Intertextuality in the Egyptian books of Achilles Tatius' *Leukippe and Kleitophon*

Joanne Norton-Curry

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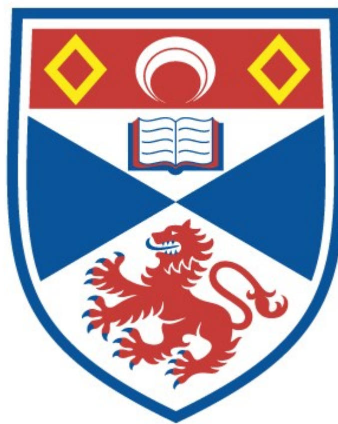
at the
University of St Andrews



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General acknowledgements

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Abstract

This thesis explores intertextuality in the books of Achilles Tatius' (henceforward AT) *Leukippe and Kleitophon* (henceforward *L&C*) which are set in Egypt (i.e. 3.6-5.14). *L&C* is distinctly intertextual and intratextual, even by the standards of the ancient novel genre, and its intercultural complexity is more sophisticated and multifaceted than has previously been realised. I will demonstrate that the Egyptian books' intertexts are Near Eastern (including Egyptian) as well as Greek and Roman, reflecting the polyglot, multicultural nature of Roman Egypt. Previous studies of intertextuality in *L&C* have not explored in detail the possibility that the Egyptian locations chosen by AT for certain key events have significance. I suggest that the myths and history of the chosen locations have a previously unexplored relevance to pivotal events in the main narrative. I argue that there is an increase in the novel's intertextual density and complexity when the protagonists reach Egypt. This has two key effects. First, it gives the Egyptian episodes a surreal, dream-like quality. Characters from the intertexts can rarely be mapped onto characters from the main narrative with a straightforward one-to-one equivalence. This leads to fragmented, conflated and fused identities; identities which refuse to remain static, ever-changing like the identities of characters in a dream. Second, these shifting identities created through intertextuality, characterise Egypt as a land of metamorphosis. I suggest that whilst the image of a metamorphic Egypt is far from unique in ancient literature, AT is unique in showcasing Egypt's metamorphic character subtly through intertextuality. I propose that AT purposefully created a highly intertextual piece of literature, aware that by choosing myths with several variants, character names known from several different sources, and events which have counterparts in history, myth and fiction, he was eliminating the possibility of one 'correct' interpretation of his story.

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INTRODUCTION

a. Aim and Hypotheses

The aim of my thesis is to explore intertextuality in the books of Achilles Tatius' (henceforward AT) *Leukippe and Kleitophon* (henceforward *L&C*) which are set in Egypt (i.e. 3.6-5.14). I aim to demonstrate that *L&C* is distinctly intertextual and intratextual, even by the standards of the ancient novel genre, and that its intercultural complexity is more sophisticated and multifaceted than has previously been realised. My exploration will seek to investigate several interconnected hypotheses.

In **Case Study A/A.i.** I will demonstrate that AT encourages his readers to look for intertextual, intratextual and intercultural interactions right from the outset of his novel. Building upon the work of Repath and Ní Mheallaigh on the programmatic opening of *L&C*, I will explore the idea that AT encourages an intertextual reading of *L&C* through his description of the double harbour at Sidon (1.1.1), his ekphrasis of Europa's meadow (1.1.2-13), and the Phaedran setting for the telling of Kleitophon's story to the anonymous narrator (1.2).[1] Previous scholarship has touched upon the intertextual relationship between the ekphrasis of the painting of Europa's abduction by Zeus and Moschus' *Europa*.[2] I will go further to suggest that the anonymous narrator's description of Sidon's topography in corporeal terms is also connected to Moschus' poem, specifically to Europa's dream in which the continents of Asia and the future Europe contend for her affections. This link to the Europa poem is the first indication of the intercultural dynamic of the novel. I aim to conclude A.i. by adding to the intercultural interpretation of the Europa painting first proposed by Selden.[3]

Landscape descriptions in *L&C* often mirror the experience of reading intertextually. Building upon the recent publication of Baker, who argues that the continually bifurcating Egyptian Nile reflects the way in which AT's narrative defies interpretive finality, I will provide metaliterary readings of the harbour of Sidon in A.i. and the city of Alexandria in A.ii.[4] In relation to Alexandria, I will explore how the city's scopophilic delights, which overstimulate Kleitophon's vision with their abundance, reflect not only the pleasure of reading intertextually, but the sensation of being overwhelmed when presented with a passage of

[1] Repath, 2018; Selden, 1994; Ní Mheallaigh, 2007.
[2] Whitmarsh, 2011, p.89, n.98; De Temmerman, 2012(c), p.526, n.28.
[3] Selden, 1994, pp.49-51.
[4] Baker, 2018, pp.52-53.

particular intertextual density and the aporia resulting from its numerous possible interpretations.

I have chosen to study the Egyptian books of *L&C*, as the intertextual interactions in these books, especially those of an intercultural nature, are particularly numerous and multi-layered. I suggest that this increase in intertextual density and complexity when the novel's protagonists reach Egypt has two key effects. First, it gives the Egyptian episodes a surreal, dream-like quality. Characters from the intertexts can rarely be mapped onto characters from the main narrative with a straightforward one-to-one equivalence. This leads to fragmented, conflated and fused identities; identities which refuse to remain static, ever-changing like the identities of characters in a dream. For example, Leukippe being sacrificed is simultaneously Andromeda being offered as a sacrifice to the sea-monster, the sea-monster who is being killed with an odd-shaped sword, a West Semitic male deity associated with death and resurrection, a West Semitic female deity associated with seduction, the Egyptian god Osiris rising from his funeral bier, and Osiris' arch-nemesis Seth who was killed in the form of a Nile animal.[5] I will discuss this intertextual phenomenon in detail throughout this thesis, but especially in relation to the ekphrases of the Andromeda and Prometheus paintings in Book 3 and the Philomela painting in Book 5, and the mapping of the characters from these paintings onto the characters of the main narrative. Second, these shifting identities created through intertextuality, characterise Egypt as a land of metamorphosis. I argue that this characterisation of Egypt is in keeping with both Greek and Egyptian traditions: for example, Homer's shapeshifting sea-god Proteus who lives on the island of Pharos (*Odyssey*, 4.457-459), and the Egyptian *Tale of the Two Brothers* in which the younger brother changes form each time he is seemingly killed. I suggest that whilst the image of a metamorphic Egypt is far from unique in ancient literature, that AT is unique in showcasing Egypt's metamorphic character subtly through intertextuality. Whereas metamorphosis is actually described by the author/narrator as taking place in the *Odyssey* and the *Tale of Two Brothers*, the *topos* of metamorphosis operates beneath the surface level of the narrative in *L&C*, through intertextual and intratextual connections.

I suggest that locations can also have intertextual associations. Previous studies of intertextuality in *L&C* have not discussed the possibility that the locations chosen by AT for certain key denouements have significance. I argue against the view of Bakhtin that "all adventures in the Greek romance are thus governed by an interchangeability of space; what

[5] I explore how these identities are created through intertextuality in **Case Studies B & C**.

happens in Babylon could just as well happen in Egypt or Byzantium and vice versa."[6] I suggest that the myths and history of the chosen locations have a previously unexplored relevance to pivotal events in the main narrative. My key example in this regard will be the temple of Zeus Kasios at Pelusium and its associated mythology in relation to the first *Scheintod* of Leukippe.

Stimulated by Repath's description of *L&C* as "interactive fiction", throughout my thesis, I will provide evidence which indicates that AT purposefully created a highly intertextual piece of literature, aware that by choosing myths with several variants (for instance, the Philomela myth discussed in **Case Study D**), character names known from several different sources (for example, several stories which feature a character called Leukippe will be mentioned in the course of this thesis), and events which have counterparts in history, myth and fiction (for example, the disembowelment of Leukippe and the eating of her entrails, as discussed in **Case Study C**), he was eliminating the possibility of one 'correct' interpretation of his story.[7] I contend that AT engineered his text in this way so that his readers might create their own intertextual relationships with intertexts which he had not foreseen. In my approach, I have been influenced by the work of Scourfield on "overlapping debts" in Chariton's *Callirhoe* and his assertion that the novel weaves together several generic codes which play with the expectations of the reader, of Finkelpearl on heteroglossia in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, and of Thomas on "multiple reference" in Virgil's *First Georgic*.[8] Their contributions to the ongoing debate on intertextuality and classical literature will be discussed later in this introduction.

In the books of *L&C* which are set in Egypt, I will demonstrate that the intertexts are Near Eastern (including Egyptian) as well as Greek and Roman, reflecting the polyglot, multicultural nature of Roman Egypt. For example, in **Case Study E**, I argue that Kleitophon's lamentation over Leukippe's headless corpse intertextually engages with both Greek funerary epigrams and the Egyptian *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys*. This polyglot quality of AT's narrative is his distinctive contribution to the tradition of writing about Egypt. I take my inspiration from the work of Stephens on the need to look at the poetry of Ptolemaic Alexandria through the dual lenses of Greek and Egyptian culture, of Hilton on the interplay of Greek and Egyptian medical knowledge in the scene in *L&C* in which a cure for Leukippe's drug-induced madness is sought, of Merkelbach on Isiac religion in the ancient novels, and of Tagliabue on the

[6] Bakhtin, 1981, p.106.
[7] Repath, 2007, p.127.
[8] Scourfield, 2010, p.295; Finkelpearl, 2001(a); Thomas, 1986.

relationship of the Osiris myth to Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaka*.[9] Although two important studies have recently been published concerning Greek and Near Eastern literary interactions and chapters within these studies have discussed the relationship between Egyptian and Greek fictional narrative, an in-depth study of intercultural intertextuality, taking into account non-literary as well as literary intertexts, in the Egyptian books of *L&C* is still a desideratum.[10]

b. Methodology

b.i. Date of the novel and ethnicity of its author

A combination of papyrological and internal evidence points to *L&C* having been written in the second century CE, though whether early or late second century is still debated. Cavallo has dated one of the manuscripts of *L&C*, P.Oxy LVI 3836, to the early 2nd century CE.[11] If this dating is accurate, it provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the novel. The novel could have been written earlier than this, but not later. However, as Henrichs notes, in his detailed paper on the papyrological evidence for the dating of *L&C*, "dates assigned to literary hand by the most experienced of papyrologists have a margin of error of plus or minus twenty-five to thirty years, enough to move a papyrus from one century to the next."[12] Relying on internal evidence alone, Blouin and Hilton date the composition of the novel to during or after the Nile Delta revolt of the 170s CE, famous from the account of Dio Cassius, as I discuss in greater detail in **Case Study C/C.i.**[13] However, skirmishes between the Egyptian population of the Nile Delta and the Roman authorities were continuous throughout the second century CE, so the accuracy of AT's description of the region and its troubles does not necessarily indicate a late second century CE date. As noted by Bowie, the βουκόλοι were "a thorn in the flesh of urban authorities since the Ptolemaic period".[14] Though the uprising of the 170s CE was larger in scale and more notorious, the news reportage of a few decades earlier would doubtless have provided AT with ample material to compose Kleitophon's fictionalised eye-witness account of encounters between the Roman army and the βουκόλοι, which we find

[9] Selden, 2014; Stephens, 2003; Hilton, 2018; Merkelbach, 1962; Tagliabue, 2018.
[10] Rutherford, 2016; Whitmarsh & Thomson, 2013.
[11] Cavallo, 1996.
[12] Henrichs, 2011, p.313.
[13] Hilton, 2018, pp.9-10; Blouin, 2014, p.274. Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 72.124.4, epitome in Xiphilinus 259-260.
[14] Bowie, 2002, p.60. In a similar vein, see also Vilborg, 1962, pp.9-10.

in the third book of *L&C*. Bowie argues for a date for the novel of pre-164 CE on the grounds that the name Pantheia, the name of Leukippe's mother in the novel, was associated with a courtesan who had an affair with the emperor Lucius Verus, and with the lustful witch of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* at around this date. He contends that Leukippe's "conventionally moral mother" recalls Pantheia of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (5.1-17; 6.1.31-47), noted for her faithfulness to her absent husband.[15] I disagree, as it would not be out of keeping with AT's predilection for ironic character inversions to name a conventionally moral character after a well-known character of loose morals from another source. In **Case Study C/C.iv.**, for example, I discuss the way in which the character Menelaos both shares and inverts characteristics of his Homeric namesake.[16]

The tenth-century CE Byzantine encyclopedia known as the *Suda* describes *L&C*'s author, Achilles Tatius/Tatios or Statius, as Alexandrian.[17] I find no evidence in the text to doubt this. AT was possibly a native Alexandrian or a Greek-speaking migrant carrying out research in the city's famous library. As the novel was written in the multiracial, multilingual environment of Roman Egypt, I feel that a study of its relationship to its Greek literary ancestors alone would not do its richness and complexity justice. An investigation of the novel's Near Eastern allusions cannot be carried out using traditional, philological methods, as these rely upon the hypertext and the hypotext being written in the same language. For this reason, rather than looking for precise verbal echoes, my thesis investigates 'intertextuality' in the novel, as this method will amply allow for intercultural dialogue between the text and the culturally diverse milieu in which it was written.

b.ii. Intertextuality

Most histories of the term 'intertextuality' will tell you that Julia Kristeva gave the concept its name in 1966 in a paper discussing and developing Bakhtin's theory of 'dialogism'.[18] My understanding is that Kristeva envisaged intertextuality not as a hierarchical connection between a text and that text's literary ancestors, but rather the myriad relationships each part of a text has within and without the text itself. Internal relationships, where one part of a text is in dialogue with another part of the same text, are commonly referred to as intratextuality,

[15] Bowie, 2002, pp.60-61.
[16] See also Laplace's discussion on the date of the novel and AT's nationality, 2007, pp.1-19.
[17] Suda Online http://www.stoa.org/sol/ s.v. Achilles Tatius.
[18] Kristeva, 1966, *Word, dialogue and novel*, trans. Moi, 1995, p.37.

so this is the term I will use in this thesis when I am discussing internal correspondences, though intratextuality is strictly just an aspect of intertextuality. External intertextual relationships might be with other texts in the form of direct quotations, references, echoes of language, allusions, genre and plot elements, but just as easily with historical events, literary *topoi*, mythology, folktales, religious rites and festivals, material culture and visual art. My interpretation is in accordance with that of Orr, whose detailed study of the Kristevan corpus in the original French led her to conclude that 'intertextuality' is not Kristevan unless it takes account of the world outside of the text, and also with that of Leitch, who explains that "all contexts, whether political, economic, social, psychological, historical, or theological become intertexts; that is, outside influences and forces undergo textualization".[19]

Kristevan intertextual space has been likened by Andrews to outer space in that it is constantly expanding.[20] Clayton and Rothstein explain Kristeva's viewpoint as being that "a literary word can never be circumscribed, is open to endless dissemination".[21] In studying intertextuality in *L&C*, one might, therefore, argue that it would be justifiable for me to look at intertexts which postdate the novel as well as those which predate it. However, as has become normal practice in the field of Classics, I will leave intertexts which postdate the time of composition to those scholars who study the reception of ancient literature. Therefore, my intertextual matrix will only include intertexts from the second century CE or earlier.

b.iii. The creation of intertextual relationships

I doubt that many scholars of Classics would dispute that authors create allusions. Some of these allusions are overt and intentional. Riffaterre calls the overt allusions 'obligatory' intertextuality, because the author intends for the reader to recognise them and to factor their specific hypogrammatic origin into their interpretation.[22] Many of the allusions I identify in this thesis will be of this type. However, some allusions are more covert and require more hermeneutical activity on the part of the reader. On a first reading of a text, a reader might notice out of place, unusual, obscure or figurative expressions (called 'ungrammaticalities' by Riffaterre) without stopping to interpret them, preferring instead to continue reading for meaning only in a linear fashion. Upon looking back over the text, the reader will attempt to

[19] Orr, 2003, p.26; Leitch, 1983, p.121.
[20] Andrews, 1991, p.301.
[21] Clayton & Rothstein, 1991, p.18.
[22] Riffaterre's theory, as discussed by Orr, 2003, p.26.

decipher the ungrammaticalities to explore the text's deeper meanings. The ungrammaticalities provide the stimulus which encourages the reader to explore possible intertextual connections, for example, to look for uses of a figurative expression in other works of literature or to delve deeper into the associations of an obscure god or character from mythology.[23] I would argue that in *L&C* there is not a clear, dividing line between overt and covert allusions, but rather these terms can be used to describe two halves of a spectrum, with overt allusions which clamour noisily for attention to be paid to them at one end, and covert allusions stubbornly resisting discovery at the other. In the middle of the spectrum are allusions which peek out from their hiding places, each to a lesser or a greater degree.

As well as overt and covert allusions, which are present in the text by authorial design, authors can also create unintentional allusions. As Finkelpearl argues, "surely, at times the author wishes allusions to be recognised, yet at other times he unconsciously evokes the language and motifs from the sources he has read".[24] Authors are readers too, and, just like a reader, an author approaches a text as "une pluralité d'autres textes, de codes infinis, ou plus exactement: perdus (dont l'origine se perd)".[25] For a study of intertextuality in *L&C* to be comprehensive, it needs to take account of these unintentional allusions, as well as those for which the author's intent is demonstrably evident. Such a study needs to acknowledge that the creation of intertextual relationships is not the sole preserve of the producing subject (the author of the novel), and that the consuming subject (the reader) has just as much control in this regard. In this approach, I follow the *Rezeptionsästhetik* school of Jaus and Iser, where both the author and the reader are mediators of the text.[26] Each reader of *L&C* will create their own unique version of the novel as they read, because each brings with them a unique set of experiences of the world outside of the novel and a unique library of prior reading, as well as what Bauman describes as "cultural repertoires of concepts and practices that serve as conventionalised orienting frameworks for the production, reception and circulation of discourse", in other words the norms of their own culture and society.[27] It is perfectly possible, therefore, for an intertextual relationship to be identified by the reader which was not created by authorial intent.

Rajan postulates that an author can deliberately construct a highly intertextual piece of literature "allowing for a shift in enunciative and denotative positionality" aware that his

[23] Riffaterre's theory of first and second-time readers, as outlined by Clayton & Rothstein, 1991, p.25.
[24] Finkelpearl, 2001(b), p.80.
[25] Barthes, 1974, S/Z, p.10; in Edmunds, 2001, p.61.
[26] *Rezeptionsästhetik* school of Jaus and Iser, as discussed by Clayton & Rothstein, 1991, p.26.
[27] Bauman, 2004, p.2.

readers will interpret the text in ways which he had not foreseen.[28] I take this to mean that the author deliberately chooses words and phrases which do not have singular, rigidly fixed meanings, but rather opts for words and phrases which have multiple meanings or a complex history of use in other texts. By doing so, the author removes the possibility of a single 'correct' interpretation of his text, but instead opens it up to a multitude of different interpretations, some of which he probably envisaged and some of which he did not. I contend that AT's intertextual strategy is of this type: by creating a story using character names (e.g. Leukippe, Kleitophon, Melite, Menelaus), myths (e.g. Europa, Andromeda and Perseus, Prometheus and Herakles, Philomela, Prokne and Tereus), locations (e.g. Alexandria, Pelusium) and events (e.g. Leukippe's *Scheintode*, a betrayal at a dinner party, shipwreck) which have the potential to enter into dialogue with several different intertexts, as well as demonstrating a particular penchant for words with multiple meanings and associations (e.g. phoenix, *kolpos*), with which his narrative is generously peppered, AT would have been aware that he was engineering opportunities for his readers to engage their deductive faculties and that each reader might arrive at a different conclusion as to the hidden meanings of any given passage. Müller refers to the use of names as interfigural devices as "internymical intertextuality".[29] AT makes much use of this device to add extra layers of allusiveness to his narrative. For example, the widow whom Kleitophon marries in Book 5 is called Melite. Melite is mentioned in the Iliadic catalogue of nymphs (Homer, *Iliad*, 18.41) as one of the nymphs who accompany Thetis to attend upon Achilles when he is grieving over the death of Patroclus (Homer, *Iliad*, 18.66-70). It could be argued that there is an intertextual connection between the Iliadic Melite and AT's Melite, as the latter enters the narrative when Kleitophon is grieving over the apparent death of Leukippe. She is not, in fact, dead, as her clothes were swapped with those of a prostitute who was killed in her place; just as Patroclus died in place of Achilles when he donned his armour to fight against Hector. Melite tells Kleitophon that he reminds her of Achilles, though the context in which she does this suggests that she has in mind Achilles on Scyros rather than Achilles at Troy, as I discuss later in this introduction in relation to Zanetto's interpretation of this scene. Melite and Leukippe are also the names of two of the nymphs who accompany Persephone when she picks flowers in the meadow in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (line 418), which I argue in **Case Study B** is an intertext for AT's ekphrasis of the painting of Andromeda in Book 3 and Leukippe's first *Scheintod* in the same book. Melite also features in several

[28] Rajan, 1991, p.67.
[29] Müller, 1991, p.103.

Greek epigrams, including five of an erotic nature. It is not just her name which is highly intertextual, but the fact that she is an Ephesian widow. The story of the *Widow of Ephesus* who goes to her husband's tomb to mourn his passing and is seduced by the soldier watching over the graveyard is told by several authors of antiquity. In **Case Study C/C.iv.**, I devote a section of my thesis to exploring in detail some of the intertextual associations of the name of Kleitophon's and Leukippe's travelling companion, Menelaos.

c. Literature Review

c.i. Classical scholars and intertextuality

There has long been debate amongst students of literature regarding the term 'intertextuality'. Fletcher identifies a rift between those who believe that use of the term should reference its genealogy in Kristevan semiotics and those who feel that the term has come to have a meaning independent of and different from Kristeva's theory.[30] In the discipline of Classics, this debate played out in the latter decades of the twentieth century between scholars working on Roman poetry. In his study of Virgil's *Georgics,* Thomas prefers to use the term 'reference' when speaking of connections between texts. His approach is philological. A reference must be distinguished from "an accidental confluence". For a reference to merit study, the hypotext must be one with which the author of the hypertext is "demonstrably familiar" and there must be a meaningful reason for the inclusion of the reference. Thomas suggests that there are six sub-categories of reference (casual reference, single reference, self-reference, correction, apparent reference, multiple reference/conflation) and proceeds to give examples of each type from the *Georgics*. Of especial relevance for my study of *L&C* are 'self-reference' and 'multiple reference/conflation'. The former includes Virgil referencing other Virgilian poems, but also self-reference within a single poem, what I would call 'intratextuality'. I agree with Thomas that where self-reference is internal to a poem that "significance may be imparted in more than one direction". He uses the example of the words *amor* and *pestis*, sexual passion and disease, which are both characterized as fire and madness in the *Third Georgic*, *amor* towards the start of the book and *pestis* towards the end. He explains that "in a case such as this, self-reference serves both to create a structural bond for the book and to provide a subtle,

[30] Fletcher, 2005, p.232.

unstated nexus between ideas".[31] AT uses intratextuality in a similar way. For example, references to the myth of Philomela appear as early in the narrative as 1.8.4 (Φιλομήλας ἡ τράπεζα and Πρόκνης ἡ σφαγή), but the myth is not told in full until several books later (5.3.4-5.5.9). The latter of these scenes, in which Kleitophon explains a painting of the myth to Leukippe, is connected to the former scene, in which Chaereas lists female characters from Greek tragic plays, through the shared theme of woman bringing destruction upon men. Chaereas warns Kleitophon against marriage by using examples from myth and tragedy of women bringing about the downfall of their spouses and lovers, and Kleitophon focusses upon the unbridled jealousy of Prokne, which causes her to kill her own child Itys as an act of vengeance for Tereus' adultery with Philomela. Multiple reference is described by Thomas as a "demonstration of virtuosity". It is when an author references more than one antecedent text. Thomas suggests that an author's motive for doing this might be to "subsume their versions, and the tradition along with them, into his own". The example he provides is from Virgil's *First Georgic*. In lines 231-246, Virgil references no fewer than seven authors in his explanation of the celestial and terrestrial zones.[32] In **Case Study D**, I explore AT's utilization of the different versions of the myth of Philomela, Tereus and Prokne. Does AT intentionally reference more than one version of this myth to subsume the earlier versions into his own, or does he choose this myth because it was known to have several different variants and would, therefore, act as an impetus for his readers to look for intertextual connections between his version of the myth and earlier versions and between all versions of the myth and the main narrative?

In his 1998 book entitled *Allusion and intertext: dynamics of appropriation in Roman poetry*, Hinds, as the title suggests, distinguishes between the terms 'allusion' and 'intertext', regarding the former as being predicated upon authorial intent and the latter upon the liberty of the reader to identify and create their own relationships between texts.[33] He argues against Thomas' preference for the word 'reference' by rightly insisting that "one of the reasons for the durability and continuing usefulness of 'allusion' as a description of this kind of gesture is precisely the teasing play it defines between revelation and concealment".[34] Hinds positions his own theory of intertextuality between that of philological fundamentalists, such as Thomas,

[31] Thomas, 1986.
[32] Thomas, 1986, pp.193-198.
[33] Hinds, 1998, p.48.
[34] ibid., p.23.

and intertextualist zealots who proselytize the death of the author, such as Barthes.[35] His methodology blurs the boundary between these two dogmas, on one hand acknowledging that authorial intent is unknowable, but on the other advocating using the figure of the author to test our interpretations of the text.[36] Whitmarsh explains that this was also the view of Bakhtin, whose theory of 'dialogism' Kristeva combined with Saussurian semiotics to create 'intertextuality'. He discusses Bakhtin's differentiation between the real author of a text and the characterisation of the author which exists as an image within the text. Whitmarsh believes that this characterisation of the author comes into existence when we read a text and is a necessary part of the interpretative process.[37]

In Edmunds' 2001 book *Intertextuality and the reading of Roman poetry*, he argues for an "aesthetic approach to intertextuality", focussed upon the participation of the reader.[38] Whilst acknowledging Hinds' 1998 book to be a masterpiece of scholarship, Edmunds criticises what he views as Hinds' failure to refer his theory of intertextuality back to the Kristevan original and his reluctance to eschew completely the idea of authorial intent.[39] Edmunds expounds his own theory of intertextuality over the course of several chapters, frequently referring back to Kristeva's original conception of the term. He insists that a hypertext can be engaged in an intertextual dialogue with several hypotexts without need for mention of authorial intent. As an example, he chooses Eliot's use of the phrase "a handful of dust" in his poem *The Waste Land*. There are several possible sources for this phrase with which it is likely Eliot would have been familiar. How can the scholar know which of these Eliot intended to allude to? The answer Edmunds proposes is to say that *The Waste Land*, the text itself, is in dialogue with the antecedent hypotexts, or alternatively that "a handful of dust" is a *topos*.[40] Later he discusses the use of myth in Latin poetry claiming that an author might quote one version of a given myth but cannot suppress the other versions which exist in poetry, prose, the oral tradition, and the pictorial and plastic arts.[41] Dowden makes the same point in relation to Greek myth, when he explains that Greek mythology is "constituted by all of the representations of myth ever experienced by its audience" including oral transmission of myths, as well as depictions in art and in plays. He goes on to say that "every new representation gains its sense from how it is

[35] Barthes, 1967.
[36] Hinds, 1998, p.50, p.144.
[37] Whitmarsh, 2005, pp.110-111.
[38] Edmunds, 2001, p.18, p.43.
[39] ibid., pp.164-165.
[40] ibid., pp.22.
[41] ibid., p.147.

positioned in relation to this totality of previous representations."[42] I agree and will explore *L&C*'s intertextual relationship to both Greco-Roman and Near Eastern mythology throughout this thesis, in their literary and pictorial forms.

More recently, in a chapter for the book *Between text and text*, Harder discusses interactions between poets writing in Greek in Ptolemaic Alexandria. She explains that these poets used the resources of Alexandria's famous library, including works of Greek literature, local histories, and volumes of obscure myths and rituals, to create highly intertextual oeuvres. She claims that their scholarly discussions informed their work and that they used intertextuality as "a communicative strategy for a discussion on poetics".[43] In a similar vein but on a much larger scale, König's & Whitton's collected volume of essays on *Roman literature under Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian* explores interactions between writers of the period 96-138 CE and their social, historical and cultural contexts. One of its aims, as stated in a footnote, is to "restore some of the Kristevan breadth to 'intertextuality', a term used by most Latinists as a synonym for 'allusion'".[44] I applaud this approach and its inclusion of 'extratextual interactions', which are defined as being "shared tropes/memes/schemata floating between texts in the oral culture of the period".[45] My own methodology has much in common with this approach. However, whereas this collected volume shies away from using the term 'intertextuality' because of its complicated history and prefers instead to rebrand intertextual relationships as 'interactions', I choose instead to keep the divisive term and rehabilitate it. Kristevan intertextuality as a transposition of one or more sign systems into another sign system amply allows for interactions of a non-literary nature, interactions which take place between the text and the outside world, and interactions between different cultures.

c.ii. Intertextuality and the ancient novels

Nineteenth-century scholars working on the ancient novels were less interested in how these texts interacted with other texts and with their social, cultural and historical contexts; instead their aim was to discover the origins of the novels. Rohde, for example, saw erotic poetry and travelogues as precursors of the novel. In his 1967 critique of this search for origins, Perry describes the word count devoted by Rohde to these *Vorläufer* as irrelevant and futile. Perry

[42] Dowden, 1992, p.8.
[43] Harder, 2013, pp.232-234.
[44] König & Whitton, 2018, p.12 n.61.
[45] ibid., p.13.

argues instead for spontaneous evolution of the novel genre.[46] I feel that intertextuality offers an approach to the ancient novels which acknowledges the validity of Perry's argument without needing to consign Rohde's *Vorläufer* to the dustbin; travelogues and erotic poetry become intertexts rather than precursors. This is the direction in which study of the ancient novels has moved during the last four decades. I now present a summary of a few key contributions to the study of intertextuality in the ancient novels and an explanation of how these contributions relate to and have influenced my work on AT.

