2. The second, larger group of bandits has scared away the first set, taking the couple back to their lair; this is the cue for Charikleia's second, longer lament

¹⁰⁹ Alexiou (1974) identifies basic patterns in epic, lyric, and tragic poetry, pp. 131 ff.. Her emphasis is not on analepsis/prolepsis (although she does call attention to the feature of some laments of contrasting past and present, pp. 165-171), but on the structure of the laments themselves.

(1.8.2-4). The first part of the lament is Charikleia recalling, in a general way, how they got where they are, and feeling sorry for herself over it. She poses a questions in her lament addressed to Apollo, asking him when their troubles will be at an end: Καὶ ποῖ ταῦτα στήσεις; This sort of question, termed “rhetorical” (although it may seem unfair to use this term when Charikleia’s lament is also a prayer), is a feature of many laments in Heliodoros and elsewhere. “By the end of antiquity, the convention [of posing questions in a lament] was well established in poetic and prose laments of all kinds... .”¹¹⁰ (Ibid., p.162) After her complaints and questions, Charikleia moves on to the “if” clause (εἰ μὲν εἰς θάνατον ἀνύβριστον... εἰ δέ με γνώσεταιί τις αἰσχρῶς...), also familiar from 1.3.1 (εἰ δέ τινες τῶν ζώντων ἔστέ...), which is often the source of the false prolepsis in the lament. Charikleia promises that if she is violated— a possibility as likely as any other, given their surroundings and her beauty— she will end her life. This is an anticipation which is never realized, and thus is falsely proleptic. I believe it is marked as such by Heliodoros immediately though, because Theagenes corrects her for lamenting too much (1.8.4). This correction, like the false prolepsis and analepsis, is a common feature in the laments in the romance, so much so that this lament at 1.8.2 can be taken as a sort of standard model to which other lamentations will be similar, and from which they will develop their variations. In neither case is the lament a cause of action (though violent action is contemplated), in the first case because the hearers cannot understand, and in the second because Charikleia is corrected by Theagenes, and her speculations turn out to be empty.¹¹¹

Another example of the standard lament can be found at 5.6.2, where Theagenes is upset at their escape from the bandits’ island being cut short. The parts are clear: complaint over present circumstances and a rhetorical question (“Ἀχρι τίνοϋς... φευξόμεθα τὴν πανταχοῦ διώκουσαν εἰμαρμένην;), analepsis describing past trials

¹¹⁰ Birchall (1996, pp.13-14) says about the rhetorical question, “The ancient writers offer a definition of this figure, which is called *peusis* or *peusma* in Greek. ... Longinus (18,2) also emphasises that ‘rhetorical questions are the mark of someone apparently speaking the truth.’”

¹¹¹ It is interesting that, although she is never violated by the boukoloi, when she does come under the threat of violation, i.e. through marriage to Thyamis, Charikleia reacts very differently than she claims she will here.

(...πειρατήρια καὶ τοῖς ἐκ θαλάττης ἀτόποις τὰ ἐκ γῆς κτλ.), future speculation of death or possibly suicide (Τί οὖν οὐχ ὑποτέμνομεν αὐτοῦ τὴν τραγικὴν ταύτην...), and a correction from the hearer (Τούτοις εἰρημένοις οὐ πᾶσιν ἡ Χαρίκλεια συνετίθετο...). At 7.25.3-7, there is a slight change to the formula. There is still the complaint, the recall of past woes, and the promise of suicide if things get any worse (the false prolepsis), but here the correction comes not from the hearer, Charikleia, who also seems resigned to a terrible fate and suggests to Theagenes that perhaps he ought to give in to Arsake, but from the speaker of the lament, Theagenes, who immediately after his lament comes up with a better plan (7.25.7). There is a similar change in Hydaspes' outburst over the sanity of his newfound daughter (10.22.1-3); here the proleptic threat hanging over the end of the lament is that Theagenes will be sacrificed. There is no hearer in a position to correct this vision of the future, but he is eventually corrected by circumstances themselves, which lead to Theagenes' rescue. In a way, this one is the most misleadingly proleptic (a "snare", as Genette [1980, p.77] would call it) because there is no immediate rebuke in the text, no instant turn away from the proposed or speculated course of action.

There are some laments which vary more significantly than this in the *Aithiopika*, however. One of them is the pair of laments at 2.1.2. and 2.4.1, both uttered by Theagenes. At the beginning of book one we had a pair of laments by Charikleia, one to a small group of bandits, and then a larger one after being captured by a more formidable group. At the start of book 2, Theagenes believes Charikleia to be dead because of the devastation caused by the war. He recalls the events leading up to his present misery, and gives the inevitable if— Οὐ μὴν ἔτι σωθήσομαι σοῦ, φιλότατη, κειμένης. (2.1.3) And Knemon corrects his interpretation of their situation, preventing his suicide. But this time the prolepsis is not strictly false, but ironic. Theagenes says προσαφῆρηταί με καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα περιβαλεῖν ἐσχάτων καὶ ἀψύχων φιλημάτων ἀπεστερήθην. As we know, this is not exactly true. They will find what appears to be Charikleia's body, and Theagenes will not be cheated of either an embrace or a final, lifeless kiss from that corpse (2.3.4, 8.1) And this brings us to the second of the pair; when they discover this

corpse in the cave, Theagenes immediately assumes it to be Charikleia, and laments over it (2.4.1-4). If Theagenes' lament at 2.1.2 had an ironic prolepsis, then this one has, as well. He wails, grief stricken, over a corpse he (and the reader, perhaps) assumes is Charikleia, remembering what he liked best about his beloved. ...ὄφθαλμοὶ δὲ ἀφεγγεῖς οἱ πάντα τῷ κάλλει καταστράψαντες, οὓς οὐκ εἶδεν ὁ φονεύσας, οἶδα ἀκριβῶς. Theagenes may have been sure that the corpse's murderer never saw Charikleia's eyes, but not only because it was dark in the cave, nor because he thought that anyone looking into such a pair as Charikleia's would be unable to kill her. He never saw her eyes, of course, because the corpse whom Theagenes cries over is Thisbe, not Charikleia, which is discovered by Knemon in the course of correcting Theagenes' lament. So Heliodoros injects this lament, otherwise a standard lament from the novel's stock, with a sense of irony that ought to keep us reading carefully.

It is because he has established so strong a pattern in the lamentations that Heliodoros is able then to effectively manipulate their effect through the aspects of prolepsis and analepsis. In the case of Charikleia's lament at 5.2.7, however, it is more a case of what she does not say (paralipsis) than what she does. Having heard that Nausikles has regained Thisbe whom he has seen dead, Knemon goes in search of the truth at night. He hears a woman crying through a door, and listens in. The woman's lament follows the standard pattern: past trials and present difficulties are recounted in turn, but the suicide threat is not made because the woman believes her man to be still alive: καὶ ζῆν τέως ἀνεχομένη διότι μοι περιεῖναι τὸν γλυκύτατον ἐλπίζω. (5.2.9) The woman gives what appears to be her name at the end of the lament, although it appears to be a qualified confession. ἀλλὰ σῶζοιό γε μόνον καὶ θεάσαιό ποτε Θίσβην τὴν σὴν· τοῦτο γάρ με καλέσεις καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος. Charikleia never mentions Theagenes by name¹¹², and this is part of the reason why Knemon does not realize that this is not in fact Thisbe, but someone else using that name. In nearly every other lament

¹¹² Although why he is unable to recognize her voice in a silent house at night through a crack in a door; when previously he was able to positively identify it through a deep and winding cave (2.5.3) is another question.

in the romance, a person is mentioned by name (except at 5.6.2, where Theagenes is clearly addressing Charikleia to her face), especially if that person is the object of the lament, even sometimes in the presence of that person. But not here, because it is Heliodoros' intention to have Knemon believe this person to be Thisbe, by Charikleia's ironic paralipsis of Theagenes' name. This is further facilitated when Charikleia calls herself "Thisbe" at the end of her lament (5.2.10). I think that Heliodoros wants to confuse the reader, to try and keep us, like Knemon, in the dark for a while. But not for too long, because here the voice of correction is authorial: ἦν γὰρ οὐ Θίσβη τὸ θρηγοῦν γύναιον ἀλλὰ Χαρίκλεια. (5.4.2)

All of the laments which we have been looking at to this point have been similar in the sense that they were spontaneously produced by a character in a desperate situation; there are other laments in the romance which are not spontaneous, but are premeditated or else produced to achieve a certain effect. Unlike the above laments, these do affect the plot, because that is what they are designed by their speakers to do, to stir the people around them into action.

The first of these ulterior designed speeches comes at 4.19.6, where Charikles appears before the Delphians after Charikleia has been abducted. From the start, we know that we are dealing more with rhetoric (although all the laments have rhetorical elements) rather than pure emotion by the prepared appearance of Charikles, who appears officially in mourning in a black cloak, and covered in dust and ashes. He carries on in a dramatic fashion, including the pitiful (but irrelevant) tale of how he lost his first wife and child. He is interrupted by the general Hegesias, who proposes immediate action, to chase down the Thessalians they believe to be responsible for the abduction. So Charikles' lament has achieved its purpose, to stir the hearts of the people of Delphi (and it is all the people of Delphi, male and female, young and old, 4.21.2-3) and to attempt to recover Charikleia. But it is a lament designed to stir the people; Kalasiris talked him into calling a meeting of the Delphians over Charikleia's abduction, perhaps knowing

what the outcome of such a scene, especially Charikles' pitiful appearance and words, would be.

Similar to this is Knemon's long outburst at 6.7.3-7. He is upset that, though he feels it is his duty, he cannot continue on with Kalasiris and Charikleia in their search for Theagenes because, he says, he needs to return to his home to be with his now destitute father. But this is not the true meaning of his speech, as Charikleia determines immediately. Ἡ δὲ Χαρίκλεια τὸν τε Κνήμωνα ἐκ πολλῶν ἤδη συμβάλλουσα τοῦ Ναυσικλέους ἐπὶ τὸ θυγάτριον ἐπτοημένον, ὄξυς γὰρ ὁ ἐρῶν φωράσαι τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἴσων παθῶν κεκρατημένον... (6.7.8) So Knemon gets what he wants through his rhetorical lament, the marriage, and Kalasiris and Charikleia get rid of Knemon. At 10.16.4, Hydaspes, like Charikles, makes a speech that sounds like a lament, although its purpose is to influence its listeners to the contrary of what he suggests in it. After he makes his emotional appeal to allow the sacrifice to proceed despite the fact that Charikleia is his daughter, this is what Heliodoros tells us about Hydaspes' thoughts, and the effect of his words: ...πλείονι δὲ αὐτὸς πυρὶ τῷ πάθει τὴν καρδίαν σμυχόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν τῶν ἐνηδρευμένων τῇ δημηγορίᾳ λόγων ἀπευχόμενος. Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ἐσείσθη πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα... (10.17.1-3) Hydaspes' lament was more than a lament, it was an appeal to action, just as Knemon's was an appeal to be excused from the hunt, and Charikles' an implied appeal to chase after his daughter. All of these speeches, incidentally, are effective, and so they influence the plot. This makes them different from the other "pure" laments, which arise from perceived hard circumstances and are almost always immediately corrected.

So the laments form a substantial contribution to the overall group of incorporated genres in the *Aithiopika*. They do not function in the same way as some of the other types, such as dreams, oracles or letters, as these are often used to affect some change in direction in the plot. Except where they are put in the mouth of a character to inspire some sort of action (and then they are more like speeches than emotional outbursts), the

laments are more formulaic, more “set pieces”, used to mark a time of profound danger or unhappiness in a character’s life. Yet in Heliodoros’ service they can do much more, as he tampers with their formula to bring about some sense of dramatic irony in the reader. In order to see this irony, the lament is dependent upon an awareness of both the analeptic and the proleptic, that is, what has happened to get a character in a certain situation, or what will follow immediately to render the lament irrelevant.

In my analysis of these laments, I have stated repeatedly that I do not believe Heliodoros has used them to advance his plot in any significant way, in contrast to his use of other incorporated genres. This opinion is in direct contradiction to that advanced by John Birchall. Birchall (1996, p.15) argues that “...Heliodoros’ use of the lament is distinguished from its use by the other Greek novelists... . They decorate their works with laments, as they do with other types of rhetorical set pieces... . Only Heliodoros, on the other hand, uses them to advance the plot.” It will be useful to quote at length one of the examples in Birchall’s argument.

In the lament at Heliod. 2,1,2-3 we learn that Theagenes believes that Charikleia has been burnt alive. Then in Heliod. 2,4,2 we learn that Theagenes does not doubt that Charikleia has preserved her chastity, and at 2,4,4, that he is faithful to her. *This is all essential information which the reader must believe if the plot is to work.* As we saw above, ‘rhetorical questions’ which are typical in laments, were thought to reveal the speaker in a light which inspires trust and dispels suspicion, apparently because the distressed state of mind they reflect prevents equivocation. In a lament the speaker is usually alone, (with no one to deceive), and is always distressed; therefore the reader will assume he or she is likely to be speaking the truth, without dissimulation. This is why the information about Charikleia’s chastity and about Theagenes’ fidelity and trust in her is communicated in the context of laments. Heliodoros is indicating to his readers that they should regard this information as reliable. (Ibid.; italics mine)

Birchall’s argument is that the laments tell us information about characters, information which is not to be doubted, and that this information, and our belief of it, is

“essential... if the plot is to work.” I dispute this on two grounds. The first is whether it is actually necessary that we believe what is told us in the laments; that is whether this information is conveyed solely through the lament, or whether we might already have known it. Birchall states that what we “learn” from these laments is the mutual chastity of the lovers, and their faithfulness, saying, in essence, that we are to believe these confessions because they come at what is meant to be a time of heightened emotion. However, Heliodoros divulges as much information to the reader at other points in the text. For example, there is the reasoned reply of Charikleia at 1.25.3-5 (an example Birchall himself refers to, without commenting on its advancement of the plot) during which we learn of, in no uncertain terms, the fidelity and chastity of the lovers. But should one have reason to doubt Charikleia’s word here (although Theagenes never contradicts her on these points), in light of the tale she has just spun about herself and Theagenes to Thyamis, one may have recourse to Charikles’ description of his adopted daughter at 2.33.4, ...ἀπηγόρευται γὰρ αὐτῇ γάμος καὶ παρθενεύειν τὸν πάντα βίον διατείνεται καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ζάκορον ἑαυτὴν ἐπιδοῦσα θήραις τὰ πολλὰ σχολάζει καὶ ἄσκεῖ τοξείαν, which illuminates the mindset behind Charikleia, and the claims of chastity for her relationship with Theagenes. So we know that she has been a virgin until her meeting Theagenes, and she claims to have remained one after despite their considerable passion. Heliodoros drops another hint at 4.8.7, where, in the ταινία, Persinna cautions her daughter to μεμνήση τῆς εὐγενείας τιμῶσα σωφροσύνην, ἣ δὴ μόνη γυναικείαν ἀρετὴν χαρακτηρίζει. There may be nothing in this statement in and of itself that demonstrates Charikleia’s chastity, but the nature of the ταινία as a token of recognition is proleptic¹¹³, as we have seen. In the paragraph in which Persinna warns her daughter about her chastity, we also find the advice about the pantarbe ring, which foreshadows her miraculous safety during the attempt to execute her. So there are hints about two facets of the romance which will play an important part: the ring, and Charikleia’s virginity. Of course, simply because the importance of chastity is hinted at

¹¹³ That is, the analeptic aspect of the ταινία is exhausted by its own narration; once we have read it, we know Charikleia’s history, and once we know this, we cannot learn it again (though we might learn more *about* it), whereas the band as a physical object of recognition (as opposed to the story it relates) appears again later in the story.

does not guarantee that Charikleia will remain chaste; therefore, Heliodoros puts an exclamation point on the chastity and fidelity of both lovers at 10.9 through the chastity test. So the information about the fidelity and chastity of the lovers is not exclusively relayed through these laments; we know as much through other characters' testimony, through authorial foreshadowing, and, in the end, through the irreproachable divine testimony of the gridiron. Therefore the reader is not bound to attach such great importance to Theagenes' claims in his laments. If we wished to be obstinate readers, doubting everything a character might say, and ignoring or failing to understand the author's hints and foreshadowing, then Heliodoros has a lesson waiting to be taught to us in book 10 about our belligerent and sloppy reading. But readers of romance, especially experienced readers of romance, will probably not be so obstinate nor so oversightful; we will learn information about the lovers, and we should be able to understand our author's hints. But Heliodoros carefully ensures that our information, even essential information like the chastity of the couple, comes from more than one source, thus giving the *Aithiopika* some of the most unique and fullest characters in all of romance.

The second ground for dispute with Birchall's argument lies in the broader context of what is meant by "plot advancement." In this section on incorporated genres, I have attempted to show how the dreams, oracles, and letters inspire or motivate the characters of the romance into action. For example, Thyamis' dream leads to his proposal to Charikleia, and to the slaying of Thisbe, which has in turn its own effects on the text; the dream, an element of the plot, changes or moves the action of the novel forward. Another example might be the Charikles' dream at 4.14.2. This foretells of Charikleia's willing abduction from Delphi by Theagenes, but it is also the opportunity Heliodoros creates for Charikleia to get her heirlooms/ recognition tokens back before they leave, and those tokens, obviously, play a major role in the romance's outcome. But Birchall fails to show in the above example exactly what action Charikleia's lament leads to in the story, exactly how it "advances the plot". What Birchall does demonstrate is that information is gathered about the main characters, information he calls "essential... if the plot is to

work.” I have already argued that the laments in his example do not tell us anything that we cannot learn elsewhere; but here I want to question the essentialness of this lament to the plot’s success. What would happen to the novel if the section containing Thyamis’ dream was lost from our text? We would find ourselves having great difficulty explaining exactly why he has murdered the Greek speaking woman at the top of the cave. Or if we lost Charikles’ dream, we would not know exactly how Charikleia managed to get her recognition tokens back from Charikles, and that would be a nagging problem every time they reappeared in the story. In other words, the absence of these (and other) incorporated genres would result in a plot full of holes, with many actions left unexplained.

On the other hand, what would happen if we were to excise most of the laments from the novel? We may find ourselves with slightly less well drawn characters, but in the examples I analyzed above, there certainly would not be any great holes in the story, nor would the plot be insufficiently motivated because Heliodoros failed to draw attention to the chastity of the lovers. This is so because there is a distinction to be made between learning things about characters, and advancement of the plot. Birchall (1996, p.16) says, “The plot is advanced in a different way by Charikleia’s lament at Heliod. 5.2. Here Knemon is in the house of Nausikles, the merchant, with Kalasiris. He does not know that Charikleia is there too and when he overhears her he mistakes her for Thisbe, whom he had thought dead. He leaves convinced that Thisbe is alive after all.” But what happens after that? Knemon stumbles back to bed (5.3.2), Heliodoros reveals that the voice was in fact Charikleia and tells how Charikleia came to be in Nausikles’ house in the first place (5.4.3-9.2). Then Kalasiris and Knemon go to Nausikles to discover the truth, he tells them how it happened, and they discover that “Thisbe” is in fact Charikleia (5.11.1). So, except as an excuse for Heliodoros to patch up the hole in his plot from where Theagenes and Charikleia were stuck on the Boukoloi’s island, to their separation and her coming to Chemmis, which he could just as easily have done through Charikleia telling the story if he had wished, and as an excuse for Knemon and Kalasiris to get up a

little earlier than they might otherwise have, this lament hardly inspires or motivates the plot at all. And, again, if we wrote this out of our *Aithiopika*, although we would miss a prime example of how Heliodoros can baffle personae and readers alike, and a bit of slapstick humor at Knemon's expense (thus helping to fill out his character as a slightly inept young man), the plot would still work. The information gathered in these laments might help us to make better sense of the plot— whether by bringing us up to date on the misadventures of the one lamenting, or by fleshing out characterization— but they cannot be spoken of as “advancing the plot” in any strict sense, since, more often than not, what the character claims to be about to do in his or her lament never actually happens. This is why I argued above that the lament functions differently in the text from other incorporated genres, and that they are rarely the instigator of action in the plot.¹¹⁴

There is a way of reading the oracles and dreams in the *Aithiopika* as displaying some sort of concern on the author's part to motivate his plot supernaturally or through a sense of destiny. I do not seek to deny that here; I do not disagree that much of the action has a supernatural cause, that it seems to derive ἐξ ὀρμῆς θείας ἢ σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἐσκηνογράφησεν. (10.38.3) In Sandy's words, “Divine agency is, then, a controlling force in the development of the plot, so closely linked to it at times that divine agency *is* the plotmaker, the dramatist.” (1982a, p. 52) My emphasis, however, has been on the literary technique that Heliodoros often uses to frame this divine agency; that is to say, it is often conveyed through oracles or dreams, which are themselves often incorporated genres. Here I disagree with Sandy, who posits “the Heliodoran tendency to provide terrestrial events with *ex post eventu* religious significance” (1982a, p.41); I think that the religious or divine agencies cause the “terrestrial” events of the plot. As Dowden argues in a recent article, “The novel... asserts the value and the actuality of objectives

¹¹⁴ Birchall does have one convincing example of how a lament does advance the action. It is his analysis of Charikleia's lament for Kalasiris, 7.14.5-8, where he points out that her wailing “attracts Achaimenes to look through the keyhole, when he becomes enamoured of Charikleia and half recognizes Theagenes.” Achaimenes' love for Charikleia turns out to be both a source of trouble for her and Theagenes, but also the reason for their eventual escape from Arsake's palace. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

beyond the material world.” (Dowden 1996, pp.285¹¹⁵) But I have subsumed these examples into the larger group of the incorporated genre because they are not the only way that Heliodoros turns and twists his plot; there are letters which change the action, and even a few lament/speeches which do so, as well. Heliodoros gives these oracles and laments, letters and dreams specific functions in terms of order, that is, analepsis and prolepsis. Some of them look back, recall points earlier in the narrative or even extradiegetic *histoire*; some look forward, whether truly or misleadingly; and some do both at the same time. The effect is that Heliodoros achieves a text that is completely interwoven with itself, achieves a sort of cyclicity, and self-referentiality. As seen through its major event, the great oracle that links Theagenes and Charikleia together, it is essentially proleptic, anticipating the fulfilment of this oracle, moving through stages of mixed prolepsis and analepsis until at the end the oracle is demonstrably (and demonstrated) complete, and the romance is then completely analeptic; there is nothing else to which to look forward. Perhaps this, reflecting the *in medias res* beginning, and part of the various flashback narratives in the text, helped Michael Psellus to his observation: “The beginning of the work itself resembles a coiled snake: the snake conceals its head inside the coils and thrusts the rest of its body forward; so the book makes a beginning of its middle, and the onset of the story, which it has, so to speak, inherited, slips through (to end up) in the middle.”

¹¹⁵ See this article for an investigation of how seriously Fate and other supernatural forces are meant to be taken, and how this affects our reading of the *Aithiopika*.

Part II

Narrative Texture

Chapter Three

Heliodoros and Homer

That all the novelists, and Heliodoros in particular, borrowed heavily from Homer is a fact not only well-documented, but also patently obvious from reading the novel itself. To say that Heliodoros referred to Homer often and openly, however, is not the same as saying that his allusions were facile or superficial; rather, Heliodoros uses varied and frequent Homeric references for many subtle purposes in the *Aithiopika*, and employs Homer at cross purposes to himself, creating the ambiguity of simultaneously referring to Homer for literary and pseudo-factual support, while also maintaining an ironic approach to the epic poet at another level of the text.

Heliodoros employs Homeric reference for the purpose of giving his narrative what I shall call "epic texture". To define it, epic texture is that quality by which Heliodoros recommends themes and characterizations from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the course of his own narrative to the reader; these recommendations potentially influence the reading of character and structure in his work. He achieves this in three ways: a) he quotes and refers to Homeric personae in direct relationship to one or more of his own characters through their own words in the context of the narrative; b) he uses allusion to situations and phrases from Homer in the course of "omniscient narrative"¹¹⁶, and; c) He builds upon a) and b) to utilize, in his own way, broader themes that are also prominent in Homer. I shall maintain that the combined effect of a), b), and c) is that the reader becomes aware of a certain irony in Heliodoros' use of Homer, an irony which Heliodoros uses to comment upon the way he wants his own narrative to be read.¹¹⁷

The most obvious way in which Heliodoros conjures Homer as a complement to his own narrative is by naming the epic poet in the course of dialogue between two

¹¹⁶ The phrase is Winkler's (1982, pp.93-158). The Homeric references may be classified according to who actually says them in the text. There are the ones spoken by characters in the course of the narrative (*narratio personae*), and references made by Heliodoros in the course of his omniscient narration (*narratio narratoris*).

¹¹⁷ The narrative structure as whole has been shown to be very like the *Odyssey*; see e.g. Rohde 1914, p.474, Fusillo 1988, p.21 (with references), and Keyes 1922, p.44. My concern here is not with the over all structure, but with specific allusions; other commentators on Homeric reference in Heliodoros include Feuillâtre 1966, Garson 1975, pp.137-40, and Hefsti 1950, pp.98-105.

characters. This happens a total of ten times¹¹⁸, which is a substantial number of times for any author to be referenced in another piece of fiction; the frequency of the name “Homer” alone in the early and middle parts of the *Aithiopika* should cause the reader’s attention to be aroused. And, when one considers the nature of the most overt of references, something even more astonishing seems to surface: in the *Aithiopika*, Homer seems to have a unique advocate in one man. This is, of course, a statement which needs qualification; indeed, nearly every character who comes across Heliodoros’ stage for any significant amount of time either quotes, alludes to, or is referred to him or herself according to, Homer. In this sense of things, everyone seems to know their Homer. But this is only a superficial reading of the allusions, as will become clear when I analyze below the unattributed¹¹⁹ Homeric allusions. When it comes to quoting Homer, and admitting it, or when it comes to knowledge about the poet himself, this is an area of knowledge accessible only to one man. That man is Kalasiris. Of the ten places in which Homer’s name is mentioned, eight of them are spoken by Kalasiris.¹²⁰ Only twice does someone other than the Egyptohellenic priest say the word “Homer”— and they both are outstanding cases, as will be seen. And, more than having a monopoly on overt Homeric quotation, Kalasiris also seems to possess an insight into the nature and intentions of the poet which the other characters for the main part lack.

The first reference to Homer by Kalasiris comes at 2.22.5. Kalasiris, before beginning his own narration, says, νῦν δὲ ὄρα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα θεραπεύειν· ἤν, ἐς τὰδ’ ἀποσκοπῶν Ὅμηρος [καὶ] ὡς πάντα δεύτερα αὐτῆς ποιεῖται, θαυμασίως

¹¹⁸ Each instance will be discussed individually, but for reference they are: 1.14.5 (the discussion of which I have saved for thematic questions, at which point I will also address its effect on Kalasiris’ Homeric monopoly; see n.40), 2.22.5, 3.4.1, 2.34.5, 3.12.2, 3.13.3, 3.14.2 (where Homer is mentioned by name repeatedly), 4.3.1, 4.4.3, and 4.7.4. There is also an Homeric quotation at 5.15.2, which is attributed by the verb φατέ; Morgan takes this directly as a reference to Homer in a Heliodorean context (*CAGN*, p.455, n. 135), and, if he is correct, then it displays further the extent of Kalasiris’ insight and persuasiveness. For the source of my references the greatest debt is owed to Feuillatre (1966), but also to the editors and translators of the Budé text, and Morgan himself in *CAGN*. Only a few are my own observations.

¹¹⁹ By unattributed I mean not accompanied by the something like the words “As Homer says...”

¹²⁰ As John Birchall has pointed out to me, Kalasiris has a very large percentage of all the direct speech in the *Aithiopika* in general; but this does not affect my argument that the priest is presented as having special knowledge of the epic poet.

οὐλομένην ὠνόμασεν. This example, the first, is also one of the clearest in illustrating how Heliodoros characterizes Kalasiris as having a unique insight into Homer. The attributed passage of Homer which he singles out is *Od.*17.287. Kalasiris is portrayed here, early in the work, and immediately with relevance to Homer, as knowing what the poet "means when he says" (Morgan's translation, *CAGN* p.395) something. The fact that Kalasiris' exegesis of this particular word (οὐλομένη, the specific quotation from *Od.*17.287) is correct here comes as a bonus; while his special insight into Homer remains constant throughout the romance, his accurate reading of the Homeric text does not.

The next mention of Homer occurs at 2.34.5, in the context of Theagenes' claim to be of Achillean descent. That Theagenes' claims are un-Homeric Kalasiris makes clear straightaway: Ἐμοῦ δὲ θαυμάσαντος καὶ πῶς Αἰνιάνων γένος τυγχάνων Ἀχιλλεΐδην ἑαυτὸν ἀναγορεύει φήσαντος, ἢ γὰρ Ὀμήρου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ποίησις τὸν Ἀχιλλέα Φθιώτην ἐνδείκνυται... . Charikles then proceeds to offer Theagenes' interpretation of the Homeric account of Achilles' descent— although he never directly quotes the text nor alludes to Homer himself. This is the first circumstance of Homeric interpretations in conflict, and given Kalasiris' dogmatic response (ἢ γὰρ Ὀμήρου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ποίησις... ἐνδείκνυται), and the Iliadic passage to which this is a reference (*Il.* 16.173ff), it seems as if Kalasiris again has the proper perspective on Homer and his interpretation, and Theagenes' reading is a "scholarly dubiety" (Winkler 1982, p.124). Then, as if to solidify his position following his exegetical victory, in 3.4.1 Kalasiris lifts a formulaic line directly from Homer— Ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς— Ὀμηρος ἂν εἶπεν. The function of this, besides being a tidy way for Kalasiris to show the passage of time in his own narrative¹²¹, is to have the reader (and this includes Knemon as listener) identify Kalasiris on a level with Homer himself, in the sense that Kalasiris is obviously structuring his own narrative in a way overtly reminiscent of Homer.