As Riffaterre argued, some intertextual interactions are overt and some are covert. The experience of each reader is different, dependent upon which interactions they spot and which they do not notice. In differentiating between overt and covert intertexts in *L&C*, I have been influenced by the research of Trzaskoma on Chariton's *Callirhoe* and Hilton on Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*. I will briefly explain their findings. In the conclusion of his in-depth study of the intertextual relationship between Chariton's *Callirhoe* and Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Trzaskoma states that "Chariton's use of the *Anabasis* shows at every step an authorial self-awareness and sense of control".[47] His claim of knowing Chariton's intentions is well substantiated, evidenced as it is by direct quotations and reworked lines from the *Anabasis* within *Callirhoe* as well as examples of shared motifs. Trzaskoma also makes the important point that it is not necessary for a reader to spot every single allusion to the *Anabasis* to understand the plot of the novel, however, those who do spot all of the allusions and recognise that they are related to one another through a shared hypotext, uncover an additional layer of the author's design and are, therefore, able to interpret the narrative with greater subtlety.[48] In his article on Charikles' dream in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* (4.14.2), in which the priest Charikles sees his daughter abducted from his arms by an eagle, Hilton discusses two possible literary intertexts: the portent of the eagle in *L&C* (2.12.1-3) which foreshadows the bride-theft of Kleitophon's half-sister and fiancée Kalligone by Kallisthenes, and the dream of Penelope in Homer's *Odyssey* (19.535-569) in which an eagle killed her twenty geese. Hilton makes the important point that the primary intertext is not *L&C*, although it offers the closest verbal parallels to the scene in question and is closest in terms of plot and genre; the intertextual relationship between the Aethiopican and the Odyssean scenes is at first glance quite tenuous, "the strongest point of resemblance – the eagle – featured frequently in dreams and portents in antiquity", however, upon closer inspection a multitude of more allusive connections are revealed. For example, in

[46] Perry, 1967, p.15.
[47] Trzaskoma, 2011(b), p.33.
[48] ibid., p.28.

the case of both the Aethiopican dream and the Odyssean dream, the characters to whom the dreams are related, Kalasiris and Odysseus respectively, are represented by the eagles: Odysseus is the eagle who kills Penelope's suitors as represented by the twenty geese, and Kalasiris will abduct the daughter of Charikles. Hilton convincingly demonstrates that some of these more covert intertextual interactions play a foreshadowing function and help to characterise the heroine of the novel as of the 'faithful Penelope' type and the relationship she will have with her husband as chaste. The intertextual relationship between the dreams of Charikles and Penelope is strengthened by the fact that Heliodorus makes plentiful use of Homeric epic elsewhere in his novel in a more overt fashion.[49] Finkelpearl agrees that "if a less defensible echo occurs within a longer passage that is manifestly imitative of a particular source, the reader is asked to be less demanding of philological proof, as the greater imitative context should provide an atmosphere in which we may recognise even subtler allusions."[50] In an email to his students of Virgil, Farrell made a similar point about intertextuality in the *Aeneid*. He claimed that Virgil deliberately recapitulates both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and, therefore, gives his readers licence to spot intertextual relationships between Homer's epics and his own. He argued that Virgil "set in motion a process whereby he actively enlists the reader's cooperation in creating, or better, discovering intertextual relationships…".[51]

The interweaving of generic codes is a prominent feature of *L&C*. In the Egyptian books, we find a heady mixture of, to name just a few examples, ekphrastic descriptions of works of art (typical of literature of the Second Sophistic, such as Philostratus' *Imagines* or Lucian's *De domo*), a shipwreck scene which would not have appeared out of place if performed on the mimic stage, echoes of tragedy in the sacrifice of a virgin before the commencement of a battle, pseudo-scientific explanations of emotions, current medical thinking on the cure of insanity, historiographical descriptions of the Egyptian landscape and its animals, and mythical exempla. Previous scholarship has explored this switching and blending together of generic codes in the ancient novels. I have been particularly influenced by the research of Scourfield on Chariton's *Callirhoe* and Elmer on Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*. Like myself, Scourfield argues for a reader-based approach to intertextuality. He views *Callirhoe* as a "palimpsestic text, displaying numerous overlapping debts", some of which have a "closer and more significant connection" to the main narrative than others.[52] He uses as an example the scene in which Callirhoe is

[49] Hilton, 2001.
[50] Finkelpearl, 2001(a), pp.3-4.
[51] Farrell, 1995, email message quoted in Edmunds, 2001, p.154.
[52] Scourfield, 2010, p.295.

kicked in the stomach by her husband Chaereas, when he incorrectly assumes that she has been unfaithful. There is an obvious intertextual link between this scene and Menander's *Perikeiromene*, in which Glycera is thought to be having an affair after she is seen embracing a male stranger, who is later revealed to be her brother. Her lover Polemon is incensed by her supposed infidelity and cuts off her hair in revenge. The plots of the hypertext and hypotext are very similar; in both cases, jealousy results from a misunderstanding and results in violent action. However, Scourfield claims that Euripides' *Hippolytus* is also an intertext for this scene and, though its plot matches that of the Charitonian scene less closely, is alluded to more categorically by means of several verbal echoes. The description of Chaereas as being like Hippolytus at 1.1.3. acts as a trigger to encourage the reader to be alert to interactions between Euripides' *Hippolytus* and the novel as they read on. However, if the reader misses this cue, all is not lost, as Scourfield points out: "identification of the intertext does not depend on a unidirectional reading. The awakening of intertextual awareness is a complex process … there is not one trigger, but many."[53] The relationship between this scene and its historical context, that is law court speeches dealing with crimes of adultery in fifth-century BCE Athens and actual cases of men striking their pregnant wives in a fit of temper, is discussed by Hunter in his paper on the historicity of *Callirhoe*. He too mentions Menander's *Perikeiromene* and argues for the Charitonian scene being an interplay of historical and comic codes.[54] Scourfield adds the tragic code into the mix, arguing that the mixing of generic codes plays with the readers' expectations. Until the novel is concluded, we do not know whether Chaereas' actions in kicking Callirhoe will lead to a happy ending typical of New Comedy or a tragic ending.[55]

Smith describes Bakhtin as a "champion" of this "hybrid quality of the ancient novels", the way in which the novels blend together different genres. He describes how this blending of genres sometimes has a 'centripetal' force, with the genres working together to reinforce a particular conceptualisation of reality, but at other times has a 'centrifugal' force, when the view of reality created by intertextuality with one generic code is at odds with the view of reality created by intertextuality with another.[56] In **Case Studies B and C**, I explore this blending of genres in relation to Leukippe's first *Scheintod* scene. There are several intertexts and generic codes at play here: for example, tragic and mythic (Iphigenia, Andromeda, Prometheus, and Near Eastern tales of Baal, Seth, Astarte and Osiris), historic (the second-

[53] Scourfield, 2010, p.305.
[54] Hunter, 1994, pp.1079-1082; also discussed by Smith, 2005, p.181.
[55] Scourfield, 2010, pp.306-309.
[56] Smith, 2005, p.163.

century CE revolt of the Egyptian *boukoloi* and iconographic scenes of Egyptian pharaohs smiting enemy captives), and folkloric (the rescue of the sage Ahiqar by his executioner, and tales of Egyptian cunning and resourcefulness). I will explore whether these intertexts work together to provide one coherent interpretation of the scene in question, or whether they work against one another to foreshadow different possible outcomes for the heroine.

Elmer's study of the *Aethiopica* also pays close attention to genre. He persuasively argues that "overlaid on the text's constant allusiveness is a tripartite scheme that divides the work roughly into three parts, each generically coded to a particular intertext".[57] The books centred around the character Kalasiris, an Egyptian priest and helper of the hero and heroine, are intertextually coded to Homeric epic, especially the *Odyssey*. This is strengthened by the fact that, in Kalasiris' opinion, Homer was an Egyptian.[58] The story which the young Athenian Knemon tells of his lecherous stepmother and the false accusations she made against him recall Attic tragedy, specifically Euripides' *Hippolytos*.[59] Books 7-9 are, Elmer contends, coded to the historiographical writings of Herodotus.[60] He concludes that "Heliodorus is not merely mining earlier literature for nuggets of content; he is using it to explore and to highlight the variety of narrative modes that make up the heterogeneous fabric of novelistic discourse".[61] *L&C* does not have such a clearly defined scheme for segregation of generic material. Generic codes mix and mingle throughout the novel. In **Case Study E**, for example, I explore the intertextual relationship between Leukippe's second *Scheintod* and the myth of Osiris. This myth is intertextually relevant for several aspects of this episode in the novel: the abduction at the dinner party of Leukippe by Chaereas and his henchmen, the beheading of Leukippe and the disposal of her corpse in water, the lamentation of Kleitophon over her headless trunk, and the 'resurrection' of Leukippe in Ephesus. However, the mythic code, though strong throughout this section of the novel, is diffused through intertextuality with other genres, including comedic exploits of fishermen turned pirates, stories of the drowning of unchaste women, and tales of tragic heroines and their lustful suitors.

In discussing the effect of the clash of genres in episodes such as this, I find myself in agreement with Finkelpearl's conclusions regarding intertextual interactions in Apuleius'

[57] Elmer, 2008, p.412.
[58] ibid., pp.414-417.
[59] ibid., pp.417-418.
[60] ibid., pp.418-426.
[61] ibid., p.428.

Metamorphoses. She considers 'aporia' to be "intrinsic to the novel".[62] Aporia can be defined as an irresolvable internal contradiction in a text. Finkelpearl argues that such a contradiction is produced when there are "too many signals heading in different directions for us to interpret in any single-fold way".[63] She claims that the heteroglossia of the *Metamorphoses*, its engagement with different genres and a multitude of sources, results in ambiguity and no clear sense of what the novel's own voice might be. She describes this as a struggle with the literary tradition, which she feels is paralleled by the struggles of the novel's hero as he wanders from one escapade and unfortunate happenstance to the next. She concludes that, just as the hero's journey and adventures come to an end in his initiation into the cult of the multiform goddess Isis, the novel's struggle with the literary tradition ends with an acceptance of its heteroglossia.[64]

Smith discusses another interesting facet of intertextuality in *Callirhoe*, one which has enormous relevance for a study of intertextuality in *L&C*; this facet might colloquially be called 'gender-bending'. In Book 8, the hero and heroine are finally reunited after many months apart. They retire to bed, where, before consummating their reunion, they exchange stories of their respective adventures. This section of the romance contains verbal echoes of the scene in Homer's *Odyssey* in which Odysseus and Penelope retire to their marital bed to make love and tell one another of what befell them during their separation. However, as Smith points out, in Chariton's take on the epic scene it is Callirhoe playing the part of Odysseus not Chaereas. Callirhoe skims over her marriage to Dionysius and the warm feelings she bore him in the same way in which Odysseus omits his relationships with Circe and Calypso. In **Case Study E**, I demonstrate that the myth of Isis' search for the dismembered corpse of Osiris is an intertext for Kleitophon's search for Leukippe's decapitated head; in this intertextual relationship Kleitophon takes on the role of the female goddess who searches and mourns and Leukippe of the male god who dies and is resurrected. This is by no means the only instance of 'gender-bending' in *L&C*. I identify other manifestations of this phenomenon in the course of my thesis.[65]

Throughout this thesis, I will argue that intertextuality has several effects upon the reader's experience of the novel. It can foreshadow future events, provide a range of different interpretations of a given scene, and it can help the reader to better understand the character of

[62] Finkelpearl, 2001(a), p.28.
[63] ibid.
[64] Finkelpearl, 2001(a), p.32.
[65] See also Jones, 2012.

a protagonist. Zanetto discusses the characterisation of Kleitophon through intertextuality in relation to the events which immediately follow his tryst with Melite. He argues that Melite's comparison of Kleitophon to a painting she once saw of Achilles at first appears to be complimentary, as she is likening the man she has just made love with to an epic hero. However, the painting in question must have been one of Achilles dressed as a woman in hiding on Scyros, as Melite makes the comparison immediately after lending Kleitophon her dress, so that he might escape in her guise from Thersander's custody. Kleitophon is not being equated with the brave Achilles of the *Iliad*, without whom the Greek forces might well have lost the war with Troy, but rather with his younger self, who behaved in a cowardly fashion by engaging in transvestism to avoid going to war. Melite might mean to say that Kleitophon looks like a handsome hero, but an intertextual reading brands him a coward.[66] I would add that the intertext works on a deeper level still: Achilles is not just hiding as a woman on Scyros to avoid a war in which he is fated to die, he is doing so to avoid going to war for the sake of another man's (Menelaus') wife (Helen); Kleitophon dons Melite's dress to avoid a confrontation with another man (Thersander) over his wife (Melite). In **Case Study E**, I discuss how Kleitophon is characterised through intertextuality with Plutarch's *De vitioso pudore*. This intertext, like the allusion to the painting of Achilles, works on two levels. The examples provided by Plutarch of men who were too ashamed to turn down dinner party invitations, even when they knew that accepting would be dangerous, foreshadow Leukippe's abduction at a dinner party hosted by Kleitophon's love rival Chaereas. However, the intertext also gives the reader an insight into Kleitophon's character, as it provides information as to what sort of person is most likely to feel an excess of shame and allow that to negatively impact upon their choices.

c.iii. Intratextuality

In a volume of papers discussing intratextuality in classical literature, Hesk describes the intratextual irony created in Aristophanic plays when a character's stated intention or claim is undercut by a different character or the chorus elsewhere in the play. Hesk explains that the irony occurs because of the contradiction between the two elements.[67] Whitmarsh is making a similar point in relation to the ancient novels when, using Bakhtinian terminology, he explains how a reader's trust in what a character or narrator says can be eroded by the dialogue a character's 'monologic' utterances (authoritative pronouncements) are in with other utterances

[66] Zanetto, 2014.
[67] Hesk, 2000, p.229.

and with the events of the novel.[68] A good example of this in *L&C* is Kleitophon's inadvertent comparison of himself to a lustful barbarian. At 5.5.2, in discussing an artistic depiction of Tereus, Prokne and Philomela, Kleitophon tells Leukippe that one wife is not enough to satisfy a barbarian's lust and that is why Tereus abducts Philomela when already married to her sister Prokne. He later (5.27) succumbs to lust himself and is unfaithful to Leukippe with Melite. He tells the anonymous narrator that he was compelled to have sexual intercourse with Melite by the persuasive rhetoric of Eros, that he was administering medicine for Melite's aching heart, and that he was celebrating the mysteries of Eros. His monologue presents the act of infidelity as a sacred and necessary one, but his previous utterances on the topic of Tereus' adultery undermine this interpretation and suggest that Kleitophon's sexual liaison with Melite should be equated with Tereus' barbaric behaviour towards Philomela. Intratextual irony exists between Kleitophon's condemnation of Tereus' extramarital actions and Kleitophon's post-coital monologue on the acceptability of his own infidelity.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, Hägg argued against the search for hidden meanings in *L&C*, except in the case of oracles and dreams, where he believed the foreshadowings to be overt and their interpretation obvious.[69] He was especially opposed to the idea that the novel's paintings are "proleptic similes", describing this approach as "far-fetched" and "considerably overrated".[70] I believe that Hägg's logic was flawed. When a text's key events are prefigured in a very transparent way through dreams and omens, this does not preclude the possibility that the author of the text is also capable of producing more subtle effects, nor does it follow that the supposedly obvious interpretations of said dreams and omens are the only interpretations at play. Writing only a few years after Hägg, Bartsch rebutted his theory in her brilliant monograph *Decoding the ancient novel: the reader and the role of description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*.[71] She demonstrated that the ekphrases of paintings in the novel operate intratextually to foreshadow major events in the main narrative. For example, the painting of the abduction of Europa by Zeus (1.1.2-13) foreshadows the abduction of Kleitophon's half-sister Kalligone by the Byzantine youth Kallisthenes (2.16-18); and in Book 3, the painting of Andromeda's rescue from Poseidon's sea-monster foreshadows Leukippe's rescue from her brigand captors, and the painting of Prometheus' torture foreshadows Leukippe's innards being

[68] Whitmarsh, 2005. p.105.
[69] Hägg, 1983, p.49.
[70] Hägg, 1971, p.240, referring to Harlan's "proleptic similes" in Harlan, 1965, p.52 and Sedelmeier's "Mittel thematischer Vorschau" in Sedelmeier, 1958, p.91.
[71] Bartsch, 1989.

cut from her body and eaten by the brigands. I explore and build upon Bartsch's arguments in detail in my own interpretations of the Andromeda, Prometheus and Philomela paintings in **Case Studies B and D**. I suggest that the proleptic function of the paintings is complicated by the density of intratextual links. Characters from the paintings map onto several characters from the novel's main narrative. Tereus can simultaneously be Chaereas who abducts Leukippe, Melite for whom one husband is not enough, Kleitophon for whom one wife is not enough, and Thersander who imprisons Leukippe in a hut and attempts to seduce her. When Leukippe is eviscerated and eaten by the brigands, she is concurrently Andromeda about to be eaten by the sea-monster, and the sea-monster being killed with an odd-shaped sword. I discuss these shifting and fragmented identities created through intertextuality in relation to the Greek and Egyptian tradition of a metamorphic Egypt.

In recent years, the search for hidden meanings, and particularly intratextual connections, within *L&C* has been championed by Repath. He often argues that AT "builds a sophisticated and playful narrative, with intratextuality, often involving the linking of two or more particular passages, an essential feature of his writing".[72] Hesk describes the "intratextual openness" of Aristophanic comedy as "intratextual configurations are loose enough to allow for legitimately competing interpretations".[73] I believe that description is very fitting for *L&C* too and is in accord with Repath's conceptualisation of how intratextuality operates in the novel. In **Case Study C**, I discuss Repath's identification of intratextual connections between Panthea's dream in Book 2, in which she sees Leukippe cut upwards from her private parts by a brigand, Panthea's interpretation of this dream as being proleptic of the loss of Leukippe's virginity, and Leukippe's sacrifice in Book 3 in which her fake stomach is cut open by a brigand. I will argue that Repath's interpretation of the effect of this intratextuality is supported by intertextuality with two stories of supposedly pregnant women who are cut open in a sacrificial context.

Throughout my thesis, I will discuss intratextual links. Some of these links will be singled out for solo treatment in sections devoted to intratextuality alone, and others will be discussed alongside intertextual connections, which they either support or oppose. **Case Studies B and C** each contain a separate section on intratextual resonances; unfortunately, due to the limits of space, **Case Studies D and E** do not. Intratextual links are, however, discussed extensively in

[72] Repath, 2007, p.101.
[73] Hesk, 2000, pp.230-232.

Case Study D in relation to the foreshadowing function of the Philomela painting alongside variants of the Philomela myth.

c.iv. Intercultural intertextuality

In the tradition of classical scholarship, it was for a long time held as incontrovertible that authors of the imperial period writing in the Latin language were influenced by Greek literature of the past, but that authors writing in Greek during the same period were not influenced by earlier Latin literature. For example, Reardon writes "If we transfer our gaze, is anything discernible in Greek romance of Latin epic, drama, lyric? … The short answer is no, and it needs little qualification. … where similarities occur, where at first sight we might be tempted to think there could be contact, it is more likely that we should have recourse to that familiar scholarly solution, the common source; and it will be a source found in Greek antiquity."[74] To paraphrase the scholar himself, Jolowicz "exploded this dogma" in relation to the ancient Greek novels in his 2015 PhD thesis entitled *Latin poetry and the idea of Rome in the Greek novel*.[75] Jolowicz masterfully articulates how the novels of Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tatius and Longus engage with Latin literature, especially Augustan poetry of the first century BCE. He explores tropes such as *servitium amoris* and *militia amoris*, the aestheticization of tears and fears, and the role of the *erotodidaskalos*. In relation to *L&C*, he concludes that the novel "exhibits influence of Latin elegy at the lexical, situational, and generic levels". He asserts that AT demonstrates knowledge of the poetry of Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid and possibly Gallus. Kleitophon's slave Satyros and his cousin Kleinias act as his *erotodidaskaloi*. Leukippe's tears and fears are "aesthetic effects to be enjoyed by the male".[76] Latin literature is also incorporated into my intertextual matrix, as I feel that there is still much fruit to be picked along this avenue of exploration. For example, in **Case Study E**, I discuss intertextual interaction with Ovid's *Heroides*. I argue that Leukippe can be equated with Helen of epistles 16 and 17, and that Melite can be equated with both Helen and her suitor Paris.

However, by 'intercultural' this thesis does not refer simply to interactions between Greek and Roman. My intertextual matrix also includes interactions with Near Eastern narratives, mythology and artwork, especially Egyptian. In her book on intercultural poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria, Stephens explains her reasoning for looking for Egyptian motifs in the poetry of

[74] Reardon, 1991, p.161.
[75] Jolowicz, 2015, paraphrase of quote from p.1.
[76] ibid., pp.136-180, quotes from pp.179-180.

Theocritus, Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius. She rightly recognises that a majority of scholars to date have ignored the possibility that the Greek writers of Alexandria might have incorporated Egyptian motifs into their work. She claims that the named poets did so out of both a fascination with the culture which surrounded them and a desire to appeal to a multi-cultural Alexandrian audience. She also argues that it was the intention of such authors to make these motifs "barely visible" in order to familiarise their readers with the Egyptian and, consequently, make the Egyptian appear Greek.[77] Stephens encourages reading Ptolemaic Greek poetry through dual lenses, Greek and Egyptian, to experience a reading closer to that of the novel's original Alexandrian audience.[78] Whilst I wholeheartedly agree with Stephens' advocation to look for Egyptian motifs in works of literature written in Greek in Egypt, I suggest that the process whereby these motifs were incorporated was, perhaps, less artificial and more organic. I prefer the idea of Lichtheim, who describes the intermingling of Egyptian and Greek cultures in Greco-Roman Egypt as a "symbiosis" and argues that, as more papyri are unearthed and translated, "their cultural syncretism will become ever more tangible".[79]

Non-literary evidence of this "cultural syncretism" has also survived. Von Lieven discusses the Roman period tombs of Kom esch-Schugafa in Alexandria. On one tomb there is a picture of Anubis embalming Osiris juxtaposed with a picture of Hades abducting Persephone, both scenes related to death and the afterlife.[80] In a recently published chapter in a book dedicated to Egypt's interconnectedness with the classical world, Riggs explores identity in Roman Egypt as manifested in the artwork of the period. She discusses the beautiful funeral shroud of a woman called Ta-sheret-hor-udja. [Image I1] This shroud is a fascinating example of cultural syncretism, as Ta-sheret-hor-udja's portrait is distinctly Greco-Roman, but the imagery beneath it is predominantly Egyptian: Osiris is shown with his sisters Isis and Nephthys (directly below Ta-sheret-hor-udja's portrait), and Horus and Anubis stand either side of the mummified Ta-sheret-hor-udja (at the base of the shroud). The script used to identify the mummy as Ta-sheret-hor-udja is Demotic and she is described as the daughter of a priest of

[77] Stephens, 2003, pp.6-8. I do not think that Egyptian intertexts are observable in *L&C* because AT was desirous of appealing to a multicultural audience, but instead because he grew up in a multicultural environment and writing through dual lenses was natural for him rather than a rhetorical device adopted by design. Although we do not possess the documentary evidence to assert with certainty that AT was a native of the country of Egypt, I believe that there is compelling evidence for him being so, which corroborates the entry in the *Suda* stating that he was Alexandrian. First, it was common practice in Roman Egypt for native Egyptians to romanise their names. Tatius could be a romanisation of the Egyptian name Tati. Moreover, there was a predilection amongst Egyptians of the second century CE to rename themselves after Homeric heroes (Broux, 2017).

[78] ibid., pp.18-19.

[79] Lichtheim, 1980, p.126.

[80] Von Lieven, 2016, p.69.

Serapis, a god introduced by the Ptolemies who combined Egyptian religious ideas with a Greek style of appearance.[81] Another clear example of this syncretism is the "bilingual iconography" on both Ptolemaic and Romano-Egyptian coinage, which demonstrates integration of Greek and Roman with Egyptian concepts and practices, as well as specific knowledge of local cults on the part of the minters.[82]

Stephens and I are not the first to veer away from a Helleno-centric approach to the study of classical Greek texts and to recognise that it is fruitful to draw comparisons with the literature and mythology of the Near East. In this section, I will discuss a few of the contributions to this area of study which have helped to shape my thinking on intercultural intertextuality in *L&C*. West's 1997 book *The east face of Helicon: West Asiatic elements in Greek poetry and myth* has greatly influenced my thinking on intercultural interactions between the Semitic area and Anatolia and Greece. West analyses the respective mythology of these regions and argues for the influence of Semitic and Anatolian mythology on Greek mythic poetry through contact between their peoples in the period 750-450 BCE. He claims that Greece was never sealed off from the East, but that contact was particularly intense during the High Mycenean period (1450-1200 BCE) when there was Greek trade with Ugarit, during the Late Bronze Age (1200-1050 BCE) due to Greek colonization of the South Anatolian littoral, and during the period of the Assyrian empire when trade between Greece and the Levant further intensified.[83] In my quest to identify Near Eastern intertexts in *L&C*, I have also had cause to look to the myths, stories and iconography of the Semitic and Anatolian areas. In **Case Study B**, for example, I explore the possibility that the fourteenth-century BCE Ugaritic *Baal Cycle* is an intertext for the sacrifice of Leukippe and her subsequent resurrection. Selden also claims an intertextual connection between myths of Baal and Astarte and *L&C* in relation to the ekphrasis of a painting of Europa with which the novel opens.[84] I will discuss Selden's suggestion and Whitmarsh's rebuttal in **Case Study A/A.i**.[85] The geographical and chronological distance between the *Baal Cycle* and *L&C* make these connections seem improbable. However, as I will demonstrate in **Case Study B**, there was considerable contact between Egypt and Ugarit during the period from which the extant version of the *Baal Cycle* dates. Ugarit was a polyglot city, as evidenced by the numerous dictionaries which have survived which gloss words with

[81] Riggs, 2018, pp.219-220.
[82] See discussion in Geissen, 2007, p.170.
[83] West, 1997, p.625.
[84] Selden, 1994.
[85] Whitmarsh, 2016.

equivalents in up to four different languages.[86] Envoys from Egypt would also have travelled with interpreters.[87] The best proof that this story was transmitted from Ugarit to Egypt is that there exists an Egyptian version of it called *Astarte and the sea* from around 1400 BCE. This myth is likely to be known by some of AT's readers in the Roman period. The survival of myths over long periods of time in Egypt is demonstrated by the case of those concerning Horus and Seth. Originating in the Early Dynastic period, when Horus and Seth were paired iconographically, these myths were transmitted into the New Kingdom period and then into the period of Demotic literature. Many monumental inscriptions and papyri containing fragments of these myths have been found.[88] Translation of mythic material in hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts was one of the scholarly activities carried out by temple priests in Greco-Roman Egypt. Ryholt discusses the Tebtunis library, a library in Egypt's Fayyum area dedicated to a form of the crocodile god Sobek called Soknebtunis. Archaeologists excavating the site have recovered papyri from the first, second and third centuries CE. The majority of these papyri are written in Demotic, however, there are examples of Hieratic and of hieroglyphs, proving that there was still knowledge of these scripts and symbols in the Roman period. As well as mythological works, such as the temple's mythological manual, which contains local myths and their interpretation in relation to Osirian mythology, examples of scientific, narrative, historical, cultic and wisdom literature have been discovered. There is also a book of lamentations, which I will discuss further in **Case Studies D and E** in relation to Kleitophon's lamentation over Leukippe's headless trunk. These lamentations were used by grieving Egyptians to mourn their dead relatives and were modelled on the lamentations of Isis for Osiris.[89] Papyrus finds also provide evidence of translation of Egyptian mythology into Greek. For example, a Demotic version of *The Myth of Sun's Eye* has survived from the second century CE and its Greek translation from the third century CE.[90]

Closer to my own approach than West's is Haubold's. In a recent study, Haubold examines the similarities between the literature of Greece and that of Mesopotamia from the eighth to the third century BCE. His method is to look at mythological and historical texts from these two regions as works of literature and to examine them comparatively; rather than considering one culture's literature to be the source of influence on another's, he views the literature of Greece

[86] West, 1997, p.591.
[87] ibid., p.602.
[88] Tait, 1994, p.209.
[89] Ryholt, 2010, 2013.
[90] Tait, 1994, pp.212-213; Rutherford, 2016, pp.6-7.

and Mesopotamia as being in dialogue with one another.[91] In a panel discussion entitled *Classics and Comparative Literature Agenda for the '90s*, the participating scholars concluded that more needs to be done to investigate this dialogue between cultures, particularly at the limits of the Roman empire in the later centuries of the classical era, and especially with regard to the literature produced in "such ancient sites of hybridity as Alexandria". The panel suggested that existing models for investigating this type of cultural dialogue could be borrowed from the field of post-colonial studies.[92] Andrews, writing on the influence of black dialect, folklore and storytelling on the poetry of Irwin Russell and the writings of Joel Chandler Harris in the American South prior to the abolition of slavery, utilises a Kristevan model of intertextuality to allow for non-literary interactions. He explains that black writing did not influence white authors, because black people in the American South were not allowed to write literary works, but that they did create and share folktales orally.[93] This accords with Kristeva's view, as described by Friedman, that "the position of the colonized or the marginalized is not a scene of passive reception, but rather one of active negotiation."[94]

Turning attention specifically to Egypt, over 60 years ago, parallels between Greco-Roman *paraklausithyron* poetry and Egyptian love poetry were noted by Hermann.[95] More recently, Maravelia has compared Sappho's poetry with the same Egyptian love poems and has identified many shared themes and motifs.[96] Love as a sickness, for example, which is a common trope in both classical love poetry and the ancient novels, finds an early expression in the love poetry of the Egyptian New Kingdom. Papyrus *Chester Beatty I* features a poem in seven stanzas. In the seventh stanza, the young man tells his beloved that he is dying from a sickness for which physicians and magicians have no cure and that only she can revive him as "she is better than all prescriptions".[97] This sentiment is strikingly similar to that expressed by Kleitophon at AT 5.27.2. when he describes making love to Melite as φάρμακον ὥσπερ ψυχῆς νοσούσης. Bohak's study of the *Greek Magical Papyri* led him to conclude that there is a "seamless fusion between Egyptian and Greek paradigms and myths". His primary example is from PGM 36, a *pudenda* spell. In this spell, the enduring love of Isis and Osiris is equated with the fidelity of Penelope to Odysseus. PGM 36.288-290: "Let her [insert name] love me

[91] Haubold, 2013.
[92] Bracht Branham et al, 1997, p.181 (DuBois, P. speaking).
[93] Andrews, 1991, pp.300-301.
[94] Friedman, 1991, pp.152-153.
[95] Hermann, 1955, pp.134-139.
[96] Maravelia, 2001.
[97] Lichtheim, 1976, p.185.

for all her time as Isis loved Osiris and let her remain chaste for me as Penelope did for Odysseus."[98] Intertextual interactions have been identified as operating in the other direction too. In Chapter 4 of her PhD thesis on *Cultural identity and self-representation in ancient Egyptian fictional narratives*, Salim discusses the Egyptian *Inaros Cycle* and the possibility of Homeric influence. She compares the eponymous character Inaros to the Homeric hero Achilles, and Inaros' companion Pekrur to Patroclus. The episode of the cycle in which the Egyptian heroes contend for ownership of the late Inaros' armour is paralleled by the conflict between Odysseus and Ajax over the armour of Achilles. In both cases, the armour is returned to the dead hero's son.[99]

Ryholt and Salim have both commented on the complicated intertextual history of a story told by Herodotus (*Histories*, 2.111) of a chaste woman's urine or tears being used as a cure for blindness. In Herodotus' version, King Pheros threw a spear into the Nile flood and, immediately afterwards, his eyesight began to deteriorate until he was completely blind. Ten years later, he was told by an oracle that he should bathe his eyes in the urine of a woman who had never had sexual intercourse outside of marriage. After an initial struggle to find such a woman, his eyesight was restored. Pheros executed all of the women who were proven to be adulterous, including his own wife, and married the woman whose urine had cured him of his blindness. Salim argues that this story derives from one which was written down in the Ramesside Period (thirteenth-twelfth centuries BCE) about a magician called Merira who mixed urine into a potion to prevent someone from going blind. The episode in question is from the story of *Merira and the divine falcon*, which has survived in very fragmentary form. However, as well as a version predating Herodotus' visit to Egypt, there is a version which postdates it. The *Blinding of Pharoah*, one of the embedded stories in the narrative known as the *Petese Stories*, has survived in Demotic. In this version, it is a virtuous woman's tears which must be sought by the blind king rather than her urine. Ryholt believes that both Herodotus' version and the Demotic tale share an origin in a story which was circulating in the oral tradition at the time when Herodotus visited Egypt. If Salim is correct and the episode involving the magician Merira is related, then stories of urine being a miraculous cure for blindness circulated in Egypt for over a millennium.[100] Kim also discusses the intercultural traffic in oral folktales and argues that it was still thriving in the imperial period.[101] The evidence he provides comes

[98] Trans. O'Neill, E.N. in Betz, 1986, p.276.
[99] Salim, 2013, pp.121-127, p.136.
[100] ibid., p.44; Ryholt, 2006, p.41.
[101] Kim, 2013, p.315.

from Plutarch's *On the decline of oracles* in which a group of elite gentlemen, including Plutarch's brother Lamprius, are recorded as discussing why fewer people visit oracles in their day than used to in ages past. As part of this discussion, they share tales and nuggets of wisdom acquired during their travels in other parts of the world, including Egypt and Britain. In **Case Study C/C.iii**., I explore the possibility that the rescue of Leukippe by Menelaus has an intertextual connection to a folktale about the sage Ahiqar, who escaped death with the aid of his executioner, as well as to tales of Egyptian magic and cunning. A Demotic translation of the Ahiqar folktale is just one of several versions to have survived in many different languages. The story was known in Egypt from the fifth century BCE right down to the Roman period.[102]

Of scholars working on the Greek novels, Barns was the first to comment upon links with Egyptian literature in the Demotic language and script (sixth century BCE to third century CE).[103] Like Rohde, Barns was principally interested in tracing the origins of the Greek novel. He agreed with Rohde's conclusion that travelogues were part of the fusion which resulted in ancient romance literature and to Rohde's Greek examples he added the Egyptian story of *The Shipwrecked Sailor*. Like the protagonists of Greek fiction, the hero of this Middle Kingdom tale is subjected to dangers on both land and sea. Barns also identified *The Doomed Prince* as influential, a story of love and adventure from around 1300 BCE. In his discussion of the *Tale of the two brothers*, Barns noticed that one of its episodes finds a parallel in Knemon's story in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*. In the Egyptian version, the wife of the elder brother of the title propositions her husband's younger brother whilst her husband is out working in the fields. When the younger brother responds negatively to her advances, she lyingly accuses him of rape. Upon hearing his wife's false story, the elder brother does not give his younger sibling any chance to explain, but rather chases after him in a violent rage and vows to kill him. In Heliodorus' version, Knemon tells of his refusal to acquiesce to his step-mother's seduction and how she concocted a false story about his violence towards her to cause a rift between him and his father (Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, 1.10). According to Adamo, the motif of a lecherous older woman fabricating a story of rape or physical abuse when her sexual demands are not met has many parallels, including the Biblical tale of Potiphar's wife's attempts to seduce Joseph (*Genesis*, 39).[104] However, I believe that Heliodorus' key intertext, in this case, is not Near Eastern but Greek, as Knemon's step-mother refers to him as her "young Hippolytus", very clearly casting herself in the role of Phaedra. Salim describes "extraordinary

102 Rutherford, 2016, p.10, p.96.
103 Barns, 1955.
104 Adamo, 2013.

commonality" between a fragment of a second-century CE Greek novel and the Egyptian literary tradition of depicting magicians as respectable heroes.[105] The fragment in question concerns a man called Tinouphis, who is a servant of a god. Tinouphis has magical abilities. Salim believes that the story was inspired by an Egyptian original. In addition to the specific Egyptian intertexts mentioned above, Barns also noticed that the writers of both Greek and Egyptian fiction had a fondness for historical characters: on the Egyptian side, we find stories about Cheops, Sneferu, Amasis, Inaros and Petubastis; on the Greek side, we have Hermocrates, the famous general and father of Callirhoe, the heroine of Chariton's novel, and Alexander the Great in the *Alexander Romance*. The strongest evidence for Greek interest in Egyptian stories is found in the form of translations into Greek of texts which have also survived in Demotic. Sandy cites as an example the Greek translation of the Demotic *Dream of Nectanebus*, which happens to be the earliest documented example of Greek prose fiction.[106] Papyrus finds indicate that the translated texts were widely read in Egypt, but, with the exception of those pertaining to magic, enjoyed less popularity elsewhere in the empire.[107]

The most controversial scholarship in the area of intercultural intertextuality in the novels was that of Kerényi and Merkelbach, who argued that the myth of Isis and Osiris is key to a proper understanding of *L&C*, as well as to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.[108] Kerényi sought to prove that the ancient novels are religious writings, in which the hero and heroine make a ritual journey, as well as a physical one, during which they are watched over by a god or goddess, are set and undergo trials, including near death experiences, and are resurrected. Merkelbach agreed with Kerényi's approach, developed his ideas and concluded that the novels can only be fully understood by initiates of the mystery cults, as they include allusions to secret cult rituals and practices.[109] He claimed that Leukippe's and Kleitophon's journey through Egypt should be interpreted as a ritual journey to appease the goddess Isis-Tyche.[110] Whilst I agree with both authors regarding the importance of the myth of Isis and Osiris for *L&C*, and will fully demonstrate my reasoning for this in **Case Studies C, D and E**, in relation to Leukippe's *Scheintode* and Kleitophon's lamentations over her corpse, I do not concur that intertextuality with this myth makes the text a religious one, nor do I concur that plot elements from this myth would only have been spotted by initiates of the cult of Isis. As Vinson notes, the myth of Isis

[105] Salim, 2013, p.51 re. pHaun 400 from Stephens & Winkler, 2014, p.82.
[106] Sandy, 1994, p.132.
[107] Rutherford, 2016, p.5.
[108] Kérenyi, 1927; Merkelbach 1962, 1995.
[109] Doody, 1996, p.161.
[110] ibid., p.139.

and Osiris was ubiquitous in Egypt, so knowledge of its main episodes (Seth's betrayal and dismemberment of Osiris, and Isis' search for Osiris' body) cannot be considered secret knowledge.[111] I discuss the ubiquity of the cult of Isis through to and beyond the date at which AT was writing in **Case Study E.** I suggest that Egyptian myths should be treated in exactly the same way as *L&C*'s many other intertexts, as part of the polyphonic texture of the novel alongside tragedy, comedy, scientific writings and Greco-Roman myths. *L&C* does, undoubtedly, contain secrets, but these secrets are there to be teased out by all readers, not just those initiated into Egyptian mystery cults. This novel's secrets are of an intertextual nature, the teasing play between what the text says and all of its possible interpretations generated by the intertextual and intratextual resonances, secrets which are accessible to anyone with the time and literary resources to find and interpret them.

Connections to the Osiris myth have also been found in Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaka* and Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*. Vinson convincingly argues that the scene in which Charikleia mourns over the wounded body of Theagenes on the shore of Egypt, in the opening chapter of the *Aethiopica*, reminds the reader of Isis mourning over Osiris' body on the banks of the Nile. The connection between the two sets of lovers is strengthened later in the same book when Charikleia pretends to be the sister of Theagenes, as Isis and Osiris were brother and sister as well as husband and wife.[112] I would add that the positioning of these motifs in the opening book of the novel marks them as programmatic. The relationship of Charikleia and Theagenes is going to be like that of Isis and Osiris – a faithful love beleaguered by adversities culminating in an apotheosis of sorts when Charikleia and Theagenes become priest and priestess of the Sun and Moon. My approach has much in common with that of Tagliabue, who has very recently written about the relevance of the Isis and Osiris narrative to Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaka*. He convincingly argues that the love of Anthia for Habrokomes is modelled on that of Isis for Osiris, with both couples sharing a fidelity that will outlast death. He highlights multiple parallels between the plot of this novel and the denouements of the Isis and Osiris myth to support his argument.[113] For example, Habrokomes is saved from execution by the Egyptian sun-god when he is crucified on the banks of the Nile river. A gust of wind picks up him and his cross, landing him in the Nile which carries him out to sea (*Ephesiaka*, 4.2). Tagliabue argues that this event is intertextually linked to Osiris being carried out to sea in a

[111] Vinson, 2016, pp.261-262.
[112] ibid., 2008.
[113] Tagliabue, 2017, pp.129-150.

chest (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 356C).[114] I would add that the sun-god's link to resurrection, as demonstrated in relation to the Serapis festival in **Case Study E/E.ii.**, makes this deity an appropriate one to save Habrokomes from death. Tagliabue provides compelling evidence that Xenophon had both Diodorus Siculus' version of the myth in mind and that of Plutarch, as Egyptian dogs help Anthia find Habrokomes in the *Ephesiaka* (5.2.5), as Anubis helps Isis to find Osiris in Diodorus' version (*Bibliotheca historica*, 1.87.2-3), and children outside the temple of Apis prophesy that Anthia will soon find Habrokomes (*Ephesiaka*, 5.4.9-11), as children outside a temple foresee where Isis will find Osiris in Plutarch's version (*Moralia*, 356e).[115] There is an emphasis throughout the *Ephesiaka* on being faithful even to a corpse, exemplified by the story of a fisherman who mummifies his wife and lies next to her mummy every night to sleep (5.1.9-11). Tagliabue argues that the intertext for this is the fidelity of Isis to Osiris, even after his death. Osiris was frequently depicted as a mummy on a bier.[116] I completely agree.

In a conference paper early in 2018, as yet unpublished, Hilton investigates Greek and Egyptian competing theories of medicine in the scene of *L&C* in which Leukippe is overcome by a type of madness (4.9-15). The reason for Leukippe's madness is eventually discovered to be an overdose of an Egyptian love philtre. An antidote for the philtre is made from local herbs. However, prior to this correct diagnosis and administration of a cure, several theories are postulated as to what her condition might be and how it should be treated.[117] Following the example of Hilton, there are several places in this thesis where I discuss Greek and Near Eastern intertexts alongside one another, intertexts which compete for the reader's attention in relation to a given scene. In some places I have found that these intertexts conflict in tone. For example, in **Case Study E**, the gloomy Greek funerary epigrams for those who have died at sea are contrasted with the optimism of the Egyptian *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys*, which focus upon the resurrection of the deceased. I argue that both are intertexts for Kleitophon's mournful speech over Leukippe's headless corpse in Book 5. In some places these intertexts from different cultures highlight different aspects of the same story. For example, in **Case Study B**, I attempt to demonstrate that the Greek story of Perseus' rescue of Andromeda is connected to

[114] Tagliabue, 2017, pp.140.
[115] ibid., pp.140.
[116] ibid., pp.141-143.
[117] Hilton, 2018(b). McLeod (1969) also discusses this scene and he argues that the medical knowledge displayed by the bystanders is roughly in accord with theories on madness recorded by the third-century CE Alexandrian physician and anatomist Eristratus, but that the doctor's diagnosis and proposed treatment is closer to the theories of Celsus and first century CE practice.

ancient myths of storm-gods defeating sea-deities, and that several of those myths are connected to the region of Egypt in which Kleitophon and Leukippe view a painting of Perseus saving Andromeda just as she is about to be offered to Poseidon's sea-monster. I argue that all of these intertexts foreshadow the attempted sacrifice of Leukippe a few chapters later and her rescue from death, but that only the Ugaritic version of the myth also foreshadows her apparent resurrection.

This thesis is divided into five case studies. **Case Studies B and D** each focus upon ekphrases of paintings (the diptych in the temple of Zeus Kasios at Pelusium in B, and the painting of the myth of Philomela as seen in an artist's studio in Alexandria in D). **Case Studies C and E**, concentrate upon the *Scheintode* of Leukippe which are foreshadowed by the paintings discussed in B and D (her sacrifice by Egyptian brigands in C, and her beheading by Chaereas in E). So, the format is ekphrasis of painting (B) – *Scheintod* (C) – ekphrasis of painting (D) – *Scheintod* (E). My primary aim is to explore intertextuality in these two painting/*Scheintod* pairs, though I will bring into my discussions episodes from elsewhere in the novel where necessary. Unfortunately, due to limits of space, I am unable to discuss the adventures of Kleitophon and Leukippe in Egypt in between Leukippe's rescue from the brigands and their arrival in Alexandria (Book 4 of the novel).

Case Study A, which follows this introduction to my thesis, has a different purpose. I intend to demonstrate that AT encourages his novel to be read in the very way I have been reading it, that he encourages an intertextual and intercultural reading strategy in the novel's first few pages. By discussing the anonymous narrator's description of Sidon in the same case study as Kleitophon's description of Alexandria, I hope to demonstrate that both descriptions are open to metaliterary interpretation. I further suggest that the reader who has been looking beneath the surface of the narrative to discover the novel's multi-layered, polyphonic texture, reaches the mid-point of the novel, Kleitophon's description of his promenade through Alexandria, and recognises in Kleitophon's aporia, after unsuccessfully attempting to take in all of the city's beautiful sights, their own aporia at having attempted to explore all of the intertextual interactions in Books 1 to 4 and unify them in a single interpretation of the story.

CASE STUDY A

Achilles Tatius encourages an intertextual reading strategy

Contents		Page(s)
A.i.	Sidon and the painting of Europa's abduction by Zeus	33-45
A.ii.	Alexandria	45-52

In this first case study, I aim to explore two of the hypotheses I mentioned in my **Introduction**: first, that AT encourages his readers to look for intertextual, intratextual and intercultural resonances from the very outset of his novel, and second, that landscape descriptions in *L&C* often mirror the effect of reading intertextually. I will focus my attention upon the openings of Books 1 and 5. In A.i., I will discuss the anonymous narrator's description of Sidon's harbour, and his ekphrasis of the painting of Europa's abduction by Zeus. Brief mention will also be made of Baker's interpretation of Kleitophon's ekphrasis of the Nile river at 4.11.3-5, and Skretkowicz's interpretation of the pool in Kleitophon's garden at 1.15.6-7. In A.ii., I will present a metaliterary reading of Kleitophon's hodological journey through Alexandria, and will contend that Kleitophon's description of his promenade encourages the reader to think about the city's famous multiculturalism and how this is reflected in the novel's intertextual interactions.

A.i. Sidon and the painting of Europa's abduction by Zeus

The first paragraph of *L&C*, the anonymous narrator's detailed description of Sidon's double harbour, has received less academic attention than it deserves. Scholars writing on the first chapter of the novel tend to bypass this short opening paragraph and jump to the delightful ekphrasis of the painting of Europa's mythical abduction by Zeus, which begins at 1.1.2 and takes up the rest of the first chapter. Vilborg does devote space to the opening and asserts that Lauffry's archaeological investigations of Sidon's harbour area between 1946 and 1950 provided unambiguous proof that AT's description of the landscape can be reconciled with the modern site, with AT's inner harbour equating to a bay sheltered from the sea by an outcrop of rocky land and his outer harbour to the anchorage still used by large ships. After this assertion, Vilborg swiftly moves on to the rest of the chapter, mainly focussing upon matters of textual criticism.[118] In contrast, ignoring the archaeological evidence, Miguélez-Cavero suggests that

[118] Vilborg, 1962, pp.18-19.

AT's description is inaccurate, because a double harbour is not mentioned in Strabo's description of Sidon, only in his description of nearby Tyre (*Geography*, 16.2.22). Miguélez-Cavero suggests instead that AT has either made a mistake and intended for his novel to both start and end in Tyre, or that his knowledge of Phoenicia was sketchy and that his description is merely intended to present the anonymous narrator of the novel as a *pepaideumenos*, an educated traveller familiar with the rhetorical conventions for describing a harbour, as outlined by Menander Rhetor (*How to praise harbours*, 351.22-23 and 352.1-5).[119] I intend to demonstrate that overlooking *L&C*'s modest opening is a mistake and that its sole point of interest is not its topographical accuracy.

I will endeavour to demonstrate that the description of Sidon, with its emphasis on the inner and outer layers of the harbour complex, encourages the reader to look deeper than the surface-level sense of the text to find more allusive meanings. I will argue that this suggestion to read the text on more than one level, subtle to begin with at 1.1.1, becomes an emphatic encouragement to read intertextually when the Europa painting is described. I will demonstrate that the flowers of Europa's meadow should be interpreted as the author's literary sources, and that the meadow's gardener can be equated with AT the author. This emphasis upon intertextual reading becomes increasingly strident at 1.2 through intertextual engagement with Plato's *Phaedrus*, as discussed by Ní Mheallaigh. Her argument is summarised below.

Building upon the work of Whitmarsh, who has commented upon Sidon's corporeal topography, the way in which the landscape suggests a body's cavities, and the description's erotic emphasis upon fluidity, I aim to prove that 1.1.1 is an integral part of the author's intertextual plan for the first chapter of his novel, that it shares with the ekphrasis of the painting a common intertext, namely Moschus' *Europa*, and that the way in which 1.1.1 relates to the *Europa* poem is suggestive of the interplay of different cultural perspectives which we see at work throughout *L&C*.[120] This leads into a discussion of the way in which AT encourages his readers to look for intercultural resonances from the outset of his novel, and previous scholarship on this topic.

[119] Miguelez-Cavero, 2009, pp.191-192. "Harbours are either in the centre of the city, in which case you will say that it takes to its bosom those who sail under its arms" (Menander Rhetor, *How to praise harbours*, 351.22-23). "You will praise harbours as free from waves, free from wind and sheltered, having many channels, able to dispatch ships in any wind, lying at the entrance to great seas, or having deep water up to the shore" (Menander Rhetor, *How to praise harbours*, 352.1-5).
[120] Whitmarsh, 2011, pp.78-79.

At 1.2.3, the anonymous narrator of the novel leads a young man he has just met in the city of Sidon to a nearby grove, a grove in which many plane-trees grow and through which a stream flows. He tells the young man to join him on a low bench and asks to hear his love-story. The young man introduces himself as Kleitophon. The chapters of the novel which follow contain the first-person narrative of Kleitophon's adventures with his girlfriend, Leukippe, as remembered by the anonymous narrator of the novel. The intertextual relationship between *L&C* 1.2.3 and Plato's *Phaedrus* has been much discussed. In her contribution to the topic, Ní Mheallaigh suggests that this intertextual relationship casts doubt as to the authorship and the veracity of Kleitophon's narrative. She compares Kleitophon's story, related second-hand by the anonymous narrator of the novel, to the *Erotikos* speech in the *Phaedrus*. The *Erotikos* is either a genuine speech by Lysias, Plato's reconstruction from memory of a speech by Lysias, or a pastiche in imitation of Lysias' style. Therefore, Kleitophon's story could either be genuine, a reconstruction on the part of the anonymous narrator, or a completely fictitious creation by the anonymous narrator in the style of an ancient romance novel. Ní Mheallaigh goes further to propose that the Phaedran frame for Kleitophon's story highlights its orality and, in doing so, encourages intertextual reading with the consuming subject as the primary mediator of the text. She writes: "In Socratic terms, the written text, being without a present author, shifts the emphasis from author to reader as the site where meaning is realised; meaning is no longer an issue of authorial intention, but rather reader-reception, which was problematic for Socrates, as it led to a plurality of interpretations rather than absolute truth."[121] I agree and believe that this is just one of several ways in which AT promotes an intertextual reading of *L&C* at the beginning of his novel.

The novel opens with a description of the harbour of Sidon (1.1.1) which emphasises its double aspect: an outer harbour used by the ships coming and going during the summer months and an inner harbour for greater protection for the ships laying at anchor there during the winter. δίδυμος λιμὴν ἐν κόλπῳ πλατύς, ἠρέμα κλείων τὸ πέλαγος. ᾗ γὰρ ὁ κόλπος κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κοιλαίνεται, στόμα δεύτερον ὀρώρυκται, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὖθις εἰσρεῖ, καὶ γίνεται τοῦ λιμένος ἄλλος λιμήν, ὡς χειμάζειν μὲν ταύτῃ τὰς ὁλκάδας ἐν γαλήνῃ, θερίζειν δὲ τοῦ λιμένος εἰς τὸ προκόλπιον. "There is a double harbour in the bay, wide within but with a narrow entrance so as to land-lock the sea by a gentle curve: where the bay makes an inward turn towards the right, a second inlet has been channelled out, for the water to run in, and thus there is formed a further harbour behind the first, so that in winter the ships can lie safely in the inner

[121] Ní Mheallaigh, 2007.

basin, while in summer they need not proceed further than the outer port." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.3] The placement of this description in the very first paragraph marks it as programmatic: the text will also have a double aspect. It invites the reader to look for more than one interpretation of every scene by suggesting that there will not only be an outer, easily accessible, transparent meaning for every word or description, but also a deeper, less obvious, more guarded meaning. One might also imagine that it suggests two different ways of reading the novel: a superficial way of reading, appropriate for when time is limited and one will soon have to put the novel aside to engage in other activities, where the reader is like a ship during the trading months of the summer, which will soon have to leave port to journey elsewhere; and a second way of reading requiring more hermeneutic activity to uncover deeper meanings, appropriate for when one has leisure to hole up and puzzle over the intricacies of the text, where the reader is like a ship resting up during the winter months.

I am not the first scholar to attempt a metaliterary reading of landscape descriptions in *L&C*. Most recently, Baker has discussed Kleitophon's description of the Nile river in this regard. At 4.11.3-5, the Nile river is described thus: Ὁ Νεῖλος ῥεῖ μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐκ Θηβῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων εἷς ὢν ἄχρι Μέμφεως καὶ ἔστι μικρὸν κάτω 'Κερκάσωρος ὄνομα τῇ κώμῃ' πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ μεγάλου ῥεύματος. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ περιρρήγνυται τῇ γῇ, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς ποταμοῦ γίνονται τρεῖς, δύο μὲν ἑκατέρωθεν λελυμένοι, ὁ δὲ εἷς ὥσπερ ἦν ῥέων πρὶν λυθῆναι. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τούτων ἕκαστος τῶν ποταμῶν ἀνέχεται μέχρι θαλάσσης ῥέων, ἀλλὰ περισχίζεται ἄλλος ἄλλῃ κατὰ πόλεις, καί εἰσιν αἱ σχίσεις μείζονες τῶν παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι ποταμῶν: τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ πανταχοῦ μεμερισμένον οὐκ ἐξασθενεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖται καὶ πίνεται καὶ γεωργεῖται. "The Nile flows down in a single stream from Thebes of Egypt as far as Memphis; a little below a village (Cercasorus is its name), at the end of the undivided body of the river. From that point it breaks up around the land, and three rivers are formed out of one; two streams discharge themselves on either side, while the middle one flows on in the same course as the unbroken river, and forms the Delta in between the two outer branches. None of these three channels reaches the sea in an unbroken state; each, on reaching various cities, splits up further in different directions. The resulting branches are all of them larger than the rivers of Greece, and the water, although so much subdivided, does not lose its utility, but is used for boats, for drinking, and for agricultural irrigation." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, pp.213-215] It has been argued by Baker that this description of the Nile reveals the nuances of AT's writing. The Nile bifurcates continually, streams break off from the main river, and from these streams break off smaller streams, and so on, and so on. She argues that the river becomes increasingly difficult to identify and defies

characterisation. She suggests that the Nile, and other natural histories in the novel "echo, reflect, or generate themes throughout the novel, while simultaneously frustrating a unified reading of those themes and opening the text to various simultaneous interpretive possibilities."[122]

The next few paragraphs of *L&C* 1.1 continue to highlight the novel's intricacy. Its intensely intertextual nature is beautifully promoted through an ekphrasis of a painting of Europa, which the anonymous narrator of the story spies during his perambulation of the city. This painting features a meadow blooming with flowers (ἐκόμα πολλοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὁ λειμών: 1.1.3) being irrigated by a gardener with a pick (ὀχετηγός τις ἐγέγραπτο δίκελλαν κατέχων καὶ περὶ μίαν ἀμάραν κεκυφὼς καὶ ἀνοίγων τὴν ὁδὸν τῷ ῥεύματι: 1.1.6). As pointed out by Bartsch, the flower meadow was not a standard feature of visual depictions of Europa's abduction by Zeus, so it would have caught the eye of an ancient reader and singled itself out for special attention.[123] Flowers have long been associated with literary sources. For example, Seneca, in *Letter 84 to Lucilius*, describes the process of reading widely, digesting what one has read and using it to influence one's own writing as akin to a bee collecting nectar from different varieties of flower and combining them to make honey. In *De recta ratione audiendi* 41FG and *quomodo adolescens* 31E, Plutarch equates both women picking flowers and bees collecting nectar to the gathering of literary sources.

Epistles 2 and 16 of Philsotratus' *Love Letters* use the metaphor of a garland of roses to represent the epistle collection.[124] One of the most famous 'garlands' of poetry in antiquity was that of Meleager of Gadara. His collection of epigrams was put together circa 100 BCE and included 130 of his own creations, mostly erotic in theme. Meleager's *Garland* was the principal source for transmission of Hellenistic literary epigrams up until the Byzantine period, which it, sadly, did not survive. Excerpts from its contents are still extant, as it was partially incorporated into the collection of Constantine Cephalas in the tenth century BCE. His collection of epigrams formed the basis of the *Palatine Anthology*, with which we are familiar today.[125] There is evidence that AT was familiar with at least some of the epigrams contained within Meleager's *Garland*. For example, *L&C* 2.14.1 is an oracle which reads: "There is an island city: they who dwell therein are named from trees. It makes as well an isthmus on the sea, a bay on the shore, where to Hephaestus' joy, for evermore consorts with him Athene,

[122] Baker, 2018, pp.52-53.
[123] Bartsch, 1989, p.55.
[124] For a discussion see Gutzwiller, 1997, p.181.
[125] Gutzwiller, 1997, p.169.

grey-eyed maid. There let your rites to Hercules be paid." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.81, p.83] This is a direct quotation from one of the epigrams, designated *AP* 14.34, omitting the line "there is blood from my land and blood from Cecrops together with it". The prooemium to Meleager's *Garland* lists 47 poets, each of which is associated with a flower or some other plant. Meleager claims to have entwined the poetry of these authors together to form a garland. The fact that flowers are still associated with collections of poetry to this day is evident in the etymology of the word anthology, literally a 'gathering of flowers'. The first attestation of the word anthology is from the second century CE.[126]

The flowers in AT's meadow are his literary sources and they are being tended to by a gardener who clearly represents AT himself. The description of the gardener using a pick to create a channel for water to flow through the flower meadow recalls the Homeric simile likening Achilles' flight from the Scamander to "a gardener making a channel in order to run water from a dark spring through his garden and its plants; mattock in hand, he clears obstructions from the trench" (ὡς δ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἀνὴρ ὀχετηγὸς ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου / ἂμ φυτὰ καὶ κήπους ὕδατι ῥόον ἡγεμονεύῃ / χερσὶ μάκελλαν ἔχων, ἀμάρης ἐξ ἔχματα βάλλων: *Iliad*, 21.257-259). By using this Homeric allusion, Achilles Tatius, namesake of the epic hero, suggests that in writing his novel he will provide fertile soil and nourishment-bearing channels for the literary sources which he plants to grow and flourish. Furthermore, like the flowers shaded by the leaves of a roof of intertwining branches (συνῆπτον οἱ πτόρθοι τὰ φύλλα, καὶ ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὄροφος ἡ τῶν φύλλων συμπλοκή: 1.1.3), AT's literary sources will be obfuscated by a plethora of possibilities created by an overarching lattice of connections. However, he promises that, every so often, a specific source will be thrown into clarity by him, like the artist who paints the sun occasionally breaking through the roof of foliage to shine on the flowers below (καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἠρέμα τοῦ λειμῶνος κάτω σποράδην διέρρει, ὅσον τὸ συνηρεφὲς τῆς τῶν φύλλων κόμης ἀνέῳξεν ὁ γραφεύς: 1.1.4). Repath concurs that the flowers in AT's meadow should be treated as literary sources and further argues that the word στοιχηδὸν at 1.1.5, meaning 'in a row', invites us to read them. He explains that the word στοιχηδὸν is also found on the stele of Moschion of contemporary date, explaining the way that it should be read.[127] Returning to intertextuality with the Homeric simile, I posit the suggestion that, if Homer's gardener can be equated with AT, then the connection between the texts implies that AT does not have complete control over the irrigation of his garden of literary sources. The Homeric gardener's water

[126] Cameron, 1993, p.5.
[127] Repath, 2018.

channel is described as outstripping him in speed as it flows swiftly forwards, moving faster than the man who guides it (τοῦ μέν τε προρέοντος ὑπὸ ψηφῖδες ἅπασαι / ὀχλεῦνται: τὸ δέ τ᾽ ὦκα κατειβόμενον κελαρύζει / χώρῳ ἔνι προαλεῖ, φθάνει δέ τε καὶ τὸν ἄγοντα: *Iliad*, 21.260-262). *L&C's* literary sources, the intertexts of the novel, are not solely determined by AT. Although his guiding hand is present throughout the novel, and is even obvious in places, intertextual reading carves out its own narrative channels; connections are created so rapidly, by one intertextual resonance flowing onto the next, that the reader's experience moves beyond the control of the author into new territories.

In a 2010 article, Skretkowicz mentions the pool in Kleitophon's garden and the way in which it reflects the entire garden in its waters. It is described thus at 1.15.6-7: τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τῶν ἀνθέων ἦν κάτοπτρον, ὡς δοκεῖν τὸ ἄλσος εἶναι διπλοῦν, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ δὲ τῆς σκιᾶς. "In the midst of these flowers bubbled up a spring, the waters of which were confined in a square artificial basin; the water served as a mirror for the flowers, giving the impression of a double grove, one real and the other a reflection." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.47] Skretkowicz suggests that this is an invitation to read on more than one level.[128] I agree, and would add that it is possible to suggest that the flowers reflected in the pool are literary sources and that the deeper meanings which the reader should be looking for are intertextual connections. This assertion is supported by an intertextual link to a third-century BCE papyrus containing the poetry of Posidippus and others, which was given as a wedding gift to Arsinoe I, wife of Ptolemy I Philadelphus. Its title is simply *Mixed Epigrams*, but it describes itself as "leaves and flowers from a garden fountain".[129] This is the earliest use of the aforementioned metaphor of flowers to represent a literary collection.

Similarities between the ekphrasis of the painting depicting the abduction of Europa in *L&C* (1.1.2-13) and Moschus' description of the same mythic event are so numerous that it is evident that Moschus' *Europa* is one of the hypotexts for AT's own reimagining of the mythic event. Whitmarsh notes the following correspondences: the flower catalogue, both Europas sit on the bull's back and hold its horn, and their robes are stretched out to act as sails.[130] De Temmerman adds to this list that both Europas are abducted from a flowery meadow, their abductions are watched by their handmaidens, and dolphins swim alongside them as they journey across the

[128] Skretkowicz, 2010, p.94.
[129] For a discussion see Clack, 1992, p.3.
[130] Whitmarsh, 2011, p.89, n.98.

sea.[131] I suggest that 1.1.1 also uses Moschus' *Europa* as an intertext and will now substantiate that claim.

In 1.1.1, the word κόλπος is twice used to mean bay or harbour. However, this word can also be used to refer to the fold of a garment, a hollow, a woman's lap, vagina or bosom. AT uses this word several times to refer to a human body part elsewhere in the novel. For example, at 6.18.4 Leukippe lowers her head onto her bosom, τὸν κόλπον, to avoid the embraces of her unwanted admirer Thersander. The word πλευρά can be used to refer to the side of a human being, as well as to the side of a shoreline. For example, at 3.8.3 Prometheus twists himself onto his side, πλευράν, in a failed attempt to prevent the bird from being able to pick at his liver. The word στόμα can refer to a mouth as well as an entrance. προκόλπιον is only used by AT to denote an outer harbour, elsewhere it is always the fold of garment which passes over the breast. λιμήν can mean breast as well as harbour. The image of a woman's body is being conjured by the description of the landscape. AT goes further; he describes Sidon as the μήτηρ Φοινίκων and the first harbour as γίνεται, literally 'giving birth to', the second, which is its twin δίδυμος. The gentleness of the landscape is also emphasised. Ships winter in her harbour ἐν γαλήνῃ 'in stillness' and the harbour ἠρέμα 'gently' encloses the sea. The harbours of Sidon are a like a protective mother for the ships which rest at anchor there. This feminisation of the landscape calls to mind Europa's dream from the beginning of Moschus' poem. In this dream, two women, representing the continents of Asia and of the future Europe, are vying for her. Moschus explicitly states that the land masses φυὴν δ᾽ ἔχον οἷα γυναῖκες 'ressembled women'. A woman dressed in Phoenician attire clings to Europa and tells her that she is the one who nursed and bore her (lines 10-12), whilst a foreign woman attempts to grab hold of Europa and drag her far away (lines 13-14). By anthropomorphising Sidon and using words associated with the female body and motherhood to describe its harbours, AT is hinting to the educated reader, from the very first paragraph of his novel, to have Moschus in mind when reading on.

Referring back to Riffaterre's notion of overt and covert allusions in the methodology section of my introduction, I would argue that the allusions linking the Europa ekphrasis and Moschus' *Europa* poem are of the overt kind, including clear verbal echoes from the hypotext, such as the description of Europa's robe being stretched out to catch the wind and act like a sail. A reader is more likely to spot such overt allusions, precisely because the author intends for them to. The intertextual relationship between the corporeal description of Sidon's harbour and

[131] De Temmerman, 2012(c), p.526, n.28.

Europa’s dream is more covert, much less easy to spot during a first-time reading. It is more likely to be a connection a reader would make after having spotted the subsequent more overt allusions, perhaps when looking back over the text. It is, however, a very important connection for the reader to make, because it informs us as to the character of Leukippe, as I will now explain.

Intratextual interactions between the Europa painting and later events in the novel’s main narrative have been discussed previously by several scholars. Reeves, for example, explores the way in which the Europa ekphrasis foreshadows several events in the main narrative: the abduction of Kleitophon’s half-sister Kalligone by Kallisthenes, Leukippe’s elopement with Kleitophon, the abduction of Leukippe by the Egyptian brigands, the journey over the sea of Kleitophon and Melite to their new marital home on Ephesus, and Thersander’s capture and imprisonment of Leukippe. She argues that AT presents “variations on a theme” and that he creates differences between these variations in a ludic manner. She also argues that the Europa ekphrasis is a structural device which unifies the whole novel through these intratextual connections.[132]

If Leukippe’s elopement with Kleitophon is foreshadowed by Europa’s abduction by Zeus, and Europa of the painting is intertextually connected to Europa of Moschus’ poem, then it is reasonable to compare the character of Leukippe with that of Moschus’ Europa. Upon waking from her dream about the vying continents of Asia and Europe, Moschus’ Europa experiences pangs of longing for the foreign woman she saw and recalls that this woman held her in her arms as if she were her own child. She does not fear the abduction from Phoenicia prophesied by the dream, but rather welcomes it and hopes that it will turn out well (lines 16-28). Leukippe too is not unwilling to leave her mother, Panthea, nor her Phoenician motherland. Far from being reluctant to go, she is, like Europa, desirous of the prospect, as she resents her mother’s false suspicion that she lost her virginity to an intruder who snuck into her bedroom in the night (2.24, 2.29). She vows to take her own life if Kleitophon does not take her away from her mother (2.30). During the dream sequence, Moschus also hints at his Europa’s sexual awakening. Her sleep is ‘limb-loosening’ (line 4) and she awakes with a ‘passionate longing’ for the foreign woman. As Harden points out, Moschus uses violent, sexual language to express the foreign woman’s seizure of Europa, yet Europa does not offer any resistance, neither during the dream nor when she wakes up. On the contrary, upon waking, she goes down to the meadow

[132] Reeves, 1972, p.98.

by the seashore to pick flowers. Harden correctly comments that Europa places herself in the scene of a rape. She is motivated by the sexual arousal which the dream stirred within her, eager to climb onto the bull's back and be carried away by him and she even encourages her handmaidens to accompany her (lines 101-108).[133] AT's Europa too appears to be an active and acquiescent participant in her own abduction. The novelist goes further than a mere imitation of his intertext. Europa does not simply hold onto the bull's horn but holds it as a charioteer would the reins of his chariot and she steers the bull with the motion of her hand (1.1.10). This description creates the impression of a Europa in control of the bull, in control of Zeus. This reaffirms that she is not a mortal woman in the thrall of a higher power, but a woman in control of her own destiny and emotions, with her own sexual drive. Leukippe's sexual desire is kindled by Kleitophon's seduction of her through erotic discourse and, exactly like Europa, she is eager to elope with her admirer.

The feminised and corporeal description of Sidon's harbours at *L&C* 1.1.1, through its allusion to Moschus' vying continents of Europe and Asia, hints at the intercultural dynamic of the novel's main narrative. As I will demonstrate in **Case Studies B-E**, the novel's intertextual resonances are a heady mixture of European (Greek and Roman) and Near Eastern (Semitic and Egyptian). These intertextual resonances often contend for dominance over the interpretation of a particular piece of the main narrative. For example, in **Case Study C**, in relation to the description of Leukippe being tied to stakes like Marsyas and eviscerated by Egyptian brigands as a sacrifice to their god, the explicit intertext is the Greek myth of Marsyas' punishment by Apollo for having lost to the god in a musical contest; however, the image of a person tied to stakes being disembowelled, given the Egyptian locale, also recalls the punishments inflicted upon sinners in the Egyptian Underworld.