¹²¹ It is now widely acknowledged that Kalasiris' narrative stands as a type for Heliodoros', cf. Winkler 1982, Morgan 1991, and Futre Pinheiro 1991.

The thickest section of allusion to Homer is the well-known passage from 3.12.2 to 3.14.4, in which there are three different appeals made to lines from the *Iliad*. It is during this stretch of narrative that Kalasiris exhibits the agility of his exegetical acrobatics. The whole digression on Homer begins when Knemon happens upon an obscure statement (so obscure as to be undetectable to his immediate audience, and this is important) which actually turns out to be an Homeric reference in disguise.

"ταῦτα εἰπόντες οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ὅτι μὴ ὄναρ ἦν ἢ ὄψις ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐνδειξάμενοι· ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συνίειν ὡς ἐωράκειν, εἰς τίνας δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἢ εἰς τίνα γῆν παραπέμπεσθαι τοὺς νέους τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον ἠπόρουν." Καὶ ὁ Κνημῶν "ταῦτα μὲν" ἔφη "ὦ πάτερ, εἰς ὕστερον αὐτός τε ἔγνωσ' ἐρεῖς τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἀλλὰ τίνα δὴ τρόπον ἔφασκες ἐνδεδεῖσθαι σοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὅτι μὴ ἐνύπνιον ἦλθον ἀλλ' ἐναργῶς ἐφάνησαν;" "Ὅν τρόπον" εἶπεν "ὦ τέκνον, καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Ὅμηρος αἰνίττεται, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τὸ αἰνίγμα παρατρέχουσιν· Ἰχνια γὰρ μετόπισθεν' ὡς ἐκεῖνός που λέγει 'ποδῶν ἠδὲ κνημάων ῥεῖ' ἔγνωσ' ἀπίοντος, ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοὶ περ."

"Ἄλλ' ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔοικα τῶν πολλῶν εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο ἴσως ἐλέγχειν, ὦ Καλάσιρι, βουλόμενος τῶν ἐπῶν ἐμνημόνευσας, ὧν ἐγὼ τὴν μὲν ἐπιπολῆς διάνοιαν ὅτε περ καὶ τὴν λέξιν οἶδα ἐκδιδαχθεὶς τὴν δὲ ἐγκατεσπαρμένην αὐτοῖς θεολογίαν ἠγγνόκα."

Μικρὸν οὖν ἐπιστήσας ὁ Καλάσιρις καὶ τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὸ μυστικώτερον ἀνακινήσας... . (3.12.1-13.1)

Kalasiris' allusion is done in three steps. The first is the cryptic and oblique reference: ταῦτα εἰπόντες οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ὅτι μὴ ὄναρ ἦν ἢ ὄψις ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐνδειξάμενοι. Only the reader thoroughly versed in Homer would be able to make the connection here— and certainly Knemon is not that reader, by his own admission. The second step is to make the reference, although not the meaning, clear. Even Kalasiris' citation seems to be cryptic. Ὅν τρόπον... ὦ τέκνον, καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Ὅμηρος αἰνίττεται,

οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τὸ αἴνιγμα παρατρέχουσιν , followed by the passage from *Il.*13.71-72. Then, after being pressed by the reader, Knemon¹²², Kalasiris gives in, and does the interpretative work for us. All of this serves to reveal the fact that Kalasiris possesses a special insight into τὸ μυστικώτερον of Homer; and given the strained grammatical reading on which Kalasiris bases his interpretation¹²³, it had better be very special insight indeed if he is to be believed. This is why Heliodoros has the priest achieve τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὸ μυστικώτερον; it is an appeal to a higher authority over common sense exegesis. In support of his interpretation, Kalasiris also quotes at 3.13.3 *Iliad* 1.199-200, which is a much plainer and clearer passage concerning the conspicuous appearance of a divinity. This amounts to rhetorical sleight of hand, whereby he uses a simple (and correct¹²⁴) example to buttress the strained interpretation.¹²⁵

The third allusion in this triad, and one which comes as even more of a surprise than the idea of divine locomotion, is Kalasiris' digression on Homer's Egyptian origins. This follows the same three step pattern as the reference at 3.12.2; an obscure mention, a recital of the text upon being pressed by the reader, and the revelation of a mystery. And, like the first example, Kalasiris' conclusions are somewhat hard to swallow. Kalasiris at

¹²² I refer to Knemon as the reader because he stands in the same relationship to Kalasiris' narrative as we do to Heliodoros'.

¹²³ He takes ῥεῖα to modify ἀπρόντος instead of ἔγνω; cf. Morgan, *CAGN*, p.420 n.96; also LaPlace 1992, pp.223ff, on the symbolism of this passage and its echoes in other parts of the text, and Sandy 1982b, pp.143ff.

¹²⁴ Note that Heliodoros could have simply made the eyes of Apollo and Artemis shine terribly, and then quote *Il.*1.199-200 in support of this, thereby avoiding the interpretational hocus-pocus. But this would not do to serve Heliodoros' purpose on expressing the manner of proper reading of Homeric allusion.

¹²⁵ Allegorical interpretations of Homer in antiquity were not unique to Heliodoros. There were many such readings of the poet, mostly along Neoplatonist or Stoic lines (Lamberton and Keaney 1992). When Heliodoros refers to the αἴνιγμα of Homer's lines in his passage, he is not alone, either— Porphyry, in Stobaeus' *Eclogae*, says in reference to *Odyssey* 10.239-40, ἐστὶ τοίνυν ὁ μῦθος αἴνιγμα... (Stob. *Ecl.* 1.41.60) This was not a revolutionary concept: "The simple, unsupported assertion that the passage is an αἴνιγμα may itself be an indication that Porphyry did not expect his reader to be surprised at them." (Lamberton 1986, p.118) The second century ps.-Plutarch *Vita Homeri* also makes mention of αἴνιγματων καὶ μυθικῶν λόγων of Homer. Lamberton (1986, p.144), before discussing this passage of Heliodoros and setting it in the context of other allegorical interpretations of Homer, says "...the tradition of allegorical reading... was, in fact, crucially important in generating patterns of thought about literature and responses to literature that were soon translated beyond the limited sphere of Homer interpretation." Indeed, the *Aithiopia* itself was to become the subject of an allegorical reading, by Philip the Philosopher. For a good background of allegorical interpretation in antiquity (and a translation of Philip the Philosopher's fragment), see Lamberton 1986, and Lamberton and Keaney 1992.

no point in the digression appeals to another source of information, unless, of course, the Iliadic quotation, Θήβας Αἰγυπτίας... αἱ θ' ἑκατόμυλοι εἶσι (*Il.*9.381-3) is his source of authority, in which case the exegesis on which the *Homerus Aegypticus* argument is founded is shakier even than the divine locomotive theory. Instead, he speaks as if he knows the poet personally, and the reader is left to take the theory on Kalasiris' authority. And this is exactly what Knemon does: Ταῦτα μὲν εὖ τε καὶ ἀληθῶς μοι λέγειν ἔδοξας... . (3.15.1)

So then there is a progression of Homeric references which Kalasiris uses to propound his theories. At the lowest level is the quotation whose exegesis is obvious, such as the one at 3.13.3 (δεινὸν δέ οἱ ὅσσε φάανθεν); at the next level is the speculative, or rather, enlightened, interpretation based on an ambiguous reading of text (3.12.2); and finally there is the purely speculative, tied in only tenuously to Homer but more than all else dependent purely upon the insight of the reader (3.14.2). This progression reveals how Heliodoros develops Kalasiris as having that special and unique insight, not only into Homer's writings, but into his very personal life, as it turns out.

At 4.3.1, Kalasiris again brings up a passage from the *Iliad*, the battle of Achilles against the Skamandros (21.203-384), in connection with Theagenes. This passage further emphasizes Kalasiris' familiarity with Homer, so that by this point in the text, his identity as one with knowledge of Homer is beyond doubt. But this is not all; having just shown through positive examples the depth of Kalasiris' Homeric insight, he shows the relative shallowness of his listener (who, again, stands analogously to the reader of the text as a whole) through a negative example. In one of two instances in the whole of the *Aithiopika* where someone mentions Homer's name independent of Kalasiris' prompting, Knemon says,

Ἐγὼ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ μέμφομαι, ὃ πάτερ, ἄλλων τε καὶ
 φιλότητος κόρον εἶναι φήσαντι, πράγματος ὃ κατ' ἐμὲ κριτὴν
 οὐδεμίαν φέρει πλησμονὴν οὔτε καθ' ἡδονὴν ἀνυόμενον

οὔτε εἰς ἀκοὴν ἐρχόμενον· εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοῦ Θεαγένους καὶ
Χαρικλείας ἔρωτος μνημονεύοι, τίς οὕτως ἀδαμάντινος ἢ
σιδηροῦς τὴν καρδίαν ὡς μὴ θέλγεσθαι καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
ἀκούων; ὥστε ἔχου τῶν ἐξῆς. (4.4.3)

It is clear, even by the most superficial reading, that this reference to Homer betrays a different attitude towards the epic poet. Primarily, Knemon says 'Εγὼ καὶ 'Ομηρῷ μέμφομαι. Such a statement seems light years removed from Kalasiris' mentality, who far from finding fault with or disagreeing with Homer, finds, as the reader has just seen, the deepest religious and practical significance in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Knemon's attitude to Homer stands therefore in opposition to Kalasiris', and Heliodoros uses a direct citation of Homer to illustrate that insight and knowledge of the poet is, in the context of the *Aithiopika*, the sole possession of one man. But even this does not satisfy Heliodoros, because he puts, in the same passage, Homeric words into Knemon's mouth: τίς οὕτως ἀδαμάντινος ἢ σιδηροῦς τὴν καρδίαν ὡς μὴ θέλγεσθαι καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκούων; This should remind the extratextual reader of *Iliad* 24.205, σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ, and *Odyssey* 5.191, θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι σιδήρεος; there is the slightest hint of irony here, as if Heliodoros, the grand puppeteer, has Knemon saying one thing, but doing another.¹²⁶

The final reference to Homer by name is perhaps the only exception to the principle of Kalasiris' exclusive knowledge, because it is spoken by Charikles.

"Σοὶ πεισθέντες" ἔφη· "τοὺς γὰρ εὐδοκίμους τῶν
ιατρῶν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπέθου, παρακαλέσας ἦγον εἰς τὴν
ἐπίσκεψιν, ἀμοιβὴν τὴν προσοῦσαν οὐσίαν ὑπισχνόμενος εἶ
τι δύναιτο ἐπικουρεῖν. Οἱ δὲ ὡς τάχιστα εἰσήλθον ἠρώτων
ὅ τι πάσχοι. Τῆς δὲ ἀποστρεφόμενης καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους
οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν ἀποκρινομένης ἔπος δὲ 'Ομηρικὸν συνεχῶς

¹²⁶ It also serves to highlight the idea of intellectual game-playing between Heliodoros and the (extratextual) reader, played out through the characters. For the idea of Kalasiris' narrative as a game see Winkler 1982.

ἀναβώσης ἴΩ Ἀχιλεῦ Πηληῖος υἱέ, μέγα φέρτατ'
'Αχαιῶν..."' (4.7.3-4)

This is somewhat enigmatic because it is the only allusion, except for Knemon's misreading, which is realized by a person other than Kalasiris. Of course, these words are in Kalasiris' recollective narrative, and, as such, could validly be attributed to him as author of the narrative in the same way that the Homeric quotation at, say, 3.4.1 is attributed both to Kalasiris and to Heliodoros. But there is also another answer, and that is that Charikles here represents the reader who stands halfway between Knemonic misreading and Kalasirian insight; that is to say, Charikles has enough knowledge to recognize the Homeric reference, but lacks the elevation of mind to be able to properly read the the reference, and therefore deduce that his adoptive daughter is in fact in love with the one whom Charikles himself has identified already with Achilles, 2.34.5. And this is well in keeping with the rest of Charikles' character as Heliodoros portrays him, a priest who knows some mysteries, but not all, and who fails to read the oracle at 2.35.5, and, therefore, is thoroughly duped by Kalasiris in the end. All of this is by way of setting up the contrast between Kalasiris' insight to and identification with Homer, and, in so doing, making a comment on the reading of Homeric allusion.

Of course, to limit an analysis of Homeric reference only to those places where Homer's name is actually mentioned would be, like Knemon, to read the romance only at a superficial level, and not press Heliodoros for all of his hidden tricks. The number of unattributed references to Homer in *narratio personae* in the *Aithiopika* is altogether greater, as one would expect, than the number of attributed references; and accordingly, they have a more ambiguous role, and fit more subtly, in the narrative.

The most difficult of the ambiguities of unattributed reference is the question, "Does the character know he (or, relevantly, she) is making an allusion?" The answer to that question depends largely on the character making the allusion, and on its context;

but with a few exceptions, the answer generally seems to be “no”. This is of course not able to be proved, since the reader cannot (unlike Knemon) stop the narrative and ask the speaker, “Hey, did you know you’ve just quoted Homer?”. The only source for us to draw our conclusions about the relative knowledge of the individual characters is the words which Heliodoros puts in their mouths; and since, except for the above citations, no character ever mentions Homer by name, or uses the formula “Ὅμηρος ἄν εἶπεν, it seems as if the references are made incidentally, as it were. This seems, admittedly, artificial— how can a character not know he or she is quoting Homer? The answer, I will argue, is not only that a character does not know, but that it is necessary for them to be ignorant of their own Homeric allusions in order for Heliodoros to accomplish his desired narrative effects.

In the introduction, I stated that one of Heliodoros’ intentions in utilizing Homeric allusion is to give his narrative an epic texture; and I defined epic texture as “that quality by which Heliodoros recommends themes and characterizations from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the course of his own narrative to the reader; these recommendations potentially influence the reading of character and structure in his work.” One of the ways in which he accomplishes this epic texturing is unattributed allusion in *narratio personae*. All of the references made by the different characters have the effect of contributing to a general epic atmosphere; they lend a gravity of sorts to the narrative. But this is not concrete or quantifiable. What is quantifiable however, is the frequency with which the characters allude to Homer— and they do make reference on a frequent basis. It is precisely the frequency of allusion which makes it necessary for the references to be unattributed; otherwise, a character would say something like “as Homer says...” or “according to the Egyptian Homer” at least seven times in the first book, six times in the second, six times in the third, five times in the fourth, eight times in the fifth, three times in the sixth, twice in the seventh and ninth, and at least once in the tenth; and these are only the more significant linguistic allusions. Obviously the effect of this would not be a subtle undercurrent of Homeric thought, or epic texture, but instead would result in a sort

of flashy display of Homeric knowledge by Heliodoros; his characters, instead of being refined by Homeric allusion, would be simply instruments on which Heliodoros could show off his Homeric knowledge; but this would spoil the irony of many passages, and the opportunity for complex characterization, as we shall see, and would be not very flattering besides to the (extratextual) reader. The author's intentions are subtler than this; and epic texture amounts to much more than a mere quote and citation.

Take, for example, Theagenes and Charikleia's joint exclamation at 1.8.6, when they meet Κνημον. "Ἕλληνας ὦ θεοί" ἐπεβόησαν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἅμα οἱ ξένοι. "Ἕλληνας ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν φωνήν· τάχα τις ἔσται τῶν κακῶν ἀνάπνευστις." One might well miss the allusion here, for it is very subtle indeed— it is the word for respite, ἀνάπνευστις, which echoes *Il.* 11.801, 16.43, and 18.201. All of these lines occur in the *Iliad* in the context of the battle, and refer to the weariness of battle; ὀλίγη δέ τ' ἀνάπνευστις πολέμοιο (*Il.* 16.43). This reference lends in a single word the emotion associated with the ten-year struggle of Achaians and Trojans. And it shows not only that Heliodoros knows his Homer, but also that he knows how to use his Homer in order to bring up a wealth of emotions using an economy of words¹²⁷ without giving his narrative a pretentious feeling of being over-saturated with Homer. Another example, taken almost at random, occurs at 5.30.3, where Peloros the pirate, speaking of his commander Trachinos and his impending wedding with Charikleia, says ἡ πικρόγαμος ἔσται, using the Homeric word πικρόγαμος. This word occurs three times, in a repeated formulaic line, in the *Odyssey*, and each time it is applied to the suitors' desire to marry Penelope (*Od.* 1.266, 4.346, and 17.137). Therefore, encountering this word in the *Aithiopika* brings to mind the idea of an unjust marriage against the bounds of propriety and chastity, which is exactly what either Trachinos' or Peloros' marriage to Charikleia would be.

¹²⁷ Although I would never argue that Heliodoros' style is economical in a broad sense, I do think he makes his Homeric allusions work very hard indeed; and this is part of the complexity of his style, one of his apparent contradictions.

This is a prime example of how Heliodoros uses allusion in *narratio personae* to give his narrative epic texture.¹²⁸

One of the effects of epic texture in the *Aithiopika* is to assist in the delineation of the personalities of his own characters. This is done by quoting or alluding to a passage concerning a Homeric figure in reference to a Heliodoran figure. It is perhaps the most clear objective of epic texturing, and figures not only in the characterization of individuals, but also in the larger thematic structure of Heliodoros' narrative; I will comment more fully on this below when I deal with the thematic references. However, an introductory look at these references here will prove useful for later discussion, as well as contribute to the discussion of epic texture. It seems as if the main characters are associated consistently with at least one Homeric figure each. For Theagenes, for example, that figure quite clearly is Achilles. In addition to the discussion of 2.34.6, through which Theagenes is claiming for himself Achillean descent (and what better way to be identified with the hero than to be one of his descendants?), there is also the description of Theagenes in ceremonial garb (3.3.5) when he carries an ash spear, like his famous forefather, cf. *Il.*16.140-3.¹²⁹ There is the passage at 3.11.2, where Kalasiris describes Theagenes, with his eyes flashing angrily, in like manner to Achilles (*Il.*19.17); and, most explicitly, Kalasiris likens Theagenes to Achilles— πλὴν ὅσον οὐχ ὑπερφύρων οὐδὲ ἀγῆνωρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον, a reference to *Il.*9.699, ὁ δ' ἀγῆνωρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως.¹³⁰ These examples reveal how Heliodoros colors in the background of his characters using Homeric reference, which in turn contributes to the texture of the romance in general.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Other examples of this effect include the references at 1.14.5; the series of allusions from 1.27.3-1.29.5 which also draw on Homeric pictures of battle; and 5.1.2. Any of these could offer ready defense to the idea of epic texturing.

¹²⁹ In the same passage, Theagenes also shares descriptions with Agamemnon (the Gorgon's head emblem, *Il.*11.36) and Odysseus (the purple robe, *Od.* 19.225ff); but these do not contradict his alignment with Akhilleus, but rather give a more general heroic feel to his character itself; cf. also 5.32.6, where Theagenes overcomes his foe in true Homeric fashion (= *Il.* 579).

¹³⁰ The characterization of Charikleia in Homeric terms is not quite as clear, and so I will save discussion of the complexities of her epic texture for the section of the paper dealing with thematic allusion.

Kalasis' narrative specifically shares the epic texture of the rest of the novel. In a loaded reference, Kalasis, in response to Knemon's request to tell him about his misfortunes, says Ἰλιόθεν με φέρεις (2.21.5). This happens to be "an allusion to the words with which Odysseus begins his retrospective narrative in the *Odyssey* (9.39)." (Morgan *CAGN*, p.394 n.48) With this statement, Kalasis is identifying himself (or, developing the epic texture) with Odysseus in two ways: the first is in the simple fact that both have endured many hardships (involving travel for both, amongst other things); and the second, and the more sophisticated identification, is that they both give long narratives concerning their pasts which fill in the gaps left by the *in medias res* technique of their respective authors, Heliodoros and Homer.¹³¹ And this is just the beginning of Kalasis' narrative; much of what gives the *Aithiopika* as a whole its epic texture is to be found specifically between 2.22.4 and 5.1.3, during which Kalasis takes center stage as narrator.

To return to the questions, "Do the characters know they are alluding to Homer? And, if not, why not?", there is another reason, in addition to the preservation of the epic texture, that Heliodoros' personae remain ignorant of their literary pedigree. This reason is one that I have already discussed in another light: that, in the *Aithiopika*, the knowledge of and insight into Homer are generally the domain of one character, Kalasis. In other words, Heliodoros keeps most of characters ignorant in order to contrast the enlightenment, the ability to read Homer, of one man. If all of the characters were to give reference with their allusions, then the text would be a tangle of "Homer says...", through which it would be exceedingly difficult to distinguish which characters were reading their Homer with insight, and which were satisfied with the "superficial purport"; but through their naiveté, Heliodoros can make a clearer comment on how to read an Homeric allusion by contrasting both correct and incorrect readings. The ignorance of the other characters comes out in a number of fashions; the first is attribution of a line or lines of Homer to the proverbial "they say", as in, "Ὅμως δὲ οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ πρὸς

¹³¹ Cf. Futre Pinheiro 1991.

δαίμονα, φασί, μάχεσθαι, εἰ καὶ τίνα χρῆ μεταθέειν..., said by Charikles at 4.19.3. The saying, in this case, is *Il.*17.103-4. This happens also at 5.15.2, where Nausikles uses an impersonal verb to ostensibly attribute a line of Homer (see above n.118) to the Egyptians, and at 7.10.5, where Kybele quotes a line of Homer (*Il.*16.234-6), but gives its author as φασί. The same reference is made at 9.2.1, this time by Theagenes; but he does not even stop to give it an “as they say”, but simply comes out with the allusion as if mere observation. It must be conceded that Homer had certainly reached proverbial status by Heliodoros’ time; but it must also be remembered that the *Aithiopika* is set in an indefinite past, and perhaps a time not really all that far removed from Homer himself. Heliodoros could easily have put in “Ὅμηρος ἄν εἶπεν, but instead he chose to relegate the allusion to the level of an impersonal proverb. This technique of impersonal citation, along with the repeated references that pass without any citation whatsoever, all serve to bring out by contrast Kalasiris’ insight, while also preserving a subtle and delicately balanced epic texture; and this helps to explain why, in turn, all the other characters are ignorant of what they know so well.

This accounts for the allusions in *narratio personae*. But what about the also numerous references made in *narratio narratoris*? Surely, even if he could represent his characters as being unaware of their own intellectuality (and intertextuality), Heliodoros could not expect to pass himself off as simply “happening” to write lines that coincide with Homer, even if he never cites the poet by name in *narratio narratoris*. In fact, he could not, and he did not. Or, more precisely, he did not have to; for, while an author is responsible for filling in the details of personality into his characters, he is not responsible for developing his own character as omniscient narrator— for this is the very point of omniscience, that the author is always right. To put this in a Heliodoran context, while characters such as Theagenes or Kybele may be altogether ignorant that they are quoting Homer, and *personae* such as Knemon and Charikles may have knowledge, but little insight, Heliodoros himself must be assumed to be aware of his own Homeric allusions by virtue of being omniscient narrator. This, in turn, has the effect of putting the reader at

ease concerning the references in *narratio narratoris*; for while the references in *narratio personae* must undergo scrutiny (Is the character aware that this is Homer? Is he or she cognizant of the Homeric context? Is the character reading Homer properly, or superficially?), the references in *narratio narratoris* are free from such second-guessing by virtue of being from an omniscient narrator. Therefore, returning to the original problem, Heliodoros does not cite Homer when he refers to him because he does not need to; if the reader has picked up on the allusion, he may rest assured that the omniscient Heliodoros has the insight necessary to make a correct reading of Homer. And, since Heliodoros uses these Homeric echoes like those made in in *narratio personae*, to cite all, or even some, of the references would give the narrative a bombastic and pedantic epic feel, instead of a rich and subtle texture.

A closer look at the way Heliodoros contributes to this texture through allusions in *narratio narratoris* is in order. Again, he has two main objectives in creating this texture: one is to give the romance in general an epic texture, and, more specifically, to use Homeric references to help characterize his own personae. The second objective is a function of the first (the intention to endow the work as whole with an epic texture) according to the definition of epic texture; but for the sake of organizing these references, the two categories, general epic texture and epic characterization will be helpful.

To explain all of the references which give the work a general epic texture would be unnecessary; the examples from book 1 will do to illustrate Heliodoros' dexterous use of Homer. He certainly wastes no time in setting an Homeric background to his own narrative; the similarity between the carnage of the battle between the pirates (although the reader does not yet, of course, know that these are pirates, or that a battle amongst them has been fought) described at 1.1.4-5 and that of *Od.* 22, after Odysseus sorts out his household, is much acknowledged; and I would add to that another Odyssean parallel, with the scene left in Agamemnon's house after the revolt there (*Od.* 11.419), complete with furniture used as weaponry, and gore on the ground, and the confusion

stemming from the fact that the reader is presented with what should be a scene of feasting, but instead is a scene of slaughter. And again at 1.18.1 Heliodoros alludes to Homer in such a way as to deepen the feeling of his own narrative. Καὶ ἅμα ἐδάκρυν ἐδάκρυν δὲ καὶ οἱ ξένοι, τὰ μὲν ἐκείνου πρόφασιν, μνήμη δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος. Compare this with *Iliad* 19.301-2, ὡς ἔφατο κλαίουσ', ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες, / Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἕκάστη. The allusion is clear, and the effect is that the reader aligns the grief of Theagenes and Charikleia with the depth of suffering felt by Briseis' maids in *Iliad* 19; and, on a broader scale, the reader is reminded that, when he weeps for the suffering of another, part of those tears are shed in remembrance of one's own hardships. A third allusion in book 1, this one even more obvious than the previous two, occurs at 1.30.3.

Καὶ πολέμου πᾶν εἶδος καὶ ἐνηργεῖτο καὶ ἐξηκούετο,
 τῶν μὲν ἐγχαυρίων προθυμία καὶ ῥώμη πάση τὴν μάχην
 ὑφισταμένων, τῶν δὲ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου τῷ
 ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ πλεῖστον ὑπερφερόντων καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς
 ἀναιρῶντων τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν λίμνην αὐτοῖς σκάφεσι καὶ
 αὐτοῖς οἰκήμασι βαπτίζόντων· ὑφ' ὧν ἀπάντων δοῦπός τις
 πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα συμμιγῆς ἦρετο πεζομαχούντων ὁμοῦ καὶ
 ναυμαχούντων, ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, αἵματι τὴν
 λίμνην φοιτιτόντων, πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι συμπλεκομένων.

Even in a passage of description graphic in its own right, Heliodoros adds depth to his narrative by reminding the reader of the horrors of Homeric warfare expressed at *Il.*4.451 and 8.65.¹³² Thus the reader is asked, not only to read Heliodoros, but to draw on a deeper knowledge of Homer in order to fully enjoy the richness of his style.

It is perhaps worth mentioning one example from outside of book 1 concerning Heliodoros' epic texture. At 2.19.6, the phrase Καὶ ἦν μὲν ὥρα περὶ βουλυτὸν ἦδη is used in order to express the passage of time. The word βουλυτόν is Homeric, occurring

¹³² This line is also quoted at 1.22.5.

once in the *Iliad* (16.779) and once in the *Odyssey* (9.58), and its use is a point of tangency between Homer and Heliodoros. While a very straightforward reference, not explicitly enhancing a character or theme independent of itself, it stands out, almost as if to say, “Don’t forget the Homeric subtext!” And, taken in conjunction with another allusion to Homer’s time telling methods, it also serves another purpose. At 3.4.1 Kalasiris, in *narratio personae*, also uses an Homeric phrase to note the passage of time (Ἦμος δ’ ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς). In this way the reader now further identifies Kalasiris with Heliodoros, and both of them with Homer; and this is the very essence of “epic texture”.

As a part of this general epic texture, Heliodoros employs allusion to assist with his own characterizations. Three examples again will illustrate this, although there are others.¹³³ At 1.21.3, Charikleia, about to answer a question, is described thus: Ἡ δὲ πολὺν τινα χρόνον τῆ γῆ τὸ βλέμμα προσερείσασα καὶ πυκνὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπισείουσα λόγον τινὰ καὶ ἐννοίας ἀθροίζειν ἐώκει... . In an Homeric context, the knowledgeable reader would recognize her description as being similar Homer's description of Odysseus at *Iliad* 3.216ff.

ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ πολύμητις ἀναΐξειεν Ὀδυσσεύς,
 στάσκειν, ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πῆξας,
 σκῆπτρον δ’ οὔτ’ ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηνὲς ἐνώμα,
 ἀλλ’ ἀστεμφὲς ἔχεσκεν, αἶδρεῖ φωτὶ ἐοικώς·
 φαίης κε ζάκοτόν τε τιν’ ἔμμεναι ἄφρονά τ’ αὐτως.