In a 1994 paper, Selden suggested that the master trope of the ancient novels was syllepsis, by which he meant that their narratives exhibit a doubleness, an interplay between the literal surface meanings of the text and the figurative meanings which lie beneath, often resulting in more than one way of interpreting a passage, or, in the case of 1.1, more than one way of viewing a picture.[134] Selden contends that the painting depicts the Greek myth of Europa's abduction by Zeus in the form of a bull, but that a Phoenician viewer would be reminded of the Near Eastern myth of the goddess Astarte riding on the back of her consort Baal. As the painting in question is specifically described as a temple-offering to the Phoenician goddess Astarte at

[133] Harden, 2011, p.93.
[134] Selden, 1994, pp.49-51.

1.1.2., I concur with Selden that "the initial description of the painting is already set up to invoke ambivalent responses in readers competent in one system of representation or the other."[135] Morales also concurs, describing the painting as bivalent. She argues that the bivalence of the painting establishes viewing as a subjective activity dependent upon the viewer's cultural frame of reference.[136] She further suggests that AT purposefully selects a location for the painting of Europa which was renowned for its polysemy. According to Lucian, the temple of Sidon was associated with Astarte, Selene and Europa.[137] ἔνι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱρὸν ἐν Φοινίκῃ μέγα, τὸ Σιδόνιοι ἔχουσιν. ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἀστάρτης ἐστὶν Ἀστάρτην δ᾽ ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἔμμεναι. ὡς δὲ μοί τις τῶν ἱρέων ἀπηγέετο, Εὐρώπης ἐστὶν. "And in Phoenicia is another great temple, belonging to the Sidonians. They say it is the temple of Astarte, and Astarte, I think, is Selene. But, one of the priests told me that the temple belongs to Europa." (Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 4) [my translation] I agree with Morales and propose that AT deliberately selects locations throughout the novel which encourage the reader to be open to intercultural resemblances. In **Case Study B**, I explore the positioning of a painting of Andromeda and Perseus in the temple of Zeus Kasios at Pelusium. I argue that the temple's mythology is Near Eastern, that Zeus Kasios is the *interpretatio graeca* of Baal Sapon, and that the myth of Baal battling with a sea-god is related to the Greek myth of Perseus battling with Poseidon's sea-monster.

However, Selden's theory has had its detractors as well as its enthusiasts. Whitmarsh, for example, claims that it is highly problematic to use myths concerning the goddess Astarte, known to us from Ugaritic texts of the second millennium BCE, to argue for a Phoenician way of viewing works of art in the second century CE.[138] I disagree. We have Lucian's testimony (quoted above) that the goddess of the temple in which the painting is displayed was identified with both Astarte and Europa in the second century CE. Phoenician coins as late as the 3rd century CE associated the temple of Astarte with Europa, with Astarte's temple on one side of the coin and Europa on the Zeus-bull's back on the other.[139] One of Astarte's aspects was that of sea-goddess, hence it is entirely in accord with her role in ancient mythology that votives should be offered to her in thanks for survival of a storm, as is stated to be the anonymous

[135] Selden, 1994, p.63, n.128.
[136] Morales, 2004, p.42.
[137] ibid., p.45.
[138] Whitmarsh, 2011, p.82.
[139] Lightfoot, 2003, p.298. Lightfoot also argues that "it seems rash to regard the Europa legend as a reflex of a 'native' myth (concerning El in bull form, and Astarte)".West, on the other hand, discusses the relationship between Europa and Astarte and concludes that the myth of Zeus and Europa was a version of the sacred union between Aŝtar and Aŝtart in the forms of bull and cow (1997, pp.451-452).

narrator's objective at 1.1.2.[140] Lightfoot thinks Selden's theory as to the bivalence of the painting is possible, but persuasively demonstrates that by the second century CE, the time in which both Lucian and AT were writing, the Phoenicians were long familiar with depictions of their gods and goddesses in Hellenized forms. She notes that Lucian's priests do the opposite of what Selden argues Kleitophon does, in that they identify the goddess Astarte with Europa, rather than seeing a painting of Europa and identifying her with Astarte/Selene.[141]

Selden goes further to use the cultural bivalence of the painting as the reason for Kleitophon's comparison at 1.4.2-3 of Leukippe to a picture which he once saw of Selene, as Selene was identified with Astarte.[142] His theory is that Kleitophon is referring to the picture in the temple of Astarte at Sidon, which the anonymous Greek narrator interpreted as being of Europa and Zeus, but which Kleitophon as a Phoenician might have thought to represent Selene. I am in agreement with Repath that this is doubtful, as Kleitophon's wording is clear. Τοιαύτην εἶδον ἐγώ ποτε ἐπὶ ταύρῳ γεγραμμένην Σελήνην (1.4.3). He "once" (ποτε) saw a painting of Selene riding on the back of a bull. If he were referring to the painting in the temple, next to which he met the anonymous narrator, he would surely have referred to the painting which "we just saw".[143] However, there is some merit to Selden's suggestion, as Europa, Astarte and Selene were connected in antiquity. Europa, Astarte and Selene all had associations with the Moon. Europa, meaning 'broad face', was a synonym for the Moon. Morales explains that Selene was a moon-goddess and sister of the sun-god Helios. She was often described as driving a chariot across the sky pulled by either horses or oxen.[144] The fact that Leukippe is being likened to a picture of a moon-goddess also makes sense. Not only was it common practice in the ancient novels for the heroine to be compared to a goddess, but her name has an intertextual association with the Moon. The Leukippides, the daughters of Leukippus, were called Phoebe and Hilaeria, both of which were epithets of the Moon. Like Europa and Leukippe, these two maidens were stolen to be brides, in this case by the Dioscuri brothers Castor and Polydeuces.[145] Bortolani

[140] Astarte's mythology was known in Egypt as well as in Phoenicia, as evidenced by the survival in fragments of *Astarte and the Sea*, a version of the myth in which the Egyptian god Seth takes the place of Baal, which I discuss in detail in **Case Study B**.
[141] Lightfoot, 2003, p.299.
[142] Some manuscripts have Selene and some have Europa. I am in agreement with Cueva, 2006, p.132 and Morales, 2004, pp.38-40 that Selene is the correct reading, as it has the greater manuscript support, is the older of the two readings and the *lectio difficilior*. Europa is preferred by Bartsch (1989, p.165), Gaselee (1984, p.15), Fusillo (1989, p.165 n.78) and Bettini (1999, p.289), apparently for the sake of maintaining literary consistency and to provide a connection between Europa and Leukippe.
[143] Repath, 2015, pp.51-52. See also Lightfoot, 2003, p.301.
[144] Morales, 2004, p.43, n.26.
[145] Apollodorus, 3.2.2.; Hyginus, *Fabula* 80; Larson, 1995, p.66.

notes that PGM 4.2242-247, a hymn to Hekate-Selene, uses the word ἀστραπή to refer to the glare and light of Selene as the Moon.[146] When Kleitophon describes his first sight of Leukippe at 1.4.2 he says that he was struck as if by lightning (καταστράπτει) by the beauty of her face. He then compares Leukippe to the painting he saw of Selene. I suggest that "struck as if by lightning" could also be translated as "struck by the glare", and refers to the Moon not to lightning, especially given the verb's positioning in the sentence immediately preceding the reference to Selene. Cueva's 2006 paper provides another rationale for Leukippe being identified with Selene at 1.4.3. He proposes that Leukippe is transformed into a witch and worshipper of the moon-goddess during the course of the novel. The evidence he provides is convincing: Leukippe pretends to cast a spell on Kleitophon's hand to soothe the pain of a bee-sting at 2.7; she is mistaken for Hekate at 3.18.3-4 when she rises from a grave; she pretends to be Laikaina from Thessaly, an area renowned for its witches, at 5.17; she goes to pick herbs by moonlight to make a love potion for Melite to use to seduce Kleitophon at 5.22-26.[147]

A.ii. Alexandria

At 5.1-2, Kleitophon and Leukippe arrive by boat in Alexandria, they enter via the Sun Gate and embark upon a walking tour of the city, which Kleitophon describes from his perspective. De Temmerman comments upon the vagueness of this description of Alexandria and attributes it to the description being a product of the cultural imagination, "Alexandria was a well-known stock subject of description in schoolbooks of rhetorical exercises".[148] Bartsch discusses these schoolbooks, known as *progymnasmata*, and from them cites several conventional subjects for ekphrasis, including cities, harbours and meadows, all of which are subjected to ekphrastic description in *L&C*.[149] Fraser also assumes that the author is drawing on his imagination; however, he is working under the misapprehension that AT was a contemporary of Ammianus Marcellinus (late fourth century CE) and, therefore, that much of the ancient city would have been abandoned and crumbling at the time he was writing the novel.[150] This is not the case. Based on papyrological evidence, we can now reliably state that AT wrote his novel no later

[146] Bortolani, 2016, pp.268-269. ἀστραπή appears on line 58 of hymn 11 in Bortolani's translation.
[147] Cueva, 2006, pp.138-143.
[148] De Temmerman, 2012(c), pp.522-523.
[149] Bartsch, 1989, pp.9-10.
[150] Fraser, 1972, vol. IIa, p.25, n.48.

than the end of the second century CE.[151] In A.ii., I will show that Kleitophon's promenade through Alexandria can be partially traced from what we know of the ancient city from written historical sources and archaeological investigations. I will then provide my own metaliterary interpretation of his promenade focussed upon intertextuality and intercultural resonances.

In this section, I aim to demonstrate that a good example of the topographical accuracy of Kleitophon's description is the way in which his route through the city very clearly starts from the Sun Gate, and proceeds along the Via Canopica to the royal palace region and Alexander the Great's tomb. At 5.1.3, Kleitophon arrives at τον ἐπωνυμον Ἀλεξανδρου τοπον – "the place named after Alexander". Identification of this particular place in the city has been cause for a great deal of speculation. Vilborg makes the unsubstantiated suggestion that an intersection is being referred to.[152] Garnaud proposes that the phrase refers to a second town within Alexandria and that this is significant because it links the description of Alexandria with that of Sidon in chapter 1: "comme il y avait à Sidon deux ports 1.1.1".[153] Laplace asserts that the place in question is "sans doute la partie de la ville dénommée Alpha d'après la première letter du nom d'Alexandre".[154] She backs up this claim with reference to Ps. Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance* 1.32.4 in which Alexander splits the city into five sections, A, B, Γ, Δ and E, with the A standing for Alexander.[155] In my opinion, this theory is tenuous. *L&C* predates the *Alexander Romance*, so AT cannot have been influenced by it. In order for AT to be aware that section A of the city was named after Alexander it is necessary to assume that this was not an innovation on the part of Ps. Callisthenes and that there was a pre-existing tradition with which both AT and Ps. Callisthenes were familiar. That the city had sections and that these were referred to by letters is understandable, but that, rather than just being chosen because they are the first five letters of the alphabet, A was chosen because it is the first letter of Alexander and B because it is the first letter of βασιλεύς, king, and so on, seems improbable.[156]

[151] For a thorough discussion of the dating of the novel, AT's connection to Alexandria and evidence within the text for his knowledge of second-century CE Alexandrian affairs, see the excellent introduction in Laplace, 2007, pp.2-19.
[152] Vilborg, 1962, p.93.
[153] Garnaud, 2013, p.217.
[154] Laplace, 2007, pp.224-5.
[155] ibid., p.225, n.134.
[156] Haas, 1997, p.47, p.142 also suggests that the quarters were named for the first five letters in the alphabet in the third century BCE, but notes that extant sources do not reveal the location of each of the quarters.

A comparison of descriptions of Alexandria by other authors with the account of Kleitophon's route and the sights he sees has led me to an alternative theory. Kleitophon enters by the Sun Gate (5.1.1), also known as the Canopic Gate, and proceeds down a street lined with columns, which must be the Via Canopica, the broad, longitudinal street running from the gate to the necropolis (cf. Strabo's *Geography*, 17.1.10). Via Canopica was 30.5 metres wide, four times wider than any of the other Alexandrian streets. It was comparable to the great colonnaded street of Palmyra and the street of Herod and Tiberius in Antioch.[157] The Serapis procession described by Kleitophon at 5.2.1 would have been along this street, as it was used for religious processions both pagan and Christian.[158] Kleitophon then comes to a πεδίον (5.1.2), an open precinct of the city, surrounded by columns. Strabo also refers to the city's beautiful public precincts (*Geography*, 17.1.8). After choosing a route across the πεδίον, Kleitophon advances a few stades and, at this point, approaches εἰς τὸν ἐπώνυμον Ἀλεξάνδρου τόπον. The splendour of the place is twice mentioned (5.1.3 and 5.1.4) and that it has many columns (5.1.4). I believe that Kleitophon has entered the royal palace precinct, within which there was an enclosure containing the tombs of previous kings and also the tomb of Alexander. This enclosure is referred to by Strabo (*Geography*, 17.1.8), who himself lived in Alexandria during the 20s BCE, and by Ps. Callisthenes (*Alexander Romance*, 34.6) as the Σῶμα, the body, and Zenobius (3.94), a second-century CE writer and possible contemporary of AT, as the Σῆμα, the tomb. The Roman emperor Augustus is known to have visited this tomb and to have seen Alexander's body within it (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 18; Dio Cassius 51.16.5). Suetonius' account suggests that the mausoleum of the Ptolemaic kings would not have been considered worthy of a visit from Augustus had it not also contained the body of Alexander, and that it was the presence of his mummy within the burial complex which made the place significant, to the Romans at least. Chugg notes that Caesar visited the tomb in 48 BCE (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 10.14-20), Septimius Severus was appalled by the ease of access during his visit and ordered the tomb to be sealed up (Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 76.13.2.), Caracalla was the last recorded visitor in 215 CE (Herodian, 4.8.6-4.9.8 and Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 78.22-23), and Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the tomb as existing in his day in *Res Gestae*, 22.11.7.[159] Erskine

[157] ibid., 1997, p.29. Chugg, 2002-2003, p.105 The excavations of Mahmoud Bey in 1866 discovered enormous foundations on the Via Canopica on the west side between transverse streets and a great number of fallen columns. MacKenzie, 2007, p.2. the grid plan established by Mahmoud-Bey in 1866 is still largely reliable. p.13 some columns were still standing on the east-west street in the eighteenth century CE as well as on some streets crossing it. Remains were found of monumental buildings, including a structure described as a palace.
[158] Haas, 1997, p.86.
[159] Chugg, 2002-2003, p.78.

suggests that the burial complex, built by Ptolemy Philopater, was originally referred to as "The Body of Alexander" and that, over time, this was simply abbreviated to "The Body".[160] Similarly, in Wolverhampton, my native town, a statue of Prince Albert riding a horse, over time, became known as the "Man On The Horse" and is often now referred to using the acronym the "MOTH". It makes perfect sense to me for the place named after Alexander to be the Σῶμα or Σῆμα and appears to match up accurately with what we know of the geographical layout of ancient Alexandria and what can be ascertained of Kleitophon's route through the city.[161]

Kleitophon's description contains other details which are likely to have been accurate, as these details create the image of a city layout in keeping with traditional Egyptian design. At 5.1.4, Kleitophon highlights the geometry of the quarter named after Alexander: "the splendour of this was cut into squares, for there was a row of columns intersected by another as long at right angles." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.237] Vasunia notes that Egyptian descriptions of their own country focus on symmetry, axes and limits.[162] Selden argues that Alexandria's layout was classically Egyptian, as the city's main thoroughfares, like those of Akhenaten's capital, ran parallel to the course of the Nile and at right angles to the path of the Sun.[163] He suggests that this layout functioned as a mirror of the Egyptian cosmos.[164]

The ekphrasis of Alexandria, though ill-defined in parts, does contain accurate information regarding the layout of the city. Its vagueness cannot be attributed to lack of first-hand knowledge of the city on the part of AT, and is, therefore, deliberate and for a purpose. AT chooses to focalise the description through the first-person narrator, Kleitophon, and so, instead of a panoramic standpoint, we get Kleitophon's impression of what the city is like as he walks through it, of a city teeming with wonderful sights and people. Morales makes an interesting and detailed comparison between Strabo's mode of viewing the city (*Geography*, 17.1.6ff), which she describes as "cold, particularizing ... technically accurate" and Kleitophon's "impressionistic view".[165] Connors describes Strabo's gaze as "episcopalian", from the Greek verb "episkopein", to inspect, oversee, examine. Referring to *Geography* 1.1.23, when Strabo

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[160] Erskine, 2002, p.167. Chugg, 2002-2003, p.77 notes that in 215 BCE Ptolemy Philopater constructed a new mausoleum in the centre of Alexandria for Alexander's corpse and the remains of his own ancestors.
[161] Chugg, 2002-2003, p.106 identifies the Soma with the A sector of Alexandria.
[162] Vasunia, 2001, pp.80-81.
[163] Selden, 1988b, pp.398-399.
[164] Selden, 1998, pp.298-390.
[165] For a detailed discussion of vision in the novel, see Morales (2004), and pp.100-106 for this scene; quotation from p.102.

says of his work καθάπερ τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς κολοσσικοῖς ἔργοις οὐ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβὲς ζητοῦμεν, Connors comments "Strabo invites readers to consider his work as a totality by comparing it to a colossal statue".[166] I would add that Strabo is suggesting not only that his work is all-encompassing, but that his viewpoint is all-seeing, that he looks at the world and its cities from the same panoptic perspective as the god Helios whom the Colossus of Rhodes represented. Kleitophon, on the other hand, is unable to take in everything. He is too blinded by the beauty of the city to pay close attention to the individual sights.

Mine will not be the first metaliterary reading of Kleitophon's walk through Alexandria, though I feel I have an original contribution to make regarding intertextuality. Doody has described Kleitophon's experience of Alexandria as akin to the reader's experience of *L&C*, as both the city and the novel are impossible to take in upon a first viewing/reading and leave the viewer/reader with a desire to see more/dig deeper.[167] Nimis has similarly remarked that the reader, like Kleitophon, cannot control what does and does not come into his purview. The cityscape represents the vast array of narrative possibilities lying ahead at this particular point in the novel. Nimis has also likened Alexandria to the unconscious mind, the generative source for the narrative, a boundless region teeming with images, feelings and creative impulses.[168]

I imagine 5.1.4-5 as describing the experience of the intertextual reader.[169] The passage in question reads: Ἐγὼ δὲ μερίζων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς πάσας τὰς ἀγυιὰς θεατὴς ἀκόρεστος ἤμην καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὅλως οὐκ ἐξήρκουν ἰδεῖν. Τὰ μὲν ἔβλεπον, τὰ δὲ ἔμελλον, τὰ δὲ ἠπειγόμην ἰδεῖν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελον παρελθεῖν: ἐκράτει τὴν θέαν τὰ ὁρώμενα, εἷλκε τὰ προσδοκώμενα. Περιάγων οὖν ἐμαυτὸν εἰς πάσας τὰς ἀγυιὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν δυσερωτιῶν εἶπον καμὼν 'ὀφθαλμοί, νενικήμεθα.' "I tried to cast my eyes down every street, but my gaze was still unsatisfied, and I could not grasp all the beauty of the spot at once; some parts I saw, some I was on the point of seeing, some I earnestly desired to see, some I could not pass by; that which I actually saw kept my gaze fixed, while that which I expected to see would drag it on to the next. I explored therefore every street, and at last, my vision unsatisfied, exclaimed in weariness, "Ah, my eyes, we are beaten."" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.237] These lines suggest the experience of the reader confronted with such a density of intertextual allusions (the novel's beauteous sights) within a given passage (a street of the novel, if you will) that they cannot possibly take them all in at once, that the intertextual clues as to what might happen next drag the reader forwards in their

[166] Connors, 2011, p.147.
[167] Doody, 1996, pp.10-11.
[168] Nimis, 1998, p.112.
[169] I will investigate this passage in greater detail in **Case Study D** in relation to its intertextual connections.

reading of the text, filled with desire to see if their predictions about what will happen will come to pass, but simultaneously the reader is left unsatisfied that they have pursued all of the intertextual connections present in the passage of text which they have just moved on from. Alexandria's scopophilic delights overwhelm Kleitophon's vision with their abundance, resulting in aporia, an irreconcilable contradiction between the desire to see more and the visual exhaustion resulting from overstimulation. Similarly, at this mid-point in the narrative, emphasised by the phrase "the balance seemed exactly even" τοιαύτη τις ἦν ἰσότητος τρυτάνη at 5.1.6, the reader who has been looking for intertextuality has been rewarded with a profusion of connections and interactions, and is keen to identify more in the second half of the book, but is also feeling aporetic, as it is obvious by this point in the reading process that it is both impossible to explore every single intertextual connection upon a first-reading, and impossible to combine and reconcile the identified connections in a single, unified interpretation of the story.

I further suggest that there are hints in the description of Alexandria of the intercultural dynamic of the novel. Just prior to this passage, at 5.1.3, Kleitophon encounters an open precinct of the city, with "so many streets that walking in them you would fancy yourself abroad while still at home (ἔνδημος ἀποδημία)". If this phrase is incorporated into my metaliterary reading of Kleitophon's promenade, I suggest that it refers to the intercultural intertextual possibilities which the reader might explore, and to the subtlety with which non-Greek intertexts are woven into the narrative, the way that they are naturalised by being made barely visible.

In the extant corpus of ancient Greek literature, the exact phrase ἔνδημος ἀποδημία is only used by AT. Gaselee provides the translation "you would fancy yourself abroad while still at home". Morales offers "you could be a tourist at home", and that this phrase encapsulates "the curious sensation when reading of encountering something familiar that has been defamiliarized".[170] Nimis suggests that the cityscape acts as a memory space or Kleitophon's subconscious mind, and that "traversing this vast memory space gives Kleitophon the strange feeling of making a journey abroad in one's native land".[171] More recently, Nimis has added that ἔνδημος ἀποδημία recalls Freud's notion of the uncanny (Unheimlich) and that Egypt is portrayed by AT as an interior space, or is a metaphor for an inner religious journey. He argues that the phrase reminds the reader of the legendary tradition of Greek wise men going to Egypt to seek occult wisdom

[170] Gaselee, 1984, p.237; Morales, 2004, pp.103-104.
[171] Nimis, 1998, pp.110-113.

and a greater understanding of the world.[172] Whitmarsh convincingly suggests that the perspectives of Kleitophon and AT are brought together in this phrase, as Kleitophon is abroad in AT's homeland, and the anonymous narrator (whom Whitmarsh argues represents AT) is abroad in Kleitophon's homeland of Phoenicia at the start of the novel.[173]

I propose that these enigmatic words, ἔνδημος ἀποδημία, convey not only the size of Alexandria and the confusion of Kleitophon at being faced with so many possible routes through the precinct before him, but also hint at the internationalism of the city and the way in which people from all over the globe were welcomed within its walls. Several ancient writers comment upon the size and multiculturalism of Alexandria's population.[174] I propose that Kleitophon's description of Alexandria engages with these writings. In his 32nd discourse to the people of Alexandria, Dio Chrysostom writes that "For Alexandria is situated, as it were, at the crossroads of the whole world … as if it were a market serving a single city, a market which brings together into one place all manner of men, displaying them to one another and, as far as possible, making them a kindred people. … For I behold among you, not merely Greeks and Italians and people from neighbouring Syria, Libya, Cilicia, nor yet Ethiopians and Arabs from more distant regions, but even Bactrians and Scythians and Persians and a few Indians" (32.36-40). Dio Chrysostom emphasises, not just the size of the population, but its multi-ethnic composition. He stresses that people from all over the world visit Alexandria, meet and mingle with one another, and, that in doing so, they create for themselves a home away from home and form a kindred people. The city's religious cosmopolitanism ensured that visitors from many different parts of the world would recognise something familiar from their homelands. Haas describes Roman-period Alexandria as follows: "Hellenic gods, Near Eastern Baals, and Roman divinities all jostled together in late Roman Alexandria. The ancient gods of Egypt served as a substratum to this religious landscape, and the pervasive influence of Egyptian ideas of the divine had interacted with each of the foreign gods and their devotees to produce a uniquely Greco-Egyptian religious world."[175] A Phoenician visitor, like Kleitophon, would have encountered the Baals and goddesses (e.g. Astarte) of his own country being worshipped alongside traditional Egyptian deities and syncretised gods like Serapis.

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[172] Nimis, 2004, p.49.
[173] Whitmarsh, 2011, p.85.
[174] For example, "the number of its inhabitants greatly surpasses that of other cities": Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica,* 17.52-5-6.
[175] Haas, 1997, p.139.

The reader who looks for intercultural intertexts as well as Greek is amply rewarded in *L&C*'s pages. If the novel is the city and its individual scenes are its streets, as I suggest above, then the beauteous sights which are the intertexts are a mixture of Greek, Roman and Near Eastern. Multicultural Alexandria, a city in which every race can recognise something familiar and feel at home, represents the polyglot texture of the novel, a novel in which you will encounter your own mythology and stories as well as those of other cultures. In the next case study, I will delve deeply into the novel's multicultural streets to explore interactions between Greek, West Semitic and Egyptian intertexts in the visit of Kleitophon and Leukippe to Pelusium, their first stop on their journey through Egypt to Alexandria.

CASE STUDY B

Nexus of myth - the temple of Zeus Kasios at Pelusium and its artwork (*L&C* 3.6.1-3.8.7)

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If AT's description of the port of Sidon (1.1.1) encourages an intertextual reading strategy and promotes his intratextual agenda, and his ekphrasis of the painting of Europa's abduction (1.1.2-1.1.13) gives a flavour of the intertextual and intercultural intricacies of the story which lies ahead (see **Case Study A/Ai.**), then his account of the protagonists' visit to the sanctuary of Zeus Kasios in Pelusium boldly declares that the novel's intercultural complexity is about to be ramped up a gear. AT picks a spot for the arrival of his hero and heroine in Egypt which is already a nexus for the meeting and mingling of myth, a place which already blends West Semitic with Egyptian with Greco-Roman. The reader is encouraged to unpick the threads which form the tapestry of this place and its mythology and follow them forwards to reveal their individual significance for the fate of the hero and heroine. In this case study, I will be arguing against the view of Bakhtin that "all adventures in the Greek romance are thus governed by an interchangeability of space; what happens in Babylon could just as well happen in Egypt or Byzantium and vice versa."[176] I will argue that AT's choice of arrival point for his hero and heroine in Egypt is significant for the events which follow, as these events (especially Leukippe's first *Scheintod*) are intertextually linked to the mythology of the north-eastern Nile Delta region and, in particular, to that of the temple of Zeus Kasius at Pelusium.

I will explore the complexity of *L&C*'s intertextual matrix in this first section of the Egyptian books, looking at Greek and Roman intertexts in B.i., intratextuality in B.ii., and intercultural intertextuality in B.iii. I suggest that this intertextual complexity, though present throughout the novel, appears to intensify when Leukippe and Kleitophon reach Egypt. The scene in Zeus Kasios' temple is one of particular intertextual density. The multiple intertexts at play increase

[176] Bakhtin, 1981, p.106.

the number of possible interpretations of the scene and of its relevance for the denouements which follow. This has a destabilising effect upon the reader's experience of the narrative; it is no longer possible to confidently predict what might come to pass based upon the available intertextual evidence, as the evidence points in several different directions simultaneously. Egypt becomes a dreamscape where anything might happen, even something miraculous. This surreal atmosphere created by the intertextual density is skilfully grounded by moments of realism, such as the inclusion of a description of a place with which a second-century CE reader might be familiar (such as Zeus Kasios' temple at Pelusium) or of characters and events known to the reader from the news reportage of the day (such as the rebellion of the *boukoloi*, which will be discussed more in **Case Study C**). In these moments, the real, contemporary world is allowed to seep into the dreamscape.

L&C was not the first artistic work to depict Egypt by intermingling the realistic and the fantastic. In the visual/literary imagination of the Greeks and Romans, Egypt was often portrayed as a blend of the familiar and the unfamiliar, of true-to-life details and exotic inventions. For example, an enormous first-century BCE/CE mosaic from Palestrina presents a panoramic view of the Nile river, from Ethiopia at the top of the mosaic to the Egyptian Delta at the bottom. It features both real and imaginary creatures, and realistic depictions of temples, houses and reed huts. The multiculturalism of the country is highlighted by the inclusion of Greeks, Egyptians and Ethiopians engaged in hunting, fishing, revelling and religious practices.[177] The cultural syncretism of Roman Egypt was discussed in my **Introduction/c.iv** and in **Case Study A/A.ii.** In c.iv., amongst other examples, I mentioned the Roman-era Kom esch-Schugafa tombs in Alexandria where paintings of Egyptian myths relating to death and resurrection were juxtaposed with their Greek equivalents.[178] I suggested there that *L&C* was a product of its environment and owes its intercultural undercurrents to the multicultural milieu in which it was written. In A.ii., I briefly discussed the polyglot religious landscape of Roman-period Alexandria, the mingling on its streets of Hellenic, Near Eastern and Roman divinities.[179]

I will suggest in this case study that the interplay between Greek, Roman, West Semitic and Egyptian intertexts in *L&C* reflects the cultural syncretism of Roman Egypt. This polyglot quality of AT's narrative is his distinctive contribution to the tradition of writing about Egypt.

[177] See Schneider, 2018, p.205, fig.62 and Spier, Potts & Cole, 2018, pp.250-251, fig.152.
[178] Von Lieven, 2016, p.69.
[179] See Haas, 1997, p.139.

The subtlety with which non-Greek intertexts are woven into the narrative, the way that they are naturalised by being made barely visible, was discussed in **Case Study A/A.ii.** in relation to the programmatic function of the description of Kleitophon's promenade through Alexandria and, in particular, in relation to the phrase ἔνδημος ἀποδημία (5.1.3). Suffice to say here that the non-Greek elements are not obvious and are unlikely to have been spotted by every single reader of *L&C*. However, those with knowledge of local myths and stories as well as those circulating in the Greco-Roman world would have been able to access additional layers of intertextual complexity. Being unable to spot the intercultural intertexts would not have detracted from a reader's enjoyment of the novel or understanding of the main narrative.

B.i. Greek and Roman intertexts

In part B.i, I will first investigate interactions between AT's description of the temple of Zeus Kasios and Greek and Roman intertexts. These intertexts will include geographical and historical information. I will argue that AT selects a real-life location, well-known to travellers of the period to give his protagonists' adventure a contemporary flavour and a moment of realism. This seepage of the real world outside of the novel into the narrative highlights through contrast the theatrical lack of realism of Leukippe's sacrifice later in Book 3 and the supernatural quality of her resurrection. I will then move on to suggest that the pomegranate which Zeus Kasios is holding in the temple statue calls to mind the myth of Kore/Persephone and that this is a key intertext for Book 3. I will explore this idea by identifying and discussing interactions between AT's text and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and the comic play the *Thesmophoriazusae*. I also include in this section a discussion of the intercultural associations of Zeus Kasios' pomegranate, as this material complements my reading of the pomegranate's symbolism in relation to the myth of Kore/Persephone. I will argue that the pomegranate might be symbolic of death and resurrection in both Greek and Egyptian culture and that it is proleptic of Leukippe's first 'death' and 'resurrection'.

Second, I will investigate the temple diptych's (double painting's) Greek and Roman intertexts, including extant pictorial versions of the myths of Andromeda and Prometheus, and literary intertexts such as Euripides' *Andromeda*, Lucian's *A True Story*, and the myth of Prometheus as told by Hesiod and its reception in the second century CE in Lucian's *Dialogues of the gods* and *Prometheus*. Inevitably, as *L&C* is so intratextually complex, there will be discussion of some of the intratextual connections between the statue and the diptych and other parts of *L&C* in this section. I aim to add to the discussion in previous scholarship of the paintings' foreshadowing function by exploring a few of the connections between the paintings and

Leukippe's first *Scheintod* in more detail. Much of *L&C*'s intratextuality is so tightly bound up with, and sometimes even dependent upon, its other intertextual connections that it is often impossible to separate out individual intratextual interactions for solo discussion.[180] I have, however, reserved discussion of the intratextual connections of Perseus' sickle-sword for solo treatment in section B.ii., as they are particularly convoluted.

After surviving the wreck of the ship transporting them from Sidon to Egypt, Leukippe and Kleitophon wash up on the shore near to the port of Pelusium, an Egyptian city in the north-eastern Nile Delta.[181] This port was the entry point to Egypt for many travellers in ancient times,[182] second only to Alexandria in terms of importance,[183] and was the main military base on the Syrian frontier during both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.[184] Our hero and heroine give thanks to the gods for their survival and then visit the temple of Zeus Kasios to ask the god for answers regarding the fate of their friends and shipmates, Kleinias and Satyros. Zeus Kasios was a storm-god and patron deity of seafarers. He was the god of the nearby Mount Kasios (now Ras Burun), which is described by Strabo (*Geography*, 16.2.32-33) as a sandy hill in between Lake Sirbonis (modern day Lake Bardawil) and Pelusium.[185] Ras Burun has been likened to a sand dune, as its peak is a mere 300 metres above sea level.[186] However, in an otherwise flat landscape, even such a small hillock was an important landmark for travellers on both sea and land.[187] In a recently published paper, Collar explores the interrelationship of sites dedicated to Zeus Kasios across the Mediterranean and their relationship to the sea. She concludes that coastal landmarks at which Zeus Kasios was worshipped and at which

[180] **Case Study C/C.ii** provides a perfect illustration of the interconnectedness of intratextual and intertextual interactions.
[181] The Nile Delta region was a very populous region, home to two-thirds of the population of Egypt in the early centuries CE. Bagnall, 2006, p.12.
[182] Chuvin & Yoyotte, 1986, p.42 "Avec le développement, phénicien et grec, du traffic maritime et de la stratégie par voie de mer, Péluse est désormais l'accès oblige pour qui venait de Phénicie et de Palestine, la <<clef de l'Egypte>> … Achille Tatios … utilise un itinéraire courant". For the expression, "key to Egypt" see *Souda* s.v. Πηλούσιον. The region had close links with both the Near East and the Greek world (Blouin, 2014, p.3). Pompey was murdered at Pelusium upon his arrival into the territory of the Ptolemies. His tomb at Pelusium was renovated by Hadrian c.129 CE. See Collar, 2017, p.27 and Chuvin & Yoyotte, 1986, p.43. In a paper given at the 2016 Celtic Classics Conference at University College Dublin, Dan Jolowicz speculated that the beheading of Pompey just off the coast of Egypt is intertextually linked to the beheading of Leukippe off the coast of the Egyptian island of Pharos at AT 5.7.4.
[183] Bagnall, 2006, p.9.
[184] ibid., p.9.
[185] Bonner, 1946, p.51 positions Mount Kasios nine miles east of Pelusium; Collar, 2017, p.28 and Chuvin & Yoyotte, 1986, p.41 position it 50km from Pelusium nearer to Lake Bardawil, making it the modern-day Ras Burun, formerly Ras el-Qass/el-Qasroun.
[186] Bonner, 1946, p.51.
[187] Lane Fox, 2008, p.269.

dedications to the god were made, such as Ras Burun, formed a Mediterranean-wide "web of divine protection for ancient seafarers".[188] It is, therefore, entirely appropriate for Leukippe and Kleitophon to give thanks to Zeus Kasios for their survival of the storm and to ask him for news of the fate of their fellow sea-voyagers.

This temple at Pelusium was not a fictional creation of the author but existed in his lifetime. Evidence for its dedication to Zeus Kasios in 130 CE by the Roman emperor Hadrian was found and published in 1913 by the archaeologist Clédat.[189] However, Clédat was unable to establish whether this was the first temple to Zeus Kasios on the site; it was possibly a renovation of an earlier building, as coins from the Pelusiote nome dated to the reign of Hadrian's adoptive father Trajan already feature depictions of the cult statue.[190] Further evidence for continued worship of the god in this region in the second century CE comes in the form of a bronze stamp, presumably used to mark property belonging to the god with his name, which was found when Suez was excavated, and a letter from Zoïs of Pelusium to his son Apollinarios, which includes the line "I will kneel before Zeus Kasios for you".[191]

The statue of Zeus Kasios is described by Kleitophon as follows: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα νεανίσκος, Ἀπόλλωνι μᾶλλον ἐοικως· οὕτω γὰρ ἡλικίας εἶχε· προβέβληται δὲ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἔχει ῥοιὰν ἐπ' αὐτῇ· τῆς δὲ ῥοιᾶς ὁ λόγος μυστικός (3.6.1-2). "In it the god is represented so young that he appears more like Apollo. He has one hand stretched out and holds a pomegranate in it, and this pomegranate has a mystical signification." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.147] Zeus Kasios' pomegranate has interesting associations. Anderson explains that in Greek thought this fruit symbolised slavery, subjection, torture and wounds and that, consequently, the pomegranate here prefigures Leukippe's capture and gruesome sacrifice by Egyptian brigands later in Book 3.[192] He also discusses the association of the pomegranate with the theatre and deceptive ruses, as in John Chrysostom's *Against vainglory* 2-3 in which a woman in a beautiful costume is first described as a theatrical sham and then likened to a pomegranate, which looks juicy on the outside but is dry like dust in the interior. In Anderson's view, the pomegranate, therefore, also foreshadows the ruse of the false stomach which Menelaos and Satyros will use to fool the

[188] Collar, 2017, p.33.
[189] Bonner, 1946, p.57; Clédat, 1913.
[190] Collar, 2017, p.27; Bonner, 1946, plate XII, 1.
[191] Collar, 2017, p.29; for similar stamps see Chuvin & Yoyotte, 1986, pp.52-58, figs.5a, 5b, 6 & 7.
[192] Anderson, 1979, pp.517-518. Cf. Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 1.73. Cf. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 9.25.1, where a pomegranate growing on the tomb of Menoeceus in Boeotia is described as having an outer part like ripe fruit and an inner part like blood.

brigands and save Leukippe.[193] Anderson's suggestion is questionable, however, as John Chrysostom wrote in the late fourth-early fifth century CE, several hundred years after AT. Therefore, if AT were familiar with this specific analogy, it must have been made in an earlier lost source for which we have no extant evidence. However, as mentioned by Anderson, Josephus, writing in the first century CE, was familiar with the idea of the pomegranate (the fruit of Sodom) being a deceptive fruit, with its ripe colour but ashes growing within, so the possibility that deception was one of the pomegranate's many associations in AT's day is likely.[194] Billault agrees that the pomegranate symbolises false appearances and suggests that it is an indication that the rescues depicted in the two temple paintings should not be viewed in a positive light; they are not a message of hope and salvation for the recently shipwrecked hero and heroine, but rather an ominous sign presaging the sacrifice of Leukippe.[195]

The primary association of the pomegranate in Greek mythology was with the story of Kore's (or Persephone's) abduction by Hades. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Kore is abducted by Hades and forced to reside with him in the Underworld as his bride. Demeter inconsolably mourns the loss of her daughter and neglects the plants of the earth on which humans rely for food. Zeus, fearing for the human race, sends Hermes to retrieve Kore from Hades. However, because Kore has eaten pomegranate seeds whilst in the Underworld, she has to return there to be Hades' bride for three months of every year.[196] I suggest that AT was familiar with the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, as two of his female protagonists are named after the Oceanids who accompanied Kore as she picked flowers in the meadow: Leukippe on line 418 of the hymn and Melite on line 419.[197] Ward speculates that the pomegranate's association with death

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[193] This ruse will be discussed in more detail in B.i. in relation to the painting of Prometheus and Herakles and in **Case Study C** in relation to Egyptian trickery.

[194] Anderson, 1979, p.518, n.9. Josephus, *De bello Judaico*, 476.

[195] Billault, 2009, pp.27-28.

[196] Cf. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 1.5.3.: Διὸς δὲ Πλούτωνι τὴν Κόρην ἀναπέμψαι κελεύσαντος, ὁ Πλούτων, ἵνα μὴ πολὺν χρόνον παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ καταμείνῃ, ῥοιᾶς ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ φαγεῖν κόκκον. ἡ δὲ οὐ προϊδομένη τὸ συμβησόμενον κατηνάλωσεν αὐτόν. καταμαρτυρήσαντος δὲ αὐτῆς Ἀσκαλάφου τοῦ Ἀχέροντος καὶ Γοργύρας, τούτῳ μὲν Δημήτηρ ἐν Ἅιδου βαρεῖαν ἐπέθηκε πέτραν, Περσεφόνη δὲ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν τὸ μὲν τρίτον μετὰ Πλούτωνος ἠναγκάσθη μένειν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. "When Zeus ordered Pluto to send Kore back to earth, Pluto, to prevent her from remaining too long with her mother, gave her a pomegranate seed to eat; and failing to foresee what the consequences would be, she ate it. When Ascalaphos, son of Acheron and Gorgyra, bore witness against her, Demeter placed a heavy rock over him in Hades, but Persephone was forced to stay with Pluto for a third of every year, and the rest she spent with the gods." [trans. Hard, R. 1997, pp.33-34] An interesting parallel to this is Baal's sojourn in Mot's (Death's) realm in the Ugaritic *Baal Cycle*. Mot insists that Baal remain his prisoner, as he has eaten food whilst visiting his realm. A period of great mourning ensues in the land of the living. See Fontenrose, 1959, p.130. Baal's relevance to *L&C* will be explored in B.iii.

[197] The presence of a character called Leukippe in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* has also been pointed out by Laplace (2007, p.551). In addition, she remarks that Persephone is associated with white horses by Pindar (*Olympian Ode*, 6.95) and that Leukippe literally translates as "white horse". Repath has also linked Leukippe to a white horse, one of the two horses of the soul described in Plato's *Phaedrus* as being white in colour (2001, pp.17-200).

was already firmly established by the early Iron Age in the eastern Mediterranean world and continued into classical times. The Bronze Age finds he discusses provide suggestive evidence that the pomegranate was specifically associated with the journey to the Underworld.[198] Stone discusses Greek vase paintings which associate pomegranates and death, as well as pomegranates carved on the grave markers of heroes and of young maidens who died before marriage.[199] Pomegranate motifs were also a common form of decoration on bridal wear in Classical Athens, perhaps because of their association with fertility on account of their "multitude of seeds and possibly their 'blood'-coloured juice".[200]

The pomegranate is not the only link to the myth of Kore. AT's intention for his reader to have this myth in mind when reading on is established verbally as well. Both Andromeda and Leukippe are intertextually connected to the myth. For example, when describing Evanthes' depiction of Andromeda at 3.7.5, Kleitophon refers to her as Ἀϊδωνεῖ νύμφη "bride of Hades", and later, when Leukippe and Kleitophon are being held captive by brigands, Kleitophon uses imagery associating death with marriage to mourn Leukippe's possible fate. He says: ὡς καλά σου τῶν γάμων τὰ κοσμήματα. θάλαμος μὲν τὸ δεσμωτήριον, εὐνὴ δὲ ἡ γῆ, ὅρμοι δὲ καὶ ψέλια κάλοι καὶ βρόχος, καί σοι νυμφαγωγὸς λῃστὴς παρακαθεύδει. ἀντὶ δὲ ὑμεναίων τίς σοι τὸν θρῆνον ᾅδει (3.10.5). "and here are fine trappings for your wedding! A prison is your bridal chamber, the earth your marriage bed, ropes and cords your necklaces and bracelets, a robber sleeps without as your bridesman, a dirge is your marriage-hymn." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.157] Andromeda's violet eyes perhaps also have associations with both Kore/Persephone and death. Kleitophon describes her eyes as follows: οὔτε τὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄνθος ἐστὶν ἀμέριμνον, ἀλλ' ἔοικε τοῖς ἄρτι μαραινομένοις ἴοις (3.7.3). "Nor was the flower of beauty in her eyes without care, but was rather to be compared to violets that have just begun to fade". [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.149] Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca*, 5.3.2) mentions that Persephone was picking violets when she was abducted by Hades, and violets were commonly used to adorn graves in the Roman period.[201]

[198] Ward, 2003, p.530.
[199] Stone, 2017, pp.39-48.
[200] Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones, 2007, p.24. Dothan & Ben-Shlomo, 2007, p.13; Ward, 2003, p.532. The Hurro-Hittite goddess Kubaba at Carchemish is shown holding an implement crowned with a pomegranate (Mellink, 1966, p.82). Kubaba was associated with the Phrygian goddess Kybele. (Dothan & Ben-Shlomo, 2007, p.13). Both goddesses were connected to fertility. The use of pomegranate seeds to mark rites of passage, such as marriage and death, is still common in Greece today. The seeds are thrown behind a newly married couple, like confetti, and are an ingredient in the recipe for traditional 'kollyva', a wheat-based ritual dish made for funerals and for the Saturday of Souls (a day for commemoration of the dead in Eastern Orthodox Christianity).
[201] Richardson, 1974, pp.142-143.

So, what effect does intertextuality with the myth of Kore/Persephone have upon the reader's experience? I suggest three possibilities: the first two relate to the foreshadowing function of the myth and the third to the tone of the scenes which it foreshadows.

First, Kore's abduction by Hades foreshadows Leukippe's abduction by Egyptian brigands. Laplace points out that Kore was abducted by Hades on horseback (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 17-19) and Leukippe is taken from her place of captivity to be a purificatory sacrifice by a brigand on horseback (3.12).[202] Comment will later be made on the foreshadowing function of the temple diptych; however, it is worth noting here that neither the myth of Perseus' rescue of Andromeda nor that of Herakles' rescue of Prometheus, which together comprise the content of the temple diptych, feature an abduction of one of the represented characters. Andromeda is tied to the cliff-face to be sacrificed to Poseidon's sea-monster by her parents; she is not abducted by strangers. Prometheus is tied to a rock by Zeus as a punishment and subjected to the torture of a bird pecking at his liver; he is not abducted by strangers. The myth of Kore is the only intertext at play in the direct lead up to Leukippe's abduction which itself features an abduction. The Europa myth, depicted on a painting viewed by the novel's anonymous narrator at 1.1.2-13, also features an abduction; however, as discussed in detail by Bartsch, this myth foreshadows Kalligone's abduction by Kallisthenes (2.18) and Leukippe's elopement with Kleitophon (2.30-31), both of which have a sea journey in common with the myth.[203] Reeves has suggested that the Europa myth is an intertext for the abduction of Leukippe by the brigands and that the myth is pertinent throughout the novel, as AT presents "variations on a theme".[204] Her 'variations' include Kalligone's abduction, Leukippe's elopement, Leukippe's abduction from Pharos by Kallisthenes' men, and Kleitophon's elopement with Melite, as well as Leukippe's abduction by the Egyptian brigands here. I do not disagree with Reeves' assessment; however, I believe that the myth of Kore is the stronger intertext here due to its positioning in the same book as Leukippe's abduction and the fact that, unlike the other 'variations' cited, Leukippe's abduction does not include a sea journey and neither does Kore's.

Second, Kore's temporary residence in the Underworld foreshadows Leukippe's temporary residence in a coffin after Menelaos and Satyros stage her sacrifice. Although the rescue of Leukippe from the Egyptian brigands is foreshadowed by Perseus' rescue of Andromeda and Herakles' rescue of Prometheus, neither of these rescues involves the temporary 'death' and

[202] Laplace, 2007, p.553.
[203] Bartsch, 1989, pp.63-65.
[204] Reeves, 2007, pp.95-96.

subsequent ‘resurrection’ of the rescued party. I suggest that the myth of Kore is one of several intertexts proleptic of Leukippe’s *Scheintod*; I will discuss two more resurrection-related intertexts in B.iii (Herakles as a dying and rising god and the resurrection of the Ugaritic god Baal Sapon).

Third, I suggest that the chronology of the rituals associated with the Thesmophoria festival, a festival held in the autumn to celebrate Demeter and Persephone as bringers of civilisation to humankind, are paralleled in the stages of the sacrifice and reanimation of Leukippe in Book 3. Rogers explains that the Thesmophoria festival took place over four days: on the first day, the women would ascend to the *thesmophorion*, which usually stood on high ground, and would make preparations; the second day represented the descent of Persephone into Hades; fasting, mourning and torchlit ceremonials took place on the third day; on the fourth and final day, Persephone’s resurrection was celebrated.[205] At 3.15.1-3, Leukippe is led to the altar and libations are poured over her head, she is guided around the altar in a circle to the accompaniment of a pipe, a priest then chants in Egyptian; this stage corresponds to the first day of the Thesmophoria festival, to the *anodos* of the women to the altar and to their preparations. At 3.15.4-6, Leukippe is killed and placed in a coffin; this corresponds to Persephone’s descent into Hades, the second day of the festival. At 3.16.3-5, Kleitophon mourns for Leukippe in a lengthy monologue; this corresponds to the mourning rituals of the third day of the festival. At 3.17.5-7, Menelaos knocks on the lid of Leukippe’s coffin, she steps out alive and well and Kleitophon embraces her; this corresponds to the celebration of the resurrection of Persephone on the festival’s final day. The Thesmophoria was “one of the most widespread festivals in the Greek world”.[206] Evidence that writers of the second century CE would have been aware of the festival can be found in the seventh of Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Courtesans*, as Musarium’s mother refers to the festival by name in section 298, and in Clement of Alexandria’s *Protrepticus* (2.19), where he mentions that the women attending the Thesmophoria ate pomegranate seeds.

Links to the myth of Kore and the rituals of the Thesmophoria lend the staging of Leukippe’s *Scheintod* a semi-religious hue. I propose that, as Kore is allowed respite from the Underworld to end Demeter’s mourning and bring life back to the world’s crops, so Leukippe is delivered from death to bring an end to Kleitophon’s mourning and to restore life to the narrative. The real death of the heroine at this juncture would have been a monumental break from novelistic

[205] Rogers, 1946, pp.126-127.
[206] Habash, 1997, p.20. According to Herodotus, the festival was Egyptian in origin (2.171).

tradition. Leukippe is revived so that the adventure might continue towards its inevitable happy ending.

A comic play by Aristophanes further strengthens the link between the Thesmophoria festival and Leukippe's first *Scheintod*. In the *Thesmophoriazusae*, Mnesilochus disguises himself as a woman to attend the festival, as only women were customarily allowed to participate. His need to be there stems from a desire to defend his friend Euripides against charges which he knows will be laid against him by the female population of the city. The other festival participants discover Mnesilochus' disguise and threaten to sacrifice him by fire (718-727). Mnesilochus attempts to evade this unpleasant fate and uses episodes from Euripides' escape tragedies for inspiration. He first pretends to be Helen in Egypt and calls out for Menelaos to save him (855-867). Euripides arrives on the scene as Menelaos but fails to rescue his Helen (871). Euripides attempts another rescue, this time dressed as Perseus, giving Mnesilochus the cue that he needs to pretend to be Andromeda in chains (1009-1014). Euripides' attempt to rescue Mnesilochus in the character of the Homeric Menelaos is recalled by the rescue of Leukippe by Menelaos the Egyptian, a friend of Leukippe and Kleitophon whose acquaintance they made during their sea voyage from Phoenicia to Egypt. The Aristophanic Menelaos is described as a shipwrecked mariner and as storm-tossed ὅστις ξένους δέξαιτο ποντίῳ σάλῳ / κάμνοντας ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ναυαγίαις (line 872). *L&C*'s Menelaos has also survived a shipwreck, as he was travelling on the very same boat as the hero and heroine when a storm destroyed it just off the coast of Pelusium.[207] The second rescue attempt, which involves Euripides as Perseus and Mnesilochus as Andromeda, is recalled by the painting of Perseus' rescue of Andromeda in the temple to Zeus Kasios, which is proleptic of Leukippe's rescue by Menelaos. This intertext serves two functions: to emphasise the theatricality of the *Scheintod*, and to lighten the tone. The *Scheintod* scene will be discussed further below in relation to its connection to the temple diptych and in **Case Study C** in relation to intertextuality with Euripides' Iphigenia plays.

I tentatively suggest that the reader is provided with a subtle cue to have the *Thesmophoriazusae* in mind at 3.10.3. Here, there is an echo of the character Euripides' rhetorical monologue in which he bewails the fact that the Scythian who is guarding Mnesilochus has a poor understanding of Greek and will, therefore, be difficult to persuade to

[207] Other intertextual associations of the name Menelaos will be discussed in **Case Study C/C.iv.**

release his friend: αἶ αἶ τί δράσω; πρὸς τίνας στρεφθῶ λόγους; / ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐνδέξαιτο βάρβαρος φύσις. / σκαιοῖσι γάρ τοι καινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ / μάτην ἀναλίσκοις ἄν… (Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 1128-1131) "Ah, what avails me? Shall I make a speech? His savage nature could not take it in. True wit and wisdom were but labour lost on such a rude barbarian." [trans. Rogers, B.B., 1946, p.233] This is recalled in the lines: νῦν δὲ ποίᾳ μὲν φωνῇ δεηθῶμεν; τίνας δὲ ὅρκους προτείνωμεν; κἂν Σειρήνων τις γένηται πιθανώτερος, ὁ ἀνδροφόνος οὐκ ἀκουει. (3.10.3) "But, as things are, in what language are we to make our prayers? What oaths can we pour out? I might be more persuasive than the Sirens, but the murderer would not listen to me." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.157] The words used by Kleitophon are different, but the flavour of the speech is the same. The Aristophanic lines, however, are more mocking in tone, contrasting Greek wit and wisdom with the Scythian's savagery and ignorance. When Kleitophon bewails their predicament, he remarks upon the fact that the language barrier would prevent the ἀνδροφόνος (murderer) from understanding his entreaties for clemency, but he does not equate this lack of understanding with his captor's ethnicity nor with a lack of intelligence on the part of his captor. The stark contrast between Greek and barbarian present in the *Thesmophoriazusae* is absent from Kleitophon's speech. This softer, less defined distinction between Greek and non-Greek is a distinctive feature of *L&C*, as I will discuss further in **Case Study C** in relation to the role of the Egyptian Menelaos in saving Leukippe from the brigands, and in B.ii. in relation to the intratextual and intertextual links which align the brigands with the Greek hero Perseus. The reader is encouraged not to think of Egyptians as homogenously barbarous, and not to think of Greeks and Romans as unvaryingly civilised, and is perhaps encouraged to show even those who demonstrate less civilised tendencies a degree of sympathy.

As we have seen, Zeus Kasios' pomegranate provides one of several connections in Book 3 to the myth of Kore/Persephone. This myth's primary associations are abduction, death and resurrection, foreshadowing the abduction and first *Scheintod* of Leukippe. This myth was closely tied to religious practice, as evidenced by the Greek Thesmophoria festival for which it was the basis. However, the Thesmophoria festival also had less serious associations as a consequence of being the subject-matter of Aristophanes' comic play about its female celebrants. The connected intertexts, by conflicting in tone, create confusion for the reader. The comic resonances destabilise the religious colouring provided by intertextuality with the myth and its connected festival. Should we view Leukippe's deliverance from death as a 'resurrection' or as a comedic escape? Can it simultaneously be both?

Why should so much emphasis be placed on the pomegranate? I suggest that AT encourages the reader to investigate the pomegranate's significance in the narrative by referring to the fruit as having a "mystical signification" (3.6.1). This choice of words perhaps draws upon antiquarian travelogues, such as those of Pausanias. For example, when describing a statue of Hera in Corinth, the work of an artist called Polykleitos, Pausanias says of the pomegranate which Hera is holding that it is a holy mystery: ἀπορρητότερος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λόγος (*Description of Greece*, 2.17.4); and when discussing a statue of Theognetus of Aegina, who holds a pomegranate and a pine cone, Pausanias admits that the pomegranate's presence is a mystery to him and that he assumes it has some local significance (*Description of Greece*, 6.9.1-2). The adoption of an antiquarian pose lends authority to Kleitophon's tale, and also stimulates readers of an inquiring nature to hunt down the pomegranate's meaning relative to his context, which surely involves researching its local significance (its significance in Egypt and particularly in the region of Pelusium) as well as its significance for the denouements which follow it in the novel. I have already attempted to do the latter and will now turn to the former.

Comment has not previously been made in scholarship on *L&C* regarding the significance of pomegranates in Egyptian culture. "Pomegranate vessels in various materials (especially glass and faience) appear in the Middle-Late Bronze Age Levant, Cyprus, Greece and Egypt".[208] When the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamun died, a silver vessel in the shape of a pomegranate was one of the treasures with which he was buried, and an ivory pomegranate was found in a casket positioned beneath his lion bed.[209] These were not unusual burial treasures, in fact, according to Dothan and Ben-Shlomo, the majority of pomegranate-shaped vessels which have been unearthed have been found in funerary contexts.[210] So, do Tutankhamun's burial treasures, like the myth of Kore/Persephone discussed above, indicate an association between the pomegranate and death, and perhaps also with resurrection, as Egyptian pharaohs hoped to be resurrected after death like Osiris?[211] There is good reason to be cautious about making this assertion, as the survival of artefacts in funerary contexts is not necessarily on account of especial funerary significance, but rather because chances of preservation are much greater in a tomb than in a domestic or industrial context. We are on firmer ground when we assert that

[208] Dothan & Ben-Shlomo, 2007, p.13. A bronze tripod dated to the thirteenth century BCE discovered in Ugarit was decorated with representations of pomegranates; in Phoenicia of the eighth century BCE one could see ivory carvings of pomegranates (Abram, 2009, p.23).
[209] Edwards, 1976.
[210] Dothan & Ben-Shlomo, 2007, p.13.
[211] Tutankhamun's tomb also contained four headrests, one of which was engraved with a resurrection spell. Edwards suggests that the head was "of particular importance for the continuation of life after death", and, therefore, needed to be supported by a magical headrest (Edwards, 1976).

the pomegranate had erotic associations in ancient Egypt. For example, a twelfth-century BCE Egyptian papyrus contains a love song in which parts of a pomegranate are equated with parts of a woman's body: "The pomegranate bush raises its voice (tiny, insistent, and shrill): My seeds shine like the teeth of my mistress, the shape of my fruit is round like her breasts. I'm her favourite, I know, sweetest tree in the orchard, looking my best through every season". [trans. Ward, 2003, p.529] Therefore, from an Egyptian perspective, Zeus Kasios' pomegranate with its mysterious significance could be connected to the heroine's body. This connection is supported by intratextuality, as Kleitophon describes Leukippe's innards at 3.16.3 as τῆς γαστρός τὰ μυστήρια "the mysteries of the stomach".

Pomegranates are not indigenous to Egypt. Interestingly, the earliest Egyptian remains have been found in the north-eastern Nile Delta region at Tell el-Daba (c.100km from Pelusium). They are thought to date to the time of Hyksos residence in the area. Ward posits that the fruit was either introduced in Egypt in the eighteenth dynasty (1549-1292 BCE) during the wars with the Hyksos, or through trade with Syro-Palestinian peoples.[212] Pomegranates were a luxury foodstuff, so suggestive of opulence and decadence, an appropriate fruit for a god. Excavation of the fourteenth-century BCE Uluburun shipwreck off the coast of Turkey has recovered the remains of thousands of pomegranates, which had been loaded at Ugarit along with other expensive and exotic goods such as "elephant and hippopotamus ivory, precious metals, copper, tin and coloured glass as well as aromatic resin, amber, tortoise carapaces and ostrich eggs".[213] This ship was thought to have been headed to Rhodes or Crete and was travelling west along the southern Anatolian coast when it sank. Such luxury-laden vessels would also have travelled between Ugarit and Egypt during the same period.[214] The arrival of the pomegranate in this area of Egypt at the same time as the cult of the Ugaritic god Baal Sapon is relevant, as Baal Sapon and Zeus Kasios were related. This relationship will be discussed further in **B.iii.** and in **Appendix B**, along with its implications for *L&C*'s main narrative.

After asking Zeus Kasios for an omen regarding the fate of Kleinias and Satyros, Leukippe and Kleitophon continue their perambulation of the temple and, near to the postern door, notice a diptych signed by the artist Evanthes. The first of the two paintings shows the rescue of

[212] Ward, 2003, p.536.
[213] ibid., pp.529-530.
[214] ibid., pp.536-537.

Andromeda by Perseus and the second the rescue of Prometheus by Herakles. Kleitophon remarks that the artist probably associated the two pictures for the following reasons: both Andromeda and Prometheus are chained to a rock, both are being attacked by beasts and both are about to be rescued by Argives who are related to one another, respectively Perseus and his great-grandson Herakles (3.6.3-4).

Most scholarly comment has focussed upon the proleptic function of these paintings. The key work in this regard is that of Bartsch, who writes that "the paintings of Andromeda and Prometheus, [are] presented by the author as a pair because they foreshadow different aspects of the same event, namely the apparent sacrifice and disembowelment of Leukippe". She goes on to discuss the similarities in detail.[215] Her main points can be summarised as follows. First, both Andromeda and Leukippe are offered up as propitiatory sacrifices; Andromeda's death will quell Poseidon's anger and save Joppa, and Leukippe's death will purify the camp of the brigands. Second, as has already been touched upon in relation to the myth of Kore, Andromeda is dressed in a bridal gown and is described as the Ἀϊδωνεῖ νύμφη "bride of Hades" (3.7.5); whilst Kleitophon bewails Leukippe's fate by saying that a prison will be her bridal chamber, the earth her marriage bed and a dirge her marriage hymn (3.10.5). Third, both Andromeda and Leukippe are rescued by swords of an odd shape; Perseus' unusual sickle-sword (3.7.8-9) and the theatre prop with a retractable blade used by Menelaos and Satyros to stage Leukippe's disembowelment (3.20.7, 3.21.4). Finally, both Prometheus and Leukippe are awake and watching as their innards are removed and eaten (3.8.7; 3.16.3). Bartsch argues that it is the unusual aspects of the paintings which catch the reader's attention and highlight themselves as being worthy of closer scrutiny: Andromeda's bridal gown, for example, as no extant works of art show Andromeda depicted as a bride, and the rocky hollow in which she is positioned, which is likened to a tomb. Bartsch claims that the latter element is also unconventional in pictorial depictions and is crucial to the foreshadowing action of the description, as it prefigures the coffin in which Leukippe will be placed at the close of the sacrificial ceremony.[216] I agree with Bartsch's assessment of the proleptic function of the paintings with one exception: I dispute the suggestion that the bridal gown and rocky hollow are unconventional in pictorial depictions of the rescue of Andromeda. I will present my evidence below. I will discuss Perseus' sickle-sword in B.ii., as its primary relevance to my study are its intratextual associations.

[215] Bartsch, 1989, pp.55-61.
[216] ibid., p.72.

Repath argues, also in relation to the proleptic function of the diptych, that Kleitophon does not recognise the significance of the paintings when he views them in Zeus Kasios' temple, nor does he realise their significance in hindsight when he views Leukippe being tied up and sacrificed. Instead, he draws a weak comparison between Leukippe's predicament and that of Marsyas, who was tied to a tree and flayed alive after having lost a musical contest to Apollo. Repath contends that AT intends for his readers to play the game of making connections between the described artwork and the main narrative, connections which elude Kleitophon, and that Kleitophon's alternative mythological exemplum, by bearing so tenuous a relationship to the events that befall Leukippe, serves the purpose of highlighting both Kleitophon's ineptitude as an interpreter of art and the correct connection between the diptych and Leukippe's sacrifice.[217]

Ballengee's contribution focusses upon the fascinated and erotic gaze. She explains how Andromeda is triply trapped: by the hungry gaze of the monster approaching to devour her; the lustful gaze of Perseus advancing to save her; and the admiring gaze of Kleitophon and Leukippe, the viewers of the painting. Prometheus is also discussed in this regard: his wounding by the bird is viewed by Herakles, Kleitophon and Leukippe, and by himself. She argues that the spectacles of entrapment and wounding presented in the diptych foreshadow the spectacle of Leukippe being disembowelled by the brigands. Leukippe's sacrifice is observed by the brigands and by Kleitophon. The Roman army, in contrast, avert their eyes in horror (3.15.5). Kleitophon's gaze is singled out for examination and Ballengee remarks that "Cleitophon gazes like a spectator (emphasized by the use of the verb θεωρέω) at the dramatic spectacle (τῆς θέας, a noun typically used to indicate a dramatic performance) of Leucippe's mutilation. Rapt with attention and immersed in the sequence of events, he stares at the scene as if at a painting, describing its details with a similar engagement, even voyeuristic enjoyment…".[218]

Another aspect of the diptych is treated in depth in the articles of Phillips and D'Alconzo, namely the likelihood that these paintings existed as a pair and were the work of an artist called Evanthes.[219] I will discuss their research in more detail below in relation to Andromeda's rocky hollow, but to summarise: Phillips argues that Evanthes was an artist of Tarentum and that his work influenced the artists of Campania, thus accounting for similarities between the painting

[217] Repath, 2015.
[218] Ballengee, 2005.
[219] Phillips, 1968. D'Alconzo, 2014(a) and (b). Billaut, 1990, p.157 also mentions this as a possibility: "…il n'est pas impossible que le peintre Evanthès ai existé."

of Andromeda described by AT and several frescoes of the same scene found on the walls of Pompeian and Boscotrecasean villas. Based on the evolution of the Perseus and Andromeda painting type, he dates Evanthes to before 88 BCE. D'Alconzo explores this hypothesis, agreeing with Phillips that "the elements described by Achilles Tatius fit well with the stage of Andromeda's iconography that is displayed in Pompeii".[220] He also believes that it is possible that Evanthes' was a living, rather than a fictional, artist and that the painting described was probably a famous one: "In a plausible scenario the paintings were not a literary invention for the sake of the future events of the story, but rather the starting point for the novelist's inspiration. The author used pre-existing material (just like he used the *Phaedrus*) to support, enrich, and even model his narrative, and his readers, at least those who were familiar with the existence of said iconography and its nature, would have either taken the hint as soon as Kleitophon's introduction to the diptych, or noticed it upon a second reading".[221]

In the introduction to her 2007 monograph on *L&C*, Laplace suggests a reason for the association of the diptych's two myths. Her suggestion is that AT had in mind Alexandrian coinage of the second century CE.[222] On the reverse side of a bronze drachma from the reign of Antoninus Pius (dated to 160-161 CE) Perseus is depicted in a Phrygian cap and chlamys, holding his *harpe* in his left hand over his left shoulder, and extending his right hand to Andromeda as she steps down from the rock.[223] [Image B1] Herakles and Prometheus are shown on another coin of that same year, the former about to release an arrow from his bow and the latter chained to a rock in a position of crucifixion.[224] However, Laplace fails to mention that these were two of many myths utilised by the minters of Alexandrian coins during Antoninus Pius' reign. A series of coins depicting all of the labours of Herakles, for example, was in circulation, as well as one with the judgement of Paris on its obverse and one with the madness of Lycurgus as its theme.[225] As the coins prior to this date tend not to feature Greek myths quite so liberally, Antoninus Pius' coinage is clear evidence for a revival of interest in Greek mythology in the mid-late second century CE, a revival which AT was feeding into by including such a profusion of Greek myths in his narrative. However, I very much doubt that AT had two specific coin-types in mind when writing his description of the temple diptych, partly because the scene on the Andromeda coin does not depict the same stage of the rescue

[220] D'Alconzo , 2014(a), p.81.
[221] ibid., p.89.
[222] Laplace, 2007, p.9.
[223] For date of coin see Milne, 1943, p.63. Goddard, 2007, catalogue number 4245.
[224] Geissen, 2010, p.184 and p.184, n.9. There is only one extant example of this coin-type.
[225] Milne, 1943, p.63.

as does the painting (the painting shows the rescue in progress and the coin shows it at its conclusion), and partly because this would suggest that the paintings are a fiction inspired by the coins, which I believe is unlikely for a number of reasons which will be elucidated in the course of this case study. Geissen also draws a comparison between the Andromeda and Prometheus coins of 160/161 CE and the diptych in Zeus Kasios' temple; however, the link he envisages between the coins and the paintings is very dependent upon Merkelebach's theory that *L&C* encodes Isiac mysteries, which would have been decipherable only to initiates of the goddess' cult.[226] I do not find this plausible. An explanation of my approach's convergence with and divergence from that of Merkelbach in relation to *L&C*'s intertextuality with Isiac mythology can be found in my **Introduction/c.iv.** More reasonably, Geissen suggests that the imagery on the coinage and the paintings in the temple both have a "double voie", in that the images are Greek but also propagate Egyptian ideas. He suggests that the myths symbolise immortality (perhaps this suggestion derives from their representation of rescue from death) and are, therefore, a particularly apt choice for the coinage of the year of Antoninus Pius' death. He assumes that the coins were minted posthumously to represent the immortality of the deceased emperor.