Charikleia is therefore identified with Odysseus, and by virtue of this identification receives Odysseus’ resourcefulness as part of her own character. Yet she is not the only one who has an Homeric aspect through allusion in *narratio narratoris*; Knemon also gets the allusive treatment at 5.3.3, where, in his nervous fright, he resembles the beggar Iros trembling before the yet to be revealed Odysseus at *Od.* 18.75ff. I think this parallel

¹³³ 1.2.5, 7.4.1, 10.15.2 and 10.16.2 also are places at which Heliodoros uses Homeric reference to fill out his own characters.

was chosen by Heliodoros, not just for the idea of a frightened man, but also because of ironically juxtaposed situations: Iros is afraid, and trembles, because he has just discovered that he is in over his head, when he thought he was master of the situation, whereas Knemon trembles because he thinks that he is in deep trouble when, in reality (of the narrative) he is about to receive very good news: ἦν γὰρ οὐ Θίσβη τὸ θρηνοῦν γόναιον ἀλλὰ Χαρίκλεια. (5.4.2) Yet in both cases, the fear comes as a result of misreading the situation— Iros failing to recognize Odysseus, and Knemon failing to read Charikleia’s lament.¹³⁴ And, as a final example, Heliodoros uses his narrative to fill out Theagenes’ personality as well. By the time the reader comes to book 5, the identification of Theagenes with Achilles is certain; yet, as with many things, Heliodoros is not content to leave well enough alone, for, in this passage, he further identifies his hero with “the second great epic hero, Odysseus”. (Morgan, *CAGN*, p.449 n.129) “Ὁμως δ’ οὖν ἡ μὲν Χαρίκλεια τὸν συνεκκείμενον αὐτῇ πατρῶον ἐδείκνυ δακτύλιον οὐλήν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ γόνατος ἐκ θήρας συὸς ὁ Θεαγένης... . (5.5.2) So the character of Theagenes is drawn in full Homeric fashion, as is Heliodoros’ entire narrative; but not without a sense of irony, and consequences for the reader.

Another type of *narratio narratoris* allusion is the situational parallel. These occur whenever characters in Heliodoros find themselves in situations akin to those found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. They have a slightly different nature, and therefore effect, from the linguistic allusions which have been the focus of this paper; for while, with linguistic reminiscences, much significance is found in who the speaker is, whether *narrator* (in an omniscient sense, i.e. Heliodoros) or *persona*, the situational allusions can only be the product of the *narrator*. This is because, within the rules of the game we call fiction:¹³⁵, the reader allows the words of a character to reflect both on that character and upon the author; that is to say, a character has “control” over what he or she says, while also part of the author’s style. Situations are purely the creation of the author, however, for, while

¹³⁴ Cf. Winkler 1982, p.143.

¹³⁵ Rabinowitz 1977, pp.121-141.

Kalasisir may be able to allude to a line of Homer and expound it, he cannot make Theagenes and Charikleia dress up as beggars; he may only report it if it has actually happened.¹³⁶ In this way the situational echoes of Homer, like allusions in *narratio narratoris*, are the inventions only of the omniscient (and, apparently, omnipotent) Heliodoros. The facts of the story are the facts, the situations in which the characters find themselves are the situations, and, if they tell the truth in recounting them, they are only reporting what happened as Heliodoros has framed it. So, the situational allusions are used also to enhance the epic texture in ways in which, like omniscient narrative, the characters have no control.¹³⁷

Of course, the apparent exceptions to that rule are the most interesting cases. For example, Charikleia, in a fabricated story designed to buy her and Theagenes time from the brigands (1.22.2ff), has a situational (and linguistic¹³⁸) reference to Odysseus' false tale told to Eumaios, in which he also was shipwrecked. It may be argued that Charikleia is the author and creator of the situational allusion, an argument which is true, but only superficially. Charikleia stands in relationship to her own tale as Heliodoros does to his— she is the omniscient *narrator* of her lie. As Heliodoros so often uses Homeric reference himself, and since he makes little distinction between the speech patterns of his characters and his own voice¹³⁹, it should be no surprise that he therefore embellishes the

¹³⁶ Unless, of course, he lies, in which case he himself becomes the omniscient narrator in the narrative of his own lie; see below, and Rabinowitz' discussion of audiences. Using his paradigm of audiences, in which any narrative situation has four audiences, two "real" and two "ideal", in the famous "Chinese box" of narrators which occurs at 1.14.3ff, in which Knemon repeats Charias who repeats Thisbe, there can be no less than sixteen real and ideal audiences. So also with 2.31.1ff (Heliodoros reporting Kalasisir reporting Charikles reporting Sisimithres) and 4.7.4, perhaps the most interesting set of boxes, with Heliodoros reporting Kalasisir reporting Charikles reporting Charikleia *reporting Homer!* This is no less than twenty audiences, and what amounts to a narratological gold mine.

¹³⁷ Situational allusions are difficult to distinguish from thematic allusions, with which I deal at length below. The (admittedly subjective) criterion I have used for distinction between the two is to consider the prominence of the situation in the romance as a whole; if it is repeated, or has a complex significance, I consider it generally to be thematic rather than situational.

¹³⁸ Charikleia need not be cognizant of her linguistic allusion in order to also frame the situational one (see argument above); however, I am willing to entertain the possibility that she possesses some Homeric insight, although nothing like Kalasisir'.

¹³⁹ See, for example, Winkler 1982, p.107, where he comments that, after a simple beginning to his own story, "by the third sentence [Knemon] has noticeably reverted to Heliodoros' characteristic luxuriousness of language..."

tale told by one of his characters with Odyssean overtones. Given Heliodoros' drive to imbue his own narrative with an epic texture, does it not make sense that, in framing his *narrationes personae*, he would give them the same ability? Thus Charikleia, in her story, though false, stands as a Heliodoros-type, in that her narrative possesses the same epic texture as the *Aithiopika* in general. Moreover, the whole scene takes on an ironic aspect when the reader remembers that the very fact that she is lying, as Odysseus does a very many times in Homer, is a situational reference in itself!

Heliodoros' epic texture is again seen through a few examples¹⁴⁰ of situational parallels from various places in the text. One of the most curious occurs at 2.20.3-4¹⁴¹, which finds Knemon making good his escape from Thermouthis. 'Ο δὲ Κνήμων, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέλιπε τὸν Θέρμουθιν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέπνευσε τῆς φυγῆς ἕως τὸ νυκτὸς ἐπελθὸν κνέφας ἐπέδησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὀρμὴν, αὐτοῦ τε οὐ κατείληπτο ἑαυτὸν ἐκρύψας καὶ τῆς φυλλάδος ὅσον πλεῖστον ἠδύνατο ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπαμήσας. Of course the image immediately brought to the reader's mind, in terms of Homer, is Odysseus sleeping in his bed of leaves during his first night in Phaiakia, as Morgan rightly points out.¹⁴² (*CAGN* p.393, n.47) Heliodoros takes repeated advantage of the opportunity to incorporate Homeric situations or themes into his own work, establishing, through his epic texture, a literary link with his own novel, and its prestigious precursors. Another example comes at 6.14.3ff, where the Egyptian woman from Bessa calls up her son's ψυχή. It seems as if the sole purpose of this is to bring an oracle revealing a) that Kalasiris' sons are about to kill one another, and b) that Charikleia's destiny is to "pass her life at [her loved one's] side in glorious and royal estate." (6.15.4ff). Heliodoros, however, makes the scene into

¹⁴⁰ Other interesting examples not fully investigated here include 1.4.2 (Heliodoros incorporates into his narrative a situation from one of Odysseus' lies; also 4.16.1), 2.2.1 (Knemon stays Theagenes' hand from suicide before the supposedly dead Charikleia, as Antilochos does for Akhilleus when bringing him news of Patroklos' demise [helping to characterize Theagenes Homerically]), and the general epic texture established by the references at 2.22.2ff, 5.22.7, and 6.11.1.

¹⁴¹ There is another situational parallel that occurs just before this, and also has to do with Knemon; 2.19.7=*Il.* 20.188ff.; Heliodoros often bunches references in this manner to enhance the epic quality of certain scenes, cf. 1.1.1-5, 1.8.5-7, 1.12.2-14.5, 1.27.3-30.3, 2.19.1-7, 2.22.2-5, etc.

¹⁴² Notice also the verb used of Knemon's flight: ἀναπνεύω. This recalls the word ἀναπνεύσις discussed above, and is also used by Homer; cf. *Il.* 19.226, πότε κέν τις ἀναπνεύσειε πόνοιο;

an Homeric spectacle. To begin with, the whole situation, a live person talking to a dead one, is well known from Homer, happening most notably in the *Iliad* at 23.71ff, and in the *Odyssey* at book 11. It is this latter account that is the most overt reference here, for her rites follow Odysseus' at 11.24ff. The soul speaks to her, as Patroklos' ghost speaks to Achilles at 23.71ff, telling her that her end is near, as Patroklos did to Achilles, and Heliodoros ends the episode with the woman impaled on a spear, struck through the groin as not a few characters in the *Iliad* meet their fate. So, the whole scene, whose purpose was to deliver a new text to be read by Kalasiris and Charikleia, is a situation lifted from Homer. It is itself, as it turns out, a text to be read by the external reader, for it poses an enigma: Why is the woman condemned for bringing up the ghosts, when neither Achilles nor Odysseus are? The answer is not explicit, but must be deduced from a closer reading of the two texts: the woman is condemned because she forced the ghost to come up and speak (6.15.2ff), whereas Odysseus a) went to the shades himself, and b) was instructed to do so by an immortal, anyway; as for Achilles, Patroklos' ghost appeared to him unsolicited. But these conclusions must be read accurately from the situational parallels, whose primary function is to give Heliodoros' narrative an epic grounding.

The final piece of evidence I shall cite for the epic texture of Heliodoros is noteworthy for the richness of its allusion, containing no less than six references as pointed out by Feuillâtre (1966, p.112). The basic situation is the two brothers, Thyamis and Petosiris, about to engage in one to one combat for the priesthood of Memphis. The scenes (besides the tragedians' use of this part of the Theban mythology) which spring to mind are Menelaus fighting Paris in *Iliad* 3, and Achilles against Hektor in book 22; but these are just the general background. Here is Feuillâtre's list of parallels:

Thyamis a sur la tête un casque étincelant d'or. Théagene a lacé lui-même son armure. Derrière ces deux images, c'est l'armement des guerriers de l'*Iliade*, c'est la très belle image d'Achille, flamboyant, pareil à Enyale, que nous entrevoyons.

Hector connaît un moment d'hésitation: 'Pourtant, si je déposais la mon bouclier bombé et mon casque puissant, si j'appuyais ma pique à la muraille...' Ce qui est chez le poète réflexion passagère devient, chez le romancier une réalité, mais une réalité que ne s'applique pas à Pétosiris. C'est Théagène qui, pour suivre les deux frères dans leur course, a déposé ses armes, son bouclier et sa lance.

La terreur qui s'empare de Pétosiris à la vue de Thyamis rappelle celle d'Hector, quand Achille apparaît dans tout éclat de sa bravoure et de sa force. Cependant, avant même de se trouver en présence de Thyamis, Pétosiris est rempli d'épouvante. Il faut l'armer de force, malgré ses cris et ses supplications. Il est clair que le romancier a voulu rappeler l'épisode d'Irus.

The romancier certainly does want to recall the episode of Iros, and a few other Homeric details such as the shining armor and hesitation of the fighters, to use literary shorthand for enhancing the intensity and emotion, the epic texture, of his own narrative. And this example makes an appropriate transition point for a discussion of the effects of this epic texture on a thematic level, and its overall significance in Heliodoros' narrative strategy.

The combination of linguistic (attributed and unattributed) allusion in *narratio personae* and linguistic/situational reference in *narratio narratoris* results in the emergence of four prominent themes common to both Heliodoros and Homer, whom the novelist uses as a means to develop those themes in his own romance.¹⁴³ In one sense, the idea of thematic reference is simply a glorified version of the situational allusion; but, in another sense, it goes beyond the merely situational in that the thematic references have a multi-faceted purpose, not only endowing the *Aithiopika* with that certain epic texture (although they do this as well as, if not better than, the linguistic and situational parallels),

¹⁴³ Feuillâtre (1966, p.105) says of Heliodoros' consistent use of Homer: "Nous n'affirmons pas qu'il y ait eu imitation. Nous recherchons moins des sources que des réminiscences possibles." While I agree that Heliodoros is certainly not an imitation of Homer, I would maintain that Homer is a source for Heliodoros, and that his references are more than simply "réminiscences possibles".

but also allowing Heliodoros, by placing Homeric themes in un-Homeric context, to distance himself textually from Homer, a distance that allows for that most subtle of all comments, irony.

I have been demonstrating over the course of this paper how Heliodoros endows individual characters with Homeric qualities using what I would call the “shorthand of allusion”. But this shorthand applies not only to characters, but to themes as well. Take, for instance, what I shall call the “Hippolytos theme”. In its strictest form, it involves the persecution of an innocent and relatively virtuous man by a sexually aggressive and socially powerful woman, resulting in the loss of social status, and often, physical persecution, of the male. In this form, it occurs four times in the *Aithiopika*, once to Knemon (1.9.1ff, flashback *narratio personae*), once to Kalasiris (2.25, *narratio personae*), once to Thyamis (whose story is told in flashback *narratio narratoris*, 7.2.1ff), and once to Theagenes (7.4.2ff, *narratio narratoris*). The Hippolytos theme takes its name from the eponymous protagonist of the myth, and subsequent play by Euripides, and it is to this myth that Knemon, or more precisely, Demainete, refers at 1.10.2. While I do not deny that Heliodoros fully intends the Euripidean allusion to be meaningful, I do assert that there is another subtext thematically related; for a closer reading of the episode of Knemon’s persecution reveals that Homer is nearly as present in the text as Euripides, and, in some ways, is the primary source for parts of the Hippolytos theme as represented in Knemon’s story. There are several allusions to Homer within the course (1.9.1-1.18.1) of Knemon’s tale of his domestic demise; some of them prefigure the Hippolytos theme. The first occurs at 1.12.2, where Knemon begins to enact the scheme devised by Thisbe. Knemon approaches the room which supposedly holds his father and his father's lover to spring his surprise: ...τὰς θύρας ἐπικειμένας ὡς ὀργῆς εἶχον ἐρραγεῖς ἀνοίγω, καὶ εἰσδραμὼν "ποῦ ποτε ὁ ἀλιτήριος" ἐβόων... . Compare this with *Iliad* 9.475ff., καὶ τότε ἔγὼ θαλάμοιο θύρας πυκινῶς ἀραρυίας / ῥήξας ἐξῆλθον... , and it may be that Heliodoros means to bring this scene of Homer to mind, especially as it is without parallel in the *Hippolytus*. But what is even more astonishing is the context surrounding the

Iliadic quotation; these words, dealing with the bursting through closed doors, are spoken by Phoinix at the end of his narrative account of his own domestic intrigue. Phoinix lost his place in his own home because of his father's mistress (in Knemon's [and Hippolytos'] case, stepmother). It is from this account that Heliodoros in the *narratio personae* of Knemon, also draws another reference, saying that Knemon was prevented from becoming πατραλοίας by chance (1.13.2), echoing the word used by Phoinix at 9.461, πατροφόνος. Thus it seems Heliodoros is keen for us to have Phoinix in mind as much as Hippolytos at this point. Also, in that explicit reference to Homer which I mentioned above, but did not explain¹⁴⁴, Knemon reports Charias as saying, in reference to Knemon's father Aristippos after learning the truth, ὄν θυμὸν κατέδων, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ ἔπους. (1.14.5) The quotation is from *Iliad* 6.202, and refers to Glaukos' grandfather Bellerophontes, whose saga (from 6.150ff) reads as follows: persecuted by a powerful woman, the queen Anteia, for resisting her sexual advances, Bellerophontes lost his place in his society—exactly as Knemon did! It seems that perhaps the Hippolytos theme contains cameo appearances by Phoinix and Bellerophontes, since they appear somewhat in the background.¹⁴⁵ However, in order to understand this theme, the reader must not be content with the immediate and obvious Euripidean reference, but must read the text more carefully, and the Homeric allusions thoroughly indeed, to understand Heliodoros' entire subtext for the Knemonic intrigue.

In the midst of all these intrigues, Kalasiris again stands alone as the truly perceptive reader. In the recollection of his misfortunes, he, like Knemon, begins with the account of a domestic upheaval; for Kalasiris, it was the death of his wife, and the introduction into his secluded life of the *femme fatale*¹⁴⁶ Rhodopis. The stage is clearly

¹⁴⁴ I shall explain it here. Charias' reference to Homer poses no real threat to Kalasiris' unique level of insight, since a) he is such a minor character as to have only one appearance in the text, a rarity for Heliodoros who delights in surprising the reader by having supposedly minor characters pop up in important places (e.g. Thisbe, Nausikles, and Achaimenes), and b) has already lost his credibility as an insightful reader of texts by the blatant misquotation of Hesiod at 1.14.4 (cf. Morgan's note, loc. cit.).

¹⁴⁵ I will analyze the extent of Euripidean allusion in the novel in the next chapter.

¹⁴⁶ There is no equivocation that Rhodopis is out for the conquest—see Kalasiris' description of her at 2.25.1.

set for another Bellerophontes episode; and yet, that episode never comes, cut off instead by Kalasiris' virtue and self-discipline at 2.25.4.

The method of Heliodoros' characterization has already been analyzed in this paper, in terms of the way he used linguistic and situational allusion as "shorthand" to create a depth called epic texture to the characters. But, as the reader discovers increasingly, the deeper he gets into the *Aithiopika*, the more there is to the Homeric characterization of two of the three main personae, Charikleia and Kalasiris. Heliodoros' protagonists not only have an epic texture, but they have a multi-layered epic texture; and the novelist uses Homeric characterization to produce interesting readings.

By common consent, the most boring character in the romance is the hero, Theagenes. While I think that he has some points of interest, and is not simply the "dumb brute" he is often made out to be, I do admit that in comparison to Charikleia and Kalasiris even the epic texture given to Theagenes seems light. This is because the characters of the other two protagonists are developed by Heliodoros in double layers, whereas he is content to portray Theagenes as the generic epic hero, most like to Achilles, but without "his conceit or arrogance" — and every reader of the *Iliad* realizes that Achilles without conceit or arrogance is just not Achilles; so even in his epic stature, Theagenes is somewhat flat. This is certainly not the case with the other two main characters, however; to the contrary, I maintain that Heliodoros endows Charikleia and Kalasiris with the qualities, not just of one Homeric persona or type, but of at least two major, and somewhat contradictory, characters. In so doing, he puts irony into the text by setting Homer against himself in allusion.

Charikleia is a character who, Homericly, is very interesting. As the lover of Theagenes (who is identified, remember, with both Achilles and Odysseus, and therefore represents the epic hero as a type), the reader would expect, by the conventions of both romance and epic, for Charikleia to be overtly and overwhelmingly identified with

Penelope, the type of an epic hero's wife. As it turns out this is only half-true; while she is overtly identified with Penelope (at 5.22.1ff, in Kalasiris' vision of Odysseus; τὴν κόρην δὲ ἦν ἄγεις παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς γαμετῆς πρόσειπε, χαίρειν γὰρ αὐτῇ φησι διότι πάντων ἐπίπροσθεν ἄγει τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τέλος αὐτῇ δεξιὸν εὐαγγελίζεται), the overwhelming majority of her Homeric identification is with Odysseus himself. The reader will have noticed that at 1.21.3 she is likened to Odysseus in reference to her oratorical technique; Odysseus as orator is both effective and clever, and so, both by implication and in practice, is Charikleia. At 1.22.2ff she, like Odysseus, makes up a story with similarities to Odysseus' own fabrication; and she dresses up as a beggar twice just like Odysseus (2.19.2 and 6.10.2; cf. *Od.* 4.244, 13.429). Finally, she plays along with Nausikles' mendacity at 5.8.4 in the same way that Odysseus follows along with Athena's at *Odyssey* 13.303. This points to the fact that, although Heliodoros makes Penelope the overt equivalent to Charikleia, she is covertly identified (and much more strongly at that) with Odysseus. This is an interesting interplay between the novel and the epic; for in Homer, Penelope and Odysseus also share some characteristics, such as the ability to deceive. Heliodoros seems to be playing with these characterizations, suggesting in Charikleia a woman who is like both Odysseus and Penelope, and even, like to them as they were like to one another.

Kalasiris also receives the double treatment by Heliodoros. Kalasiris' overt Homeric equivalent is Odysseus. Kalasiris identifies himself with Odysseus at 2.21.5 first of all, by beginning his narrative with the same words as Odysseus began his ('Ἰλιόθεν με φέρεις), and, moreover, Odysseus identifies Kalasiris with himself in the dream at 5.22.3.¹⁴⁷ ...καὶ τῶν ὁμίων ἐμοὶ παθῶν αἰσθήση, θαλάττη τε ἅμα καὶ γῆ πολεμίους ἐντυγχάνων... . Kalasiris is to be identified with Odysseus also because they both engage in analogous extended narratives. This is suggestive that, overtly at least, Kalasiris is meant by Heliodoros to be thought of with Odysseus in mind. But there is an indication, part of which has already been laid out in this paper, that Heliodoros also wants the reader

¹⁴⁷ Morgan 1994, p.100ff. analyses this dream, and the interpretative process the reader engages in through it, commenting, "Every detail corresponds to something in the Homeric poems."

to identify Kalasiris covertly with Homer himself. It is clear from examination of the attributed references in *narratio personae* that Kalasiris possesses a special and unique insight into Homer. I will here emphasize exactly how special: Kalasiris is so sure that he has read Homer correctly that makes no effort to conceal his confidence, saying at various places <ἦν>, ἐς τὰδ' ἀποσκοπῶν Ὅμηρος [καὶ] ὡς πάντα δεύτερα αὐτῆς ποιεῖται (2.22.5), ἡ γὰρ Ὀμήρου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ποίησις... ἐνδείκνυται (2.34.5), and ἃ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος εἰδώς... (3.13.3) As I mentioned above, Kalasiris speaks of Homer as if he had special knowledge, and the reader is left more than once to take an Homeric interpretation on Kalasirian authority. Thus Heliodoros identifies Kalasiris with Homer by way of Kalasiris' "exalted" insight. But there is more. Kalasiris' account of Homer's nationality may be summed up as an expatriate Egyptian who left home possibly because of family troubles, and whom Knemon (and the reader) has mistaken for a Greek (3.14.1-4). Compare the way Heliodoros introduces Kalasiris:

ἡ κόμη πρὸς τὸ ἱερώτερον καθεῖτο καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἦν λευκή, τὸ γένειον λάσιον καὶ σεμνότερον βαθυνόμενον, στολὴ καὶ ἐσθῆς ἡ ἄλλη πρὸς τὸ ἐλληνικώτερον βλέπουσα. Μικρὸν οὖν ἐπιστήσας ἑαυτὸν ὁ Κνήμων, ὡς ἀντιπαρέθει πολλάκις ὁ πρεσβύτης οὐδὲ εἶ τις αὐτῷ πάρεστιν αἰσθάνεσθαι δοκῶν, οὕτως ἄρα ὅλος τῶν φροντισμάτων ἦν καὶ πρὸς μόνην τὴν σκέψιν ὁ νοῦς ἐσχόλαζε, κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑπαντιάσας πρῶτα μὲν χαίρειν ἐκέλευε. Τοῦ δὲ οὐ δύνασθαι φήσαντος, ἐπειδὴ μὴ οὕτω συμβαίνειν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς τύχης, θαυμάσας ὁ Κνήμων "Ἕλληνας δὲ" εἶπεν "ὁ ξένος;" "Οὐχ Ἕλληνας" εἶπεν "ἀλλ' ἐντεῦθεν Αἰγύπτιοις." "Πόθεν οὖν ἐλληνίζεις τὴν στολὴν;" "Δυστυχήματα" ἔφη "τὸ λαμπρὸν με τοῦτο σχῆμα μετημφίασε." (2.21.2-4)

Note the similarities between Kalasiris' account of Homer's origins, and Kalasiris' own origins¹⁴⁸ — himself an Egyptian mistaken for a Greek by Knemon (and the reader;

¹⁴⁸ This has been previously pointed out by Fusillo (1988, p.23), but without analysis. Winkler (1982, p.102), has demonstrated that Kalasiris' account of Homer's life is "a neat parallel for Charikleia's own story. As Heliodoros continually draws on Homeric material for his novel, so his heroine, by a witty conceit, is living out a destiny essentially like Homer's own." Although

cf. ἐλληνικώτερον, a deliberate red herring) because of his family misfortunes. This is a powerful identification, indeed, and the fact that Kalasiris even speaks like Homer adds to it. The first substantial thing from his mouth is Homeric, and he uses a scene from Homer to illustrate his own misfortune (2.22.4, cf. *Il.*2.311ff). Moreover, he “spontaneously” composes a hymn complete with Homeric allusions when pressed (3.2.4 line 2, cf. *Il.*9.594), and, in the pièce de résistance of Homeric identification, Knemon assesses Homeric technique in a way that could just as easily apply to Kalasiris himself. Ταῦτα μὲν εὖ τε καὶ ἀληθῶς μοι λέγειν ἔδοξας, τεκμαιρομένῳ τῆς τε ποιήσεως τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ ἠνιγμένον τε καὶ ἡδονῇ πάσῃ σύγκρατον, ὡς Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ὑπερέχον, ὡς οὐκ οὕτω τοὺς πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενον εἰ μὴ τινος θείας καὶ δαιμονίας ὡς ἀληθῶς μετέσχε καταβολῆς. (3.15.1) Kalasiris’ penchant for concealing meaning is obvious from his obscure Homeric theory¹⁴⁹ through to his pedantic showmanship before Charikleia; the τινος θείας καὶ δαιμονίας καταβολῆς refers immediately, of course, to Kalasiris’ theory of Hermes as Homer’s father; but it would seem that Kalasiris himself has a “divine element” in his begetting, in the sense that Heliodoros, as the author, “begat” Kalasiris, and Heliodoros calls himself, like Homer, the son of a god (10.41.4). This is the contrast between covert and overt characterization at its most sublime and ironic.¹⁵⁰

There is a third theme to which Heliodoros gives special attention, which I shall call the “story-listening” theme. With this theme, Heliodoros uses Homer, not only as tool for irony but as a text from which to draw comment about how to listen to a story. The notion is that Knemon stands, as listener to Kalasiris’ narrative, as intratextual reader¹⁵¹ and, following the pattern, therefore is analogous to the actual reader. Knemon is to

there is a parallel with Homer and Charikleia here, I agree with Fusillo “that the most striking link is the one between Homer and Calasiris.”

¹⁴⁹ For a different analysis of the humor in this explanation, see Anderson 1982, p.34.

¹⁵⁰ As with Charikleia’s characterization with Penelope and Odysseus, there is a shifting relationships between Kalasiris, Odysseus, and Homer. Odysseus himself plays a major role as poet in the *Odyssey*, and so, to some extent, stands as a Homer-type. Kalasiris is then linked to Homer (through his insight into the poet), Odysseus (through, e.g., his dream at 5.22), and Odysseus as Homer (through his role as story teller).

¹⁵¹ The third of Rabinowitz’ audiences. (Rabinowitz 1977, p.134)

Kalasis as the reader is to Heliodoros, in other words. By extension of this pattern, Kalasis' tale is a type of Heliodoros' romance, with Kalasis representing Heliodoros.¹⁵² Whether Knemon is a "responsive and demonstrative audience" (Morgan 1991, p.98) or an "illustrat[ion of] the comedy of misreading" (Winkler 1982, p.143) need not be an issue¹⁵³; for there are general truths to be discovered about listening to, or reading, a story, independent of Knemon's overall ability. There are three points at which Kalasis' story is in danger of not continuing; the first comes at 2.22.5, where Kalasis puts off Knemon's request to tell his tale until after they have eaten and done their libations. It is here that Kalasis refers to Homer, and *Odyssey* 17.287. The two make their offering, but in the course of the libation, Kalasis mentions Theagenes and Charikleia, a mention which makes Knemon all the more eager to hear the tale, since now he is curious not only to find out something about whom he knows nothing (Kalasis) but also to discover the truth about those whom he has some, very enigmatic, knowledge. Heliodoros has Kalasis postpone the activity of narration until he can drop the names of the two mysterious and interesting characters, and, in so doing, arouse the reader's interest, not only for a new story, but for a more accurate reading of a story in which the reader is already interested; and his pretext (in both senses of the word) for this is an Homeric allusion.¹⁵⁴ It is as if Heliodoros, from his position as omniscient author, is saying, "You may not proceed with the narrative— the reader is not yet interested enough."

At 4.4, it seems as if Kalasis' tale is in danger of being stopped before being properly concluded.

"Οὐ μόνον ἀκουσμάτων ἀκόρεστος ἄρα ἦσθα, ὦ
Κνήμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕπνω δυσάλωτος· ἤδη γοῦν οὐκ ὀλίγης
μοίρας τῆς νυκτὸς παρωχηκυίας ἀντέχεις ἐγρηγορῶς καὶ τὴν
διήγησιν καὶ μηκνομένην οὐκ ἀποκναίει." " Ἐγὼ καὶ

¹⁵² None of this is original theory; see Winkler 1982 and, in response, Morgan 1991.

¹⁵³ Personally, I agree with Winkler.

¹⁵⁴ Kalasis as Odyssean narrator is also explored in Hefti 1950, pp.98-108.

Ὅμηρῳ μέμφομαι, ὦ πάτερ, ἄλλων τε καὶ φιλότητος κόρον
εἶναι φήσαντι, πράγματος ὃ κατ' ἐμὲ κριτὴν οὐδεμίαν φέρει
πλησμονὴν οὔτε καθ' ἡδονὴν ἀνυόμενον οὔτε εἰς ἀκοὴν
ἐρχόμενον· εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοῦ Θεαγένους καὶ Χαρικλείας
ἔρωτος μνημονεῦοι, τίς οὕτως ἀδαμάντινος ἢ σιδηροῦς τὴν
καρδίαν ὥς μὴ θέλγεσθαι καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκούων; ὥστε
ἔχου τῶν ἐξῆς." (4.4.2-3)

The internal irony of Knemon's response here has already been noted. But this passage has a second level of allusion to Homer beyond Knemon's; for the Athenian, in putting off sleep for a tale, places himself in an established Homeric tradition¹⁵⁵, following in the footsteps of Alkinoos listening to Odysseus (νῦξ δ' ἦδε μάλα μακρὴ ἀθέσφατος· οὐδέ πω ὄρη / εὔδειν ἐν μεγάρῳ· σὺ δέ μοι λέγε θέσκελα ἔργα. / καὶ κεν ἐς ἠῶ διαν ἀνασχοίμην, ὅτε μοι σὺ / τλαίης ἐν μεγάρῳ τὰ σὰ κήδεα μυθήσασθαι, *Od.* 11.373-6) and Eumaios, αἶδε δὲ νύκτες ἀθέσφατοι· ἔστι μὲν εὔδειν, / ἔστι δὲ τερπομένοισιν ἀκούειν· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ, / πρὶν ὄρη, καταλέχθαι· ἀνίη καὶ πολὺς ὕπνος, *Od.* 15.392-4). The tale's the thing to Knemon, and he is put into an epic context to illustrate that. Likewise the tale is interrupted at 5.1.4 by Kalasiris' inability to continue; and even under these circumstances Knemon is unwilling to "put the book down" as it were, saying that he could listen to it πολλὰς μὲν νύκτας πλείους δὲ ἡμέρας. (5.1.4) And, along with being in line with the references from the *Odyssey* as above, he adds another— οὕτως ἀκόρεστόν τι καὶ σειρήνειον τὸ κατ' αὐτήν (cf. *Il.* 24.205, *Od.* 5.191). So Heliodoros addresses the themes of story-listening, presenting a picture of an eager consumer of the text, not only by his own narrative inventions, but by placing the theme in a wider context and tradition.

Throughout this analysis of Homer in the *Aithiopika*, I have made reference in passing to the irony implicit in Heliodoros' employment of Homeric allusion. At this point I will demonstrate the depth of this irony, using examples from earlier argument as

¹⁵⁵ Not to mention Heliodoran—cf. 1.8.7, 1.14.2, where Theagenes and Charikleia are the audience and deny themselves sleep to hear the tale; I could make the same point about listening to a narrative from these examples, but they lack the Homeric depth that 4.4.3 has.

well as introducing new allusions. In general, Heliodoros is able to create irony through a very playful, at times almost flippant, application of Homer. He seems not always concerned with the context from which he takes his references, and, even more astonishingly, he puts Homeric readings at cross-purposes, with the result of an ironic distancing of himself from the epic poet.

At 2.19.1-2, Knemon, Charikleia and Theagenes are discussing their plans to go to Chemmis. In response to the idea that the lovers disguise themselves as beggars (thus identifying them both with Odysseus), Knemon says, καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖτε τοιοῦδε ὄντες οὐκ ἀκόλους ἀλλ' ἄορας τε καὶ λέβητας αἰτήσειν. This is a reversal of the assessment of Odysseus as beggar, who at *Od.* 17.222 is described as αἰτίζων ἀκόλους, οὐκ ἄορας οὐδὲ λέβητας. And, although their present circumstances are serious, Knemon's misquotation lightens the air somewhat. Compare Heliodoros' πρὸς ταῦτα ἐμειδίασαν ὀλίγον καὶ βεβιασμένον καὶ μόνοις τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἐπιτρέχον with Homer's ἡ δὲ γέλασσε / χεῖλεσιν, οὐδὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὄφρ' ὕσι κυανέησιν / ἰάνθη... (*Il.* 15.101-2) The linguistic similarity is clear, but the contexts in which the respective phrases are set are different: Knemon, Charikleia and Theagenes smile with their lips only because their pressing circumstances make real joy impossible, whereas Hera's smile is caustically sarcastic, and has no element of joy whatsoever (*Il.* 15.92ff). The irony here is that the allusion made by Knemon in *narratio personae*, which is a misquotation for comic purposes, is immediately answered in the text by an allusion in *narratio narratoris*. Is Knemon aware that he has alluded to Homer, and if so, did he misread the text, getting the idea backwards, or did he intend the ironic reversal? On the one hand, he certainly makes no attempt to attribute the quotation, as he (and others) do elsewhere; on the other, his remarks do cause a humorous reaction, which might be taken as an indication that Theagenes and Charikleia "get the joke". In any case, though, Heliodoros is keen to insure that the reader gets the joke, by immediately following Knemon's (mis)quotation with one of his own.

Irony is also evident in the way Heliodoros uses the same line of Homer in two completely different circumstances. The line in question is *Il.*4.451, ὀλλύντων καὶ ὀλλυμένων, and it occurs in the *Aithiopika* at 1.22.4 and 1.30.3.¹⁵⁶ Here the irony depends, not on the Homeric context, but on the Heliodoran context. At 122.4, Heliodoros employs the phrase during Charikleia's fabricated story about herself and her "brother" Theagenes. However, at 1.30.3, Heliodoros uses the same phrase himself in a piece of omniscient narrative, which must, by the rule of fiction¹⁵⁷, be a "true" account. So the romancier uses the same line of Homer in passages of truth and lying; and it is this playfulness with the Homeric text that creates irony. But Heliodoros is playful with Homeric text in another way, as well. At 2.22.4, Kalasiris likens himself to Homer's bird at *Il.*2.311ff; in effect, what he is doing is turning epic narrative into a simile for his own purposes, whereas, just 3 chapters earlier, he did exactly the opposite, "turning two Homeric similes into narrative" (Morgan *CAGN*, p.392 n.44), and describing Knemon and Thermouthis eating like Homeric wolves or jackals, *Il.*16.156ff and 11.474ff. This reflects a certain duplicity or flippancy on Heliodoros' part, who takes a certain liberty with Homeric texts.

In the course of reading the *Aithiopika*, the reader is exposed to significant clues which help him to grasp Heliodoros' narrative purpose. One of these clues, as we have seen, is the way he sets conflicting Homeric interpretation side by side, allowing the discrepancy to stand in irony, and the reader to decide which is the correct manner of reading Homer. One example of this, which I used above in arguing for Kalasiris' unique insight into Homer, occurs at 2.34.4ff. In this passage Heliodoros puts into conflict two readings of an Homeric text: Theagenes claims Achillean descent, not only by his appearance (which, according to Charikles, is reason enough to identify him with the epic hero, 2.34.4), but also according to an eclectic reading of Homer's account of Achilles' origins. "ὁ μὲν νεανίσκος" ἔφη ὁ Χαρικλῆς "καὶ ὀλοσχερῶς Αἰνιᾶνα εἶναι τὸν ἥρωα

¹⁵⁶ Winkler (1982, p.134) refers to this "a borrowed phrase used for ornament alone".

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Morgan 1993.

διαγωνίζεται, τὴν Θέτιν ἐκ τοῦ Μαλιακοῦ κόλπου γήμασθαι τῷ Πηλεΐ καὶ Φθίαν τὸ περὶ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ὀνομάζεσθαι πάλαι διατεινόμενος... . (2.34.5) This is not the way Kalasiris had been reading the text, based on his remarks at 2.34.5. Heliodoros never resolves this conflict overtly, and in fact, Kalasiris avoids a quarrel: Ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς φθόνος... ὦ Χαρίκλεις, ἢ χαρίζεσθαι ταῦτα ἢ καὶ ἐπαληθεύειν ἑαυτοῖς... . (2.34.8) Given the confidence of Kalasiris' interpretations here and elsewhere, I think the reader is inclined to agree with his reading of the allusion, and to view the emphasis of his words at 2.34.8 as falling on the "wishful thinking" side of the argument. But in any case, Heliodoros wants the reader to be able to recognize the Homeric allusion for himself, as the Ainianians and Kalasiris do, and to interpret meaningfully. The scene is enhanced by the fact that Theagenes is said to have stronger claims on Achillean descent by virtue of his appearance (2.34.4) and personality (4.5.5), the latter assessment made by Kalasiris himself; thus, this conflict of meaning at 2.34 is itself, in a way, meaningless, in the sense that, if the Homeric text of characterizational quality is properly "read", then a strained interpretation of a specific text is unnecessary. And this, perhaps, is why Kalasiris refuses to squabble, secure in his own ability to read and interpret Homer.

There is also the passage at 3.12.1-3.15.1, which, since it is rife with Homeric allusion, given Heliodoros' attitude towards Homer, is also rife with irony. I remarked earlier on the triple-layered method of allusion here: obscure reference, followed by citation, followed by exegesis. There is irony in these references primarily through the playful exegesis that Heliodoros puts into the mouth of Kalasiris; his interpretation of these lines of Homer is based on a very dubious grammatical argument, and the only way for the reader to accept it is to take it on Kalasiris' priestly (τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὸ μυστικώτερον ἀνακινήσας) and characterized authority. And this is what Knemon, as reader of Kalasiris' interpretation of *Il.* 13.71-2, as well as of his "Homer, Egyptian" theory, does. "Ταῦτά με, ὦ θεϊότατε, μεμύηκας" ἔφη ὁ Κνήμων· "Αἰγύπτιον δὲ Ὅμηρον ἀποκαλοῦντός σου πολλάκις, ὃ τῶν πάντων ἴσως οὐδεὶς ἀκήκοεν εἰς τὴν σήμερον, οὐδὲ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχω καὶ σφόδρα θαυμάζων ἵκετεύω μὴ παραδραμεῖν σε τοῦ

λόγου τὴν ἀκρίβειαν." (3.14.1) Notice carefully how Knemon reacts to the interpretation put forward by Kalasiris; he believes it, on Kalasiris' authority, but out of curiosity he presses for an explanation. This also strikes a chord with his words previous to this at 3.12.3, where he mentions that he knows the ἐπιπολῆς διάνοιαν of Homer's verse, but is curious to go deeper; is it necessary to recall here that Knemon is to Kalasiris as the reader is (as we are) to Heliodoros? And, to top it off, the irony with which Knemon ends this Homeric interlude at 3.15 is rich as well, in that his words at 3.15.1 apply to Kalasiris every bit as much as to Homer. He enjoins Kalasiris to continue his narrative thus: ' Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀμηρικῶς ἐφώρασας, ὦ Καλάσιρι, τίνα τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶπέ μοι. Is that sarcasm in your voice, Knemon, or are you just glad to be reading?

Knemon is again a vehicle for Heliodoran irony at 4.4.3, where, as I point out earlier he disagrees with Homer, yet shows his dependence on the epic poet in the same breath by making a linguistic allusion to both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In addition to these, this entire scene is meant to address the theme of story-listening, and so, while the persona Knemon might disagree with Homer, his author has no reservations about making him a pawn in a game of Homeric irony. And so, against his "will", Knemon is an illustration of his own misreading, and Heliodoros' playful use of Homer.

There is one final example of irony that I shall offer. Like so much of what Heliodoros wrote, it is a passage that has many different and important functions, and the reader must be thoughtful indeed to extricate all of them. The passage is 5.11.3 to 5.15.2, beginning and ending with Homeric allusion. The situation is this: upon returning home, and discovering the truth about his new "Thisbe", Nausikles is congratulated by Kalasiris. " ὦ βέλτιστε ἀνδρῶν" ἔλεγε "σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων οἱ θεοὶ τοσαῦτα δοῖεν ὅσα κατὰ γνώμην ὄντα τὴν σὴν εἰς κόρον τελεσθῆναι. Σωτήρ μοι τῆς οὐδαμόθεν ἐλπισθείσης ἔτι θυγατρὸς γέγονας... (5.11.3) The allusion is to *Odyssey* 6.180: σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν ὅσα φρεσὶ σῆσι μενοινᾶς, said by Odysseus to Nausikaa. The reader's interest is

aroused, already detecting the parallel situations; Odysseus comes to Nausikaa seeking hospitality, and Kalasiris, identified with Odysseus, is being entertained by Nausikles.¹⁵⁸ But this is light work for Heliodoros. Nausikles insists on payment, uttering the fateful words “as if by magic” (καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς). This statement is laden with irony because that is exactly what Kalasiris does— he produces payment as if by magic, using sleight of hand to apparently draw a ring out of the sacrifice. Nausikles is completely taken in, and Heliodoros, again, would have done well with this much— but of course he does more. Nausikles not only accepts the gifts, but he puts them into an Homeric context: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀποβλητά ἐστιν, ὡς φατέ, θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα... (5.15.2; cf. *Il.*3.65, οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα). This is the grossest misreading of Homer in the romance, and the irony oozes from it. A summary of the situation would serve to highlight the irony. Kalasiris, alluding to Homer, expresses his wish that the gods will give Nausikles all that he desires. Then, when Nausikles articulates exactly what his desires are (i.e. money, cf. 5.12.2), Kalasiris actually takes it upon himself to act for the gods, using trickery to provide for Nausikles' desire; or, in other words, Kalasiris says Homer, Kalasiris does Homer. Nausikles then, thinking that the gods truly have provided, quotes Homer to justify his keeping the ring. The supreme irony comes when he credits Hermes with sending the ring, for, while on one level it is a “natural” assumption, since Hermes is the god of merchants (and of trickery), on another it is ironic because Kalasiris has said that Hermes was Homer's father! Therefore, what Nausikles believes to be from Hermes, is actually from Kalasiris by way of Homer; and this is the simplest form of irony, when a character, in his ignorance, attempts an explanation for what other characters and the reader know to have a different reason. It seems that not only does Kalasiris know how to discover τοὺς θεοὺς ὀμηρικῶς (3.15.1), he also knows how to impersonate them by the Homeric method.

¹⁵⁸ The similarity of the names Nausikaa/Nausikles is almost enough to give the allusion away.

These have been the examples of Homeric irony at specific places in the text; I wish now to consider briefly some of the ramifications for, not only irony, but all aspects of Homeric allusion, for the *Aithiopika* as a whole. This may help us to understand how the novelist wants us to approach his work, on its own and in relation to Homer.

Looking back at the examples I have used for illustration of various Homeric aspects in the *Aithiopika*, I am aware that they seem all to come from books one to five.¹⁵⁹ Does this indicate that Heliodoros was losing interest in Homer in the course of his own creation? I do not think so. While the frequency of allusion does slow over the course of the romance, it does not stop. Some of the most outstanding and cleverly devised allusions are at the end of the book; 10.16.9, for example, where Hydaspes says to his daughter μή μοι σύγχει τὸν θυμὸν ὀδυρομένη, a quotation of *Iliad* 9.612, μή μοι σύγχει θυμὸν ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων. This casts the Ethiopian king in an Achillean light, as one caught between doing what seems to be the demands of the highest morality (i.e. sacrifice the virgin according to the tradition, although she is his daughter) and what seems to be the demands of the situation. Even in book 10, therefore, Heliodoros is not finished decorating the epic texture of the romance.

The only book that appears to be without a significant Homeric reference is book 8; but even in silence, Heliodoros maintains an epic texture. The fact is that by book 8, the epic quality of the *Aithiopika* is so well established that Heliodoros does not need to continually make references in order to remind the reader of Homeric themes. That the allusion is thick in the first two books, and then slowly becomes less frequent, is not a shortcoming of the novelist's style, but a strength. It is not as if Heliodoros began intent on placing his story in an Homeric context, then lost interest¹⁶⁰; rather, once he established the epic texture, he allowed it to stand on its own merit, enhancing it only as

¹⁵⁹ This of course is also due to the fact that a full analysis would be far lengthier, and far more redundant.

¹⁶⁰ Of all the criticisms one can level at Heliodoros' style, one of them, given his incredibly complex yet thoroughly economical plot, is not that he had a short attention span.

new characters (e.g. Hydaspes, Kybele), situations (e.g. a wrestling match; 10.31.4-6, cf. *Il.* 23.700ff.), or themes (e.g. Egyptian magic; 9.21.1, cf. *Od.* 19.457, 4.229-30) appear in the plot. It is for this reason that to assume that book 8 is devoid of Homeric allusion is to misread Heliodoros' use of Homer; for Charikleia and Theagenes are in and of themselves standing Homeric allusion, since they are both overtly and subtextually referenced to Homeric personae. Heliodoros expects his reader to remember what he has read earlier; just as Charikleia and Kalasiris frequently refer back to previous oracles in order to assimilate new knowledge, so the reader should be remembering what is already read of the characters in any situation.

But the reader, before he can assimilate the knowledge latent in any allusion, must first be able to read that allusion. The issue at hand, then, is how Heliodoros wants the reader to read Homeric reference. I think the key to understanding how to read an allusion is contained in the passage 3.12.1-13.4, which, as I have shown contains a three-step process. In the first step there is allusion itself, standing alone without commentary in the text (ταῦτα εἰπόντες οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ὅτι μὴ ὄναρ ἦν ἢ ὄψις ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐνδειξάμενοι, 3.12.1); following this, the reader, in this example Knemon, asks for a more explicit and concrete reference (ἀλλὰ τίνα δὴ τρόπον ἔφασκες ἐνδεδείχθαι σοι τοὺς θεοὺς ὅτι μὴ ἐνύπνιον ἦλθον ἀλλ' ἐναργῶς ἐφάνησαν; 3.12.1); and, finally, the diligent reader presses on to complete understanding of the allusion, not merely being satisfied with its ἐπιπολῆς διάνοιαν (3.12.3). This seems to me to be a direct parallel for how Homeric allusion works in the *Aithiopika*. At many points, in the course of both *narratio narratoris* and *narratio personae*, there is Homeric reference which runs the gamut from direct quotation and citation to obscure situational and thematic parallel. The reader may pick up on all, some, or none of them, but if he does pick up on an allusion, he is beginning to follow Knemon's example, recognizing that there is more to the text than meets the eye; if he is curious, he may recognize the allusion as Homeric, and, if most

diligent and unsatisfied with superficiality, he can investigate the reference in both its Heliodoran and Homeric context¹⁶¹ to uncover its full meaning.

These three steps in reading an allusion have a parallel also in the way that Heliodoros wrote his allusions¹⁶². At the surface level, there is an allusion as part of Heliodoros' own text, with a meaning relevant to its context, and part of its own plot. At the next level, the allusion puts Heliodoran characters and narrative into an Homeric context, giving the *Aithiopika* "epic texture"; and at the deepest level, there is the ironic interplay between Heliodoran and Homeric narrative. The reader may stop at any of these three levels; but he would do well to press Heliodoros for more than the "superficial purport" of his allusions.

¹⁶¹ I am fully aware of being my own best example.

¹⁶² Indeed, they also have another parallel within the text itself. The introductions of Knemon and Kalasiris both follow a similar pattern—recognition of a friendly stranger, who is then asked about his background, but does not divulge the details until pressed adamantly.

Chapter Four

Heliodoros and Tragedy

The *Aithiopika* is famous for its spectacular and intriguing opening. As the sun comes over the hills by the mouth of the Nile, a group of brigands approach a perplexing tableau: a ship, laden with treasure, riding at anchor, in front of a beach strewn with freshly slain bodies. Some scholars have noticed the “cinematic” feel of the opening. “Because the author concentrates on the visual aspect, the whole introductory scene, and many other parts of the novel as well, seem to have been written directly for film... .” (Hägg 1983, p.55) Although there does seem to be a movie-like quality to the opening of the romance, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that there is a spectacle-like quality to it. For as flattering as it seems to us to attribute to Heliodoros a “modern” artistic ability such as the detailed and pictorial description of a tableau that one might expect to find in a screen play, it may also be slightly patronizing (and oversightful) when Heliodoros himself has indicated the genre of artistic depiction to which he is alluding. Καὶ μυρίον εἶδος ὁ δαίμων ἐπὶ μικροῦ τοῦ χωρίου διεσκεύαστο... καὶ τοιοῦτον θέατρον λησταῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιδείξας. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος θεωροῦς ἑαυτοῦς τῶνδε καθίσαντες οὐδὲ συνιέναι τὴν σκηνὴν ἐδύναντο... . (1.1.6-7) Heliodoros says that ὁ δαίμων, the divinity, has put on this θέατρον, or show, for the bandits.¹⁶³ For their part, however, the bandits are not able to comprehend τὴν σκηνὴν. This initial aporia is eventually resolved, as this group of bandits are driven off by a larger group, and the young couple who are just about to be introduced on stage are found out to be Theagenes and Charikleia, the hero and heroine of the romance. But though the confusion does not last, the impression of the start of the novel as a theatrical production is lingering.

So it is a drama, and, judging by the scene of obvious suffering and slaughter which the δαίμων presented, a tragedy at that, which Heliodoros meant to so powerfully suggest with the opening of his *Aithiopika*. As Paulsen (1992, p.54) comments, “Mit dieser Wortwahl suggeriert Heliodor die Vorstellung des Bühnenbilds in einem Theater,

¹⁶³ Bühler (1976, p.177ff.) has also commented on some of the dramatic qualities of the opening scene; also Reardon 1971, p.389: “...la mise en scène en est très distinctement théâtrale... .”

nachdem sich, modern gesprochen, der Vorhang zum ersten Mal gehoben hat.”¹⁶⁴

Heliodoros' choice of descriptive terms suggests a sense of drama to the readers, and not only in an abstract way, as a simple analogy or passing reference. For just as the bandits were presented as a bewildered and overwhelmed audience looking down on a scene of carnage, the main characters of the novel seem to be like dramatic personae themselves. As the brigands approach the young man and woman on the beach, they are struck by the beauty of the woman, mistaking her for a goddess (1.2.5); and Heliodoros encourages this mistake, describing her in words alluding to Homer's description of Apollo (*IL*. 1.46-7). But as they draw nearer, they realize that her behavior is not, in their opinion, particularly divine. They pluck up the courage to approach her, and eventually set about to plunder. This scenario is reminiscent of a specific incident in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* (267-78). There one of the herdsmen tells how his group saw Orestes and Pylades washed up on the beach, initially mistaking them for gods. But, observing them, they soon abandon this idea, just like the brigands in book 1 of the *Aithiopika*, approaching them for capture. There are, of course, differences in the two situations (Orestes and Pylades violently resist the herdsmen, while Charikleia only verbally rebukes them), but the similarities are notable.¹⁶⁵ Heliodoros immediately underlines the tragic quality of the situation, however. When Charikleia addresses the bandits, she clearly has an idea of the theatricality of the situation. "λύσατε τῶν περιεστηκότων ἀλγεινῶν φόνῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν δρᾶμα τὸ περὶ ἡμᾶς καταστρέψαντες." Ἡ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπετραγῶδει... . (1.3.1-2) While it is possible here that the word δρᾶμα could mean simply "story", "action", or "plot"¹⁶⁶, Heliodoros' quickness to call her lamenting ἐπιτραγῶδέω seems to indicate that

¹⁶⁴ Although I arrived at my analysis and conclusions independently, much of my own thinking on the theatrical in Heliodoros is similar to that expressed by Paulsen. Therefore I have tried to restrict my analysis to aspects not addressed by Paulsen, and I have noted the instances where he has anticipated my own conclusions or arguments, or where I have subsumed his ideas into my own. If any unannotated similarities occur, it should be assumed that his arguments are prior.

¹⁶⁵ For a brief discussion on the basic mechanics of allusion, and why differences are equally important as similarities, see Garner 1990, intro.

¹⁶⁶ Walden (1894, pp.1-25) discusses this possibility.

Charikleia's drama is of the stage sort, and that she sees herself and Theagenes as tragic characters.¹⁶⁷

Even from the earliest pages of the *Aithiopika*, we can see how the novel is richly textured with theatrical references. Heliodoros makes much use of this sort of imagery; unexpected events are described as happening *καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς* (e.g. 2.8.3, 9.24.6), a character's lament or emotional outburst is defined as *τραγωδέω* (e.g. 1.3.1-2, 7.14.7), and even the outcome of the novel is described as a result of divine *σκηνογραφέω* (10.38.3). These are just a few examples of the author's recourse to dramatic terminology. In fact, there are over 55 individual instances of Heliodoros using dramatic terminology or alluding to the workings of stagecraft in the *Aithiopika*, not counting allusions to or quotations from specific works of drama. Such a number is notable, as Morgan comments in his introduction to his translation: "The author's penchant for the theatre makes itself felt also in comparisons to dramatic techniques and equipment. This is a double play: an admission of the work's theatricality, and simultaneously a claim to realism outside theatrical convention, like a character in a film saying, 'If this were a movie, I wouldn't believe it.'"¹⁶⁸ (Morgan, *CAGN*, p.351) These references to dramatic techniques and apparatus certainly do lend an air of theatricality to the novel; the question is, what exactly is, or was, theatricality to Heliodoros and his contemporary readers? To put this question another way, was this technical terminology something familiar to the Greek-speaker of late Imperial Syria (and beyond) from seeing plays live, or was it an extended literary conceit on Heliodoros' part, an "in joke" between himself and the reader well enough versed in Classical tragedy and stagecraft to be able to understand the references and therefore make the metaphor work? There is, too, a third possibility between these two extremes, that the once technical language of the theatre had made its

¹⁶⁷ There is also a certain irony implicit in Charikleia's remarks; she asks the brigands to kill them, and so *δρᾶμα τὸ περὶ ἡμᾶς καταστρέψαντες*. That is, she wants her story to be finished (*καταστροφή*, "dénouement, ending", cf. Lucian *Alex.* 60, *αὕτη τοῦ παντὸς δράματος ἡ καταστροφή ἐγένετο*) before it has even begun for us, the readers. The verb *λύω* is also notable in this context, in its connection with the term *λύσις*, "dénouement"; cf. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1455b 24-32.

¹⁶⁸ Notice again the likening of Heliodoros to the cinema.

way into more common usage, and become proverbial, through usage by many different writers.¹⁶⁹

Before we can turn to the state of theatre during Imperial times, however, must first address what “contemporary” means with regard to Heliodoros. That is, when did he write the *Aithiopika*? There are currently two prevailing opinions on this subject, one which advocates a date around 250 A.D., and another which holds that the time of composition is about a century later, in the late fourth century. The dispute centres particularly around part of book 9 of the *Aithiopika*, which contains Hydaspes’ attack on the Persian army in refuge at Syene, and its similarity to passages of Julian (*Or.* 1 and 3), describing the seige of Nisibus, composed in the 350’s. Szepessy (1976, 247-76) has argued that the latter is dependant on the former; taken along with other evidence (e.g. “similarities with Achilles [Tatius] and Philostratus”, *CHCL* I.4, p. 250), this would suggest a date during the third century. However, opinion also persists that Heliodoros is to be dated after Julian¹⁷⁰ to the late fourth century. Although I favor the earlier date, I cannot say for certain when the *Aithiopika* was written; and this makes my present task of attempting to establish an idea of the condition and practice of the theatre around Heliodoros’ time more difficult. What I shall attempt to do is to take some of the relevant evidence from Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, as well as from other writers, during the Empire, as late as the third century, in order to give an idea of theatrical practice at the time of the *Aithiopika*’s earliest probable composition date.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Of course, not every technical term used by Heliodoros must have the same explanation. Heliodoros may use one word or phrase simply as a metaphor (without primary association to the theatre) while using another term explicitly for its dramatic associations; and he may also use the same term for different purposes at various places in his text.

¹⁷⁰ See especially Morgan’s synopsis (1996, p.419) of the material concerning the date of the *Aithiopika*. The editors of the Budé edition of Heliodoros (Rattenbury and Lumb, 1935-43, vol. I, pp. xiv-xv) prefer the earlier date.

¹⁷¹ Because of the scarcity of evidence for theatre in Imperial Asia Minor and Syria until ca. 300, and its absence for the later Empire, it is not possible to give an accurate picture of what stage practice might have been for Heliodoros’ contemporary society if he did compose the *Aithiopika* around the end of the fourth century.

There is one source of reference to the Imperial theatre who persistently emerges in analyses: Lucian. “References and allusions to dramatic theatre abound in Lucian’s writings,” according to M. Kokolakis in his article devoted to Lucian and the theatre, “Lucian and the Tragic Performances in his Time.” (1961, p.67) In his extensive treatment of Lucian’s references to and illustrations from the theatre, he finds that some “stage material is merely bookish and many technical terms are used by the sophist anachronistically”, while then going on to say that “other instances... betray a first hand experience.” (Kokolakis 1961, p.67) It may be useful to look briefly at some of this Lucianic material, because it may shed some light on Heliodoros’ use of “stage material”. For example, Lucian, like Heliodoros (as we shall see below) was fond of the expression ἐκ μηχανῆς, not only applying it to the supposed appearance of gods (cf. *Merc. cond.* 1), but also describing the unexpected and profitable intervention of a human agent.¹⁷² This use, however, is a proverbial one, and “provides no basis for assuming either that [Lucian] personally held the divine revelation in theatrical production took place by means of a crane... or that he was referring to an actual use of the machinery.” (Kokolakis 1961, p.72)

Not all of Lucian’s illustrations lost their primary association with the theatre, however. Some of the theatrical references in his writings seem to draw upon a first hand experience of the stage. For instance, in *Dream or the Cock* 26, there is an extended analogy to blustering and bumbling actors, which draws specific attention to their costume and movement.

Then, when they fall they make no better figure than the actors that you often see, who for a time pretend to be Cecrops or a Sisyphus or a Telephus, with diadems and ivory-hilted swords and waving hair and gold-embroidered tunics; but if (as often happens) one of them misses his footing and falls down in the middle of the stage, it naturally makes fun for the audience when the mask gets broken to pieces, diadem and all, and the actor’s own face is covered with blood, and his legs are bared high, so as to

¹⁷²...τὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν τοῦτο, θεὸς ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπιφανείς. (*Hermot.* 86)

show that his inner garments are miserable rags and that the buskins with which he is shod are shapeless and do not fit his foot.¹⁷³

Using these passages as examples, J.R. Green (1994, p.156) has written, “There seems little doubt that Lucian, writing in Syria in the third quarter of the second century AD, in addition to his use of theatrical metaphor... used contemporary productions as a source of parallels and comment.” Thus Lucian provides us with valuable evidence of theatrical production, near in time (the end of the second century) and place (Samosata, also in Syria) to Heliodoros himself.