Looking first at the description of the painting of Andromeda's rescue, I will discuss Greek and Roman intertexts for three aspects: Andromeda's rocky hollow, the description of Andromeda's wrists as being 'like grapes', and Andromeda's bridal gown. To round off section B.i., I will turn to the second of the temple paintings and explore the association of Prometheus as divine trickster in relation to the role played by Satyros in conning the brigands to effect Leukippe's rescue. Herakles' rescue of Prometheus will be discussed further in section B.iii. in relation to the intercultural associations of the myth, where I will also explore a previously unnoticed link between this temple painting and that of Perseus' rescue of Andromeda.

According to the ancient mythographers, Perseus was on his way home to the island of Seriphos, after beheading the Gorgon Medusa, when he chanced upon the sacrifice of Andromeda to Poseidon's sea-monster.[227] Her mother Kassiopeia, Queen of Ethiopia, had angered Poseidon by claiming that she was more beautiful than the Nereids.[228] Poseidon

[226] Geissen, 2010. Merkelbach, 1962, 1995.
[227] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 2.4.3.; Ovid, *Metamorphoes*, 4.663-752; Hyginus, *Fabula*, 64.
[228] Pliny claims that the events took place at Joppa, a Phoenician city, but that King Kepheus was ruler of Ethiopia and that Ethiopia controlled the Syrian coastline at the time (*Natural History*, 5.14 and 6.35). In his *Periplus*, Skylax also mentions Joppa as the place where Andromeda was abandoned to the sea-monster (Pseud.Skylax

consequently sent a flood to destroy the land of Ethiopia. Her father, King Kepheus, consulted the Oracle of Ammon and was told to sacrifice his daughter to Poseidon's sea-monster in order to save his country and its people.[229] He complied with the oracle and bound Andromeda to the sea-cliff. Perseus instantly fell in love with Andromeda and agreed to rescue her upon the condition that he be allowed to marry her. In AT's version, Andromeda is positioned within a rocky hollow (3.7.1) and bound to the rock with chains (3.6.4, 3.7.2), which fix her hands in position above her head (3.7.4). She is wearing a bridal gown (3.7.5). The beast approaches her from the water, with its mouth wide open (3.7.6), and Perseus descends towards it from the air, wearing nothing but a cloak, winged sandals and a cap (3.7.7). He is armed with the Gorgon's head and a strange sword (3.7.7-8). AT describes the rocky hollow in detail as follows: Ὀρώρυκται μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ μέτρον τῆς κόρης ἡ πέτρα. θέλει δὲ τὸ ὄρυγμα λέγειν ὅτι μή τις αὐτὸ πεποίηκε χείρ, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτοχθον. ἐτραχυνε γὰρ λίθου τὸν κόλπον ὁ γραφεύς, ὡς ἔτεκεν αὐτον ἡ γῆ. ἡ δὲ ἐνίδρυται τῇ σκέπῃ. καὶ ἔοικε τὸ θέαμα, εἰ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἀπίδοις, ἀγάλματι καινῷ, εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τὸ κῆτος, αὐτοσχεδίῳ τάφῳ (3.7.1-2). "In the picture of Andromeda, there was a hollow in the rock of about the size of a maiden, but it was of a sort that would indicate that it was not artificially made, but natural, for the painter had made its surface rough, just as nature had fashioned it. She rested within its embrace, and while, if one gazed upon her beauty, one could compare her to a newly carven statue, anybody seeing the chains and the approaching beast would think the rock a hastily contrived tomb" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, pp.147-149].

Bartsch argues that this tomb-like hollow is not a conventional element in pictorial depictions of Andromeda's rescue and that it, therefore, stands out as being important. She posits that the tomb-like hollow is crucial for the foreshadowing action of the description, that Andromeda resting in a τάφος looks forward to the body of Leukippe resting in a σορός at 3.15.6 after her fake sacrifice.[230] I agree and believe that her suggestion is corroborated by the descriptions of the way in which the τάφος and the σορός are respectively constructed and utilised. The former is described as αὐτοσχεδόν meaning "on the spot, at once", translated by Gaselee above as "hastily contrived", and the deposition of Leukippe in the latter also appears hasty, as it is described by Kleitophon thus: "When the business came, as I thought, to an end, the two

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#104). Strabo disputes this, claiming that the myth is purely Ethiopian (*Geography*, 1.2.35). According to Hyginus, *Fabula*, 64, Kassiopeia claimed that Andromeda was more beautiful than the Nereids.

[229] A Libyan deity worshipped at Siwa and associated with the Egyptian god Amun, the Greek god Zeus and the Roman god Jupiter. In his version of the Andromeda myth, Ovid refers to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon (*Metamorphoses*, 4.671).

[230] Bartsch, 1989, p.72, p.57.

attendants placed her body in the coffin, put the lid upon it, overturned the altar, and hurried away without looking around." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.167]

I will first look at iconography of this scene to demonstrate that Bartsch, though correct in her assessment of its import and function, is incorrect in her assessment of the tomb-like hollow's uniqueness in pictorial depictions, before turning to literary descriptions of the scene to ascertain how Andromeda is described as being fixed to the sea-cliff in different versions of the myth. It is my hope to demonstrate that there is already in art a clear association between Andromeda's hollow and death, which AT is drawing upon when he describes the κόλπος as a τάφος, that the description of Andromeda's positioning is intertextually linked to Euripides *Andromeda* and that the effect of this is to foreshadow the theatrical elements of Leukippe's sacrifice and to eroticise Andromeda and by association Leukippe. This eroticisation takes several forms, which will be explored in this chapter, however, it is the likening of Andromeda to a statue in both *L&C* and Euripides' play to which I here refer.

On ancient vases and frescoes, Andromeda was often depicted as either bound between two posts or in later works chained to a rock. Examples of the former include a fragment from a fourth-century BCE Lucanian bell crater which shows a clothed Andromeda with her arms stretched out to either side and tied at the wrists to what appear to be wooden posts, and a Campanian *hydria*, which shows Andromeda naked except for a cloak in the same pose.[231] [Image B2] A fourth-century BCE Apulian *hydria* has her clothed regally and bound in a similar fashion but between stone pillars.[232] [Image B3] Examples of Andromeda chained to a rock include a fresco from a house in region VI at Pompeii and a very similar fresco from Villa Agrippa Postumus at Boscotrecase dated to circa 11 BCE.[233] [Images B4, B5 and B6] These frescos show Andromeda fastened by her wrists to a large rock on the seashore, she is fully clothed and her arms are outstretched. In his analysis of paintings and vases featuring Perseus and Andromeda, Phillips notes that AT's description of a rocky hollow bears a resemblance to depictions of Andromeda bound in the entrance to a cave or grotto.[234] I agree. Examples of this type include an Apulian *loutrophoros* from the fourth century BCE, which also features a funeral *aediculum*, and a fragment of an Apulian *pelike.*[235] [Images B7 and B8] If Phillips is

[231] Heidelberg, Archaeological Institute 26/29; Phillips, 1968, fig.18. Naples, National Museum, Spinelli 1952; Phillips, 1968, fig.20.
[232] London, British Museum F.185; Phillips, 1968, fig.19.
[233] Naples, National Museum 9447; Phillips, 1968, figs. 4 and 5. New York, MMA 20.192.16; Phillips, 1968, fig.2.
[234] Phillips, 1968, p.11.
[235] Bari 5591; Phillips, 1968, fig.30. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museen 885; Phillips, 1968, fig.32.

correct, as I think he is, then Bartsch's claim that the rocky hollow is absent from all extant pictorial representations of the scene is inaccurate. The remaining anomaly is then just the likening of the κόλπος to a τάφος. Though I do not dispute the importance of this description for foreshadowing the fate of Leukippe, I do not believe that the association between the rocky hollow and a tomb can be regarded as an innovation on AT's part. The Apulian *loutrophoros* mentioned above [Image B7] features both the wavy-lined hollow and a tomb. The association was already made in at least one piece of ancient art and is likely to have featured on other pieces which have not survived. In addition, Phillips is confident that the arches drawn with rugged or wavy lines on the aforementioned vases are intended to represent a cave entrance and that this symbolises the entrance to Hades and, therefore, the victim's imminent death.[236] AT's description of the κόλπος as a τάφος perhaps reflects his knowledge of this symbolism.

An intratextual link between the harbour of Sidon's κόλπος at 1.1.1, which shields the ships within it from the harsh winter weather and defends them like a mother would her children, and Andromeda's κόλπος intimates to the reader that the latter should also be viewed as a safe and protecting space. Consequently, Leukippe's σορός, which Andromeda's κόλπος foreshadows, should be viewed as her means of protection against the Egyptian brigands. This proves to be the correct reading, as Leukippe waits out the remainder of the day in the safety of the σορός, and then arises from it at night unscathed. Andromeda's κόλπος is a clear example of the way in which intertextuality and intratextuality are employed to befuddle the reader. Intertextuality with pictorial representations of the scene gives the κόλπος a negative association, as representing the entrance to Hades, the κόλπος is also likened to a τάφος, a coffin, again associating it with death; yet an intratextual link suggests that the κόλπος is a safe and protective space. The reader picking up on these conflicting connections cannot confidently predict which connection accurately signposts what will happen next in the main narrative. The answer in this instance is that they both do, as Leukippe will 'die' and be placed in a coffin, but she will be safe in this coffin and will be 'resurrected' without having come to any harm.

Building upon Phillips' research, D'Alconzo looks at the context in which a depiction of Andromeda's rescue and that of Prometheus might have been associated in art. His research leads to Apulian vase painting of the fourth century BCE, which is known to have been influenced by Greek theatre.[237] He notes the similar poses of Prometheus and Andromeda on

[236] Phillips, 1968, p.11.
[237] Prometheus was originally depicted crouching down with his hands tied behind his back facing the eagle. Examples include a Greek gem of the seventh/eighth century BCE (discussed by Raggio, 1958, p.45; Furtwängler,

calyx-kraters of this type, both chained to a rocky arch, and suggests that Aeschylus' *Prometheus Unbound* and Euripides' *Andromeda* were once performed at the same festival and that one of the stage props, namely the rocky arch, was shared by both plays.[238] I find his argument very persuasive and would add that Kleitophon's description of Prometheus' situation as ἠλέησας ἂν ὡς ἀλγοῦσαν τὴν γραφήν (3.8.4) immediately calls to mind Prometheus' claim in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* that he is a "spectacle of pity": καὶ μὴν φίλοις <γ'> ἐλεινὸς εἰσορᾶν ἐγώ (line 248).[239] Also, at 3.8.3, Prometheus is described as twisting his torso in an attempt to avoid the bird's beak, but only succeeds in giving the bird easier access to his liver: ὁ δὲ ἀλγῶν πάντῃ συνέσταλται καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν συνέσπασται καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἐγείρει καθ' αὑτοῦ. εἰς γὰρ τὸ ἧπαρ συνάγει τὸν ὄρνιν. This perhaps recalls the description of the scene in lines 20-21 of *Prometheus Unbound*, recorded by Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations* (2.24): *namque, ut videtis, vinclis constrictus Iovis / arcere nequere diram volucrem a pectore*. "For, as you see, bound in the chains of Jove, I cannot keep that harsh bird from my breast". [my translation]

Literary descriptions of the way in which Andromeda was positioned on the sea-cliff are equally diverse. For example, it is thought that Sophocles' version of the play showed Andromeda bound between two posts, as she is described in *Andromeda* fr. 128a TrGF as "hung out". In Eratosthenes' *Catasterisms* her arms are also outstretched (1.17). Andromeda is chained to a rock in the version recorded in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* 2.4.3, and in the second-century BCE *Andromeda* of Accius (fr.71) she is enwalled in rock *obvalla saxo*. AT was, undoubtedly, familiar with Euripides' version of the myth, as verbal echoes of his *Andromeda* play make clear.[240] For example, when describing his viewing of the painting of Andromeda,

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Die Antiken Gemmen, 1910, I, p. V, no. 37), several Roman gems of the first century CE (Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, 1910, I, p.XXXVII, nos. 40, 41, 45, 46), and a sixth/fifth century BCE Etruscan amphora from Chiusi (Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, 1847, pl.VIII). The depiction of Prometheus crucified on a high rock symbolising the Caucasus became popular in the fourth century BCE and was influenced by Aeschylus' Prometheus trilogy. Raggio cites as the most well-known example of this type the altar of Zeus at Pergamon of the second century BCE and explains that the fame of this altar in antiquity was such that it was replicated on Roman gems, and on a Pompeiian fresco in the House of the Coloured Capitals, also known as the House of Ariadne (Raggio, 1958, pp.45-46 and fig.c. pl.4).

[238] D'Alconzo, 2014(a), pp.85-86.

[239] In Lucian's *Prometheus* (2), Prometheus asks Hermes and Hephaestus to pity his "undeserved misfortune": Ἀλλὰ κἂν ὑμεῖς γε, ὦ Ἥφαιστε καὶ Ἑρμῆ, κατελεησατέ με παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν δυστυχοῦντα.

[240] The main narrative also has intertextual links to Euripides' *Andromeda*. For example, if we compare 3.16.3. and fragments 115 and 120 of Euripides' play, we see that both Leukippe and Andromeda are described as the most ill-fated of mankind. τί ποτ' Ἀνδρομέδα / περίαλλα κακῶν μέρος ἐξέλαχον / θανάτου τλήμων μέλλουσα τυχεῖν; (Euripides, *Andromeda*, fragment 115) and "Pitiless the man who fathered you but now has dispatched you, most tormented of mortals (πολυπονωτάταν βροτῶν), to Hades to die for your homeland" (Euripides, *Andromeda*, fragment 120); at 3.16.3., Kleitophon begins his lament over Leukippe's grave with the line: "Λευκίππη," λέγων, "ἀθλία καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων δυστυχεστάτη...". Fragment 115 = Aristophanes,

Kleitophon recalls: καὶ ἔοικε τὸ θέαμα, εἰ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἀπίδοις, ἀγάλματι καινῷ (3.7.2). "…and while, if one gazed upon her beauty, one would compare her to a newly carven statue…" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.149] I suggest that this line is intertextually linked to fr. 125 TrGF of Euripides' *Andromeda*. ἔα, τίν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὁρῶ περίρρυτον / ἀφρῷ θαλάσσης· παρθένου τ' εἰκώ τινα / ἐξ αὐτομόρφων λαΐνων τυκισμάτων / σοφῆς ἄγαλμα χειρός. "What is this steep shore, washed round about with sea foam, that I see? And there is the statue of a girl, wrought out of the actual shape of the rock, the work of a skilled hand." [trans. Phillips, 1968, p.2][241]

The erotic connotations of Euripides' choice to liken Andromeda to a statue have been touched upon by Collard, Cropp & Gibert, who draw a comparison with Admetus' monologue at 348-354 of Euripides' *Alcestis*.[242] Addressing his recently deceased wife, Admetus says: σοφῇ δὲ χειρὶ τεκτόνων δέμας τὸ σὸν / εἰκασθὲν ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκταθήσεται, / ᾧ προσπεσοῦμαι καὶ περιπτύσσων χέρας / ὄνομα καλῶν σὸν τὴν φίλην ἐν ἀγκάλαις / δόξω γυναῖκα καίπερ οὐκ ἔχων ἔχειν: / ψυχρὰν μέν, οἶμαι, τέρψιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως βάρος / ψυχῆς ἀπαντλοίην ἄν. "An image of you shaped by the hand of a skilled craftsman shall be laid out in my bed. I shall fall into its arms, and as I embrace it and call your name I shall imagine, though I have her not, that I hold my dear wife in my arms, a cold pleasure, to be sure, but this will lighten my soul's heaviness." [trans. Kovacs, D., 2001, p.187] Euripides is not the only ancient author to touch upon the topic of agalmatophilia. For example, in the story of Pygmalion, as recounted by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (10.243-297), the eponymous sculptor falls in a love with a statue of a maiden of his own creation, and, like Admetus, he takes the statue to bed. More salacious still is Lucian's account of a visit to see Praxiteles' famous statue of Aphrodite (*Amores* 13-16). Whilst viewing the statue, he and his companions notice a strange stain on its thigh. A female attendant provides them with the story of the origin of the blemish: a young nobleman had snuck into the temple late at night to have intercourse with the statue and, later, overcome with the shame of his actions, had committed suicide. I, therefore, suggest that *L&C*'s allusion to

Thesmophoriazusae, 1070-1072 and scholia, and fragment 120 = scholia on Aristophanes, *Thesmophroriazusae*, 1022.

[241] Fragment 125 = scholia on Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 1105, and Maximus Confessor, *Scholia on Works of Dionysius the Areopagite*, 234. Ovid, probably also intertextually engaging with Euripides, likens Andromeda to a statue in his account of her rescue by Perseus in the *Metamorphoses* (4.672-675): *Quam simul ad duras religatam bracchia cautes / vidit Abantiades, nisi quod levis aura capillos / moverat et tepido manabant lumina fletu, / marmoreum ratus esset opus*. "As soon as Perseus saw her there bound by her arms to the rough cliff, he would have thought her a work of marble, if not for her hair moving gently in the breeze and her eyes seeping with warm tears." [my translation]

[242] Collard, Cropp & Gibert, 2004, p.160.

Euripides' statue imagery accentuates Andromeda's sensuality and desirability foreshadowing the erotic gaze of Kleitophon as he looks at Leukippe being sacrificed, discussed further later in this section.

Later, at 3.15.4, as she is about to be sacrificed, Leukippe is compared by Kleitophon to a statue he once saw of Marsyas. This comparison strengthens the link between Leukippe and Andromeda, as both heroines look like statues to their would-be lovers. It also highlights the mimetic quality of the sacrifice scene. Like the painting of Andromeda, the sacrifice of Leukippe is also a work of art.

Like the Prometheus painting, which is connected to Aeschylus' Prometheus trilogy verbally through the shared description of Prometheus as a spectacle of pity and to the staging of the play by means of the rocky hollow, the Andromeda painting is connected to Euripides' *Andromeda* verbally through the statue allusion and to the staging of the play by means of the rocky hollow. D'Alconzo discusses the way in which these intertexts foreshadow the theatrical elements of Leukippe's first *Scheintod*: the *threnos* performed by Kleitophon before Leukippe is led away at 3.10.1-6, a second *threnos* of Kleitophon after Leukippe's sacrifice at 3.16.3-5, and the theatrical staging of Leukippe's sham sacrifice complete with stage props.[243] He concludes that "if we look further into the source of the paintings and find out that an iconographical association of the same subjects existed before Achilles Tatius' description, and that this association originated in an environment where theatre had a major role in influencing artistic tendencies, then we can activate a connection between the paintings and the story not just at the level of contents, but at the level of form, for the theatrical nature of the paintings anticipates the theatrical nature of the episode".[244] Ballengee's earlier mentioned description of Kleitophon viewing the sacrifice as if he were a spectator watching a play supports D'Alconzo's view.[245]

A strikingly unusual feature of the description of Andromeda is the grape imagery used to explain how her wrists droop down from their shackles. οἱ καρποὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀμπέλου βότρυες κρέμανται (3.7.4). "So that her fingers hung like bunches of fruit from a vine". [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.149] Vine imagery possibly features in the iconography of the offering of Andromeda

[243] D'Alconzo, 2014(a), pp.87-88.
[244] ibid., p.89.
[245] Ballengee, 2005.

to the sea-monster. An Attic calyx crater dated to the fifth century BCE and found in Capua shows Andromeda, Perseus, Hermes and Aphrodite. There appear to be vines bearing grapes either side of Andromeda and it is debated as to whether these vines are attached to her wrists and holding her in position, or whether she is simply standing in front of them with her arms outstretched.[246] [Image B9]

Previous scholarship on grape imagery in *L&C* has concentrated upon the intratextual associations of 3.7.4. Bartsch, for example, points out that this line is intratextually connected to 1.15.4 where the grapes in the garden of Kleitophon are described thus: ἄμπελοι δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ δένδρου, καλάμοις ἐποχούμεναι, τοῖς φύλλοις ἐθαλλον, και ὁ καρπὸς ὡραίαν εἶχε τὴν ἄνθην καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς τῶν καλάμων ἐξεκρέματο καὶ ἦν βόστρυχος τοῦ φυτοῦ (1.15.4). "On either side of each tree grew vines, creeping upon reed supports, with luxuriant foliage; these, now in full fruitage, hung from the joints of the reeds, and formed as it were the ringlets of the tree." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.47] She argues that this connects Andromeda to Kleitophon's garden, strengthening the connection between Leukippe and Andromeda.[247] I agree.

It has not been argued in previous scholarship that the description of Andromeda's wrists as hanging like grapes from a vine strongly recalls a scene in Lucian's science-fiction novel *A True Story* (1.8-9).[248] After surviving a storm at sea, Lucian and his fellow travellers wash up on a wooded island. As they begin to explore the island, they chance upon a river of wine, the banks of which are crowded with grapevines. Upon closer inspection, they discover that the grapevines are women from the waist up and that grapes grow from their fingertips. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δακτύλων ἄκρον ἐξεφύοντο αὐταῖς οἱ κλάδοι καὶ μεστοὶ ἦσαν βοτρύων. (1.8.) "Out of their finger-tips grew the branches, and they were full of grapes." [trans. Harmon, 1961, p.257] The women at first appear friendly; they welcome Lucian's band of adventurers and kiss them on

[246] Berlin, Staatliche Museen 3237; Phillips, 1968, fig.16. Phillips, 1968, p.7 argues that Andromeda is no longer tied up but has been freed by Perseus and "stretches her aching arms".
[247] Bartsch, 1989, p.57, n.17; for Leukippe's connection to Kleitophon's garden, see Bartsch, 1989, pp.52-55.
[248] Lucian and AT were both writing in the second century CE, however, it is disputed as to which of the authors was the earlier. They could well have been contemporaries. Lucian's oeuvre is very clearly intertextually connected to *L&C*, but it is as yet impossible to say whether AT was indebted to Lucian for particular pieces of imagery or vice versa. Both authors wrote an ekphrasis of a painting of Andromeda's rescue. Lucian's version is included in chapter 22 of *The Hall*. In this version, Andromeda is depicted as both modest and fearful (αἰδῶ παρθένον καὶ φόβον); AT's version features a beautiful and fearful Andromeda at 3.7.3. Lucian's sea-monster has bristling spines and gaping jaws; AT's sea-monster also has spines and a mouth which gapes so wide that one could see down to its stomach (3.7.6-7). In both descriptions Perseus holds the head of the Gorgon Medusa in his left hand and brandishes a sword in his right. See also Morales, 2004, pp.170-171 for a comparison of the use of the myths of Niobe and Medusa in Lucian's *Essays in Portraiture* with AT's use of the same myths in Book 3.

the lips, causing them to become immediately inebriated. However, when a few of the men attempt to pluck the grapes growing from the women's fingers, the women cry out in pain and pull those men close to them. The captured men become part of the grapevine and are impossible to rescue. Lucian and his remaining comrades hurry back to their beached ship and put out to sea. αἱ δὲ καὶ μίγνυσθαι ἡμῖν ἐπεθύμουν. καὶ δύο τινὲς τῶν ἑταίρων πλησιάσαντες αὐταῖς οὐκέτι ἀπελύοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων ἐδέδεντο. συνεφύοντο γὰρ καὶ συνερριζοῦντο. καὶ ἤδη αὐτοῖς κλάδοι ἐπεφύκεσαν οἱ δάκτυλοι, καὶ ταῖς ἕλιξι περιπλεκόμενοι ὅσον οὐδέπω καὶ αὐτοὶ καρποφορήσειν ἔμελλον (1.8). "Some of them actually wanted us to embrace them, and two of my comrades complied, but could not get away again. They were held fast by the part which had touched them, for it had grown in and struck root. Already branches had grown from their fingers, tendrils entwine them, and they were on the point of bearing fruit like the others any minute." [trans. Harmon, 1961, pp.257-259]

In this scene, grapes are associated with dangerous eroticism. The women entice the mariners close and seduce them with their friendly demeanour and intoxicating kisses. Those imprudent enough to succumb to this erotic display and to attempt to pluck the fruit become the prey of the grape-women and are metamorphosed into grape-men. Grapes also have erotic connotations in *L&C*. The drooping wrist-grapes recall the wine-cup used for libations to the god Dionysus at 2.3.2, which had vines with drooping grapes around its rim. After describing the wine-cup in detail, Kleitophon expounds upon the effect of the wine upon his ardour, commenting that οἶνος γὰρ ἔρωτος τροφή "for wine is the food of love". Earlier at 2.2.2, wine is described as lighting the fire of pleasure in the depths of the stomach εἰς τὴν γαστερα δὲ καταθορὸν ἀνάπτει κάτωθεν ἡδονῆς πῦρ in a conversation between a shepherd and the wine-god Dionysus.[249]

As well as eroticizing the depiction of Andromeda, the grape imagery emphasises the fact that Andromeda is being offered as food for the sea-monster, providing a link to the adjoining painting of Prometheus, who is depicted writhing in agony as a hungry bird rips open his belly and digs deep with its beak to find his liver (3.8.1-2), and a further link to Leukippe's sacrifice at which her entrails are roasted and eaten by the brigands (3.15.4-5). Morales discusses the 'consumptive gaze' in ancient literature, where the human object of the gazing individual is

[249] The episode in Lucian's *A True Story* also makes mention of the god Dionysus. Before discovering the river of wine, Lucian and his party spot a slab of bronze bearing an inscription, which reads "To this point came Hercules and Dionysus" (1.7). When they espy the river of wine, they comment that it is evidence of Dionysus' visit.

envisaged as food or drink.[250] She initially cites examples from the writings of Philostratus (*Epistle* 26) and Xenophon (*Memorabilia* 3.11.13) before later in her book moving on to dissect specific examples from *L&C*.[251] She compares the way in which Kleitophon gazes upon the grim scene of Leukippe's disembowelment and the eating of her innards by the Egyptian brigands to an earlier scene in which Kleitophon feasts upon the sight of Leukippe over dinner. At 1.5.3 Kleitophon describes how, instead of eating the actual food in front of him, he devours Leukippe with his eyes, and at 1.6.1 he tells the reader that he retired to bed gorged from looking at Leukippe's face and drunk with love. Morales concludes that "the *Scheintod* takes the consumptive gaze to a literal and grotesque extreme. Even though it is not Clitophon who eats Leucippe, he looks on her as she becomes food. Leucippe is seen being butchered and eaten. As he views it, the female body is not merely imagined as food, it *is* food. Metaphor becomes reality."[252]

Morales also claims that, as well as being consumptive, Kleitophon's gazing upon Leukippe during her sacrifice is sexually charged. She compellingly argues that Kleitophon's inability to look away from Leukippe's gruesome evisceration and his petrification by the spectacle (emphasised by the comparison he draws between himself and Niobe, who was turned to stone from grief) are evidence of his sexual arousal. As proof, she provides a contemporary example of a link between petrification and sexual arousal in the form of Lycinus' reaction to a beautiful woman as described to his friend Polystratus: ἀλλ᾽ ἦ Ἰθίούτόν τι βττασγον οι τὴν Γοργὼ ἰδόντες οἷον ἐγὼ ἔναγχος ἔπαθον, ὦ Πολύστρατε, παγκάλην τινὰ γυναῖκα ἰδών αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ μύθου ἐκεῖνο, μικροῦ δέω λίθος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου σοι γεγονέναι πεπηγὼς ὑπὸ τοῦ θαύματος. "Upon my word, Polystratus, those who saw the Gorgon must have been affected by it very much as I was recently when I saw a perfectly beautiful woman: I was struck stiff with amazement and came within an ace of being turned into stone, my friend, just as it is in the fable!" (Lucian, *Essays in Portraiture*, 1).[253] I agree and would add that petrification as a metaphor for sexual arousal is exploited more than once in Lucian's oeuvre. In the racy story about Praxiteles' statue of Aphrodite (Lucian, *Amores*, 13-16), mentioned above in connection with the likening of Andromeda to a statue in Euripides, Ovid and *L&C*, the character Charikles is described as being petrified in admiration of the beauty of the statue. In Manilius' version of the Perseus and Andromeda story told at *Astronomica* 5.542-573, the petrification avoided by Perseus

[250] Morales, 2007, pp.32-33.
[251] ibid., pp.165-172.
[252] ibid., p.169.
[253] ibid., pp.170-172. Trans. Harmon, 1925, p.257.

during his confrontation with the Gorgon Medusa is compared to his reaction upon first seeing Andromeda: *tandem Gorgonei victorem Persea monstri / felix illa dies redeuntem ad litora duxit. / isque, ubi pendentem vidit de rupe puellam, / deriguit, facie quem non stupefecerat hostis, / vixque manu spolium tenuit, victorque Medusae / victus in Andromeda est* (lines 566-572). "At length a happy day brought to those shores Perseus returning from his triumph over the monstrous Gorgon. On seeing the girl fastened to the rock, he, whom his foe had failed to petrify with her aspect, froze in his tracks and scarcely kept his grasp of the spoil: the vanquisher of Medusa was vanquished at the sight of Andromeda." [trans. Goold, 1997, p.347] The inference is that Perseus' sexual attraction to Andromeda causes him to become motionless like a statue: seeing her petrifies him in a way which seeing Medusa's face failed to do.

Kleitophon's petrification, therefore, provides a link back to the eroticized painting of Andromeda. Whereas a viewer of the painting of Prometheus cannot help but feel pity - ἠλέησας ἂν ὡς ἀλγοῦσαν τὴν γραθήν (3.8.4), Andromeda's semi-transparent clothing, the eroticizing grape imagery and the description of her being like a statue are intended to sexually arouse the viewer. Though both paintings are proleptic of Leukippe's sacrifice and consumption, it is the way in which Kleitophon views the Andromeda painting which foreshadows how he will view Leukippe when she too is bound and offered up for slaughter and ingestion.

Grapes are also associated with fertility in *L&C*. For example, at 1.15.4 the vines in Kleitophon's garden are described as being "in full fruitage" (ὁ καρπὸς ὡραίαν εἶχε τὴν ἄνθην), and at 2.3.2 the grapes on the aforementioned wine-cup appear to ripen as wine is poured into the cup. Kleitophon describes how they gradually turn from being green in colour to dark red fruit. The fecundity of the grapevines in Lucian's story is demonstrated by the way in which Lucian's men are absorbed into the grapevine and very quickly appear to be on the verge of bearing fruit, as quoted above (1.8). Leukippe's fertility, or rather her ability to give birth to children, is the subject of a recent (as yet unpublished) paper by Repath.[254] In relation to the first *Scheintod* scene, Repath argues that Leukippe's evisceration is symbolic of the destruction of her womb. As Andromeda and Leukippe are linked, my suggestion that the grape imagery emphasises Andromeda's fertility strengthens Repath's suggestion that the reader is encouraged to think about Leukippe's prospects of motherhood. Providing an explanation different from that of Morales (discussed above) concerning Kleitophon's petrification, Repath

[254] Repath, 2016(b).

suggests that the reader should take the comparison Kleitophon draws between himself and Niobe seriously. Just as Niobe's grief for her slaughtered children results in her being turned to stone, Kleitophon, upon viewing Leukippe's evisceration, is petrified from grief over the loss of their ability to produce offspring together.