Even without the references in Lucian (and other writers), it would be difficult to claim, in the face of existing archaeological evidence, that Greek society in Imperial Asia Minor was without dramatic performance altogether. Mimes, pantomimes, and recitations of passages of dramatic poetry all formed a part of the theatrical landscape of Imperial times; and theatres, whether old or newly built during the Roman Empire, abound all over the Eastern Mediterranean. Yet, many of the scholars writing on the theatre during Imperial times, who usually give (due to the preponderance of evidence) a fuller picture for dramatic activity in Rome than in the provinces, are discouraging as to what we know about the theatre. In the final chapter of his book *The Roman Stage*, entitled “Epilogue: Drama under the Empire”, W.D. Beare says “... under the Roman Empire we find Roman theatres, great or small, springing up in every province. When we ask what kind of performances took place in these buildings, the answer is doubtful and disappointing.” (1968, p.233) He goes on to say that while tragedy in its classical forms possibly died out, “something of the spirit of tragedy may have survived in the dramatic recitations... . The vogue of these recitations, such as it was, itself suggests that tragedy proper was no longer familiar on the stage.” (Beare 1968, p.233-4) He is talking primarily of practice in Rome; although he acknowledges the Roman theatrical presence

¹⁷³ Cf. *On Dance* 27, where Lucian includes a lengthy discussion of the artificiality of actors' costumes, footwear, and vocal delivery.

elsewhere, he never goes into detail about what might have been staged in other places more closely linked to the Greek tradition.

Nor is Beare alone in his opinion that the old tragedies were no longer on the stage in full-length versions. "If then the old plays were used in Imperial times," writes H.A. Kelly (1979, p.37), "it was doubtless only for their climactic scenes. The same, of course, could be true of the large tragedies that continued to be written... ." Kelly also asserts later that recitation was the normal method for presenting tragedy, not full-scale staging, although he does moderate his view by conceding that "we are unable to say whether the full-length traditional kind of tragedy was ever staged in its entirety during the empire." (Kelly 1979, p.43) Even J.R. Green, in compiling much of the archaeological testimony to theatrical activity from the fifth century B.C. until the fifth century A.D., concludes at one stage that "traditional theatre is a pretension of the wealthier members of society, and even at that level it is no more than a pretension for many." (Green 1994, p.153) In context, Green is here discussing the surviving objects representing theatre roughly until 180 A.D., objects like an elaborate sardonyx kantharos with masks represented on it (Ibid., p.151-2), and a bronze incense burner depicting a scene from Menander (Ibid., p.149-50). A little later, in reference to the famous mosaics in the so-called House of Menander (Ibid., p.164), he asserts that "they are not snapshots of the contemporary stage, nor can they be taken as necessarily implying that production of these plays were put on at these places on these dates. They are the visual equivalent of literary quotations." (Ibid., p.165) So, according to one line of analysis, traditional drama was enjoyed only by the wealthy, and then was perhaps as much of a "pretension" as an active pursuit; when it was presented, it was in the form either of recitation (reading out part or all of a play), or excerpted highlights (acting out selected scenes).

Not all the evidence, however, points to such disappointing conclusions; nor do all commentators agree on the limited realization of traditional theatre during the later Empire in the Eastern provinces. To begin with, the primary locale for the presentation

of tragedy and comedy, the theatre building, is found in places all across Asia Minor and Syria¹⁷⁴, as Beare (p.233, quoted above) acknowledged. Of special note are the theatres at Palmyra, about 100 miles from Emesa, and Antioch, the capital of the province of Syria. Most of the theatres in this area were Roman by construction— the suggested date for the theatre at Palmyra is in the late second or early third century (Frézouls 1959, p.224)— or restoration, as was the case with the theatre in Antioch, which was active, except for a brief interruption caused by the earthquake in 341, throughout Roman times (Stillwell 1938, p.59). This means that, amongst other things, they were probably designed to be adaptable to gladiatorial contests and other spectacles as well as traditional staged theatre. So, even if we grant the possibility of open and functioning theatres in the late Empire, it is still difficult to determine what could be enjoyed at them.

If it is the case that, for these places in Syria during the late Empire, we are unable to determine for sure whether full traditional theatre was performed, we can still make an educated guess based on evidence found in other places during the first, second, and third centuries A.D.. And this guess is much more optimistic than we might first expect. In an inscription dated to the second century from Aphrodisias in Asia Minor, we find prizes awarded to both τραγῳδοῦ and κωμῳδοῦ (in this context referring to the actors, not the poets), along with other competitors. (Csapo and Slater 1995, p.190; cf. *CIG* 2758) From the same city, but dated a little later to the late second century, there is another inscription (*CIG* 2759) with prizes awarded for such categories as “tragic chorus”, “comic actor”, “tragic actor”, “joint comedies”, “joint tragedies”¹⁷⁵, “new comedy, archaic comedy”, and “new tragedy”. (Csapo and Slater 1995, p.193) There is also a letter written to the Aphrodisians by a curator “between 180 and 189, probably early 180s” (Roueché 1993, p.166), which breaks off just after establishing prizes for τραγῳδοῦ. (Roueché 1993, pp.168-70) Roueché suggests that this letter provided the

¹⁷⁴ For descriptions of theatre sites in Asia Minor, see De Bernardi Ferrero 1966-74; or Frézouls 1982, pp.396-420.

¹⁷⁵ “The term translated ‘joint comedies, joint tragedies’ used here is ‘*koine* of comedians/tragedians,’ a rare and unclear term, possibly meaning ‘open to all age groups in all categories of comedy or tragedy’.” (Csapo and Slater 1995, p.191)

guidelines for the award schedules in these inscriptions; and she states, furthermore, concerning the contests at which awards for tragedians and comedians were given, that their “number...was however to grow, and their status to be enhanced, in the third century.” (Roueché 1993, p.179) Another valuable piece of testimony concerning theatre in Asia Minor is an inscription found in Lycia in Asia Minor, dating from 124. Like the one from Aphrodisias, this inscription also concerns agonistic games in which both comedy and tragedy were performed. “[On] the 10th and 11th [day], a competition for comic poets, the first prize winner will be given 200 and the second 100 denarii; ...the 13th and 14th, a competition for tragic poets, the first prize winner will be given 250 and the second 125 denarii... .” (Mitchell 1990, p.185) So it would seem that traditional drama was still alive in some places, even outside Athens or Rome; whether it was revivals of old plays by Euripides et al., or newly composed plays, or a mixture of both¹⁷⁶, theatre of the traditional kind was available to the inhabitants of the eastern Empire into the third century.

Our evidence for theatrical activity during the Empire comes not only from Asia Minor, Syria’s neighbor to the north, but also Egypt, Syria’s neighbor to the south. In an article entitled “Dramatic Representations in Graeco-Roman Egypt: How Long Do They Continue?”, published in 1963, E.G. Turner discusses a papyrus, P. Oxy. XVII 2458. This particular scrap contains fragments of Euripides’ lost play, *Kresphontes*, a work which figures in the *Aithiopika*, as we shall see below. In his analysis of the papyrus, Turner argues that the sigla α and γ which occur in the margin are nothing other than line designations for use by actors. In other words, this scrap of papyrus, copied in the third century A.D., was used “as the basis of dramatic representation in the theatre.” (Turner 1963, p.127) Turner furthermore argues that this is not a portion of the play left over from a full-scale production, or a complete text, but rather “an excerpt made for acting purposes.” (Ibid., p.126) This is in agreement with the view offered by Beare and Kelly above, that the classical tragedies were offered in the form of “excerpted highlights.” The

¹⁷⁶ See Csapo and Slater 1995, p. 188, for an explanation of the terminology used concerning old and new plays in the inscriptions.

picture from this evidence is that Classical tragedy was presented in Egypt in the second or third century, perhaps only in abridged form; and elsewhere agonistic festivals, including performances of (presumably full-length) tragedy, were being founded as late as 125 A.D. (Mitchell 1990, p. 187; cf. Csapo and Slater 1995, p.189), and continued until the second century at least.

Not every scholar, however, is so conservative in judgment of the traditional theatrical activity of Imperial times. C. P Jones states that “The archaeological evidence... shows then that comedy and tragedy continued to be revived at least until the third century.” (Jones 1993, p.43) One piece of evidence he adduces are “lead tokens from Athens, dated to the third century, [which] carry the title of Menander’s *Theophoroumene*, and have been interpreted as admission-tickets: if that is right, they must refer to full performances.” (Ibid., p.43; cf. Green 1994, p.161) Jones also makes use of inscriptional evidence, from Athens, Thespiai, and Aphrodisias to show a continuity in the practice of reviving the classical dramas from Hellenistic to Imperial times. (Ibid., pp.43-7) The conclusions he draws for theatrical practice during the Empire are that “an impulse to both writing and production seems to have been given by the archaizing tendencies of the second century, most clearly embodied in the emperor Hadrian, and by the literary flowering of the Second Sophistic... . . .New plays were still staged in the later second century, but may have ceased to be in the early third: however, classical dramas, particularly Menander, continued to be staged... .” (Ibid., p.48) So, even according to the most conservative estimates, acted highlights of plays were presented; and there was probably much more on offer, as well, in the form of revived plays presented in their entirety. This scenario seems to fit perfectly with Heliodoros, an author himself identified with the loosely-defined Second Sophistic, and one who made much use of classical drama.

.

Having established an historical framework of theatre practice around the time of the *Aithiopika*, it would be useful, before looking at specific allusions, to acquaint ourselves with the way Heliodoros makes his references, and the terms we may expect. Looking back to the example with which I began, from the opening section of the *Aithiopika*, we find that it reveals some of the author's habits which are repeated throughout the romance. One such habit is a tendency to group references together. For example, if we consider the number of times that Heliodoros employs dramatic terminology (e.g. τοιοῦτον θέατρον... τὴν σκηνὴν, 1.1.6-7, or ἡμῶν δράμα... ἐπετρογῶδει, 1.3.1-2), leaving aside allusions to or parallels with specific plays or authors, we find the following groups of references: there are, between 1.1.6 and 1.8.7, five references to the stage, drama or tragedy, nine references between 2.4.1 and 3.1.1, four between 4.5.3 and 4.25.3, five between 5.6.3 and 5.14.2, eleven between 6.8.5 and 7.14.7, five between 8.17.5 and 9.24.6, and six from 10.9.5 to 10.39.2. These are just the broadest groupings; there are also clusters of allusion (although there are a few independent references) which accompany major sections of the novel; we have already analyzed one of the clusters, the introductory section, from 1.1.1 to 1.8.5, at which point Knemon comes into the novel. The specifics of these allusions, whether by groups or individually, will be considered below. I list these statistics here, however, because they provide an overall view of how the theatrical is organized and presented. And there is much to be gained from looking at the basics of how Heliodoros presents his references to drama and the stage before opening up the major sections of reference; their grammar and context might reveal insights to Heliodoros' intention in including so many allusions to drama.

The approach to theatrical terms favored by both Paulsen and Walden (although they disagree on other points, as we shall see) is to separate the important terms, then analyse them one by one. This approach has its benefits; all the like terms are grouped together so that one can see, through repeated examples, how the author uses one word or another, such as δράμα or θέατρον. And this is a necessary procedure, in order to build

up a sense of how any one word is favored by Heliodoros. Yet in so doing, they isolate these words from part of their immediate context, and while they concentrate on the meaning of the individual word (and in Paulsen's case, how it fits in with part of Heliodoros' greater narrative strategy of the blending of epic, tragic and New comedic elements), they miss some of the effect of how Heliodoros applies the meaning of that word. I accept Paulsen's analysis of the theatrical terminology as correct, and so make no effort to reproduce it here.¹⁷⁷ But I also would like to take it on a step, to see how Heliodoros applies the terms, establishing an air of theatricality, and whether this theatricality has anything to do with the active theatre life of the late Roman Empire.

Perhaps the most noticable aspect of theatrical vocabulary in the *Aithiopika* is the sheer volume of reference; Heliodoros mentions something to do with the stage somewhere around the order of once every five chapters, or, if they were evenly spaced throughout the work (which they are not), every nine pages in the Budé text. But there is more to Heliodoros' style than repetition; if he did not have a way to use these references so as to interest the reader, they would become very tedious very quickly. And as one reads further in the text, there is one pattern which is repeated to great effect, and which raises questions of interpretation of its own.

The use of ὡςπερ/καθάπερ/οἶονεἶ plus reference is a noticable characteristic of the context of Heliodoros' theatrical vocabulary, whether in *narratio narratoris* or *narratio personae*.¹⁷⁸ In fact, approximately a third of all general dramatic references are made in this particular way. In addition, the stage metaphors are often modified by other theatrical terminology around them, so that the reference to drama becomes unmistakable. But what is the overall effect of all these "as if"'s and "just as"'s? It seems to be a sense of theatricality; in other words, Heliodoros (or one of his characters),

¹⁷⁷ See chapter 2 of Paulsen's book *Inszenierung des Schicksals*, "Das Theatervokabular" (Paulsen 1992, pp.21-41). I have attempted to avoid unnecessary repetition of his work and Walden's, where in agreement.

¹⁷⁸ Paulsen (1992, p.24) comments on this construction, but only in connection with the term μηχανή; "...Siebenmal tritt in den *Aithiopika* eine Person οἶον, ὡςπερ oder καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς auf oder ein Ereignis ein."

through constantly likening what happens in the novel to what happens on the stage, calls attention to the ways in which his narrative is, in turn, tragedy and comedy. Recalling the “epic texture” that was achieved through mentions of Homer and discussions about him and his poems, we might say that this sense of theatricality corresponds to a “dramatic texture”. I defined epic texture as “that quality by which Heliodoros recommends themes and characterizations from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the course of his own narrative to the reader.” Adapted to fit Heliodoros’ theatrical references, dramatic texture might be defined as that quality by which the author gives a sense of the literally dramatic to the *Aithiopika* through the use of specific terms and phrases. That is, through constantly emphasizing how things happen “as if” or “just as” they do in a play, Heliodoros gets the reader thinking in terms of drama, especially tragedy, as we shall see. The phenomenon of dramatic texture, like epic texture, is also multilayered, enhancing the text not only by authorial comment, but also, on a few occasions, showing us what the characters make of all that is happening around and to them.

The sense of theatricality, the dramatic texture, is evident at the most accessible of levels for the reader, in the voice of the author as narrator, or *narratio narratoris*. In book 5, Charikleia and Kalasiris are reunited at Nausikles’ house. ‘Ο δὲ Ναυσικλῆς ἐνεὸς ἐγεγόνει τὸν τε Καλάσιριν ἐφ’ ὅσον περιβαλὼν τὴν Χαρίκλειαν ἐδάκρυν ἀφορῶν καὶ τίς ὁ καθάπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναγνωρισμὸς διαπορῶν... . (5.11.2) Here Heliodoros is letting us in on the thoughts of Nausikles, who is confused at the recognition of Charikleia by Kalasiris. He likens the action of his own plot to the theatre, “just as on the stage”; and to reinforce the notion, he introduces a figure from Aristotle’s discussion of classical tragedy in the *Poetics*, ἀναγνώρισις, or recognition. ἀναγνώρισις δέ, ὡς περ καὶ τοῦνομα σημαίνει, ἐξ ἀγνοίας εἰς γνῶσιν μεταβολή, ἢ εἰς φιλίαν ἢ εἰς ἔχθραγ, τῶν πρὸς εὐτυχίαν ἢ δυστυχίαν ὀρισμένων· καλλίστη δὲ ἀναγνώρισις, ὅταν ἅμα περιπετεία γένηται... . (*Poet.* 1452a 29-33) Paulsen has commented on this, saying “darüber hinaus ist ἀναγνωρισμὸς selbst neben ἀναγνώρισις bereits bei Aristoteles (*Po.* 1452 a 16) Terminus technicus für eine Wiedererkennungsszene im Drama.” (1992,

p.69) I do not know if this would qualify as one of the “best” sort of recognitions according to Aristotle’s above definition, that is, one accompanied by peripeteia; for Kalasiris had already begun to suspect the truth before Charikleia was brought in (5.11.1). In any case, the first layer of the dramatic texture is laid on here, *narratio narratoris*. Nor, although here I am getting slightly ahead of myself, is he slow in adding the second layer, *narratio personae*. As he describes Nausikles as wondering at the “theatrical recognition scene”, Nausikles himself, setting a ransom price for Charikleia, speculates on the dramatic. Ἐμειδίασε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ναυσικλῆς καὶ "Τότε" ἔφη "δώσεις με πιστεύειν δύνασθαι σε καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς ἀθρόον πλουτεῖν εἶπερ ἔμοι προτέρω τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆσδε λύτρα καταθεῖο... . (5.12.2) Nausikles, like Theagenes, Charikleia, and even the narrator, thinks in terms of what happens in a drama, and this adds force to the sense of theatricality.

The second of the examples just listed, from 5.12.2, contains an expression which bears looking at in a wider context of Greek literature, because it may shed some light on to what extent Heliodoros’ technical illustrations are active references to what was still occurring on stage, or whether they were more part of the Greek literary convention. The phrase *καθάπερ* or *ὡς* *ἐκ μηχανῆς* is found 6 times, and a similar one, *ἔκ τινος μηχανῆς*, occurs once. It seems that this expression, however, was proverbial for an unexpected turn of events long before Heliodoros’ time¹⁷⁹; “As a result of its frequent handling in tragic performance since the time of the *Medea* it became synonymous with a miraculous solution which did not arise out of the plot, but soon developed into a proverbial phrase to indicate an unexpected and welcome run of luck.” (Kokolakis 1960, p.21) Plato recommends the *μηχανή* as a recourse to solving tough problems, *ὥσπερ οἱ τραγωδιοποιοὶ ἐπειδὴν τι ἀπορώσιν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι θεοὺς αἴροντες.* (*Cratylus* 427; cf. *Clitoph.* 407) It is Aristotle, in the *Poetics*, who mentions the crane in connection with *Medea*. *φανερὸν οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὰς λύσεις τῶν μύθων ἐξ αὐτοῦ δεῖ τοῦ*

¹⁷⁹ In his short book, *The Dramatic Simile of Life*, Kokolakis identifies this as one of the major points of literary metaphor between life and the theatre: “Certain phases or special moments in human life and behaviour are compared to prominent features in stage production, such as the *deus ex machina* etc.” (Kokolakis 1960, p.10)

μύθου συμβαίνειν, καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Μηδεΐα ἀπὸ μηχανῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι τὰ περὶ
 τὸν ἀπόπλου. (1454a 36- 1454b 2) Notwithstanding the philosophers' condemnation of
 it, the feature of coincidence solving a plot problem or two became a feature of the
 ancient novel, and Heliodoros in particular. The expression as a proverb stretches back to
 Demosthenes (40.59), Plutarch (*Themist.* 10), Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 13.14), Aelius
 Aristides (*Or.* 11), and Lucian (*Hermot.* 86, *Philops.* 29).¹⁸⁰ A number of these writers
 were active during the second sophistic. So the phrase θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς was common
 amongst writers, especially during later times; the question this raises is, to what extent
 was this phrase still able to maintain its origin and link to the theatre, or had it simply
 become a dead metaphor, meaning, as Morgan translates it at 5.12.2, "as if by magic"?
 (*CAGN*, p.453) If this phrase occurred on its own at 5.12.2, it would be difficult to defend
 its connection to dramatic imagery. Yet, it does not stand alone, but must be read taking
 into account its context, in which the recognition between Charikleia and Kalasiris was
 described as ὁ καθάπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναγνωρισμός. This is an unmistakable allusion to
 the theatre, whether one considers the mention of the stage, or whether one traces the
 history of the word ἀναγνωρισμός back to Aristotle's analysis of tragedy. So, while we
 cannot go so far as to say that this figure, the θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, was an allusion to the
 workings of the contemporary theatre, it would be going too far to say that it had lost its
 associations to stagecraft entirely, at least inasmuch as it is reinforced by other technical
 terms close by in the narrative.

Another example of the *deus ex machina* construction, which brings us back to the
 ὥσπερ construction in *narratio narratoris*, is found at 7.6.4-5. Here Kalasiris' sons are in
 the process of fighting to the death for the priesthood of Memphis, when Kalasiris
 unexpectedly turns up to reverse the situation: καὶ τὸν Καλάσιριν εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ ὄραν
 ἐκείνην ὥσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς σύνδρομον... (7.6.5) Again, taken out of context, this

¹⁸⁰ It is important to note here that the usage of ἀπὸ μηχανῆς had become applicable to the
 unexpected appearance of mortals as well as gods; this is the case in, e.g., Plato *Clitoph.* 407
 (describing Socrates), Plutarch *Themist.* 10 (describing the tricks of Themistocles), and Lucian
Philops. 29 (describing the appearance of Arignotos). In this sense, the phrase had lost its strict
 meaning from the Classical stage of *deus ex machina*.

could seem to be just a proverbial phrase meaning an unexpected event; yet Heliodoros' theatrical terms swarm throughout this section. In 7.6.4-5 we find the phrases ὥσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου, ἐπεισόδιον ἐπετραγώδει, ὥσπερ εἰς ἀνταγώνισμα δράματος, and, of course, ὥσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς. And it is not his vocabulary alone which indicates that there is something tragic going on, but the situation itself, for the hand to hand combat between the two young Egyptians is reminiscent of the struggle between Eteokles and Polyneikes in plays such as *Phoenissae* or *Seven against Thebes*. These similarities will be considered again below; but they provide the context for Heliodoros' favorite technique for providing dramatic texture, the ὥσπερ/ καθάπερ construction, paired here with the reference to the μηχανή. In fact, one might argue that it is not the only issue of importance, whether Heliodoros is implying specific uses of the crane, nor even that he had ever seen a crane in use. What is also of importance is that the link is made between the μηχανή and the theatre (which relies on it being something more than a proverb), a link which is facilitated by the surrounding allusion and terminology, all also associated with the stage.

Heliodoros employs these effects throughout the *Aithiopika*. In fact, in his hands it is more than just a way to enhance the "literariness" of his work; he can use his references to stagecraft to enhance the suspense in his own story. Look at this example, from 8.17.5. Καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι προαναφώνησις καὶ προεισόδιον τὸ γινόμενον... . Indeed, the change of fortune about to confront Theagenes and Charikleia is perhaps the sort of thing that Euripides would dream up, as in the *Ion*. The terminology used here deserves comment, for both προαναφώνησις and προεισόδιον are rare terms. The former term in Liddell, Scott and Jones is defined as "preface, proem"¹⁸¹, and the latter "introduction, prelude". This passage, *Aithiopika* 8.17.5, is the only example listed under both terms for these meanings, and προεισόδιον is not found in authors before Heliodoros. Why such rare theatrical terminology? These terms occur at

¹⁸¹ The Liddell-Scott Revised Supplement also gives the definition "foreshadowing of what is to come", listing two passages, Sch. T. *Il.* 1.45, and Sch. A. *Il.* 11.604. I agree here with Morgan's translation of "preliminary appearance and introduction" because the phrase ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι locates these words in a specifically dramatic context.

the end of book 8, just before Hydaspes and events in Ethiopia take centre stage; thus, Charikleia and Theagenes, in their chains, before they are introduced to Hydaspes, and before the final episode of the plot which leads to their recognition by Charikleia's parents, are the players in yet another drama as they pass from Egyptian into unknown Ethiopian hands. "Mit der Ankündigung, es handele sich an dieser Stelle gleichsam um das Vorspiel zu einem Drama, werden die Leser darauf vorbereitet, daß ihnen etwas dem Geschehen auf der Theaterbühne Vergleichbares präsentiert werden soll." (Paulsen 1992, p.29) This seems to be a drama of some sort; what would happen if this were a comedy? Would there be recognition scenes? Marriages? But what if it were a tragedy? Would there be human sacrifices? Heliodoros manipulates the theatrical aspects here to emphasize the theatrical aspect of his romance. And these are not the only examples in the novel: likewise, at 9.15.1 (ὥσπερ τὰ προσωπεῖα), 10.9.5 (ἔκ τινος μηχανῆς), and 10.39.2-3 (καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς, ὥσπερ λαμπάδιον δράματος), he uses the vocabulary from the theatre in *narratio narratoris* to enhance the dramatic texture.

But if Heliodoros can use his role as omniscient narrator to conjure dramatic reminiscences, his characters themselves are not slow to view and express their experiences in these terms as well. The ὥσπερ/καθάπερ construction is used in *narratio personae* as well as *narratio narratoris* to enrich the dramatic texture. An example of this occurs at 2.7.3. Knemon and Theagenes have just found Charikleia in the bottom of the cave, after first having come across Thisbe's dead body. Theagenes and Charikleia fall into each others' arms, and have so much joy between them that they pass out. When they come to, Knemon teases Theagenes for despairing over the body of Thisbe, whom he mistook for Charikleia. Theagenes, however, replies to Knemon that he was hardly the paragon of bravery himself. ...ὕψ' ἧς ἐθρήνεις μὲν ἐμοῦ τὰ μὰ πρότερος τὴν δὲ ἀπροσδόκητον τῆς κειμένης ἐπίγνωσιν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δαίμονας ἀπεδίδρασκες... . (2.7.3) This episode occurs after Knemon has presented his life's story, which, as will be shown below, is told by the Athenian in a way strongly reminiscent of Euripides' *Hippolytos*; yet he cannot mask his own fumbling nature, closer to a character from New

comedy than tragedy. And it is this side of Knemon's character that Theagenes is commenting on with these ironic lines poking fun at the Athenian; Heliodoros calls attention to Theagenes' amusement with the word ἐγέλασεν (2.8.1). This reference is important because it expresses Theagenes' ability to realize how Knemon thinks of himself in light of his self-narrated history, as well as the more basic ability to see what happens in the course of the *Aithiopika* as something which could equally have come from the stage itself. Soon after Theagenes accuses Knemon of his theatricality before the dead Thisbe, Charikleia wonders whether the body could have been Thisbe at all. "πῶς ἦν εἰκός, ὦ Κνήμων," εἰπούσης "τὴν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις γῆς Αἰγύπτου καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς ἀναπεμφθῆναι;" (2.8.3) Here Charikleia does indeed seem to be making an effort for a sort of realism, saying in her astonishment, "That sort of thing only happens in tragedy." But, again, it betrays that in some small way, Charikleia can see her own adventures in a dramatic light. Remember also that at 1.3.1, she referred to her eventful life as drama in an outburst that Heliodoros described as ἐπιτραγῶδειν. If we as readers are able to know the thoughts of the characters, as well as the greater narrative framework set by the omniscient narrator, then we ought to be equally able to appreciate the theatrical subtext in which characters and narrator alike operate.

But Charikleia is not the only one given to tragic cries in the *Aithiopika*. Theagenes does his share of complaining, as well, such as 5.6.2-4, where he senses impending capture yet again. In his despair he looks elsewhere to place the blame for their troubles. ...τοιούτον παίζει καθ' ἡμῶν πόλεμον ὡσπερ σκηνὴν τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ δρᾶμα πεποιημένος. Τί οὖν οὐχ ὑποτένομεν αὐτοῦ τὴν τραγικὴν ταύτην ποίησιν καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀναιρεῖν ἐγχειρίζομεν; μή πη καὶ ὑπέρογκον τὸ τέλος τοῦ δράματος φιλοτιμούμενος καὶ αὐτόχειρας ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῶν ἐκβιάσεται γενέσθαι. (5.6.3-4) Just like Charikleia earlier, Theagenes is quick to summarize his experience as the sort of thing that happens on stage, making his life into a δρᾶμα, and, more than that, a tragedy of the sort which is likely to end in suicide. Walden has written of this passage,

concerning specifically the word drama, “It is not necessary to understand that shipwrecks, rapes by pirates, and similar scenes, were represented in the theatre. The point of resemblance seems to lie in the fact that there were adventures, that there was *action*, ... and... that there was a tragic element in this action.” (Walden 1894, p.4) Yet it seems entirely necessary to recall those things which Walden names; this is the force behind the reference, that such things “were represented in the theatre”, without which Heliodoros would be unable to use this metaphor successfully. It is by the very fact that these things happen (on stage for Heliodoros and his contemporaries, whether in full versions or excerpted highlights of plays) and happened (in the editions of Euripides and Sophocles which they read and heard recited) in tragedy that there can be “a tragic element in this action.” Moreover, if Heliodoros wanted to call attention solely to the *action*, without overt reference to the *theatre*, why would he qualify the word δράμα with ὥσπερ σκηνήν? It is the reference to the stage which makes the metaphor work, which makes this passage consistent with itself, and which aligns it with other examples of dramatic texture.

There are a number of other passages in which a character uses theatrical terminology in the ὥσπερ/ καθάπερ construction, talking of things “as if” they were part of a play.¹⁸² At 2.23.5, we find Knemon, eager to hear Kalasiris’ tale, using a stage metaphor: καὶ ὦρα σοι τὸ δράμα καθάπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τῷ λόγῳ διασκευάζειν. To Knemon’s mind, a good story should be like a play; but it is not only the Athenian who thinks in this way, but Kalasiris, answering his request, spices his tale with theatrical metaphor, speaking of the δαίμων οἶονεὶ προσωπεῖον αὐτὴν ὑπῆλθε (2.25.3), and later, remarking of his charlatanry before the lovesick Charikleia, ἤρχόμεν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τῆς ὑποκρίσεως... (4.5.3) There are other examples (9.24.6, 10.12.2, 10.13.5) which reinforce the pattern of how the characters themselves, along with the author as narrator, express themselves in a “dramatic” fashion.

¹⁸² All of these examples, and the relevant terminology, are discussed below in detail, in their context. I mention them here to give an idea of how often a character views his or her circumstances, or events in general, as like those which occur on stage.

Related to this concept of theatrical metaphor in the dialogue of the characters is the willingness of these same characters to see themselves as tragic *personae*, and the narrator's insistent reinforcement of this attitude. We have already seen one example of this, Charikleia's lament, at 1.3.1-2. Knemon's autobiographical story is full of allusions to tragedy, and he clearly sees himself as a sort of tragic hero, judging by his words to the inquisitive young couple at 1.8.7; I shall analyze this section more carefully below. At 2.4.1 Theagenes does the same as Charikleia did at 1.3.1: Κάν τούτω τραγικόν τι καὶ γοερὸν ὁ Θεαγένης βρυχώμενος...¹⁸³ Knemon gets his turn at the tragic lament as well, addressing the dead Thisbe, ...ἤκεις ἑτέραν καθ' ἡμῶν σκηνήν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τραγωδήσουσα, only to be chastised again by Theagenes, ...οὐδεν κοινωνοῦντα τοῦ δράματος. (2.11.2-3) At 2.29.4 Kalasiris joins in on the act, telling how ἐπετραγῶδει τούτω τῷ δράματι... ὁ δαίμων. Theagenes again casts himself as a character in his life's tragedy at 5.6.3-4, as does Charikleia at 6.8.5. We may also take into consideration here Kalasiris' comments at 2.25.3 and 4.5.3, listed above. Heliodoros draws attention the similarity of his text to a drama through his characters' own words; if they see themselves as sufferers in a great tragedy, will the reader also see them this way? And he underlines this implication, by having his own authorial asides at the tragic conduct of his *personae*, referring, as at 7.14.7, to the outbursts of his heroine: ἡ δὲ ἐπετραγῶδει. One gets the feeling that perhaps Charikleia has seen too many plays. But all of these references give the *Aithiopia* that dramatic texture; and they serve to get the reader thinking, in ways subtle or obvious, of the story as a form of drama, especially tragedy.

This analysis has provided for us a basic background to Heliodoros' use of dramatic reference; we have discerned a general pattern, and looked at some of the effects of this technique. We can now look at some of the major groups of allusion in the *Aithiopia*, to

¹⁸³ Perhaps his tragic lamentation over (presumably) finding his betrothed's body in a cave should not surprise us, for it is reminiscent of a similar situation in Sophocles, *Antigone* 1192-1225, where Haemon laments the suicide of Antigone.

see how Heliodoros alludes, not just to drama in general, but to specific tragedians and plays, and what significance this holds for the characters and for the narrative. One of Heliodoros' personae for whom dramatic reference constitutes a significant key to understanding is his young Athenian, Knemon, assigned to take care of Theagenes and Charikleia in Egypt. When they discover that Knemon is a Greek, and an Athenian, they are eager to hear how he has come to Egypt. "Τύχη τίτι κεχρημένον;" "Παῦε" ἔφη· "τί ταῦτα κινεῖς κάναμοχλεύεις; τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν." (1.8.6-7) The quotation is from *Medea* 1317: τί τάσδε κινεῖς κάναμοχλεύεις πύλας...; Jason, having just heard that Medea has murdered their sons, is attempting to open the doors on the stage, when Medea appears above him and addresses him with these words. This choice of allusion by Heliodoros presents an interesting parallel between novel and play: Knemon, like Medea, has skeletons in his closet, and he is quick to identify himself with the tragic heroine by quoting her. Paulsen (1992, p.84) demonstrates how this tragic characterization is furthered. "Wenn der Zusatz τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν also nicht in erster Linie den Leser informieren soll, muß er der Charakterisierung seines Sprechers dienen. Die Vermutung, daß Knemon als Mensch gezeichnet werden soll, der in tragischen Termini denkt und fühlt, wird unmittelbar im nächsten Satz weiter gefestigt: οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτ' ἂν ἐπεισόδιον ὑμῖν τῶν ὑμετέρων τὰμὰ ἐπεισφέρειν κακά." The effect of the allusion is to set the scene for Knemon's tale, which will be very like another tragedy of Euripides.

Knemon's introduction to his story is an allusion to *Medea*, but it also has a parallel in the text of Heliodoros itself. Compare Knemon's first meeting with Kalasiris. There is a similar pattern: the character already introduced into the story (Charikleia and Theagenes, Knemon) discovers (or thinks he has discovered) that the new character (Knemon, Kalasiris) is also a Greek; the latter confirms or denies it, then when asked to talk about his misfortunes, replies with a literary quotation in an attempt to discourage inquiries. Ἰλιόθεν με φέρεις... (2.21.5) And, of course, in both cases they fail to discourage these inquiries. But there is a link between the nationality of Knemon and

Kalasis and the literature they quote to summarize or introduce their life's story. Knemon is an Athenian; therefore he quotes Euripides. Kalasis is an Egyptian, therefore he quotes Homer, which should not surprise us since we find out later that Kalasis thinks Homer himself was an Egyptian (3.14.2 ff). Furthermore, in looking at Homeric allusion in the *Aithiopika* we discovered how Kalasis is consistently characterized Homericly, either as an Odysseus-figure or as Homer himself.¹⁸⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, that we should discover Knemon characterized, in his own narration, tragically, as a *persona* straight from the pages of Euripides.

It is clear almost immediately that Knemon's tale follows a well established pattern, the stepmother who falls in love with her husband's son. This is known from Homer's account of Phoenix's domestic problems (*Iliad* 9), but perhaps most famously of all from Euripides' *Hippolytos*. It is certainly from Euripides that Heliodoros takes his cues in this case, as we shall see. In fact, Knemon's narrative autobiography, which is found from 1.9.1 to 1.18.1, is reminiscent of both Homer and Euripides. The general blueprint for the story could serve, with minor adaptations, as a summary for either the *Hippolytos* or Knemon's tale: A man remarries after the death of his wife, his new wife finds herself attracted to his adult son; she suffers in silence for a while, and then, having been rebuffed by the son, comes up with a plan to turn father against son. The son ends up banished into exile, while the stepmother has committed suicide. In Euripides' play, Phaidra commits suicide before Hippolytos is exiled, whereas Demainete is set up by the duplicitous Thisbe¹⁸⁵ before she hurls herself to her death. And, famously, Hippolytos dies at the end of his play, whereas Knemon survives to narrate this part of the romance. But the similarities are such that they "suggerieren auf einer ersten Interpretationsebene, daß Heliodor auch hier im Sinn hatte, dem Leser eine Tragödie in Prosa vorzuführen... ."

¹⁸⁴ Paulsen comments also on the similarity of these passages, adding emphasis to the clarity and interpretability of Knemon's and Kalasis' quotations— Knemon's metaphor is clear, while the reader is left to ponder over Kalasis' more enigmatic statement (Paulsen, 1992 p.143-4).

¹⁸⁵ Thisbe must have a unique role in Greek literature, moving the plot by her machinations here, and then later simply by her appearance as a dead body with a message (another interesting parallel with the *Hippolytos* — a dead woman clutching a letter), and by being mistaken for the heroine more than once.

(Paulsen, 1992 p.86) We do not even get to the end of the story before the parallel with the *Hippolytos* confronts us. Demainete herself was aware of her literary predecessor, for as Knemon tells it, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γυμνῆς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας προσέτρεχε καὶ περιβαλοῦσα ὁ νέος Ἴππόλυτος, † ὁ Θησεὺς ὁ ἐμός † " ἔλεγε.¹⁸⁶ (1.10.2) It would seem that, just as Knemon cast himself as a type of tragic character by quoting Medea at 1.8.7, in his tale Demainete is prepared to cast herself in the role of Phaidra. In fact the whole of this flashback section, as we have seen, has the feel of a tragedy. Again at 1.14.6, Demainete is suffering tragically. "Κνήμων" ἐβόα νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ... ἡ δὲ ἀπαραμύθητον εἶναι τὸ κακὸν καὶ οἶον ἐγκεῖσθαι τῇ καρδίᾳ κέντρον ἀγνοεῖν τὰς ἄλλας ἔλεγεν. Compare this with Aphrodite's description of Phaidra's love sickness. ἐνταῦθα δὴ στένουσα κάκπεπληγμένη/ κέντροις ἔρωτος ἢ τάλαιν' ἀπόλλυται/ σιγῇ, ξύνοιδε δ' οὔτις οἰκετῶν νόσον. (*Hipp.* 38-40) The word κέντρον is a common metaphor for the sting of love, and does not, by itself, suggest a direct imitation of this passage of Euripides. And yet the tone of the passages, along with the comparable situations of Demainete and Phaidra, indicates a closeness that is hinted at elusively with the word. Whether or not this is a direct allusion to the *Hippolytos*, it seems to be the case that Heliodoros' Knemon's Demainete is again thinking of herself as a type of Phaidra, suffering in silence.

If we follow Knemon's narrative as he spells it out, we will have by now begun to think of him as a tragic character, and the various principles in his autobiography likewise as *personae* from Euripides. But in Knemon's own story, there are voices which deflate its high tragic tone. One of these is the recurrence of situations and parallels from the genre of New comedy; Knemon, for instance, is a name taken itself from the pages of New comedy, as are the setting and *personae* for his family intrigue, Athens, middle class citizens, and their slaves. Even Knemon's eventual departure from the story is accomplished in comedic fashion: he is written out by Heliodoros when Knemon marries

¹⁸⁶The text is probably corrupt here; how could Demainete call Knemon her Hippolytos and her Theseus? See Budé text, and apparatus, vol. I p.15; also Merkelbach 1957 for comment and a possible emendation.

the daughter of Nausikles— Knemon’s former rival for Thisbe. There is an interplay between Knemon the tragic and comic hero, and a certain mingling of these aspects in the text. “Der Stoff der Knemon-Erzählung ist potentiell tragisch, untragisch ist lediglich ihr Protagonist.” (Paulsen 1992, p.102¹⁸⁷) So, while Knemon builds himself up as a Hippolytos, we see him also as a typical, naïve, young lover.

It is not only through New Comic references, however, that Knemon’s self-appointed grandeur is undermined. Thisbe, the slave of Demainete, proves to be something of a nuisance to all the people with whom she gets involved. She is responsible for Knemon’s exile through compliance with Demainete, and for Demainete’s suicide by framing her to be caught with “a lover” by Aristippos, the cause of much trouble for Aristippos himself, and of course a reemerging bugbear for Knemon. And it is she who perhaps puts Knemon’s true dramatic personality into focus at 1.11.5. She is laying the trap to put Knemon out of his house, punishment for his rejection of his stepmother. The plan involves him taking Demainete *in flagrante* with her supposed lover, which, of course, turns out to be his father, who then has him banished for attempted patricide. First, though, Thisbe is explaining her (false) grudge against Demainete, and steeling Knemon for the task ahead, promising to expose Demainete and her (false) lover. ἡ πάσχω τὰ ἔσχατα ἐφ’ ἐκάστης, ζηλοτυπίαν ματαίαν ἐκείνης ἐπ’ ἐμὲ γυμναζούσης. Ἄλλ’ ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἔση σκέψαι. It is this last sentence which should bring a smile to the reader’s face, because Thisbe is here quoting Euripides— not one of the great melodramatic tragedies, but his only surviving satyr play, *Cyclops*. In that context, Odysseus is, like Thisbe, steeling his accomplices, in this case the chorus of satyrs, for the plan ahead, putting out the Cyclops’ eye. And he says to the chorus, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἔση. (*Cyc.* 595) The contexts are similar, and because of this, Heliodoros’ use of this line introduces a certain irony into Knemon’s tale. For in the *Cyclops*, we expect the satyrs to be cowardly, and they do desert Odysseus just as he puts his plan into

¹⁸⁷ For a lengthy analysis of the New Comic elements in the narration and character of Knemon, see Paulsen (1992) pp.82-141, esp. the sections entitled “These: Knemon als tragischer Held”, “Antithese: Komische Untertöne im tragischen Geschehen”, and “Ein Happy-End nach Art der Neuen Komödie”.

action. But what does this imply for the character of Knemon, if Thisbe addresses him as Odysseus did the satyrs? It might imply that not everyone sees Knemon as the tragic hero he sees himself as; Heliodoros is subtly undermining Knemon's self-portrait, adding with a dash of irony that though he might see himself as the tragic Hippolytos, others who know him well think of him more along the lines of the comic Silenos. Indeed, Heliodoros sends up Knemon in other ways, such as his cowardice before the dead Thisbe (2.6.1), and his stumbling around Nausikles' house at night (5.2.5), this time put off only by the mention of Thisbe's name. Also, it is clear that both Demainete and Thisbe are capable of duping Knemon almost at will, so Knemon's self-importance is perhaps parodied, and certainly treated with irony, by Heliodoros.

As I have previously shown, however, Knemon's story of domestic disruption contains reference and allusion to Homer, specifically the tales of Phoinix and Bellerophon¹⁸⁸. Indeed, Heliodoros uses Homer to cover some of the differences between Knemon's story and Hippolytos'. For example, the scene where Knemon bursts in on his father, thinking to catch his stepmother in an affair, is not part of the Phaidra myth, so we find instead a reminiscence of the scene in Homer (*Iliad* 9), where Phoinix bursts through the court-yard gate to make his escape from his father's wrath. Likewise, Knemon was accused of being πατραλοίας (1.13.2), as Phoinix had feared being called πατροφόνος (*Il.* 9.461). These are aspects of Knemon's experience which are not paralleled in Euripides.¹⁸⁹ There are two main literary voices in the *Aithiopika* in regards to literary allusion (although others, such as New comedy, contribute significantly as well): the tragic and the epic. As I noted above, throughout the novel Homer is the most prominent individual source of allusion, although there are many references to the theatre in general. However, for once, in Knemon's tale, it is the tragic voice which is the louder of the two, and the epic texture so notable throughout the rest of the romance is a subtext.

¹⁸⁸ *Iliad* books 9 and 6 respectively.

¹⁸⁹ It is, however, interesting that in describing Aristippos' regret over Knemon's exile, a situation where parallels can be found both in the *Hippolytos* and in the *Iliad*, Heliodoros has Charias quote Homer (*Iliad* 6.202).

Of course Knemon's story is not the only flashback narrative in the *Aithiopika*, nor even the most substantial; that honor would go to Kalasiris' tale, from 2.24.5 to 5.1.2, then from 5.17.2 to 5.33.3. Kalasiris' character, during the course of his own story, is developed through alignment and identification with Homeric elements and *personae*, such as Odysseus, and even Homer himself. But this is not to say that there are not passages which reflect the presence of dramatic allusion in the text, as well; for it would, perhaps, seem out of keeping with the earlier parts of the novel if it were totally neglected for a lengthy portion of the romance. It probably will not come as a surprise to discover that much of the dramatic reference which comes during the build up to Kalasiris' story is from the person whom we already know to be somewhat obsessed with the genre—Knemon. We have already looked at the passage at 2.21.4-5, and the first meeting between Kalasiris and Knemon; and I noted how Kalasiris almost immediately quotes from the *Iliad* in putting off Knemon's curiosity. Knemon will not be put off, and Kalasiris promises to tell him his story when they have had their supper (again quoting Homer). Kalasiris happens to drop the names of Charikleia and Theagenes, which of course rouses Knemon's interest even more. Although Kalasiris has clearly hinted at the epic nature of his life's story, Knemon is still thinking in terms of drama. ...ὅς γε καὶ μικρὸν διαλιπὼν "ὁ Διόνυσος" εἶπεν "οἶσθα, ὦ πάτερ, ὡς χαίρει μύθοις καὶ κωμωδίας φιλεῖ· κάμῃ δὴ οὖν τὰ νῦν εἰσωκισμένος ἀνίησι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν τὸν τε ἐπηγγελμένον πρὸς σοῦ μισθὸν ἀπαιτεῖν ἐπέιγει, καὶ ὥρα σοι τὸ δρᾶμα καθάπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τῷ λόγῳ διασκευάζειν." (2.23.5) So Kalasiris does begin his story— except Knemon doesn't like the beginning, because it seems Kalasiris has started with the last part. ...ἔλαθες γάρ με μικροῦ καὶ εἰς πέρας τῷ λόγῳ διαβιβάζων, ἐπεισόδιον δὴ τοῦτο οὐδέν, φασὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπεισκευκλήσας; ὥστε ἐπάναγε τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν· εὗρηκα γάρ σε κατὰ τὸν Πρωτέα τὸν Φάριον, οὐ κατ' αὐτὸν τρεπόμενον εἰς ψευδομένην καὶ ρέουσαν ὄψιν ἀλλά με παραφέρειν πειρώμενον. (2.24.4) Perhaps Knemon has a better grip on the situation than we have credited him with having. Here, while he is still caught up in his "narrative-as-drama" outlook, Knemon seems to have picked up on Kalasiris' epic references: he characterizes the priest Homerically, not as

the wily Odysseus, nor as the poet, but with irony as the shape-shifter Proteus, an individual who needed to be overcome by Menelaus in the course of his quest. But as with most of Knemon's comments, the dramatic aspects are the most notable. In the space of three Budé pages he has mentioned Dionysos (twice), comedies, drama, the stage, a stage entrance, and the ἐκκύκλημα.

Some of the technical language used by Heliodoros here calls for comment, in order to clarify exactly how he brings about dramatic texture. The first point of clarification centres around the word δράμα, used at 2.23.5. For Walden, “this is an undoubted case of δράμα referring to a story” (1894, p.7)— that is, it does not refer to a stage play, except inasmuch as both a play and a narrative story involve “action” (Ibid., p.8). Interestingly enough, he arrives at this conclusion after demonstrating that the word μύθοις must refer to tragedies, and not merely stories of a generic variety.¹⁹⁰ Yet, to ignore the context of this passage, with its mention of Dionysos, tragedies and comedies, and then, immediately following the word itself, the modifying phrase καθάπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, and to determine the meaning of drama as something other than staged plays seems short sighted. Paulsen also comments on this: “Daher geht Walden (S. 6ff.) in die Irre, wenn es für δράμα die Bedeutung “story” zur Bezeichnung von Kalasiris’ Erzählung annimmt; der im Kontext eindeutige Bezug zur Welt des Theaters wird durch seine Erklärung ignoriert.” (1992, p.33) It is once again Heliodoros’ tendency to cluster his theatrical terminology, providing a thick context of reference, which helps us decipher some of the rarer or unclear terms, weaving the dramatic texture.

In addition to these terms, there is also the word with which Knemon punctuates his interruption at 2.23.5: διασκευάζειν. Veyne (1989, pp.339-45), using a passage of Dio Chrysostom containing the phrase κωμωδίας καὶ διασκευαίς, argues that the term διασκευαί refers to theatrical productions, and, more specifically, “remakes” of old plays

¹⁹⁰ “κωμωδίας must mean here properly *comedies*, and in that case μύθοις must refer to tragedies. For μύθοι in the sense of tragedy themes, cf. Ach. Tat. 1, 3, τὰ γὰρ ἔμα μύθοις ἔοικε, ὅσον ἐνέπλησαν μύθων γυναικές τὴν σκηνήν.” (Walden 1894, p.7)

(Ibid., p.345). This interpretation of the word adds even more depth to the whole passage at 2.23.5, already clearly theatrical, when we consider that Knemon is actually asking Kalasiris to recreate for him something that the Egyptian has already seen. This verb also has possible theatrical implications earlier in the novel, as well. Going back to the first example, Heliodoros sets the scene of the novel thus: Καὶ μυρίον εἶδος ὁ δαίμων ἐπὶ μικροῦ τοῦ χωρίου διασκεύαστο... καὶ τοιοῦτον θέατρον λησταῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιδείξας. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος θεωροῦς ἑαυτοὺς τῶνδε καθίσαντες οὐδὲ συνιέναι τὴν σκηνὴν ἐδύναντο... . (1.1.6-7) In this context it would be difficult to limit the meaning of διασκεύαστο to “remake, recreate”, but the theatrical imagery which surrounds it helps to bring out the dramatic aspect of the verb.

The cluster of terminology is so thick in Knemon’s remarks to Kalasiris that it needs some untangling. In particular, the phrase at 2.24.4— ἐπεισόδιον δὴ τοῦτο οὐδέν, φασὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπεισκευκλήσας — requires explanation. First, there is the word ἐπεισόδιον. It is familiar from *Poetics* 1455a 34 to 55b 24, where Aristotle asserts that τὰ ἐπεισόδια can be either relevant to the plot (as is the case with Orestes’ purification, which facilitates his escape; see *Poetics* 1455b 14-15) or inessential. Aristotle advises ὅπως δὲ ἔσται οἰκεῖα τὰ ἐπεισόδια. This, in fact, is the very point Knemon is making with Kalasiris, that too much of his story is ἐπεισόδια; Knemon asked for the story of Charikleia and Theagenes, and he is getting told about brigands, satraps, and kings. As we have already seen, Knemon began his refusal to tell his tale with a quote from *Medea*, and in both places there is the phenomenon of clustered theatrical terminology. Knemon was trying (unsuccessfully) not to start a new tale, which would have been an ἐπεισόδιον (1.8.7) to the sufferings of the hero and heroine. Heliodoros uses the word again at 7.6.4-5, again surrounded by other theatrical terminology. The people of Memphis are watching the battle between Petosiris and Thamis ὥστερ ἐκ θεάτρον, when τότε δὴ πως εἴτε τι δαιμόνιον εἴτε τύχη τις τὰ ἀνθρώπεια βραβεύουσα καινὸν ἐπεισόδιον ἐπετραγῶδει τοῖς δρωμένοις, ὥστερ εἰς ἀνταγώνισμα δράματος ἀρχὴν ἄλλου παρεισφένουσα, καὶ τὸν Καλάσιριν εἰς ἡμέραν

καὶ ὄραν ἐκείνην ὡσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς σύνδρομον... . It is interesting to note that when Charikleia appears on the scene a few moments later, her appearance is described with the words ἕτερον ἐγένετο παρεγκύκλημα τοῦ δράματος-- ἡ Χαρίκλεια. (7.7.4) Remember that at 2.24.4, when Knemon accused Kalasiris of digression, the verb he used was ἐπεισκυκλέω, which means to roll in or introduce; it comes from the device used in the theatre for bringing people or scenes on stage from behind the σκηνή, the ἐκκύκλημα. It seems that the theatrical terminology here is not being deployed with the greatest of precision; first, it was an episode that was brought in on the ekkyklema, an expression which can only be understood metaphorically.¹⁹¹ Later in the text, Charikleia makes an “unexpected” appearance via the ekkyklema, a concept which seems to rely on a more literal understanding of the device. But in both of these examples, the theatrical metaphor is made obvious by the abundance of terminology, at 2.24.4, ἐπεισόδιον, Διόνυσος, and ἐπεισκυκλέω, and at 7.6.4, ἐπεισόδια, θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, and an ἐκκύκλημα. The point seems to be, in both instances, that what was happening, whether Kalasiris’ increasingly complex story, or Charikleia’s sudden appearance in Memphis, was very like a play.

Back to Kalasiris’ tale, which is his, and not Knemon’s, no matter how many times the Athenian interrupts. He does, however, get around to telling the story how Knemon likes it to be told, i.e., dramatically. The very first part of the tale is about how he was forced into exile to escape the advances of a woman, Rhodopis. As it happens, she is playing a part assigned to her by a higher power: καὶ συνεῖς ὡς τῶν πεπρωμένων ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις καὶ ὡς ὁ τότε εἰληχῶς δαίμων οἰονεὶ προσωπεῖον αὐτὴν ὑπῆλθε... . (2.25.3) It may be the case that Kalasiris is humoring Knemon’s taste for the dramatic with appropriate references, or that Kalasiris’ narrative style reflects his creator’s, or, perhaps, both of these possibilities. In any case Kalasiris again employs dramatic terminology, this time in reporting Charikles’ account of his misfortunes. ἐπετραγῶδει τούτῳ τῷ

¹⁹¹ The metaphorical use of this term was, as with μηχανή, an established convention; cf. Longinus 11.1 and 22.4, and Lucian *Philops.* 29 and *De hist. conscr.* 13.

δράματι καὶ ἕτερον πάθος ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὴν μητέρα μοι τῆς παιδὸς ἀφαιρεῖται μὴ τοῖς θρήνοις ἐγκαρτερήσασαν. (2.29.4) It seems that the expression of sorrow as a drama made by ὁ δαίμων is proverbial for Heliodoran *personae*, and this concept also has a long history in Greek literature. Kokolakis identifies, amongst other main recurring “dramatic similes”, “Life as a whole is a drama, whether tragedy or comedy. ... Man himself, being an actor in this theatre of life, has to perform whatever part God or Fortune may assign to him.” (Ibid. 1960, p.9) In Heliodoros, we find the idea of a δαίμων or τύχη closely linked with the theatrical at 1.1.6-7, 6.8.5, 10.13.5, and 10.16.3; in other writers, we need look no farther than the other novelists, for example, Achilles Tatius 1.3, ἤρχετο τοῦ δράματος ἢ Τύχῃ, or Chariton 4.4, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ φιλόκαινος Τύχῃ δρᾶμα σκυθρωπὸν ὑμῖν περιτέθεικε.¹⁹² So we are again faced with the dilemma of a virtually proverbial idea used in a passage full of other, more explicit, references to the theatre. Even though Heliodoros recycles this idea of a δρᾶμα made by Τύχῃ from other sources, he draws out of the cliché its original connection to the stage by adding other terminology to its context.

Part of that context, in this case, is the verb used here to describe how the δαίμων has prepared this suffering, ἐπετραγώδει. This verb is used four times, at 1.3.2, 2.29.4, 7.6.4, and 7.14.7. In two of these examples it is the verb which describes how a character carries on over her sorrows: 1.3.2, Ἡ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπετραγώδει, and 7.14.7, ἡ δὲ ἐπετραγώδει. In the other two examples, however, it is used quite differently; for example, the passage we have just been looking at, 2.29.4, where it seems to mean (as Morgan, *CAGN* p.402, has translated it) “to plan tragically”, “to represent in tragedy”, or even, “to make a tragedy”. The use of this verb at 1.3.2 and 7.14.7 is quite straightforward; but as for the other definition of it, “in der bekannten griechischen Literatur singulären Sinn setzt der Autor das verb in II 29.4 und VII 6.4 ein... .” (Paulsen 1992, p.23) At 2.29.4, the subject of the verb is ὁ δαίμων, and at 7.6.4 it is τὸ δαιμόνιον

¹⁹² Of the other novelists, only Achilles Tatius comes close to Heliodoros’ frequency of dramatic reference. The term δρᾶμα occurs sixteen times, along with ὑπόκρισις (5.21, 6.16), κωμῳδία (8.10), and τραγῳδέω (8.10). He, and the other novelists, lack Heliodoros’ engagement with the more technical aspects of the theatre.

εἴτε τύχη τις. Interestingly, the verb τραγωδεῖν is used once by Heliodoros, at 2.11.2, and it seems to have this same meaning; the difference is, at 2.11.2, it is a person making the tragedy. The speaker is Knemon, and he is addressing the dead Thisbe. ἦκεις ἐτέραν καθ' ἡμῶν σκηνὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τραγωδήσουσα. So it is not only divine agents, but humans, who are capable of the type of scheme necessary to (ἐπι-)τραγωδεῖν. So the word means both “to represent as in a tragedy, to make a tragedy” and “to tell in tragic phrase, to declaim, speak theatrically”; “to tragedize” might be the only way to translate Heliodoros’ double use of the word, to capture both aspects of its meaning.

Again, though, back to the story. If all the characters reflect Heliodoros’ tendency towards the dramatic, no one does it more than Knemon. Having already interrupted Kalasiris’ narration once, he does it again at 3.1.1; and again the point he wants to make is underlined with a metaphor from the stage. Kalasiris has just told Knemon about the great oracle (2.35.5), perhaps the central event of the whole novel, and he is about to get to the first meeting between heroine and hero (always a high point in ancient romance), which happens after the religious processions led by Charikleia and Theagenes. But Knemon wants no detail spared, as he chastises Kalasiris. “καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἐτελέσθη πάτερ” ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Κνήμων· “ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐπω θεατὴν ὁ σὸς ἐπέστησε λόγος ἀλλ’ εἰς πᾶσαν ὑπερβολὴν ἠττημένον τῆς ἀκροάσεως καὶ αὐτοπτῆσαι σπεύδοντα τὴν πανήγυριν ὥσπερ κατόπιν ἐορτῆς ἤκοντα, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, παρατρέχεις ὁμοῦ τε ἀνοίξας καὶ λύσας τὸ θέατρον.” (3.1.1) Knemon is certainly in the habit of expressing himself through theatrical illustrations; but then, what do we expect from a character who sees himself as something straight out of Euripides?

After this opening section of Kalasiris’ tale, from 2.23.5 to 3.1.1, where we came across numerous dramatic references, the next cluster within Kalasiris’ tale is not until 4.5.3. Here we observe Kalasiris’ performance (intended to win her confidence) before a lovesick Charikleia. κάπειδὴ σχολῆς ἐλαβόμεν, ἠρχόμεν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τῆς

ὑποκρίσεως... (4.5.3) This passage is an example of the ὥσπερ construction which is so prevalent in dramatic references throughout the romance, helping to achieve a “dramatic illusion”. But here the dramatic illusion is especially pronounced; this ὥσπερ does not only give the work a general dramatic texture, but is in fact part of an act put on to bring Charikleia out of her shell, which is why Kalasiris says ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τῆς ὑποκρίσεως. This is one of the more self-knowing theatrical references in the text; even when Knemon presents himself as a type of Hippolytos, he does so with a straight face (although other characters, and Heliodoros himself, are not above undermining his tragic hero stance). But here Kalasiris was putting on a show, and he admits that he was doing so. As we have seen, other characters often acknowledge that their lives are like dramas, or that they are behaving like characters in a play; but rarely is there the same ironic distance between themselves as “real” people (if the world of the romance is real) and their likeness to tragic *personae*. So this reference does double duty in terms of allusion; not only does it contribute to the overall weight of theatrical reference in the text, but it also reveals a certain ironic awareness of at least one of the characters that he is acting out fate’s drama.