The association of women and grapevines also conjures up images of maenads, the female followers of the god Dionysus, carrying the thyrsus (a long baton wrapped in vines and ivy). Interestingly, there is a myth about a maenad called Leukippe. She was a daughter of Minyas whom Dionysus wished to become one of his devotees. However, Leukippe wanted to remain faithful to her husband, so she refused to go with the wine-god. Outraged by her rejection, Dionysus cursed her with insanity and forced her to sacrifice her son Hippasus to him. Hippasus was torn apart by the other maenads.[255] AT's knowledge of this myth is perhaps reflected in an episode in Book 4 in which Leukippe refuses the advances of the general Charmides, because she wishes to remain faithful to Kleitophon, and temporarily becomes raving and frenzied after she is given an undiluted love potion (4.6-10). This myth is one of several about women called Leukippe which I believe are intertextually connected to AT's story. As I mentioned in my introduction, I believe that AT purposefully selected names for his characters known from multiple different sources and that this was one of his methods for engineering a highly intertextual narrative. I do not have space to explore all of the Leukippe myths and their connections to *L&C* in this thesis; however, I will mention other Leukippe myths where they are relevant. I feel that a full and detailed study of internymical intertextuality in *L&C* is still a desideratum, building upon the excellent work of Repath on Platonic names in *L&C* and Repath again on the intertextual relationship between the two characters called Kallisthenes in *L&C*.[256] I will discuss another example of internymical intertextuality in **Case Study C/C.iv.**, as the novel's Menelaos has much in common with the Homeric character of the same name.

Another supposedly unconventional feature of the painting is the bridal gown worn by Andromeda for her sacrifice to the sea-monster. I have earlier explored how the reference to Andromeda as the Ἀϊδωνεῖ νύμφη links her story to that of Kore, thereby creating a link between the fates of the three heroines Kore, Andromeda and Leukippe which prefigures Leukippe's resurrection. In this section, I will focus upon the description of the gown itself and

[255] Antoninus Liberalis 10, Aelian 3.42, Ovid 4.1 (Leukonoe instead of Leukippe).
[256] Repath, 2001, pp.32-108. Repath, 2007.

the associations this description creates in the mind of the reader. The description of Andromeda as the "bride of Hades" and her attire, which is described specifically as bridal attire ἕστηκε δὲ νυμφικῶς ἐστολισμένη (3.7.5), has drawn comment from Bartsch, who claims that this is the only known depiction of Andromeda dressed as a bride.[257] Whilst I agree that the bridal gown is significant and that it strengthens the link between Andromeda and Kore, I disagree that Andromeda dressed as a bride is an unusual feature in iconography of this scene. Several paintings (both frescoes and vases) show Andromeda dressed either in a regal fashion or in a diaphanous tunic and surrounded by gifts. [Images B10 and B11] Phillips describes these gifts, which are sometimes held by Andromeda's attendants, as "wedding or funeral gifts".[258] They usually include a stool, a ribbon, a small box (*pyxis*), a mirror and a small vessel used for containing oil (*alabastron*). These items are associated with the adornment of the bride in Greek art and are often held by the *nympheutria*, the bride's attendants, who are depicted in the process of preparing her for the wedding ceremony.[259] For example, an Attic red-figure *lekanis* shows a series of wedding preparations: two female attendants hold mirrors, another is tying a crown/garland to the bride's head with ribbons, another is opening a *pyxis* and another stands next to a vessel for carrying wine, oil or water for the bride's bath.[260] Lee speculates that *parthenoi* who died before marriage were buried in their wedding attire, so it is possible that, in iconography of her sacrifice, Andromeda is depicted as a bride because she was an unmarried virgin about to die.[261] Fontenrose also believes that "surviving vase paintings show Andromeda dressed as a bride".[262]

Andromeda is described as wearing the following: ποδήρης ὁ χιτών, λευκὸς ὁ χιτών: τὸ ὕφασμα λεπτόν, ἀραχνίων ἐοικὸς πλοκῇ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν προβατείων τριχῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐρίων τῶν λεπτοΐνων, οἷον ἀπὸ δένδρων ἕλκουσαι νήματα γυναῖκες ὑφαίνουσιν Ἰνδαί (3.7.5). "She wore a tunic reaching to her feet, and white, of the thinnest woof like a spider's web; not like that woven of the hair of a sheep but of the produce of a winged insect which Indian women spin into thread from trees and weave into silk" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.149]. The two most unusual facets of the description of Andromeda's χιτών are the colour of the material and that its texture is described as akin to that of a spider's web. I will treat the colour of the garment first and then explore the spider's web associations. There is only one other description of a

[257] Bartsch, 1989, pp.56-57.
[258] Phillips, 1968, p.6.
[259] For a discussion of bridal adornment, see Oakley & Sinos, 1993, pp.16-21.
[260] Oakley & Sinos, 1993, p.76, figs.44-45.
[261] Lee, 2015, p.227.
[262] Fontenrose, 1959, p.304.

wedding dress in *L&C*.[263] At 2.11 Kleitophon describes the preparations for his wedding to his half-sister Kalligone. Her bridal gown is treated in detail. The decadence of the gown is emphasised: according to Kleitophon, the braiding on a bridal gown would normally be purple, but this had braiding of gold; the main body of the dress was dyed with Tyrian purple, the exact same colour as used for the robes of Aphrodite. Oakley and Sinos claim that "the expensive purple fabric worn by Achilles Tatius' bride was a longstanding tradition" and back this up with evidence from Sappho, where a bride is referred to as "violet-breasted" or "with a violet fold over her breast"[264]. Coward discusses the colour of the clothing worn by *parthenoi* in poetry. He points out that purple was the colour normally worn by divinities and high-status women, as was saffron, which is the colour worn by Mnesilochus as Andromeda in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (1044).[265] The act of dressing the bride was a popular theme of vase paintings of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Many vases depict the bride wearing highly patterned clothing. Lee explains that the family of the bride would show off their wealth to the rest of the community by means of the bride's attire, so costly materials, detailed patterns and embroidery, and regal colours were common.[266] Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones remark that Greek bridal dresses were "loaded with colour".[267] In contrast, Roman brides usually wore white tunics; however, white was more commonly associated with rituals, for which purple, gold and decorated clothing were often prohibited.[268] White was also used for funeral shrouds, but this was not ubiquitous practice and fragments of brightly coloured textiles have also been found in graves.[269] White wedding garments do feature in Euripides' *Alcestis*. In mourning the loss of his wife, Admetus says λευκῶν τε πέπλων μέλανες στολμοὶ (923) referring to the black garb that will be worn for her funeral instead of the white robes which were worn for their wedding.

Ogden points out that Andromeda was often depicted wearing diaphanous clothing or completely nude.[270] In Egyptian culture, semi-transparent clothing was associated with royalty and non-royal elite members of society. Egypt was noted as a producer of diaphanous textiles,

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[263] Although the heroine Callirhoe in Chariton's novel of the same name and Anthia in Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesian Tale* are both married within the first few chapters of their respective stories, neither of their wedding dresses is described.
[264] Fontenrose, 1959, p.304. Sappho, Voigt 30.5.
[265] Coward, 2016, pp.51-55.
[266] Lee, 2015, p.208.
[267] Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones, 2007, p.24.
[268] ibid., p.24, p.162.
[269] Lee, 2015, p.227.
[270] Ogden, 2008, p.81; LIMC Andromeda 1.23 and 32 diaphanous; LIMC Andromeda 1.157 nude statue; LIMC Andromeda 1.53, 55, 75, 146a, 152 nude wall paintings.

particularly linen-silk mixtures.[271] Silk was imported to the Greek world from the Near East and was immensely costly.[272] According to Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones it was “worth its weight in gold” in the third century CE.[273] The χιτών is also thought to be an eastern, possibly Semitic, import. It was adopted in Greece in the Bronze Age.[274] It was originally an item of clothing worn only by men, later by both sexes, and later still predominantly by women. The female χιτών was a luxury item, as it was usually made from a very thin material, through which the female form could be viewed.[275] Lee claims that the purpose of the material’s semi-transparency was to accentuate the woman’s reproductive capacities and emphasise her sexuality.[276] That Andromeda’s χιτών is made from fine silk, therefore, emphasises her status (she is a princess), her reproductive capacity (she will die a virgin) and perhaps the eastern origins of her myth, which will be discussed further in B.iii.

Morales tentatively suggests that the gown “of the thinnest woof like a spider’s web” is perhaps intended to recall the story told by Satyros to Konops at 2.22 in which a gnat successfully battles with a lion only to end up stuck in a spider’s web. As Andromeda and Leukippe are connected, she asks the questions “Are we to understand that Leukippe is the spider and a potential danger? Or that Satyros has caught her in his web?”.[277] I will break down Morales’ suggestion into two elements for analysis: first, the suggestion of the intratextual link to 2.22 and, if the lack of clarity regarding this link can be resolved, then the questions she asks regarding Leukippe’s link to the spider’s web imagery.

If the ekphrasis of the painting of Andromeda and Satyros’ story to Konops are intratextually linked by the spider’s web imagery, then Andromeda is either trapped in the web and, therefore, an unwitting victim, or she is the spider and, therefore, dangerous. To ascertain which of these options is the more likely, it is necessary to look at the other characters featured in the myth and the story to see if they also match up. The actions of the tiny gnat flying around and attacking the gigantic lion would appear to map onto Perseus’ actions in flying around and attacking the sea-monster. This is supported by intratextual links between Perseus’ sickle-sword and the in-built weaponry of the gnat. Both Perseus’ sickle-sword and the gnat’s in-built

[271] Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones, 2007, pp.55-56.
[272] Lee, 2015, p.91.
[273] Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones, 2007, pp.170-171.
[274] Lee, 2015, pp.106-107.
[275] Lee, 2015, p.109.
[276] ibid., p.113.
[277] Morales, 2004, p.148, n.139. Ballengee, 2005, p.146 comments on the intratextual links between Andromeda and Europa, including that both wear diaphanous gowns. I will discuss this connection further in B.iii. in relation to Andromeda’s link to Astarte.

weaponry have dual functionality: Perseus' sickle-sword, as described at 3.7.8-9, has the ability to both stab and slice on account of its unusual shape; the gnat's mouth, as described at 2.22.3, is both trumpet and weapon and the gnat is both arrow and bow, in that its wings shoot it through the air to land on its target where it will bite to make an arrow-like wound. So, if Perseus can be equated with the gnat, then the sea-monster must be the lion, however, intratextual connections between the sea-monster and the lion are not as obviously apparent. The mouths and teeth of both are emphasised in their respective descriptions, with reference to the sea-monster's gaping jaws and the lion's teeth clashing together, but there does not appear to be a strong verbal link between the two descriptions. Even if we accept this tenuous connection between the oral cavities of the two beasts and conclude that the sea-monster does equate to the lion, then Andromeda's role as the spider is still unclear, as Andromeda of the myth is very clearly trapped and the spider of Satyros' story has laid a trap. Andromeda does not equate to the spider, as their roles are inverse. As Andromeda's relationship to the spider of the story is still opaque, it is impossible to work out what Leukippe's relationship to the spider imagery via her link to the character of Andromeda might be, so answering Morales' questions is not possible.

I suggest instead that the spider's web imagery perhaps forges a connection between the two scenes in which Satyros acts in the *callidus servus* role. At 2.23, Satyros outwits the man guarding Leukippe's bedchamber, Konops, by sprinkling a sleeping-draught on his food. Once Konops is asleep, Kleitophon is able to sneak past him to visit Leukippe. Konops, as his name suggests, is the gnat of Satyros' story, which would make Satyros the spider. If the reader realises that Satyros is the spider of the story, then the mention of a dress made from material as delicate as a spider's web just a book later might call to mind Satyros and the web of trickery he deployed to ensnare Konops. As Leukippe is linked to Andromeda in her role as sacrificial victim, then the spider-web dress on Andromeda's body can be equated with the web of trickery deployed by Satyros around Leukippe the sacrificial victim. This proves to be the case, as Satyros and Menelaos employ trickery to thwart the brigands' plan to sacrifice Leukippe. One element of their trick, a fake stomach filled with blood, is attached to the body of Leukippe, so Satyros' web of trickery is physically present on the body of Leukippe just as the spider's web is physically present on the body of Andromeda.[278]

[278] Another possible allusion is to Lucian's *A True Story* and the clothing made from spiders' webs worn by the people who live on the Isles of the Blest (2.12). According to Pindar, the Isles of the Blest were reserved for those

In this final part of B.i., I direct my attention to the second of the two temple paintings, that of Prometheus' rescue by Herakles, and specifically to its proleptic function. I explore the hypothesis that Prometheus, in his role as divine trickster, foreshadows Satyros playing the part of the *callidus servus* to outwit the Egyptian brigands and save Leukippe's life. As previously mentioned, scholars, such as Bartsch, have identified the eating of Prometheus' liver at 3.8.7 as proleptic of the eating of Leukippe's innards at 3.16.3.[279] However, comment has not been made regarding the reason for Prometheus' sadistic punishment by Zeus and its relevance to the fakery of Leukippe's sacrifice. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, 521-564, Prometheus incurs the wrath of Zeus by tricking him into choosing the bones of an ox as the gods' share of the sacrificial meal, leaving the meatiest parts for humankind. Prometheus accomplishes this by covering the meat and entrails of the ox with the ox's stomach to make the choicest parts look the least appetising, and by then dressing up the bones of the ox in glistening fat to create a delicious-looking meal. Zeus is fooled by the deception and chooses the bones and fat. Lucian's *Prometheus* (3) is clear evidence for knowledge of this Hesiodic episode in the second century CE. Hermes says to Prometheus: ὃς πρῶτα μὲν τὴν νομὴν τῶν κρεῶν ἐγχειρισθεὶς οὕτως ἄδικον ἐποιήσω καὶ ἀπατηλήν, ὡς σαυτῷ μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα ὑπεξελέσθαι, τὸν Δία δὲ παραλογίσασθαι ὀστᾶ 'καλύψας ἄργετι δημῷ ;' μέμνημαι γὰρ Ἡσιόδου νὴ Δί᾽ οὕτως εἰπόντος. "In the first place you undertook to serve out our meat and did it so unfairly that you abstracted all the best of it for yourself and cheated Zeus by wrapping 'bones in glistening fat': for I remember that Hesiod says so." [trans. Harmon, 2014, p.245]

I suggest that Prometheus' stomach ruse foreshadows the stomach ruse suggested by Satyros to fool the brigands into eating the entrails of a sheep rather than those of Leukippe. At 3.21.1-2 Satyros describes how he suggested to Menelaos that they take a sheep's skin and sew it to form a pouch the size of a human stomach. This pouch is filled with the sheep's own entrails and blood, sewn up, and then strapped onto Leukippe's front to create a sham stomach. This intertextual link casts Satyros in the role of Prometheus and Leukippe in the role of the sacrificed ox, animalising and degrading Leukippe (as will be discussed in B.ii. and B.iii.) and elevating the *callidus servus* Satyros to a Titanic trickster taking on the might of an Olympian god. Hard discusses Prometheus' origins as "a trickster figure of non-moral character who liked

who had been reincarnated three times and lived three virtuous lives (*Olympian Ode*, 2.68-80). Leukippe undergoes three *Scheintode* in the narrative.

[279] Bartsch, 1989, p.55.

to pit his wits against those of Zeus" and his evolution into a moral character, defender and benefactor of mankind.[280] Prometheus' ruse to fool Zeus and his later bargaining with him to escape punishment are the subject matter of Lucian's *Dialogues of the gods* and *Prometheus*, clearly demonstrating that trickery was still seen as one of Prometheus' strongest character traits in the second century CE.

The web of intertexts and intratextual connections is dense here, making it impossible to map the characters of the temple painting onto the characters of the main narrative in a straightforward one-to-one equivalence. Leukippe is Prometheus having her innards eaten, and Satyros is his rescuer Herakles; however, Satyros is also Prometheus on account of his sham stomach ruse. The bird of the painting, who eats Prometheus' liver, foreshadows the brigands who eat Leukippe's entrails.[281] These composite identities give the narrative a dream-like quality. I suggest that, just as the characters in a dream rarely maintain their individual unity, but often meld into one another to become new characters, and thus move the dream forwards into new territory, so each of the characters of the main narrative is a fusion of the characters of the paintings. The paintings' characters are fragmented and recombined to make the characters of the main narrative, who participate in events which are similar to but also different from the events depicted in the paintings.

B.ii. Intratextuality

Several examples of AT's fondness for intratextuality have already been mentioned in this case study and several more will be mentioned in section B.iii. in connection with intercultural intertextuality. This section will focus upon one important and extremely complex example of AT's use of intratextuality. I will demonstrate that Perseus' sickle-sword, as described at 3.7.8-9 has several intratextual connections, in addition to the connection mentioned above with the gnat's in-built weaponry (2.22). The intercultural associations of the sickle-sword will also be touched upon below but will receive a more detailed treatment in section B.iii.

The accurate identification of Perseus' weapon as described by AT has so far confounded scholars. Kleitophon tells us that Perseus flies to Andromeda's rescue wearing winged sandals

[280] Hard, 2008, p.97.
[281] This animalisation of the brigands will be discussed further in C.i., where I liken Leukippe's sacrifice to an amphitheatre spectacle and suggest that the brigands act in the role of the beasts who feast upon the bodies of the *noxii*.

(3.7.7), carrying the Gorgon's head in his left hand (3.7.7-8) and a weapon in his right (3.7.8-9). The weapon is made from iron and is a cross between a sickle and a sword. Halfway up the weapon splits into two parts: the sword part is pointed and perfect for piercing one's victim and the sickle part is curved and ideal for cutting. ὥπλισται δὲ καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν διφυεῖ σιδήρῳ εἰς δρέπανον καὶ ξίφος ἐσχισμένῳ. ἄρχεται μὲν γὰρ ἡ κώπη κάτωθεν ἀμφοῖν ἐκ μιᾶς, καί ἐστιν ἐφ' ἡμίσει τοῦ σιδήρου ξίφος, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀπορραγέν, τὸ μὲν ὀξύνεται, τὸ δὲ ἐπικάμπτεται. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπωξυσμένον μένει ξίφος, ὡς ἤρξατο, τὸ δὲ καμπτόμενον δρέπανον γίνεται, ἵνα μιᾷ πληγῇ τὸ μὲν ἐρείδῃ τὴν σφαγήν, τὸ δὲ κρατῇ τὴν τομήν (3.7.8-9). "…in his right he held an iron weapon of double shape, something between a sickle and sword; it began below as one, but half way up it split; half was pointed, and that half remained a sword, as it began; the other half was curved, thus becoming like a sickle, so that in a single blow one might with one portion kill by piercing and with the other by cutting" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.151].

Gaselee speculates that the weapon in question was like a medieval halberd, a two-handed weapon, which was both spear and battleaxe.[282] [Image B12] I disagree, as Kleitophon specifically states that the weapon was δρέπανον καὶ ξίφος, a sickle and a sword. Hilton identifies the weapon as a ἅρπη; this is more likely, as this is the weapon with which Perseus is most commonly depicted.[283] However, this weapon was not uniformly represented in Greek and Roman art, as Gordon remarks "the rescue of Andromeda by Perseus has since classical times been a favourite theme for artists, and this has produced a whole series of weird and wonderful *harpés*, all of which emanate from the imagination of the delineators".[284] Sometimes the curved part of the weapon is shown as small in scale like a hook, and sometimes it is shown as a large curved blade more appropriate for cutting. Phillips has collated a number of examples, including the following: a fragment from an Apulian pelike shows a clothed Perseus with winged sandals armed with a large curved blade with a small hook; a fresco from the House of the Dioscuri at Pompeii has a semi-naked Perseus, with winged sandals, Medusa's head and a straight sword with a small hook at the end; on an Apulian hydria Perseus holds a spear and a crescent-shaped sickle.[285] [Images B13, B14 and B15]

[282] Gaselee, 1984, p.151, n.3.
[283] Hilton, 2009, p.106. Gordon, 1958, p.24
[284] Gordon, 1958, p.24.
[285] Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum 885; Phillips, 1968, fig.32. Naples, National Museum 8998; Phillips, 1968, fig. 7. London, British Museum F.185; Phillips, 1968, fig.19.

Gordon speculates that "if sickle-sword means one having its sharp edge on the concave of a crescentic blade curved back from its handle, then no such weapon existed in ancient times".[286] Though no expert on ancient weaponry, I would like to posit the suggestion that, given the Egyptian context of the painting, the sickle-sword described by Kleitophon could be a Roman-era Egyptian 'khopesh'. For examples of the 'khopesh' of this period, see Lenk-Chevitch.[287] [Image B16] Contrary to the assertion of Gordon, Lenk-Chevitch's findings suggest that the Roman period 'khopesh' had its cutting edge on the concave side, hence matching Kleitophon's description of a curved blade suitable for cutting.[288] This later form of the 'khopesh' was probably used for ceremonial purposes only, like the ceremonial sickle-swords of the Nepalese today.[289] Its earlier form was used in combat and differs from the Roman era version in respect of the hilt; the latter having a split hilt, which again reminds me of Kleitophon's description of the sword starting as one, but then splitting into two.[290] The 'khopesh' (ḫpŝ) was associated with the Egyptian god Seth. It is one of the weapons which he was reputed to use against Apopis, as I will discuss further in B.iii.[291]

That Perseus' sickle-sword has an Egyptian association is supported by an intratextual link between the sickle-sword and the clods of earth thrown at the Roman army by the Egyptian brigands at 3.13.3. Like Perseus' weapon, which can simultaneously stab and slice ἵνα μιᾷ πληγῇ τὸ μὲν ἐρείδῃ τὴν σφαγήν, τὸ δὲ κρατῇ τὴν τομήν (3.7.9), the clods of earth which the brigands throw create a double wound by simultaneously causing a swelling as well as cutting the skin. παντὸς δὲ βώλου χαλεπώτερος βῶλος Αἰγύπτιος, βαρύς τε καὶ τραχὺς καὶ ἀνώμαλος. τὸ δὲ ἀνώμαλόν ἐστιν αἱ αἰχμαὶ τῶν λίθων. ὥστε βληθεὶς διπλοῦν ποιεῖ ἐν ταὐτῷ τὸ τραῦμα, καὶ οἴδημα, ὡς ἀπο λίθου, καὶ τομάς, ὡς ἀπὸ βέλους (3.13.3). "The Egyptian clod is more effective for this purpose than any other, being heavy, jagged and unlike others, in that the jagged points of it are stones, so that when it is thrown and strikes, it can inflict a double sort of wound – a swelling, as from the blow of a stone, and an actual cut, like that of an arrow" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.161]. The intertextual complexity is further complicated, as through the intratextual link to Perseus' sickle-sword, the scene of the brigands pelting the Roman army with clods of earth is intertextually linked to the earliest extant representation of Perseus' battle with Poseidon's sea-monster. This representation appears on a Corinthian black-figure

[286] Gordon, 1958, p.26.
[287] Lenk-Chevitch, 1941, p.82, figs. 10 and 13.
[288] ibid., pp.81-82.
[289] ibid., p.81.
[290] Lenk-Chevitch, 1941, p.82, figs. 8 and 9.
[291] Te Velde, 1967, pp.87-89.

amphora dated to 575-550 BCE.[292] On this amphora Perseus is shown pelting the sea-monster with rocks or clods of earth, suggesting that this was an alternative version of the myth. [Image B17] The fact that AT intratextually links the Egyptian clods to Perseus' sickle-sword (3.7.8-9) indicates that he was perhaps aware of this alternative version.

If the Egyptian brigands are to be thought of as playing the Perseus role, then this would put the Roman army in the role of the sea-monster. This view is supported by AT's use of hydrokinetic verbs to describe the movement of the army as though they were an advancing wave or an incoming tide. A regiment of the Roman army appears at 3.13.1 and engages the brigands. At 3.13.5 the army is described as descending on the brigands "like a flood".[293] The verb used is προσέρρεον (LSJ s.v. προσρέω = flow towards a point, stream in), which, although a very common verb, is often used metaphorically, as here, to describe the movement of people or things as though they were a body of water. The verb ῥέω (LSJ s.v. ῥέω = flow, stream, gush) is used to describe the movement of the springs which feed the Scamander river in Homer's *Iliad* (22.149) and for blood flowing from a wound (17.86), as well as metaphorically for the brains of oath-breakers pouring forth like wine (3.300) and missiles flowing from the hands of the Achaeans (12.159). In his detailed discussion of the use of hydrokinetic verbs, such as ῥέω, in the *Iliad*'s battle scenes, Fenno remarks that "troops will be explicitly likened to water over and over again".[294] Aeschylus uses the noun formed from the verb ῥέω to describe the Persian army as advancing like a flood: μεγάλῳ ῥεύματι φωτῶν (Aeschylus, *Persians*, line 88) "With a great flood of men" [my translation]

The implication of the brigands being cast in the Perseus role is that the reader is encouraged to see the conflict from the Egyptian perspective and perhaps suggests that their rebellion against Roman authority should be viewed with a degree of sympathy. I will discuss the historical *boukoloi* in greater detail in **Case Study C/C.i.**, but it is worth mentioning here that their revolt in the second century CE was not without justification. Alston explains that the *boukoloi* were specialist pastoralists and semi-nomadic. In the Roman period, large areas of the marshland which provided them with food and shelter were drained to build permanent settlements. Their way of life was threatened, so they revolted against Roman rule. They were supported in their cause by some villagers, who supplemented their numbers when Roman

[292] Berlin, Staatliche Museen F.1625, Phillips, 1968, fig.1; LIMC s.v. Andromeda 1.1.; Ogden, 2008, p.68; Phillips, 1968, p.1.
[293] Trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.161.
[294] Fenno, 2005, p.478.

taxation became unaffordable.[295] Alston speculates that villagers unable to pay their taxes left their homes to join the *boukoloi* band to "insulate their original communities from the wrath of the Roman army". The extent of the drainage of the marshland in the Roman period is exemplified by the fact that hippopotami were driven to extinction in this region by the fourth century CE; like the *boukoloi*, they struggled to survive when their natural habitat was destroyed.[296]

This view of the Roman army acting in the role of the sea-monster is, however, complicated by the other intratextual associations of the Egyptian clod and the sickle-sword, as I will explain. The foreshadowing function of Perseus' weapon has been discussed briefly by Bartsch, who comments upon the strangeness of both the sickle-sword and the theatrical prop with a retractable blade used by Menelaos to pretend to sacrifice Leukippe, as described at 3.20.6-7 and 3.21.3-4. Bartsch argues that the theatrical prop, like the sickle-sword, is used to both stab and cut: at 3.15.4 it is plunged into Leukippe's body near to her heart and then drawn down to open her up all the way to her belly.[297] That this intratextual link equates Menelaos with the hero Perseus is obvious. However, it also equates Leukippe with the sea-monster. Leukippe is both victim, through her association with Andromeda, and attacker, through her association with the monster as the person upon whom the unusual sword is used. This is not the only instance of Leukippe's animalisation. As discussed in detail by Morales, Leukippe is equated with the phoenix described to Kleitophon by an army courier at 3.25, and is "placed in a paradigmatic relationship to the hippopotamus" described by Kleitophon at 4.2 where "hippopotamus – 'river horse' and 'white horse' (Leuk-ippe) are parallel objects of scrutiny" by Kleitophon and General Charmides at 4.3. Morales suggests that Leukippe is degraded by this animalisation, especially so in the sacrifice scene, as her entrails are eaten instead of those of a more typical sacrificial animal.[298]

So, in the scene in which the Egyptian brigands pelt the Roman army with clods of earth, the Roman army are the sea-monster and the Egyptian brigands are Perseus; in the sacrifice scene, Leukippe is simultaneously Andromeda being sacrificed and the sea-monster upon whom the odd-shaped sword is used, Menelaos is Perseus, and both the Roman army and the brigands are merely spectators.

[295] See also Bagnall, 2006, p.67.
[296] Alston, 1998, pp.142-144.
[297] Bartsch, 1966, pp.56-57.
[298] Morales, 1995.

The intratextual complexity intensifies when the relationship between the Egyptian clod and the gnat's in-built weaponry is factored in. The Egyptian clod creates both a swelling, as if from a stone, and a cut, as if from an arrow, when it hits its target: ὥστε βληθεὶς διπλοῦν ποιεῖ ἐν ταὐτῷ τὸ τραῦμα, καὶ οἴδημα, ὡς ἀπο λίθου, καὶ τομάς, ὡς ἀπὸ βέλους (3.13.3); the gnat's mouth is also described as making an arrow-like wound: ἐμπεσὼν δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ βέλους ποιῶ τὸ τραῦμα (2.22.3). If the Egyptian clod is equivalent to the gnat's weaponry, then the Egyptian brigands are the gnat and the Roman army are consequently the lion. However, at 2.22.6 it is the lion who is described as tired out from the futility of attempting to catch the gnat by snapping his teeth together, and at 3.13.4 it is the Egyptian brigands who are tired from the futility of throwing clods at the Roman army, which simply bounce off their shields. So, could the brigands be the lion and the army the gnat? The gnat is certainly described as a one-creature army, trumpeting his own advance, using his wings to shoot himself at his foe and his mouth to create an arrow-like wound. However, neither the gnat's actions nor those of the lion map exactly onto the actions of the Roman army, who surround the brigands and slaughter them mercilessly.

A reader, perhaps looking over the text for a second time, who spots all of these intratextual links, is left feeling bewildered and perplexed. Is this what AT intended? In her recent book chapter on *theama kainon* in *L&C*, Baker explores the idea that both Kleitophon and Leukippe can be identified with the phoenix, described at 3.25, and that both protagonists are concurrently the peahen and the peacock in Kleitophon's garden (1.16. and 1.19). Baker concludes that: "Achilles Tatius' use of natural histories is one way in which he displays his craftsmanship, opening his novel to countless interpretations which echo, reflect, or generate meaning in the text, meaning that refuses to remain static, constantly fluctuating and defying interpretive finality."[299] I wholeheartedly agree and, in relation to intertextuality, would add that this defiance of interpretive finality, which intensifies in the Egyptian books, gives the episodes a dream-like quality. Just as a dreaming subject can flit from being male to female, or animal to mineral, within a single dream, so too the identities of the characters of *L&C* shift within a single episode. Leukippe as sacrificial victim is prefigured by a damsel in distress, by a sea-monster, by a male Titan; the brigands are prefigured by a sea-monster, by a liver-pecking bird, by the hero Perseus. In Greek historiographical writings, Egypt was often a place where the norms of society were different from those of the classical world: where men and women switched roles, where priests shaved their heads instead of wearing their hair long, where

[299] Baker, 2018, p.61.

writing was penned from right to left instead of from left to right (Herodotus, *Histories*, 2.34-36), and where gods were conceptualised in theriomorphic rather than anthropomorphic form. It was also a place associated with metamorphosis: for example, the Greek gods, with the exception of Zeus, are said to have fled to Egypt in fear of Typhon and to have hidden there in animal form, and the Greek maiden Io, who roams the world as a heifer, is returned to her original form on the banks of the Nile in Egypt (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.728-746).[300] When Menelaos is stranded in Egypt on his way home from the Trojan war, he encounters the sea-god Proteus, who has the ability to change into many forms: ἀλλ᾽ ἦ τοι πρώτιστα λέων γένετ᾽ ἠυγένειος / αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα δράκων καὶ πάρδαλις ἠδὲ μέγας σῦς: / γίγνετο δ᾽ ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον. “First he became a great bearded lion, then a snake, then a panther, and a huge boar: and he turned into running water, and a tall leafy tree.” (Homer, *Odyssey*, 4.456-458) [trans. Hammond, 2000, p.39] In Egyptian mythology, we also find characters turning into animals or plants, for example, in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* discussed below in B.iii, and in the *Tale of the Two Brothers*.[301] *L&C* is not a fantasy tale in which these character transformations physically occur; they only occur metaphorically through the intertextual suggestions. AT is drawing on the Greek and Egyptian traditions of a metamorphic Egypt but is incorporating this material into his novel in a very subtle way, so that it doesn’t override the historical realism of his depiction of Egypt.

I will proffer another suggestion based upon Selden’s reading of Callimachus’ *Lock of Berenice* as not a Greco-Egyptian hybrid poem, instead “simultaneously in different facets both Egyptian and Greek”. According to Selden, “Greek thought grounds identity in the principle of non-contradiction” whereas Egyptian thinking “admits a plurality of divergent actualities within the same existent, even when these stand in contradiction.” Selden goes on to explain that, to an ancient Egyptian, the sky could simultaneously be a cow, water, a woman, the goddess Nut and the goddess Hathor.[302] Maybe to an Egyptian reader the ever-shifting identifications of the novelistic characters with mythical characters, plants and animals created through intertextual, intratextual and intercultural links would not have appeared so contradictory? Leukippe can

[300] See discussions of sources of this myth in Griffiths, 1960(b) and Hard, 2008. p.85.
[301] The Egyptian *Tale of the Two Brothers* (P. D’Orbiney = P. British Museum 10183), dating to the nineteenth dynasty (1292-1189 BCE), has much in common with the Biblical story of Potiphar’s wife and Knemon’s inset narrative in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*, in that all three feature a lecherous, married, older woman accusing an innocent young man of rape or brutal treatment when he refuses to acquiesce to her sexual demands. In the Egyptian tale, Anpu’s wife accuses Anpu’s brother Bata leading to conflict between the two men. Bata dies several times during the narrative and, on each occasion, is reborn in a different form: an acacia tree, a bull, a persea tree.
[302] Selden, 1998, pp.350-351.

simultaneously be both Andromeda and the sea-monster in different aspects, even though the two roles, that of sacrificial offering and recipient of the sacrifice, are diametrically opposed. If this hypothesis is accepted, then one of AT's unique contributions to the genre of the ancient novel could be said to be an Egyptian way of thinking about identity and actuality, as Selden describes it, a "both-and rationale" rather than an "either/or". As I will claim below in B.iii. for *L&C*, Selden also claims for the *Lock of Berenice*, that its Egyptian ideas are covert rather than overt, and that for Greek readers with knowledge of Egyptian mythology the poem "yields up its Egyptian dimensions".[303] Whilst Selden's hypothesis is attractive for understanding the contradictions of the shifting identifications of the characters of the novel, it should be treated with a degree of caution. Polysemy and semantic density are not unique to Egyptian literature, and we should be wary of implying that the Egyptians were fundamentally different in their way of thinking from other societies of the period.