At 4.6.7 we encounter a direct quotation of Euripides, something rare in comparison to quotation of Homer, especially in Kalasiris’ narrative. The source is *Phoinissai* 625: ὡς τάχ’ οὐκέθ’ αἰματηρὸν τοῦμόν ἀργήσει ξίφος. This line is spoken by Polyneikes, as a vow that soon he and Eteokles will come to combat over their inheritance; it is an especially tense scene. And here is Heliodoros’ version: οὐχ οὕτως ἦδε ἡ χεὶρ καὶ ξίφος τοῦμον ἀργήσει. This is an example of Heliodoros’ ability to use an allusion to enrich his own text. The situation in the *Aithiopika* at this particular point is that Theagenes and Charikleia are in love. Unfortunately for them an obstacle stands in the way of their being together: Charikles has already arranged for her to marry his nephew. Theagenes, as we would expect of a man who has been identified with Achilles through lineage and comparison, will not stand for this since he knows (but probably not as well, or in the same way, as Kalasiris) that he and Charikleia are destined for each other. So he

vows to take action against anyone who tries to take her away, with the words of Polyneikes. Theagenes' resolve is made abundantly clear if we take the context from which he quotes; he is serious, as serious as Polyneikes and Eteokles were. It gives the whole idea of Charikleia marrying another man added tension, if we think that Theagenes will not stop even at bloodshed to keep his new amour. And, of course, it contributes to the dramatic texture, a subtle complement to the Homeric aspect of Theagenes' character.

If Heliodoros can use the theatrical to texture his romance, he can also use it for some subtly wry humor at the expense of some of his less clever characters. In order to take Charikleia away from the arranged marriage over which Theagenes was ready to kill someone, Kalasiris devises a plan to sneak the young couple out of Delphi by night. He has the Thessalians, led by Theagenes, come to Charikles' house and abduct Charikleia; then he sends the Thessalians off in one direction, while taking Theagenes and Charikleia off to catch a ship out of Delphi. But before they make their getaway, Kalasiris cannot resist the temptation to return to the scene of the crime, and make his ruse complete. He goes back to Charikles, feigning indignation and suggesting that it was Theagenes and the Thessalians who are responsible for the outrage, and he makes Charikles call the people of Delphi to come together in assembly. ὁ δῆμος αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐγένετο νυκτερινὸν βουλευτήριον... (4.19.5) Charikles steps forward, dressed in rags and covered in ashes, and makes his passionate speech, which convinces the general Hegesias and the people that the right thing to do is to chase down the Thessalians and bring them to justice. ...ὁ μὲν Ἡγησίας ἐδίδου τῆς ἐξόδου τὸ σύνθημα καὶ πολεμικὸν ἢ σάλπιγξ ὑπεσήμαινε, τὸ δὲ θέατρον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον διελύετο... (4.21.2) These references to θέατρον only slightly add to the sense of dramatic texture; it is not noteworthy, after all, to find a theatre used as a meeting-house. But what does add more significantly to the dramatic feel of the passage is Hegesias' echo of Euripides in his plan to catch the Thessalians. ...ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι αὐτούς τε ὡς ὅτι τάχιστα καταλαβόντας ἀνασκολοπίσαι καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀτιμῶσαι διαβιβάσαντας καὶ εἰς τὸ γένος τὴν τιμωρίαν. (4.20.2.) This is reminiscent of Thoas' desire to catch and kill Orestes and

Pylades: λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἢ κατὰ στόφλου πέτρας/ ρίψωμεν ἢ σκόλοπι πήξωμεν δέμας; (*IT* 1429-30) The faint linguistic echo becomes more convincing when the respective contexts are compared. Hegesias, leader of Delphi, wants to capture and impale the people who have just stolen the priestess of Artemis from his city; and in Euripides, Thoas wants to capture and impale the people who have just abducted the priestess of Artemis (and the statue of Artemis). Both parties make their getaway in a ship, and both have achieved their kidnapping through a plan that had the cooperation of the abducted party.

Through these dramatic references, there is an element of humor, since Kalasiris' whole time in Delphi was an act of sorts. He put on a show before Charikleia (cf. ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τῆς ὑποκρίσεως, 4.5.3), he tricked Charikles into letting him see the recognition tainia from Persinna (4.7.12) and to giving Charikleia all her precious birth tokens (4.15.2), he withheld information from anyone and everyone (e.g. 4.12.1), he lied to the Phoenician merchants (4.16.9), and of course he duped Charikles masterfully at the end, sending him on a wild goose chase one way while he spirited Charikleia and Theagenes off in the opposite direction. So it is somehow fitting, and amusing, that this final act should culminate in the theatre, even if it looks ominous for Theagenes.

In addition to these theatrical references throughout the *Aithiopika*, there are also some specific sections which seem even more dramatic (in the technical sense of the word) than others. This is usually because of Heliodoros' tendency to group allusions together; in one instance, there are eight references within three chapters. In such an instance, 7.6.4-8.2, it is probably more helpful to think of the entire scene as one running reference rather than seven individual ones. This is the case especially when the scene itself is theatrical, not just in presentation, but in actual content. The section I have in mind here is when Thyamis and Theagenes come to Memphis in order to reclaim Thyamis' rightful position as high priest from his brother Petosiris, who got it through

starting rumors about his brother which led to Thyamis' banishment. This is obviously reminiscent of the portion of the Theban myth dealing with Oedipus' sons Eteokles and Polyneikes. They had agreed to share the throne of Thebes, each a year in succession; however, once Eteokles had secured power, he banished Polyneikes from the city. Just as Polyneikes returned to Thebes with his army, Thyamis also returns to Memphis, with his band of followers whose number includes a Theagenes separated from his lover. And, naturally, just as Eteokles and Polyneikes ended up in hand to hand combat with each other, so do Petosiris and Thyamis.

While Heliodoros has thus set the scene so deliberately with reference to the sons of Oedipus, he makes us wait for the climax. His delaying tactics basically consist of putting off theatrical allusion for Homeric, because what we get after the arrangements for single combat have been made is not allusion to *Phoenissae* or *Seven against Thebes*, but a string of Homeric allusion, as I discussed above.¹⁹³ Thyamis' armor is described like Achilles', he hesitates before going out to battle like Hector; then it is Petosiris' turn to act like the Trojan as he runs away from his brother in battle. Then, just as Heliodoros brings us to the point where we expect the most Homeric of all outcomes— Thyamis has chased Petosiris three times around the city, and we wait now for the blow to come, as it did between Achilles and Hector— Heliodoros switches frame of reference on us again, back to drama.

...ἤδη τὸ δόρυ τοῦ Θυάμιδος κατὰ τῶν μεταφρένων τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ κατασείοντος καὶ μένειν ἢ βεβλήσεσθαι
διαπειλοῦντος (ἢ πόλις δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου περιστῶσα τοῦ
τείχους ἠθλοτέτει τὴν θέαν), τότε δὴ πως εἴτε τι δαιμόνιον
εἴτε τύχη τις τὰ ἀνθρώπεια βραβεύουσα καινὸν ἐπεισόδιον
ἐπετραγῶδει τοῖς δρωμένοις, ὥσπερ εἰς ἀνταγώνισμα
δράματος ἀρχὴν ἄλλου παρεισφέρουσα, καὶ τὸν Καλάσιριν εἰς

¹⁹³ Paulsen (1992) also explores the Homeric-dramatic interface, see pp. 164-6.

ἡμέραν καὶ ὥραν ἐκείνην ὡςπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς σύνδρομον... .

(7.6.4-5)

The thickness of allusion is remarkable here: the people on the walls watched as in a theatre; fate “tragedized” a timely entrance; another drama was introduced to compete with the first; Kalasiris appeared like a *deus ex machina*, to watch his sons fight to the death. And that is what we may justifiably expect, if not from the language of allusion used here (ἐπετραγῶδει, ἀνταγωνισμα), nor from Heliodoros’ own statement (τῷ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγῶνι τῶν παίδων, 7.6.5), then from the source from which this entire situation was drawn, the plays about Eteokles and Polyneikes.

Thyamis and Petosiris do not kill one another, though; after recognizing their father (which takes a few moments, since he is disguised as a beggar) they are shamed by his presence into reconciliation. Just as everyone was absorbing the shock of this twist, ἕτερον ἐγένετο παρεγκύκλημα τοῦ δράματος-- ἡ Χαρίκλεια. (7.7.4) So, it seems that as one drama (or, by Heliodoros’ reckoning, two dramas) is dying down, another turns up. Fortunately for the bewildered onlookers, the dramas have similar endings, joyful recognition, and, looking down from the city walls, they σκηνογραφικῆς ἐπληροῦτο θαυματουργίας. (7.7.7) And who is responsible for this drama which they are marvelling at; who wrote it? For the answer to that we need only look back as far as 7.6.4, where we find that τότε δὴ πως εἶτε τι δαιμόνιον εἶτε τύχη τις τὰ ἀνθρώπεια βραβεύουσα καινὸν ἐπεισόδιον ἐπετραγῶδει... . It is some divine force which has made this tragedy, and the people on the wall— like the major characters in the novel, Kalasiris and Charikleia— do not fail to notice its performance. Heliodoros, whether through comments made in *narratio personae* or through the voice of the narrator telling us the thoughts of an onlooker (compare Nausikles’ reaction at 5.11.2), consistently acknowledges the theatricality of the plot. In other words, the dramatic texture of the romance, that is, allusions, references and terminology to drama and stagecraft, are

focalized, not only through the main characters (or even, named characters) but, as here, through the nameless crowd on the walls of Memphis.

There are two words of particular note in these examples, *παρεγκύκλημα* and *σκηνογραφικός*. The former term, as Morgan notes (*CAGN*, p.494), is “an obscure technical term of the theater... [which] seems to describe the use of the *ekkyklema* to interrupt the action taking place.” It is indeed obscure, for this passage is the only example given in Liddell, Scott and Jones for the meaning, “something added to a drama, interlude”.¹⁹⁴ The use of this word is a mark of Heliodoros’ commitment to the dramatic texture of his romance; not only does he give many passages a theatrical slant, but he is not shy about using terms perhaps even his contemporaries found difficult, let alone his modern readers. This is also the case with *σκηνογραφική*, whose appearance here is supplemented with *σκηνογραφέω* at 10.38.3. The verb form is another example of a technical term used in a unique sense by Heliodoros; it is, again, the only example listed in the lexicon. What the people are marvelling at, then, is not necessarily the manner of scene painting before them (as the lexicon would have it), but the manner of stage management. If we look again to 10.38.3, we may discover who has managed this plot—*ὄρμης θείας ἢ σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἐσκηνογράφησεν*. This is in keeping with the idea of the *δαίμων*, or *τύχη*, making the lives of the characters a *δρᾶμα*, which we looked at above.

Heliodoros is not yet ready to give up the dramatic thread from these events, though. He summarizes the whole proceedings thus: *Λέλυτο μὲν ἄθεσμος ἀδελφῶν πόλεμος καὶ ἀγὼν ὁ δι’ αἵματος κριθήσεσθαι προσδοκώμενος εἰς κωμικὸν ἐκ τραγικοῦ τὸ τέλος κατέστρεφε*. (7.8.1) What Heliodoros wants us to see here bears repeating: that the situation that started as a tragedy has ended as a comedy. It started, in fact, as the *Phoenissae* or *Seven against Thebes*, brother against brother; but it veered from that course and, through recognitions and reconciliations, has turned into a scene

¹⁹⁴A TLG search shows that *Παρεγκύκλημα* does occur in the scholia to Aristophanes and Sophocles as a stage direction; and a scholium to Lucian reads *τί σοι μεταξύ μωρολογίας παρεγκυκλήμα τοῦτο κατείργασι*, perhaps with a similar meaning to Heliodoros’.

which, if Theagenes and Charikleia were to get married here, would strongly resemble a New comedy ending. We shall have to wait for our marriage, however, to a later set of recognitions; but it will be worthwhile to remember the paradigm εἰς κωμικὸν ἐκ τραγικοῦ pointed out here. In retrospect, we can pick out a number of situations where this phrase has fit the action in the novel to this point in the story. For example, it appeared that Charikleia had been slain by Thyamis in the cave, and Theagenes even lamented τραγικὸν τι καὶ γοερὸν over her supposed corpse; but they found each other and were restored to temporary happiness. Again, Knemon's life story could be viewed (and was viewed by Knemon himself) as a tragedy along the lines of the *Hippolytos*, up to his exile in Egypt. But he gets to marry Nausikles' daughter (6.7.8), and, last we heard from him, was set to return to Athens and his father. There will be cause to recall this phrase later, but Theagenes and Charikleia are not through with their trouble yet. Heliodoros leaves this scene of theatrical combat and recognition, and sets the stage for the more subtle conflict between Charikleia and Arsake in the palace over Memphis, with a typical dramatic flourish. Ἐφ' ἅπασιν τὸ ἐρωτικὸν μέρος τοῦ δράματος ἡ Χαρίκλεια καὶ ὁ Θεαγένης ἐπήκμαζεν, ὠραῖοι καὶ χαρίεντες οὕτω νέοι παρ' ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν ἀλλήλους ἀπειληφότες καὶ πλεόντων ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς θέαν τὴν πόλιν ἐπιστρέφοντες. (7.8.2)

The intrigue at Arsake's palace, involving Theagenes, Charikleia, Arsake and her nurse Kybele, Kybele's son Achaimenes and the eunuch Euphrates, takes up most of books 7 and 8. It develops some of the themes inherited from the *Hippolytos*, while adding new elements as well. Arsake is here in the role of Phaidra, in love with Theagenes, who is unobtainable for her, not because he is her stepson, but because he is in love with Charikleia. Theagenes, of course, is Hippolytos. Kybele is a character who brings this section close to the original model, for she corresponds to Euripides' old nurse. Maillon (Budé vol. II, p. 131 n.1) lists some of the similarities and differences in his translation.

Il ne paraît douteux que le romancier, en créant le personnage d'Arsacé et celui de nourrice, se soit souvenu de l'*Hippolyte* d'Euripide, auteur qui manifestement lui était très familier. Mais il a sensiblement modifié les données du drame. Si Théagène rappelle Hippolyte, il n'a pas comme ce dernier un farouche dédain pour l'amour. La nourrice d'Arsacé est plus cynique et plus familière que celle de Phèdre. Cette dernière offre beaucoup plus de résistance au mal et aux séductions de l'amour que l'héroïne d'Héliodore. Enfin, et ce point est capital, le romancier apporte un élément nouveau: la jalousie... .

This is the second time Heliodoros is exploring the Hippolytos myth, however. The first time, remember, was in Knemon's autodiegetic life story. The two passages are not carbon copies, though; Heliodoros has explored different elements of the *Hippolytos* each time. For example, in Knemon's tale, the fact that Knemon was Demainete's stepson, just like Hippolytos and Phaidra, was played up by Heliodoros; in the Arsake episode, Theagenes is not a stepson, but a guest at the palace. In Kybele we have a character who corresponds very closely to Euripides' τροφός; the closest thing in Knemon's tale was Thisbe, who, although she was scheming, was never exactly the same impartial ally to her lovesick mistress [Arsake or Phaidra] as Kybele or Phaidra's nurse. And while Arsake and Demainete both commit suicide, the Persian's death is much more closely likened to Phaidra's, as we shall see. So, although Heliodoros draws heavily on the same source as the basis for two of his separate episodes, he does so without making it seem tedious or a cliché (even if it is not entirely unpredictable¹⁹⁵) by bringing out different aspects of the original story at different points in his narrative. He also introduces new elements into the story, often taken from other sources as well, such as his quotation from the *Cyclops* in Knemon's tale, to upset our expectations ever so slightly. The episode in Arsake's palace is no different in this respect; Heliodoros again mixes and matches Euripidean elements to put some variety in his own narrative.

¹⁹⁵ The *femme fatale* is a stock character in the romance; cf. Longus' Lykainion (*Daphnis and Chloe* 3.15 ff.), and Melite in Achilles Tatius (*Leukippe and Kleitophon*, 5.11 ff.).

The first major clue we have as to how events will run during their stay in Arsake's palace is at 7.9.4 ff., where we meet Kybele, τις πρεσβύτις... τῶν θαλαμηπόλων καὶ συνήθως τὰ ἐρωτικὰ τῆ Ἄρσάκη διακονουμένων. She sets to questioning Arsake about her obvious unrest, as did Phaidra's nurse, called βασιλίδος πιστὴ τροφὴ (*Hipp.* 267). There is a familiar pattern next: Arsake will not tell Kybele, but she eventually gets it out of her mistress that she is struck with love for the newcomer Theagenes. Kybele, like a true servant, promises Arsake that she will get Theagenes to forget the girl he is apparently with, and to become her lover. Kybele attempts to meet them first by taking an offering from Arsake to the temple, her excuse being that the satrap's wife had had a bad dream the night before. This is a familiar motif from tragedy; Clytemnestra sent Chrysothemis to Agamemnon's grave after an ominous dream in Sophocles' *Electra*, and in *Iphigenia in Tauris* Iphigenia sets off to pour libations for her brother, whom she presumes (from a misinterpreted dream) is dead. So even though Kybele is lying about her mistress' dream, she is at least in good literary company.

Her plan fails, however, for, rather inconveniently for her, Kalasiris has just died, and she is turned away from the temple by a sacristan. Kybele, turning a setback into an opportunity, improvises an excuse to have Theagenes and Charikleia moved into the palace, where it will be easier for her and Arsake to work their schemes on them. When the sacristan goes to fetch the couple to give them the "good news" that they are to be guests of the satrap's wife, he finds them in mourning for Kalasiris, and rebukes them for it. His rebuke features a quote from Euripides' fragmentary play *Kresphontes*; because of the difficulty presented by a quotation from a source about which relatively little is known, I shall discuss this section separately below. Heliodoros says of their acceptance of Kybele's offer φυλαξάμενοι ἄν, ὡς τὸ εἰκόσ, εἰ τὸ τραγικὸν τῆς οἰκήσεως καὶ ὑπέρογκον καὶ πρὸς κακοῦ γενησόμενον αὐτοῖς ὑπείδοντο. (7.12.1) This reference could be taken loosely, "tragic" in the sense of unhappy; here ὑπέρογκον seems to dilute the meaning of the phrase into something more general, e.g., "the incredibly bad things." I think, however, it is more likely to be a loaded term. Heliodoros uses the term

τραγικός three other times. The first, at 2.4.1, describes how Theagenes laments over the corpse he presumes to be Charikleia: τραγικόν τι καὶ γοερὸν... βρυχώμενος. While there is nothing in this phrase by itself to suggest a direct reference to the stage, when we compare it with Heliodoros' standard way of describing lamentation, ἐπιτραγωδέω, it perhaps takes on more of a dramatic aspect. That is, if we are accustomed to Charikleia lamenting as a character from tragedy, then when we find this description of Theagenes lamenting we will be willing to impart the full value of the word τραγικός. The next time we encounter this word, at 5.6.4, its theatrical connotations are even more explicit, for we find in the same sentence the phrases ὡσπερ σκηνήν, δρᾶμα, and τὴν τραγικὴν ταύτην ποίησιν. Then, just before the passage at 7.12.1, we find it with an even clearer connotation: εἰς κωμικὸν ἐκ τραγικοῦ τὸ τέλος κατέστρεφε. So, when we come to τραγικός at 7.12.1, not only does the quotation from *Kresphontes* highlight the ominous future for our hero and heroine, but the word itself (because of how Heliodoros has used it previously) and the firmly established dramatic texture hint to us that what will happen in Arsake's palace will be not just tragic, but Tragic, à la *Hippolytos*.

Kybele's plan is hardly underway when, through a familiar formula and an allusion, Heliodoros builds our expectations about drama more. As soon as Theagenes and Charikleia are left on their own (and what else would a young couple from the pages of romance do on their own?) they start to lament their current situation and past misfortunes, especially the loss of Kalasiris. As Charikleia starts to get carried away, tearing out her own hair as a sort of offering for Kalasiris. ... ὁ μὲν Θεαγένης ἐπεῖχεν ἐπιλαμβανόμενος σὺν ἰκεσίαις τῶν χειρῶν, ἡ δὲ ἐπετραγῶδει, "Τί γὰρ καὶ δεῖ ζῆν ἔτι;" (7.14.7) Charikleia kept on "tragedizing"; she was not only lamenting tragically, but she was also referring to Euripides' *Hecuba*, 349: τί γάρ με δεῖ ζῆν; While we should not be surprised at one of Heliodoros' *personae* quoting from Euripides in the midst of a tragic lament, the allusion is interesting from the point of view of the respective contexts. In Euripides, Polyxena says this in the midst of a long speech to Odysseus; who has been sent to bring her to Neoptolemos to sacrifice at Achilles' tomb. Shortly after

Polyxena asks this rhetorical question, she bravely meets her death. When Charikleia repeats her words, we are entitled to wonder if she herself will meet a similar end at the hands of her rival, Arsake. In due time, Arsake does make an attempt on Charikleia's life, as well, although it is unsuccessful; but Charikleia's deportment during Arsake's sham trial and subsequent execution also recalls Polyxena's resolve when faced with the sword of Agamemnon.

Arsake is not able to keep her passion in check for too long, but Theagenes puts her advances off for as long as he is able, despite her attempts to ingratiate herself with him and Charikleia by giving them gifts (including young Ionian slaves). Forced by the rapidly shortening patience of her mistress, Kybele confronts Theagenes, hoping that she and his "sister" Charikleia can talk him round into an affair with Arsake. Charikleia's response is measured to be a reproach to Arsake while seeming to agree with Kybele's urgings. "Εὐκτὸν μὲν ἦν" ἔφη "καὶ κάλλιστον μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ὑποστῆναι τὴν πάντα ἀρίστην Ἀρσάκην· εἰ δὲ μή, δεύτερα γοῦν ἐγκρατεία φέρειν τὸ πάθος. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ τι πέπονθεν ἀνθρώπινον καὶ νενίκηται,... . (7.21.1) While her remarks bear that indignation and air of superiority that jealous rivalry entail, they also perhaps bear faint traces of two passages in the *Hippolytos*. The first is Phaidra's confession to the Nurse and the chorus about her illicit love for Hippolytos, and her resolve to conquer it. ἐπεὶ μ' ἔρωσ ἔτρωσεν, ἐσκόπουν ὅπως / κάλλιστ' ἐνέγκαιμ' αὐτόν. ἠρξάμην μὲν οὖν/ ἐκ τοῦδε, σιγᾶν τήνδε καὶ κρύπτειν νόσον... τὸ δεύτερον δὲ τὴν ἄνοιαν εὖ φέρειν/ τῷ σωφρονεῖν νικῶσα προουνοησάμην. (*Hipp.* 392-4, 398-9) Phaidra cannot master her desire with self control, however, and she resolves to kill herself instead. But the nurse is there to offer a second plan of action. εἴ τοι δοκεῖ σοι, χρῆν μὲν οὐ σ' ἀμαρτάνειν,/ εἰ δ' οὖν, πιθοῦ μοι· δευτέρα γὰρ ἢ χάρις./ ἔστιν κατ' οἴκους φίλτρα μοι θελκτήρια/ ἔρωτος... . (*Hipp.* 507-10) The structural similarities in these three passages are clear: they all follow the "first then next best" construction. Besides the structural, thematic, and situational parallel, there is also a vague linguistic similarity between Charikleia's words and Phaidra's. κάλλιστον... δεύτερα... ἐγκρατεία φέρειν τὸ πάθος with Phaidra's

κάλλιστ' ἐνέγκαιμ' ... τὸ δεύτερον... εὖ φέρειν/ τῷ σωφρονεῖν νικῶσα... . But, like the quotation from the *Hecuba* at 7.14.7, these reminiscences have a loaded message, specifically, “Arsake had better beware; if she wants to act like Phaidra, she may end up like her.” And this warning takes on more dramatic tension when we also consider that Charikleia is here acting as advisor to Theagenes, just as the nurse advised Phaidra.

Theagenes does not give in to Arsake, despite her best efforts at seduction, and, those having failed, torture at the hands of Euphrates. It is then that Kybele devises her final scheme, one which comes straight out of tragedy. She proposes to Arsake that they should murder Charikleia by poison, and then, once she is dead, Theagenes' resolve will be broken and he will be a willing partner for Arsake. They put the plan into action; unfortunately Charikleia's young slave bottles it at the last moment, and she serves the deadly venom to the wrong person, the poisoner, Kybele. The old woman spasms, turns color, and dies, but not before implicating Charikleia as the murderer. If the motif of poisoning gone wrong sounds as if it can only come from the pages of tragedy, that's because it probably does— from Euripides' *Ion*. Creusa wanted to poison Ion, for fear that he, as the newly discovered, long lost son of her husband Xuthos, would cause her to become an outcast in her own home. But Ion unwittingly foiled her plan when he tipped the poisoned drink out as a libation when an ill-omened word was spoken. The plot was discovered when a dove innocently drank the poisoned libation; it convulsed, and died (*Ion* 1122 ff.). Creusa and Kybele are both caught by their own traps, more or less, as their attempts to poison their respective rivals are foiled. But although the reference in terms of situation is fairly clear, the way that Heliodoros has tipped the reader as to his allusion is astonishing. In the process of Charikleia's incarceration for the murder, immediately after the poisoning took place, the slave who made the mistake of giving the poison to Kybele steps forward to tell the truth, how she served the poison to Kybele, “possibly because she was flustered by the enormity of the crime or else because Kybele's gesture to serve Charikleia first had muddled her.” (*CAGN*, p. 525) But in the course of her confession, Heliodoros points out an interesting and important biographical fact about

the young slave—ἦν δὲ τῶν Ἰωνικῶν θάτερον τῶν εἰς διακονίαν παρὰ τὴν πρώτην ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρσάκης τοῖς νέοις δωρηθέντων... . (8.9.2) The slave who served the poison to Kybele, after all, was an Ionian. At the very point at which his reference has run its course, Heliodoros subtly points to the source—the *Ion* of Euripides. This is more than a cleverly devised “in joke” between Heliodoros and the readers sharp (or hyperactively imaginative) enough to get it; it is an indication of the extent to which the stage affects the *Aithiopika*; one of the deeper soundings in the romance. It is a tell tale sign of how thoroughly the dramatic texture is woven into the work.

It is possible to argue that the fact that the servant was Ionian is a coincidence. It must be admitted that Heliodoros is notoriously diligent in paying attention to ethnic origins and dialects¹⁹⁶; after all, did Heliodoros not point out the origin of these slaves earlier, at 7.19.5? However, that this slave, along with the boy who was given to Theagenes (but who plays no role in the *Aithiopika* except to be mentioned as an Ionian), should be the only Ionians in the novel, and that she should play such a crucial role in the very scene which so closely reflects the influence of the *Ion*, and that she should be noted as being an Ionian at that crucial scene, seems beyond coincidence. Incidentally, readers of Euripides will note that the young slave’s link to Ion is more than just in name, for the tragic poet says “Ἴωνα δ’ αὐτόν, κτίστορ’ Ἀσιάδος χθονός,/ ὄνομα κεκλήσθαι θήσεται καθ’ Ἑλλάδα. (*Ion* 74-5) Ionians, in other words, are called Ionians because they take their name from Ion. So, in a sense, Heliodoros’ young slave can be thought of as a literal, as well as literary, descendant of Euripides’ Ion.

As with Knemon’s story, Heliodoros has interrupted his exploration of the *Hippolytos* with references taken from another source. For a moment, we have forgotten about Phaidra and the nurse, and have seen Kybele as a type of Creusa. This should not, in one sense, be surprising to us as readers of Heliodoros; he is always diligent in accounting for the fates of his characters, and if we know what has happened to Thisbe, it

¹⁹⁶ E.g. Knemon the Athenian, Kalasiris the Egyptian, Charikles the Delphian, Kybele the Lesbian, etc.

is only natural that we should see Kybele come likewise to a deserved and ignominious end. And so Heliodoros adopts this scene from the *Ion*, where it serves as part of the motivation for a recognition scene, and turns it into an end in itself, for the elimination of a minor character and obstacle in Charikleia and Theagenes' path to their own recognition. But Heliodoros does not stray too far from his model, *Hippolytos*, unlike in Knemon's story; and this is why, while Knemon's tale ended as an ironic blend of tragedy and new comedy, the Arsake episode ends in a manner far closer to the original. Charikleia miraculously survives the execution Arsake arranged for her; and she and Theagenes are rescued from the satrap's wife through the jealousy of Kybele's son Achaimenes. They are led away to meet Oroondates, Arsake's husband, by Bagoas, another eunuch. On their way, they are caught by a man on horseback, bringing a message from Euphrates. Δίκην ὑμῖν ὑπέσχεν ἡ πολεμία· τέθηκεν Ἄρσάκη βρόχον ἀγχόνης ἀναμμένη... (8.15.2). In the many allusions Heliodoros makes to tragedy in the *Aithiopika*, including some direct quotations, this might be, given the clarity of the wording and the similarity of the situations, the clearest allusion in the entire text. When Theseus enters the stage for the first time, the chorus have the unhappy task of breaking the news of Phaidra's suicide to him; they say, βρόχον κρεμαστὸν ἀγχόνης ἀνήψατο (*Hipp.* 802). Finally, decisively, Arsake and Phaidra are united by allusion, and Heliodoros has finished his variants of the *Hippolytos*.¹⁹⁷

Theagenes and Charikleia are taken captive yet again after they hear about Arsake; however, this time they are captured by the Ethiopians, and one feels that the story is nearing its climax. But first Heliodoros spends much time narrating the cat and mouse game between Oroondates and Hydaspes, which includes the famous siege of Syene, and, at last, a major battle. Hydaspes is victorious, capturing Oroondates, but mercifully granting his freedom, and then turning his attention to the young couple set aside for sacrifice when they return to Meroe. Theagenes sees this as their big chance; finally Charikleia will come face to face with her father, and, to his thinking, a recognition seems

¹⁹⁷ For the theme of suicide by hanging, see Loraux 1987, pp. 13-17.

likely. Charikleia, however, thinks better of showing off her identity before the time is absolutely right; as she says, ὦν γὰρ πολυπλόκους τὰς ἀρχὰς ὁ δαίμων καταβέβληται, τούτων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ τέλη διὰ μακροτέρων συμπεραίνεσθαι...¹⁹⁸ (9.24.4) By her logic, they will be kept safe until they reach Meroe and the sacrifice, at which her mother should be present to validate her claim. Most of all, she is afraid of arousing Hydaspes' anger in making such an outrageous claim: καὶ ὕβριν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἠγησάμενον, εἴ τινες αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ δουλεύειν ἀποκεκληρωμένοι πεπλασμένοι καὶ ἀπίθανοι καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς τῷ βασιλεύοντι παῖδας ἑαυτοὺς εἰσποιοῦσιν. (9.24.6) Charikleia's apprehension stems from the fact that she is all too aware of the dramatic qualities her appearance as Hydaspes' daughter possesses. She wants to minimize her ex machina entrance as much as possible, because of her overwhelming proof of identity. However, as will soon become evident, Heliodoros does not let slip his hold on the theatricality of the final scene, the sacrifice and recognition, at Meroe; the dramatic will be very much on everybody's mind (not least the μηχανή itself) all the way until the very end of the narrative.

If Charikleia is apprehensive about making too theatrical an entrance, not everyone else has the same opinion. When she has been presented to Hydaspes and Persinna, they feel a certain emotional attachment to her and Theagenes, partly due to coincidental dreams that they had in which a young girl (resembling Charikleia) appeared. They are required to take a test to prove their virginity, stepping on a golden gridiron that burns the feet of the impure. Theagenes passes the test first, to the astonishment of the crowd. But it is Charikleia who truly impresses the crowd, with her stunning beauty and, above all, her purity; but they are also saddened that she is cleared to be sacrificed. Heliodoros tells us what they were feeling; and he illuminates it with a customary illustration. Ἐλύπει μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ὄχλων ἀρμόδιος τῇ θυσίᾳ φανεῖσα, καὶ δεισιδαιμονοῦντες ὁμῶς ἥδιστα ἂν εἶδον ἐκ τινος μηχανῆς περισθεῖσαν. (10.9.5) Later, when Hydaspes

¹⁹⁸ Perhaps Charikleia has a deeper insight into the workings of the narrative in which she is encased than we might expect: this statement is a loaded one, for the story is indeed very complex; nor will it be quickly resolved at all.

is about to sacrifice Charikleia, undeterred by the fact that she has been proven to be his daughter, Heliodoros again narrates the feelings of the crowd in dramatic metaphor. ἀλλ' ὀλίγον ἐπιστάς τόν τε δῆμον κατοπτρεύσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἴσων παθῶν κεκινημένον καὶ πρὸς τὴν σκηνοποιῖαν τῆς τύχης ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τε ἅμα καὶ ἐλέου δακρύνοντας... (10.16.3) Of course, it may not be all that remarkable that they view the proceedings in terms of theatre; for, when all is resolved, and both Theagenes and Charikleia are rescued, they break into celebrations of joy, ἢ τάχα καὶ ἐξ ὀρμῆς θείας ἢ σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἐσκηνογράφησεν εἰς ὑπόνοιαν τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐλθόντες. (10.38.3) Perhaps the god who produced the whole scene before them brings them to an understanding; and if the god does things like a play, then should the people not recognize them in the same terms? This reveals how deeply the theatrical metaphor pervades the *Aithiopika*; at every level of the narrative some allusion to it can be found. It is not just the characters who speak in terms of the theatre, or quote Euripides, nor is it merely a case of Heliodoros creating situations that draw directly on established patterns from tragedy, but he even reports the terms in which the crowd— not an individual character (although they do have an effect on the action somewhat later on)— formulated its hopes for Charikleia in dramatic imagery. There may be some sense of irony here, in that Charikleia did not want to appear ὥσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς, yet the crowd, who two chapters ago were shouting for the sacrifice, sees that her only way to be saved is as through an *ex machina* event.

It is here that Charikleia finally decides to reveal herself, with both parents, the gymnosophist Sisimithres, and a sympathetic crowd present. Interestingly, her claim to be Hydaspes' daughter is received by the king exactly how she had feared. ἦ γὰρ οὐκ ἄντικρυς μανίαν ἢ κόρη νοσεῖ παρατόλμοις πλάσμασι τὸν θάνατον πειρωμένη διώσασθαι, θυγατέρα ἐμὴν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐξ ἀπόρων ἑαυτὴν καὶ οἷον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἀναφαίνουσα...¹⁹⁹ (10.12.2) This is the third consecutive reference to the μηχανή, all of them attached in some way to Charikleia's revelation as Hydaspes' daughter. Many

¹⁹⁹ Hydaspes sees her appearance as a sort of stage trick; even after he reads the ταῖνα Charikleia possesses from Persinna, he thinks of her as acting the part of his daughter— ὥσπερ πρῶσοπεῖον (10.13.5).

events in the novel are described as ὥσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς; for example, not only Charikleia's recognition is defined in this way, but Theagenes' as well. When Charikles shows up out of the blue in Meroe to get his daughter back, it is his identification of Theagenes which brings about the abolishment of human sacrifice. It is Sisimithres who points out the way Charikles appeared: *καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς, ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐνταῦθα ἀναπέμψαντες...* (10.39.2) We have also seen that this expression had been proverbial for an unexpected outcome long before Heliodoros' time. It would seem, therefore, unlikely that he had in mind any specific use of the crane.²⁰⁰ Yet, Hydaspes' words reveal that his character, at least, is aware that the *deus ex machina* occurred on the stage; that is, it is not just a proverb, but modified by the words ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, it can be interpreted as a genuine concession to actual stagecraft. Heliodoros himself may well have been aware of the μηχανή and its use on the classical stage, if he knew his Euripides, so, again, we are not compelled to take this as evidence for the use of the crane in later Imperial times. The best interpretation probably lies somewhere in the middle, that while this phrase was proverbial, Heliodoros, by bolstering it with other technical vocabulary, allows it to keep some of its original theatrical associations. It is fitting, however, that Charikleia's return, and Theagenes' rescue, was formulated in terms of a theatrical epiphany (although no god actually appears²⁰¹), because, in the end, it is another theatrical (and epic, of course) method that helps to bring about the happy ending: the recognition scene.²⁰² But this is akin to New comedy, as well as to tragedy, as Heliodoros shows a little later in the text.

Charikleia is accepted as the royal daughter of Hydaspes and Persinna, and only Theagenes awaits to be saved from sacrifice. As we have already seen, Charikles shows up *καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς*, recognizes Theagenes, and brings him forward as a kidnapper.

²⁰⁰ And it seems even less likely that the μηχανή as used in Classical times (cf. Mastronarde 1990, pp. 247-294) would have been much use in the theatres of the Empire, with their massive two and three story σκηνάι; this is not to rule out, however, epiphanies achieved in some other fashion during plays where they are central to the plot, though we have no direct evidence.

²⁰¹ Until the last chapter, when Heliodoros reveals himself as a descendant of Helios—therefore of divine origins. Are we meant to think of this as an epiphany ἐκ μηχανῆς?

²⁰² Cave 1988, pp.17-24, sets this scene in a wider context of the theme of recognition throughout literature.

Sisimithres then tells Charikles what has happened, and all that remains to be done is the official abolition of the human sacrifice. Sisimithres explains the whole situation to Hydaspes, during the course of which he includes the details *νῦν μὲν τὴν πανόλβιον Χαρίκλειαν ἐξ αὐτῶν σοι τῶν βωμῶν θυγατέρα ἀναδείξαντες καὶ τὸν ταύτης τροφέα, καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς... νῦν τὴν κορωνίδα τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὥσπερ λαμπάδιον δράματος τὸν νυμφίον τῆς κόρης τουτονὶ τὸν ξένον νεανίαν ἀναφῆναντες.* (10.39.2) The gymnosophist has read the proceedings perfectly. The gods have arranged it so that Charikles' appearance was at exactly the right time to save Theagenes, just like a *deus ex machina*, and all the other disturbances, too, indicate that the sacrifice should not go on. But to top it all off, just as with drama's torches, Charikleia and Theagenes are to be married. This phrase, *λαμπάδιον δράματος*, was once thought to be a reference to a certain mask worn by a female character, perhaps at the end of a play.²⁰³ However, it is likely instead that this refers to a practice at the end of both Old and New comedy involving an exit with torches. "In Old Comedy a *komos* procession, with torches blazing, was one of the characteristic methods of producing a memorable *exodos*. This feature, insofar as it often involved revelry with its visual symbolism of torch and garland, seems to have been preserved... by New Comedy; and though our evidence is limited, it strongly suggests that torches and garlands were as traditional a feature of New Comedy endings as the appeal for applause and the prayer to Nike."²⁰⁴ A reference to New comedy is entirely appropriate here; what we have just witnessed can be summed up as a recognition scene, followed by a wedding, staple features of New comic plots. And there is more to suggest why Heliodoros would here introduce an ending appropriate to comedy. The entire scene of Theagenes and Charikleia in Meroe could have been a plot for a tragedy; a king had agreed to sacrifice a young maiden, who, unbeknownst to him, was his daughter. Through tokens, she came to be recognized, yet the pious father remained unyielding in his resolve to do as he was obligated. At that point, however, the tone changes; the crowd prevents the sacrifice, which Hydaspes is willing to forego;

²⁰³ Cf. Walden 1894, p.30 ff., for a summary of that argument.

²⁰⁴ Arnott 1965, p.255.

Theagenes rescues the whole assembly from a stampede, then defeats a giant in a wrestling match before Charikles comes *καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς*, and the truth about him and Charikleia is revealed. And, when it is, of course, a marriage is in order. What started out as a tragedy finished as, well, a comedy, especially of the New variety. But Heliodoros has given us a major clue that this would be the case earlier on in the text, at 7.8.1, where we had another recognition scene with a happy ending. That was when Kalasiris showed up, *ὥσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς*, to stop his sons from killing each other— a situation straight from tragedy. That episode was summed up by Heliodoros as *εἰς κωμικὸν ἐκ τραγικοῦ*; that phrase fits equally well as a description of the last scene in Meroe, indeed, of the entire *Aithiopika*.

The very last example I will discuss is one that I find particularly engaging, because it poses a problem especially relevant to the study of ancient literature: a quotation from a lost source. In our case it is a quotation from a lost play by Euripides, *Kresphontes*. The Heliodoran context is a sacristan rebuking Theagenes and Charikleia for excessive mourning of Kalasiris after his death in Memphis, telling them that, rather than mourning for him, they ought to send him forth to his rest with rejoicing: *ὄν χαίροντας καὶ εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν*. (7.11.9) The Euripidean fragment (Nauck fr. 449; context uncertain²⁰⁵) reads thus: *ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἡμᾶς σύλλογον ποιουμένους/ τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν εἰς ὅσ' ἔρχεται κακά,/ τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον/ χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων*. Except for the quotation from *Hippolytos* at 8.15.2, this is probably the tragic allusion that is closest to its model in all the text. And this is at once fascinating and frustrating; we know what level of sophistication Heliodoros is able to achieve through allusions, and that he rarely makes a reference without it affecting our reading in one way or another. Yet, from what we know of the *Kresphontes*, it is difficult to see how, in this particular instance, Heliodoros has used Euripides' words as little more

²⁰⁵ M.J. Cropp suggests it "may belong to the scene of Merope's pretended reconciliation with Polyphontes". Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995, p.123.

than a convenient tag or phrase. Is it possible that perhaps we were meant to discover something new about Kalasiris through this allusion, as we did about Knemon by the use of the *Cyclops* at 1.11.5? Or maybe it foreshadowed some tragic event for the house in which Theagenes and Charikleia were to stay in with masked identity, as Kresphontes stayed in the home of Polyphontes incognito. We cannot be certain of the allusive fullness of this quotation without the original context; we are fortunate, though, even to be able to recognize it, and we should not be surprised that it turns out to be from Euripides. It raises the inevitable question, how many more references are we missing due to lost originals? This question is even more pertinent to an author like Heliodoros, who is so obviously learned and keen to incorporate themes, ideas, and phrases from his predecessors into his own work. In the introduction to his study of allusion in Greek tragedy, Garner writes, "...no matter how securely a body of allusions in tragedy can be established, the collection— assuming that allusion took place— will be incomplete in two respects. Whatever, for example, we find in Sophocles' plays, it represents only what he did in barely more than five percent of his work. It may, or may not, be representative of his general practice. More disturbing, perhaps, is that even for those seven plays, we can only have a partial picture. If Sophocles was a creator of allusions, the bulk of his allusions to lyric and tragedy will be impossible for us to identify: his sources, like his own works, no longer survive." (Garner 1990, p.19) Our problems in dealing with Heliodoros' allusions are a sort of compound of these two difficulties expressed by Garner: while we have Heliodoros' whole novel, we lose some of the richness of it because so little of Sophocles, or perhaps more significantly, Euripides, survives; as well as the problem of losing all the other sources both before and after Euripides and the fifth century.

The allusion to *Kresphontes* also brings us, full circle, back to the idea of contemporary theatre in the late Roman Empire. It is ironic that the one allusion which we are unable to fully enjoy (because of the original source being lost), is the one play for which there is solid evidence for its performance, in the case of *Kresphontes*, in third

century Egypt. The theatre, and classical tragedy, whether in full production, abridged scenes, or even recitations, was still alive during Heliodoros' time, even according to conservative estimates; and Heliodoros draws upon it heavily for allusion and terminology. Yet, the objection may still be raised that many of Heliodoros' so-called references to the theatre, such as mention of the μηχανή or σκηνή, are not direct references as such, but have lost their primary association with staged performance, and have become proverbs or clichés. I have attempted to answer this objection by showing that, while these phrases may certainly be used proverbially, Heliodoros, through persistent clustering of dramatic reference, does not allow them to remain simply proverbial. That is to say, when he uses one of these so-called proverbs, it is usually in a context of other theatrical reference, and, often, direct allusion to a specific tragedy. Also, there is the fact that certain of Heliodoros' theatrical metaphors are too rare to be considered proverbial; one thinks of the παρεγκύκλημα, σκηνογραφικός, or even his unique use of ἐπιτραγωδέω. These terms, and the numerous allusions, betray a deeper connection between the *Aithiopika* and the theatre than perhaps previously assumed.

In the course of the theatrical references, there are trends, patterns and strategies which run throughout the *Aithiopika*, which enhance the novel, and, eventually, become part of the climax itself; I have termed these patterns and references dramatic texture. It is clear, for instance, that Heliodoros tended to cluster his allusions together, endowing the text at certain crucial scenes with that quality I have named dramatic texture. This enabled Heliodoros to turn some episodes in his novel into extended variations on tragic myths, most notably the *Hippolytos* and *Ion*. The number of times he mentions stage technique or apparatus, let alone specific references, is remarkable. Perhaps the key, however, to understanding Heliodoros' overall strategy of dramatic texture lies, not in fine distinctions of possible meanings, nor even, perhaps, in its link with contemporary theatre. The key is a basic grammatical construction, ὥστερ or καθάπερ followed by the reference, which reveals an artistic ploy. The consistent use of this type of phrase has the effect of endowing the romance with a significant theatrical subtext. The characters

thought and spoke as if they were in a tragedy; and not only the main characters, such as Theagenes, Charikleia, Kalasiris, Knemon, or even Arsake or Hydaspes, but the anonymous crowds also have the ability to conceive the plot action in terms of theatre, often divinely staged. And this subtext adds dimension to the novel; Heliodoros could colour the perception of his characters by emphasizing their tragic (or comic) qualities, and add intrigue and suspense by building scenes which draw upon specific tragedies. He could suddenly change the entire impetus of the action, turning it, in his words, εἰς κωμικὸν ἐκ τραγικοῦ. This is true not only for isolated episodes in the text, either, but in the final analysis we find that the whole story could be neatly summed up in these same words. This is, I think, how Heliodoros brings his love of tragedy, especially Euripides, in line with the conventions of his own genre; mixing the twists and turns of tragedy, its sometimes hopeless situations of illicit love or human sacrifice, as well as recognition, with a New comic happy ending most appropriate to romance.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ It is significant that recognition scenes are instrumental both in tragedy and in New comedy; this may be why Heliodoros is able to use exactly these type of scenes as the point at which tragedy begins to become comedy, e.g. Petosiris'/Thyamis' recognition of Kalasiris, and Hydaspes' recognition of Charikleia.

Bibliography

Texts and Translations

- Achilles Tatius. *Leucippe and Clitophon*, ed. Vilborg, Stockholm, 1955 .
- Aristotle. *Poetics*, ed. D.W. Lucas, Oxford, 1968.
- Artemidoros. *Artemidori Daldiani. Onircriticon Libri V*, ed. R.A. Pack, Leipzig, 1963 (Teubner).
- Artemidoros. *The Interpretation of Dreams*, tr. R.J. White, Park Ridge, 1975.
- Chariton. *Le Roman de Chairéas et Callirhoé*, ed. and tr. G. Molinié, Paris, 1979 (Budé).
- Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. Ed. B.P. Reardon, Berkeley, 1989.
- Euripides. *Fabulae*, 3 vols., ed. J. Diggle, Oxford, 1981-94.
- Euripides. *Selected Fragmentary Plays*, ed. and comm. C. Collard, M.J. Cropp, and K.H. Lee, Aris and Phillips, 1995.
- Heliodoros. *Les Éthiopiennes: Théagène et Chariclée*, 3 vols., ed. R.M. Rattenbury and T.W. Lumb, tr. J. Maillon, Paris, 1935-43 (Budé).
- Homer. *Iliad*, 2 vols., A.T. Murray ed. and tr., Cambridge, MA, 1924-5, (Loeb).
- Homer. *The Iliad of Homer*, tr. R. Lattimore, Chicago, 1967.
- Homer. *Odyssey*, 2 vols., ed. and comm. W.B. Stanford, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1959.
- Homer. *The Odyssey of Homer*, tr. R. Lattimore, New York, 1991.
- Longus. *Daphnis et Chloe*, ed. M. Reeve, Leipzig, 1982 (Teubner).
- Michael Psellos. *The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achille Tatius*, ed. A.R. Dyck, Vienna, 1986.
- Photios. *Bibliothèque*, vol. II, ed. and Fr. tr. R. Henry, Paris, 1960 (Budé).
- Photios. *The Bibliotheca*, tr. N.G. Wilson, London, 1994.
- Xenophon of Ephesus. *Ephesiacorum Libri V*, ed. A.D. Papanikolaou, Leipzig, 1973 (Teubner).

Other Sources

- Alexiou, M. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, Cambridge, 1974.
- Amory, A. "The Gates of Horn and Ivory", *Yale Classical Studies* 20, 1966.
- Amory, A. "Homer as Artist", *Classical Quarterly* 21, 1971.
- Anderson, G. "Two Notes on Heliodorus", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 99, 1979.
- Anderson, G. *Eros Sophistes. Ancient Novelists at Play*, Chico, 1982.
- Anderson, G. *Ancient Fiction. The Novel in the Graeco-roman World*, London, 1984.
- Anderson, G. *The Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire*, London, 1993.

- Arnott, W.G. ΩΣΠΙΕΡ ΛΑΜΠΙΑΔΙΟΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ, *Hermes* 93, 1965.
- Bakhtin, M.M. *The Dialogic Imagination*, Austin, 1981.
- Bartsch, S. *Decoding the Ancient Novel: The Reader and the Role of Description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*, Princeton, 1989.
- Bartsch, S. *Actors in the Audience: Theatricality and Doublespeak from Nero to Hadrian*, Cambridge, 1994.
- Beare, W. *The Roman Stage. A Short History of Latin Drama in the Time of the Republic*, 3rd edition, London, 1968.
- Beaton, R. *The Medieval Greek Romance*, Cambridge, 1989.
- Berkowitz, L., and Squitier, K.A., *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. Canon of Authors and Works* (2nd ed.), New York, 1986 (CD-ROM).
- Bieber, M. *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton, 1961.
- Birchall, J. "The Lament as a Rhetorical Feature in the Greek Novel", *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel VII*, 1996.
- Bowersock, G.W. *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian*, Berkeley, 1994.
- Bowie, E.L. "The Greek Novel", *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I.4*, Cambridge, 1989.
- Bowie, E.L., and Harrison, S.J. "The Romance of the Novel", *Journal of Roman Studies* 83, 1993.
- Bühler, W. "Das Element des Visuellen in der Eingangsszene von Heliodors *Aithiopika*", *Wiener Studien N.F.* 10, 1976.
- Cambridge History of Classical Literature I.4: The Hellenistic Period and the Empire*, ed. P.E. Easterling and E.J. Kenney, Cambridge, 1989.
- Cave, T. *Recognitions: A Study in Poetics*, Oxford, 1988.
- Cox Miller, P. *Dreams in Late Antiquity*, Princeton, 1994.
- Csapo, E., and Slater, W.J. *The Context of Ancient Drama*, Ann Arbor, 1995.
- De Bernardi Ferrero, D. *Teatri Classici in Asia Minore I-IV*, Rome, 1966-74.
- Dowden, K. "Heliodoros: Serious Intentions", *Classical Quarterly* 46, 1996.
- Egger, B. "Women and Marriage in the Greek Novels: The Boundaries of Romance", in *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, ed. J. Tatum, Baltimore, 1994.
- Feuillâtre, É. *Études sur les Éthiopiennes d'Héliodore*, Paris, 1966.
- Fontenrose, J. *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations with a Catalogue of Responses*, Berkeley, 1978.
- Frézouls, E. "Recherches sur les Théâtres de l'Orient Syrien", *Syria* 36, 1959.
- Frézouls, E. "Aspects de l'histoire architecturale du théâtre romain", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol.II.12.1, Berlin, 1982.
- Fusillo, M. "Textual Patterns and Narrative Situations in the Greek Novel", *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel I*, 1988.

- Futre Pinheiro, M. "Calasiris' story in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*", *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel IV*, 1991.
- Garner, R. *From Homer to Tragedy: The Art of Allusion in Greek Poetry*, Routledge, 1990.
- Garrison, E.P. *Groaning Tears. Ethical and Dramatic Aspects of Suicide in Greek Tragedy*, Leiden, 1995.
- Garson, R.W. "Notes on some Homeric Echoes in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*", *Acta Classica* 18, 1975.
- Genette, G. *Narrative Discourse*, London, 1980.
- Goldhill, S. *Foucault's Virginité*, Cambridge, 1995.
- Green, J.R. *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society*, London, 1994.
- Green, J.R. "Theatre Production: 1971-1986", *Lustrum* 31, 1989.
- Hägg, T. *The Novel in Antiquity*, Oxford, 1983.
- Hani, J. "Le personnage de Chariclea dans les *Éthiopiennes*; incarnations de l'idéal moral et religieux d'une époque", *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, 37, 1978.
- Hanson, J.S. "Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. II.23.2, Berlin, 1980.
- Hefti, V. *Zur Erzählungstechnik in Heliodors Aethiopica*, Vienna, 1950.
- Heiserman, A. *The Novel Before the Novel. Essays and Discussions about the Beginnings of Prose Fiction in the West*, Chicago, 1977.
- Holzberg, N. *The Ancient Novel*, London, 1995 (tr. C. Jackson-Holzberg).
- Hunter, R. L. *A Study of Daphnis and Chloe*, Cambridge, 1983.
- Johne, R. "Dido und Charikleia. Zur Gestaltung der Frau bei Vergil und im griechischen Liebesroman", *Eirene* 24, 1987.
- Jones, C.P. "Greek Drama in the Roman Empire", in *Theater and Society in the Classical World*, ed. R. Scodel, Ann Arbor, 1993.
- Kelly, H.A. "Tragedy and the Performance of Tragedy in Late Roman Antiquity", *Traditio* 35, 1979.
- Keyes, C.W. "The Structure of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*", *Studies in Philology* 19, 1922.
- Kokolakis, M. *The Dramatic Simile of Life*, Athens, 1960.
- Kokolakis, M. "Lucian and the Tragic Performances in his Time", *Platon* 12, 1961.
- Konstan, D. *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres*, Princeton, 1994.
- Lamberton, R. *Homer the Theologian. Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition*, Berkeley, 1986.
- Lamberton, R., and Keaney, J.J., *Homer's Ancient Readers: the Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes*, Princeton, 1992.
- LaPlace, M., "Les *Éthiopiennes* d'Héliodore, ou la genèse d'un panégyrique de l'Amour", *Révue des Études Anciennes* 94, 1992.

- Létoublon, F. *Les Lieux Communs du Roman*, Leiden, 1993.
- Levin, S. "The Old Greek Oracles in Decline", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. II.18.2, Berlin, 1989.
- Loroux, N. *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman*, Cambridge MA, 1987 (tr. A. Fraser).
- Lord, A.B. "Homer as Oral Poet", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72, 1967.
- MacAlister, S. *Dreams and Suicides. The Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Empire*, London, 1996.
- Mastrorarde, D.J. "Actors on High: The Skene Roof, the Crane, and the Gods in Attic Drama", *Classical Antiquity* 9, 1990.
- Merkelbach, R. "Heliodor I,10, Seneca, und Euripides", *Rheinisches Museum* 100, 1957.
- Messer, W.S. *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*, New York, 1918.
- Mitchell, S. "Festivals, Games and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor", *Journal of Roman Studies* 80, 1990.
- Morgan, J.R. "Two Giraffes Emended", *Classical Quarterly* 38, 1988.
- Morgan, J.R. "A Sense of the Ending: The Conclusion of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 119, 1989a.
- Morgan, J.R. "The Story of Knemon in Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 109, 1989b.
- Morgan, J.R. "Reader and audiences in the *Aithiopika* of Heliodorus", *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel IV*, 1991.
- Morgan, J.R. "Make-Believe and Make Believe: The Fictionality of the Greek Novels", in *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, ed. C. Gill and T.P. Wiseman, Exeter, 1993.
- Morgan, J.R. "The *Aithiopika* of Heliodoros: Narrative as Riddle", in *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context*, ed. J.R. Morgan and R. Stoneman, London, 1994.
- Morgan, J.R. "Heliodoros", in *The Novel in the Ancient World*, ed. G. Schmeling, Leiden, 1996.
- Morris, J.F. "'Dream-Scenes' in Homer: a Study in Variation", *Transactions of the American Philological Society* 113, 1983.
- Papanikolaou, A.D. *Chariton-Studien*, Göttingen, 1973.
- Parke, H.W. *Greek Oracles*, London, 1967.
- Parke, H.W. and Wormell, D.E.W. *The Delphic Oracle. Volume II: The Oracular Responses*, Oxford, 1956.
- Paulsen, T. *Inszenierung des Schicksals. Tragödie und Komödie im Roman des Heliodors*, Trier, 1992.
- Perry, B.E. "Chariton and His Romance from a Literary-Historical Point of View", *American Journal of Philology* 51, 1930.
- Perry, B.E. *The Ancient Romances. A Literary-Historical Account of their Origins*, Berkeley, 1967.

- Rabinowitz, P.J. "Truth in Fiction: A Reexamination of Audiences", *Critical Inquiry* 4, 1977.
- Reardon, B.P. *Courants littéraires grecs des IIe et IIIe siècles après J.-C.*, Paris, 1971.
- Reardon, B.P., ed. *Erotica Antiqua: Acta of the International Conference on the Ancient Novel*, Bangor, 1977.
- Reardon, B.P. *The Form of Greek Romance*, Princeton, 1991.
- Rohde, E. *Der griechische Roman*. (3rd edition), Leipzig, 1914.
- Roueché, C. *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods*, London, 1993.
- Sandy, G.N. *Heliodorus*, Boston, 1982a.
- Sandy, G.N. "Characterization and Philosophical Decor in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 112, 1982b.
- Sandy, G.N. "New Pages of Greek Fiction", in *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context*, ed. J.R. Morgan and R. Stoneman, London, 1994.
- Selden, D.L. "Genre of Genre", in *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, ed. J. Tatum, Baltimore, 1994.
- Stephens, S.A., and Winkler, J.J., eds. *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments*, Princeton, 1995.
- Stillwell, R., ed. *Antioch on the Oroontes II: The Excavations 1933-36*, Princeton, 1938.
- Szepessy, T. "Le siège de Nisibe et la chronologie d'Héliodore", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24, 1976.
- Turner, E.G. "Dramatic Representations in Graeco-Roman Egypt: How Long Do They Continue?", *L'Antiquité Classique* 32, 1963.
- van der Valk, M.H.A.L.H. "Remarques sur la date des *Éthiopiennes* d'Héliodore", *Mnemosyne* 3.9, 1941.
- Veyne, P. "DIASKEUAI: Le Théâtre Grec sous l'Empire (Dion de Pruse, XXXII, 94)", *Revue des Études Grecs* 102, 1989.
- Walden, J.W.H. "Stage Terms in Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*", *Harvard Studies in Philology* 5, 1894.
- Winkler, J.J. "The Mendacity of Kalasiris and the Narrative Strategy of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*", *Yale Classical Studies* 27, 1982.
- Winkler, J.J. *Constraints of Desire. The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*, New York, 1990.