B.iii. Intercultural intertextuality

In **Case Study A/Ai.**, I discussed Selden's bicultural reading of the painting of Europa's abduction by Zeus with which *L&C* opens, and Morales' discussion of the bivalence of this painting in relation to Sidon's polysemy. I will now explore the relationship of the painting of Andromeda and Perseus (described at 3.6.3-3.7.9) to the mythology associated with its location, the temple of Zeus Kasios at Pelusium. I hope to demonstrate, as Selden and Morales have done for Europa and Sidon, that the polysemy of the location of the Andromeda painting allows the reader to view the painting through the lenses of West Semitic and Egyptian mythology as well as Greco-Roman.

Although Zeus Kasios was being worshipped in the vicinity of Pelusium in the second century CE, a cult dedicated to the worship of the storm-god of Ras Burun flourished in the north-eastern Nile Delta from a much earlier date. This storm-god was Baal Sapon (Zaphon/Zephon, henceforward always Sapon). A letter written in the thirteenth century BCE found at Saqqara from a Phoenician woman living in the city of Tahpanhes (Greek Daphne and now Tell Defenneh), 26km from Pelusium, to a Phoenician woman living in Memphis invokes Baal Sapon.[304] A temple was also dedicated to him at Tanis.[305] Baal Sapon's relationship to Zeus

[303] ibid., pp.350-351.
[304] Clifford, 2010, p.136; Wifall, 1980; Collar, 2017, p.26; Lane Fox, 2008, pp.266-267.
[305] Wallis Budge, 1904(b), p.281. Baal Sapon as a locality is mentioned in the biblical *Exodus* (14.2, 9) and *Numbers* (33.7) as the place where the Israelites were directed to make camp on their way out of Egypt and where

Kasios has been of especial interest to scholars during the last two decades.[306] I summarise their findings in **Appendix B**. This appendix provides evidence for a connection between Baal Sapon and Zeus Kasios of the Egyptian Mount Kasios and gods of the same name worshipped at Mount Kasios (also known as Sapanu and Hazzi) in Syria, a connection which was still active in the second century CE.

Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*, 1.6.3) locates the battle between Zeus and Typhon in the vicinity of Mount Kasios: Ζεὺς δὲ πόρρω μὲν ὄντα Τυφῶνα ἔβαλλε κεραυνοῖς, πλησίον δὲ γενόμενον ἀδαμαντίνῃ κατέπληττεν ἅρπῃ, καὶ φεύγοντα ἄχρι τοῦ Κασίου ὄρους συνεδίωξε: τοῦτο δὲ ὑπέρκειται Συρίας. “However Zeus pelted Typhon at a distance with thunderbolts, and at close quarters struck him down with an adamantine sickle, and as he fled pursued him closely as far as Mount Casius, which overhangs Syria.” [Trans. Frazer, 1921, p.49] Like the stories of Perseus’ slaying of Poseidon’s *ketos* and Zeus’ battle with Typhon, Baal Sapon’s mythology includes a confrontation with a monster, the polycephalous, anguiform sea-deity Yamm. Yamm/Lotan, is described thus: “For you smote Lotan the crooked serpent and made an end of the twisting serpent, the tyrant with seven heads.” (*Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, KTU 1.5 I 1-3) [trans. Green, 2003, p.184][307] Typhon is typically described as follows: ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμων / ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος, δεινοῖο δράκοντος, / γλώσσῃσιν δνοφερῇσι λελιχμότες. (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 824-826) “And from his shoulders there were one hundred heads of a serpent, a terrible dragon, with dark, licking tongues”. [my translation]

The battle of Baal and Yamm is recounted in the *Ugaritic Baal Cycle* at KTU 1.2 IV. The craft-god Kothar makes two weapons for Baal, which he names Yagarrish (line 12) and Ayyamarri (line 19). The weapons are described as leaping from Baal’s hands “like a raptor from his fingers” (lines 14, 16, 21, 24). Yagarrish strikes Yamm’s torso (line 16) and Ayyamarri strikes his head (line 25). Yamm collapses (line 26) and is dismembered by Baal (line 27). Interestingly, Kothar is the equivalent of the Greek Hephaestus. The first appearance of Perseus’ ἅρπη in literature is in Aeschylus’ *Phorkides*, where it is described as made from

their Egyptian pursuers subsequently caught up with them; this either refers to the city of Tahpanhes or to the Ras Burun landmark. See Gray, 1954; Collar, 2017, p.27; Wifall (1980) contends that the sea crossed by the Israelites in *Exodus* 15 was Lake Sirbonis, as this lake would have blocked the coastal route to Palestine during this period.

[306] Lane Fox, 2008, pp.255-318; Collar, 2017; Rutherford, 2009; West, 1997, pp.303-304; Ogden, 2013, ch.2, p.7.

[307] Smith & Pitard (2009, p.47, p.54) comment that Yamm is portrayed as a many-headed serpent, but the places in the text where this description occurs are in reference to the monster Litan/Lotan. Smith & Pitard believe that Litan is an alternative name for Yamm. However, Green (2003, pp.184-185) disputes the idea that Litan and Yamm are one and the same, as their names never appear in parallel. I am inclined to agree with Smith and Pitard that Litan is Yamm and that, therefore, Yamm is an anguiform monster deity with several heads.

adamantine and as a gift from Hephaestus.[308] This weak connection between the *Ugaritic Baal Cycle* and Perseus' mythology is reinforced by strong resemblances between iconographic depictions of Baal's battle with Yamm and Perseus' battle with the *ketos*. For example, in Louvre AO 15.775 = RS 4.427 Baal is depicted standing on the sea and wielding a curved weapon against it similar to the *harpe* with which Perseus is normally shown.[309] [Image B18] In Anatolian glyptic art, the Syrian storm-gods Baal, Tešub and Tarhunna, are often depicted with a nude goddess as their attendant and a snake-like monster as their adversary.[310] Perseus is often shown with a naked or semi-clothed Andromeda, and the *ketos* is occasionally painted in serpentine form (see LIMC s.v. *ketos* for examples). Perseus and Baal were undoubtedly seen as having attributes in common in antiquity, for example, Perseus is identified with the local Baal on Phoenician and Cicilician coins.[311]

Lane Fox posits that the Egyptians identified Baal Sapon with their own god Horus and his adversary Yamm with Horus' adversary Seth.[312] Although true for later periods, iconographic and literary evidence both suggest that the original identification was between Baal Sapon and Seth, and that the identification with Horus only arose when the cult of Seth had diminished. Several papers and at least two thesis-length studies have been written on the association between Baal Sapon and Seth.[313] I summarise their findings in **Appendix C**. Evidence shows that the identification of Baal Sapon with Seth was especially strong in the north-eastern Nile Delta, the region within which Pelusium was situated, and that Seth was the principal deity of the region before Baal's introduction. Like Baal, Seth was a war-god and a weather-god.[314] In the Egyptian *Pyramid Texts* (Old Kingdom, fifth and sixth dynasties, mid-late third millennium BCE), he has the ability to manifest himself in the form of rain or as a thunderstorm.[315] Storms and other such tumultuous meteorological events were associated in Egyptian thought with the battle between Seth and Apopis, just as the frequent storms and heavy rainfall on the Syrian Mount Sapanu were associated with Baal's battle with Yamm.[316] In the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, found on a papyrus from the twentieth dynasty (twelfth century BCE), Seth lays claim

[308] Aeschylus, *Phorcides*, fr.262, 1-6 TrGF; Ogden, 2008, p.46.
[309] Smith, 1994, p.107.
[310] Green, 2003, pp.157-158, p.162.
[311] Fontenrose, 1959, p.297.
312 Lane Fox, 2008, p.269.
[313] Te Velde, 1967; Cox, 2013.
[314] Particularly during the eighteenth to twentieth dynasties, mid-late second millennium BCE, see Te Velde, 1967, p.31, p.132.
[315] Pyr. 26a; also Pyr. 1261a-b Seth is referred to as 'lord of the storm'; Te Velde, 1967, p.85. In the Ptolemaic *Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, Seth is said to have "disturbed the order of the sky" (2.20). Faulkner, 1936, p.133, n.2.20 says that this line refers to the cosmic disturbances caused by Seth in his storm-god role.
[316] Te Velde, 1967, p.103. Lane Fox, 2008, p.258.

to the office of Osiris and cites his daily battle with Apopis as evidence that his strength is superior to that of Horus. He says, "For I slay the enemy of Re every day, standing in the prow of the Bark-of-Millions, and no other god can do it".[317] In this myth, Seth stands in the prow of Re's solar barque/ship and defends Re against the attack of Apopis, who attempts to swallow Re and his ship as it passes through the underworld during the night in the hope of preventing the sun-god from returning to bring light to the upper world at dawn. In a scene depicted on the funerary papyrus of Her-Ouben of the twenty-first dynasty, Seth stands on the prow of Re's solar barque and thrusts a spear into the mouth of the serpent Apopis, who is coiled beneath the barque.[318] [Image B19] A spear is not the only weapon associated with Seth: he is often described as defeating Apopis with a *khopesh*, an Egyptian sickle-sword, as mentioned in B.ii. in relation to Perseus' sickle-sword.[319]

So, to recap, by the time of the Hyksos at the latest (c. 1650 BCE), Seth had a strong association with the north-eastern Nile Delta region, and he fought the serpentine monster Apopis with a spear or *khopesh* (sickle-sword); Seth was later associated with the West Semitic god Baal Sapon, who was known for defeating the anguiform, polycephalous sea-deity Yamm with hammers or a sickle; Egyptian depictions of the syncretised Baal-Seth often show the god in the act of killing a snake-like monster, and, again, the weapon used is usually a *khopesh*; Greek Zeus is a derivative of the older Levantine myth, and he is famous for slaying the many-headed monster Typhon with a sickle near to Mount Kasios in Syria; Egyptian Seth is referred to as Typhon in Greek sources; and Levantine Baal was also associated with Perseus, killer of Poseidon's *ketos*, whom he slew with a *harpe* (sickle-sword).

Ogden remarks that the sickle was considered an appropriate weapon with which to kill anguiform monsters and that it was also used by Herakles to kill the Hydra.[320] West associates Perseus' ἅρπη with the sickles used by the gods to kill their foes, as depicted in Mesopotamian art, and explains that the Greek word ἅρπη is related to the West Semitic word for sword 'hrb'.[321] The sickle-sword as described by AT also bears a resemblance to a forked, branch-

[317] Holm, 2007, p.276. Coogan, 2013, p.32.
[318] Cox, 2013, p.130, fig. S1. In other examples of the scene, a winged Seth kills Apopis, for example on a scarab dated to 1292-1070 BCE (Cox, 2013, p.132, fig.S3 = E 7036b Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Brüssel).
[319] Seth is occasionally shown defeating Apopis with a long spear.
[320] Ogden, 2008, p.46. LIMC Herakles 2003, 2004, 2012, 2016.
[321] West, 1997, pp.454-455. West, 1997, p.291. Although appearing frequently in depictions of the gods at Hittite sites in Anatolia, no sickle-shaped swords have been found in this region, whereas numerous examples have been found in the Levant and Egypt dating from the second millennium BCE right through to the Roman period. Seeher (2011, pp.44-45) suggests that for the Hittites the sickle-shaped sword was purely ceremonial and represented the status and power of the gods.

like weapon, thought to be a lightning-tree or vegetal staff, with which the god Baal is occasionally depicted.[322] For example, on a cylinder seal from the Middle Bronze Age, Baal attacks a serpent with this weapon. He is shown astride two mountains and with a naked goddess (probably Astarte) to his left.[323] This lightning-tree weapon was associated with Baal in Egypt, as evidenced by a description of Baal smiting an adversary with it in an Egyptian magical papyrus (P. Leiden 345, r. IV, 12 – V, 2).

So, why is the association between Baal Sapon, Seth and Zeus Kasios important for a reader of *L&C*? Whether AT made the choice to include Zeus Kasios' temple at Pelusium as a location in his narrative in full knowledge of the association of these three gods and of the interconnectedness of West Semitic, Egyptian and Greek mythology on the Syro-Palestinian coastline and in the eastern Nile Delta region can never be definitely known. However, it is not improbable that AT and some of his readership would have been aware of these connections. Clear evidence for an interest in ancient gods of the Near East and the myths associated with them in the second-century CE Greco-Roman world comes in the form of *The Phoenician History* of Philo of Byblos. Philo is thought to have lived a long life and to have written during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.[324] The fragments of *The Phoenician History* which have survived, mostly as quotations in Eusebius' *Preparation for the gospel,* provide detailed information about the Phoenician pantheon. Mention is made of Mount Kasios at 810.16; however, it is unclear whether this is the Syrian or the Egyptian mountain.[325] A god called Demarous features frequently. As Demarous is an epithet of Baal Sapon in the Ugaritic texts, they are possibly one and the same.[326] This Demarous, like Baal, fights against a sea-god.

I would contend that, by selecting a nexus of intercultural intertextuality as the first location in the Egyptian section of his novel, AT advertises the fact that this portion of the story should not be read solely through the lens of Greek and Roman literature, but with Near Eastern stories in mind too. The chosen location opens up intertextual possibilities for those readers who have knowledge of the Near Eastern stories, without detracting anything from the main narrative for those only familiar with the Greek and Roman tradition. For example, readers aware of Baal

[322] See Töyräänvuori, 2012, pp.164-165 for a discussion of Baal's lightning-tree weapon. Schwemer (2008, p.36) suggests that this weapon represents rolling thunder.
[323] Cornelius, 1994, p.222, fig.51.
[324] Baumgarten, 1981, p.34.
[325] ibid., p.198.
[326] ibid., p.195.

Sapon's connection to the region and to Zeus Kasios, might be reminded of his mythology by the Perseus and Andromeda painting and later by Leukippe's first *Scheintod*, as I will explain. Baal Sapon was a dying and rising god. In the third and final segment of the *Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, he is vanquished by Mot (Death) in a confrontation which takes place on Mount Sapanu (Kasios).[327] After defeating the sea-deity Yamm, Baal orders Kothar to build him a palace at the top of the mountain, he then requests that Mot come to this palace to show him obeisance. Mot replies that not only will he not bow to Baal, but he will kill and eat him: "For I myself will consume you, I will crush you to pieces and I will eat you. You will indeed descend into the throat of Mot the son of El, into the gullet of the Hero, Beloved of El!" (KTU 1.5 I 1-19) [trans. Green, 2003, p.197] Baal realises that he cannot defeat Mot and so agrees to be taken down to the Underworld: "Baal the Victor was afraid of him, the Rider of the Clouds dreads him. …. The answer of the most valiant of heroes, hail, Mot, son of El; I am your slave, and yours forever!" (KTU 1.5 II 16-17) [trans. Green, 2003, p.198] The subsequent consumption of Baal by Mot is referred to several times, three times in the above quoted passage (I will consume you, I will eat you, you will descend into my gullet) and as many times again in the lines which follow. Mot's throat is described as gaping open "like a dolphin in the sea" (KTU 1.5 I 1-19) in anticipation of eating Baal. He opens his mouth so wide that his top lip touches the heavens and his bottom lip touches the earth, "so that Baal may go into his insides, yea descend into his mouth" (KTU 1.5 II 2-7).[328]

Baal's death is, however, short-lived. The goddess Anat, Baal's sister and lover, fights against Mot, dismembers the god of Death and scatters his remains. Interestingly, as pointed out by Green, she does not find Baal in the Underworld, but on the edge of both the world of the living and the world of the dead, not fully dead, but not quite alive.[329] I suggest that Baal Sapon's 'not quite' death is intertextually connected to Leukippe's mere pretence of a death; she has the appearance of one who is dead and has been buried in a grave, but despite being a φοβερὸν θέαμα, ὦ θεοί, καὶ φρικωδέστατον "a fearful and shiver-inducing sight, o gods" she is alive and well and happy to be reunited with Kleitophon.[330] I more hesitantly suggest that his consumption by Mot might be recalled in the consumption of Leukippe's innards by the brigands. This link is more tenuous as it is reliant on knowledge of the exact wording of the *Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, as opposed to the link between Baal's resurrection and Leukippe's

[327] KTU 1.6 VI 1-2, 33-35.
[328] Trans. Green, 2003, p.198.
[329] Green, 2003, p.212
[330] 3.17.7 Kleitophon's description as she rises from the coffin [my translation].

Scheintod which requires a less precise knowledge of Baal's mythology on the part of the reader and even simply an awareness that he was a dying and rising god.

Herakles is mentioned in the late first/early second-century CE *Phoenician History* of Philo of Byblos as another name for the Phoenician god Melkathros (Melqart) and as the son of the god Demarous, thought to be the equivalent of Baal (811.9). Melqart's main cult centre was Tyre, Kleitophon's home city (1.3.1), where his cult flourished from the tenth century BCE.[331] Baumgarten explains the chthonic associations of Melqart and that he was a dying and rising god.[332] The "awakening" of Melqart is referred to by Josephus (*Contra Apionem*, 1.118-119; *Jewish Antiquities*, 8.146) and King Hiram, a tenth-century BCE monarch of Tyre, is mentioned as having built temples to honour the god and of being the first to instigate a celebration of his resurrection.[333] According to Clifford, Melqart's association with Herakles was early and he was often shown in iconographic representations with the insignia of Herakles.[334] However, the earliest surviving depiction of Melqart, the Aramaic stele of Bir Hadad, shows him with the insignia of the storm-god Baal, a horned hat and battleaxe.[335] Like both Melqart and Baal, Herakles had associations with death and resurrection, for example, Athenaeus (392d) summarises a story by the fourth-century BCE author Eudoxus of Cnidus in which Herakles is killed by Typhon in Libya and brought back to life by the scent of a quail held to his nose by his companion Iolaus. Herakles' association with death and resurrection is significant for *L&C*'s main narrative. The rescues of Andromeda and Prometheus foreshadow Leukippe's rescue, but Herakles is not just significant in his role as rescuer; as a dying and rising god, his presence in the second of the temple paintings can be linked to Leukippe's death and resurrection.

Herakles' association with Tyre is also possibly relevant to the sacrifice scene, as it is speculated that human sacrifice was a feature of Phoenician religion. At Carthage, for example, over 20,000 urns containing mixtures of cremated human infant and animal bones have been discovered by archaeologists in sanctuaries known as *tophets*, the most recent of which date to

[331] At 2.14.2, Leukippe's father Sostratus gives the order for an embassy to be sent to Tyre to make a sacrifice to Herakles.
[332] Baumgarten, 1981, pp.209-210; see also Teixidor, 1983, p.248; Clifford, 1990, p.57.
[333] Clifford, 1990, p.59.
[334] Herodotus records his visit to the temple of Herakles at Tyre and the assertion by his local guides that the temple was erected when the city was first founded (*Histories*, 2.44).
[335] Clifford, 1990, p.57, p.59.

the second century BCE.[336] It is still debated as to whether the infants died natural deaths or where cremated as part of sacrificial ceremonies.[337] If the latter was the case, then Herakles provides a link between the diptych and Leukippe's first *Scheintod* as regards human sacrifice, death and resurrection. There is also a Greek story, believed by Herodotus to be untrue (2.45), connecting Herakles with human sacrifice specifically in Egypt. "…when he came to Egypt the Egyptians crowned him and led him out in a procession to sacrifice him to Zeus; and for a while (they say) he followed quietly, but when they began the first rites of sacrifice upon him at the altar, he resisted and slew them all". [trans. Godley, 1981, p.331, 333] Herodotus refutes this story as nonsense, claiming that it derives from Greek ignorance of Egyptian custom. He explains that Egyptians did not engage in human sacrifice.

It is not just the temple itself which has intercultural connections, but the myths depicted on the paintings within it. Of the four mentioned human characters, three have an association specifically with Egypt. Herodotus recorded that there was a temple of Perseus at Chemmis in Egypt, which featured an outer courtyard with a shrine on which Perseus was depicted. He explained that Perseus was celebrated with Greek-style games there, but that the Egyptians claimed him as one of their own by descent from Danaus and Lynceus who voyaged from Egypt to Greece. Chemmis itself was associated with the myth of Perseus, as it was purported to be the city which Perseus visited after slaying the Gorgon Medusa (*Histories*, 2.91).[338] Diodorus Siculus claims that both Perseus and Herakles were born in Egypt (1.24.1-8), that Herakles was a kinsman of the Egyptian god Osiris and was appointed by Osiris to be Egypt's general (1.16.3), and that Prometheus was once a provincial governor there (1.19.1-4). There was a temple of Herakles and Ammon at Bawiti in the Egyptian Bahiriya Oasis; at this temple, Herakles was equated with the Egyptian god Khonsu.[339] Herodotus records the Egyptian claim that Herakles' parents, Amphitryon and Alcmene, were both Egyptian by descent and that Herakles was incorporated as a god of the Egyptian pantheon seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis, who was the penultimate ruler of Egypt before its conquest by Persia in

[336] For bibliography, see Morales, 2004, p.169, n.28.
[337] For a discussion see Clifford, 1990, p.58.
[338] In Egyptian mythology, Chemmis is sacred to Horus, who first emerged as an adult there from the marshes where Isis had raised him in hiding from Seth. He then challenges Seth to combat, for the kingship of Egypt. 'Like Horus coming forth from Chemmis' is a standard comparison found time and again in Egyptian texts.
[339] Bagnall, 2006, p.18.

the sixth century BCE. Herakles' connection to Egypt is described by Herodotus as an ancient one: ἀλλά τις ἀρχαῖος ἐστι θεὸς Αἰγυπτιοι ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος.[340]

In Ovid's version of the Andromeda myth, it is the Egyptian god Ammon who tells Andromeda's parents that they must sacrifice their daughter to the sea-monster (*Metamorphoses*, 4.671-672).[341] However, the story of the arrogance of Kassiopeia, which leads to the sacrifice of her daughter Andromeda to Poseidon's sea-monster, is more probably of Levantine origin. Its similarities to the West Semitic myths of the battle of the storm-god with a sea-monster and the goddess Astarte's role in offering tribute to the sea-monster have previously been touched upon by scholars.[342] Lane Fox highlights the connection between the name Kassiopeia and Mount Kasios, the home of the storm-god Baal Sapon. Joppa (modern Jaffa), one of the places which claimed to be the site of Andromeda's sacrifice, is situated roughly equidistant between the Syrian Mount Kasios and the Egyptian Mount Kasios, approximately 700km from both, on the Syro-Palestinian coast. A cult dedicated to Kephesus (father of Andromeda) and his family was still flourishing there in the first century CE according to the account of Pomponius Mela (1.11.64) and the locals would happily show you the enormous bones of the sea beast (1.11.3). Pliny (also first century CE) refers to the worship of the legendary sea beast (*ketos*) at Joppa (*Natural History*, 5.13(14)69). From the second century CE, we have Pausanias' eye-witness account of visiting Joppa and being shown the fountain in which Perseus washed the sea-monster's blood from his hands (4.35.9). Harvey notes that "the myth of Andromeda was also exploited on the city's occasional coinage" and provides examples from the Roman period.[343]

According to Ayali-Darshan, the Egyptian, Hurro-Hittite and Ugaritic versions of the myth of the storm-god's defeat of a sea-monster all belong to the same branch of the tradition, a branch which diverged from the Ur-tradition in or prior to the fifteenth century BCE. The oldest extant example of this branch of the tradition is the Egyptian version, which has been dated to the second half of the fifteenth century BCE. The Egyptian and Hurro-Hittite versions have many similarities in terms of plot and bear the strongest resemblance to the story of Perseus and

[340] Herodotus, *Histories*, 2.43.
[341] The Oracle of Ammon might also have featured in Euripides' version, see discussion in Collard, Cropp & Gibert, 2004, p.137, and the Libyan oracle of Ammon features in Apollodorus' version (2.4.3).
[342] Smith, 1994, p.24; Harvey, 1994, p.6; Ogden, 2013, chapter 3, pp.8-9 argues against a West Semitic origin for the myth of Perseus and Andromeda, as he believes that the original setting of the story was Ethiopia, but in favour of influence of Neo-Assyrian depictions of Marduk's battle against the sea-serpent Tiamat upon Corinthian iconography of the Andromeda myth.
[343] Harvey, 1994, pp.8-9.

Andromeda. The Ugaritic version focusses more on the character of Baal and the battles between the gods for supremacy. The Egyptian version is known as the *Astarte Papyrus* (P. Amherst 9) and it differs from the Ugaritic *Baal Cycle* in the following respects: the storm-god Baal is replaced by the Egyptian god Seth; the Harvest-goddess Renenutet suggests that tribute of silver, gold and lapis lazuli be sent to Yamm, the sea-monster; the goddess Astarte is chosen to deliver the tribute; Astarte appears naked/semi-clothed before Yamm to entice him to the shore; Yamm rejects the offered tribute; Seth fights against Yamm on behalf of the Egyptian gods.[344] Certain features of the description of Seth prove that the Egyptian version was adapted from the West Semitic version and not the other way around, for example, Seth's horned helmet (typical in iconography of the West Semitic storm-gods) and repeated reference to his association with mountains (like Tešub and Mount Hazzi, Baal and Mount Sapanu).[345]

The *Astarte Papyrus* is fragmentary, but it is possible to flesh out the basic outline with details from other extant texts. For example, several texts discuss the way in which Seth defeats Yamm: the *Hearst Medical Papyrus* and the *Greater Berlin Papyrus* (3038) refer to a spell which Seth cast upon Yamm to bind him; and the *Leiden Magical Papyrus* (I 343 + I 345) mentions that Seth was armed with spears, a scimitar and a khopesh.[346] In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Astarte was worshipped as one of the consorts of Baal Sapon, but she was known in earlier Egyptian literature as the consort of Seth.[347] She appears in Ramesside iconography and texts as a protectress of the pharaoh.[348]

The aforementioned description of the Egyptian army moving towards the bandits like a body of water (3.13.5), as discussed in B.ii., is relevant again here in discussing the intertextual links between the *Astarte Papyrus*, the Perseus and Andromeda painting, and Leukippe's sacrifice. In all three stories, the 'sea' threatens to overrun the land making it necessary for an offering to be made and for a young woman to either be that offering or to be the bearer of it. Astarte, Andromeda and Leukippe all play the same role. It is worth remembering here that, according

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[344] Schmitt, 2013, p.221 "dates to the time of Horemheb". Collombert et Coulon, 2000 date this papyrus to reign of Amenhotep II, which would be c. 1400 BCE. Schwemer, 2008, p.25 sees this as evidence that West Semitic myths were being adapted in Egypt in the New Kingdom period and that the Egyptian god Seth was being equated with Baal. In the Hurro-Hittite version, the *Song of Ḫedammu*, the storm-god's sister Šauška also enters the sea naked in order to entice the sea-monster Ḫedammu to the shore. CTH 348.1.8. For a discussion of the Hurro-Hittite versions, see Ayali-Darshan, 2015, pp.23-31. Ayali-Darshan, 2015, pp.30-35; also discussed by Smith, 1994, p.p.22-25; Pinch, 2002, pp.108-109.

[345] Cox, 2013, p.17.

[346] Ayali-Darshan, 2015, p.34, n.38. Ayali-Darshan, 2015, p.35, n.39.

[347] Schwemer, 2008, p.13. In all representations on seals from Ugarit, Baal Sapon is shown with a goddess, either naked or in a long gown (Green, 2003, p.162). Pinch, 2002, pp.108-109.

[348] Levy, 2014, p.309.

to the anonymous narrator of *L&C*, Astarte is the Phoenician name for the Greek goddess Selene (1.1.2) and that Selene is linked to Leukippe intratextually. As discussed more fully in A.i., Leukippe reminds Kleitophon of a painting he once saw of Selene (1.4.3). Another, more tenuous, connection between the Phoenician goddess and the heroine of the novel is that one of Astarte's roles was 'mistress of horses', so she was often shown on horseback, and Leukippe's name means "white horse".[349]

In AT's reimagining of the Andromeda story, Leukippe is the sacrificial offering and the Roman army act in place of the sea-god/monster as they roll like waves towards the position occupied by the brigands. However, the brigands offer Leukippe as a sacrifice not to propitiate the army but to propitiate their god. This glaring discrepancy between the reason for Leukippe's sacrifice and the reason for Andromeda's appears to suggest that the Roman army should not be viewed as the sea-monster. However, if we factor in the intertextual connection with the version of the story featuring Astarte, then a possible explanation for the discrepancy reveals itself. I tentatively suggest that, as Astarte acts a lure to entice Yamm to the shore, so that he might be killed by Seth, so Leukippe's sacrifice disadvantages the Roman army by forcing them to cross polluted ground, making it more likely that the Egyptian brigands will triumph. In the *Astarte Papyrus*, Yamm threatens "to cover the earth and the mountains", so the gods decide to send him "tribute of silver, gold, lapis lazuli inside the boxes" and tell Astarte "you yourself go bearing the tribute to the Sea".[350] Astarte appears before Yamm semi-clothed. Her purpose in being the deliverer of the tribute is to entice Yamm to the shore so that Seth might more easily slay him.[351] In the temple painting, Andromeda's clothes are present, but diaphanous. The eroticism of the grape and statue imagery used to describe her have already been discussed in B.i. She is depicted as both a sexual and a food offering for the sea-monster. As a sexual offering, her role is akin to that of Astarte in the Egyptian version; as a food offering, her role is akin to that of Leukippe, who is (apparently) sacrificed by the brigands and her innards eaten. However, the spider's web imagery employed in the description of Andromeda's attire (also discussed in B.i.) suggests entrapment, that the sea-monster could be Andromeda's prey rather than the other way around. I suggest that this corresponds to Astarte's role in luring Yamm and to the identical role in Hurro-Hittite versions of Šauška, Ishtar and

[349] For a discussion of Astarte as mistress of horses, see Schmitt, 2013.
[350] Trans. Ayali-Darshan, 2015, pp.32-34.
[351] On Syrian seals, there are numerous representations of a semi-naked goddess opening her clothing to reveal her body (Green, 2003, p.164).

Inara.[352]Ayali-Darshan argues that the story of the storm-god's combat with the sea-monster was known amongst the Hurrians and then inherited by the Hittites, citing as evidence a document found at Hattuša, the Hurro-Hittite capital, the *Song of the deeds concerning the Sea* (CTH 785), which bears evidence that it was written for declamation at a festival which took place at Mount Hazzi/Sapanu/Kasios in Syria.[353] Therefore, the stories of a goddess who plays the part of a temptress to lure a monster from the sea to be killed by the storm-god are as linked to Mount Kasios as those of the Ugaritic god Baal Sapon and Zeus Kasios slayer of Typhon. Leukippe is not sacrificed in full view of the Roman army to lure the army towards the Egyptian brigands. However, her body is placed in a coffin at the site of sacrifice in the hope that this action will force the army to march over polluted ground (3.19.3.), thus giving the Egyptian brigands the advantage in any conflict to come.

So far it has been suggested that the first of the temple paintings is connected to Mount Kasios' mythology and to that of the north-eastern Nile Delta region through Andromeda's link to Astarte, Perseus' link to Baal, Seth and Zeus, and the sea-monster's link to Yamm, Apopis and Typhon. The second of the temple paintings, depicting Herakles' rescue of Prometheus from a bird pecking at his liver, also has strong intercultural associations and specific connections to Egypt, but its appropriateness for its setting is less obvious. I have a hypothesis regarding its connection to the temple's mythology which I will now explore.

The first-century BCE writer Diodorus Siculus rationalises the myth by explaining that Prometheus was a governor in Egypt and that the vast part of the district he was governing was flooded by the River Aetos (Eagle). Herakles saved the district by stopping the flood and turning the river back. The Aetos was subsequently renamed the Nile. Diodorus claims that Greek poets reworked this true story into a myth about an eagle devouring Prometheus' liver (*Bibliotheca Historica*, 1.19.1-4). The historian Herodorus of Heracleensis was also aware of this story, but in his version Prometheus was a Scythian king whose rebellious subjects chained

[352] Šauška undresses, bathes and perfumes her body and then walks naked into the sea playing music to seduce the sea-monster Ḫedammu and entice him to follow her onto the dry land; her brother Tešub kills Hedammu whilst he is making love to Šauška away from the safety of the sea (Ayali-Darshan, 2015, p.36; Ogden, 2013, Introduction, p.11). Ishtar plays the harp on the seashore to lure the rock-monster Ullikummi closer, so that Tešub can attack him (See Fontenrose, 1959, p.212). Inara baits the sea-serpent Illuyanka by donning expensive clothing and offering him a delicious banquet; Illuyanka gorges himself and falls asleep, leaving himself at the mercy of the god Tarhunna (Ogden, 2013, Introduction, p.11).

[353] Ayali-Darshan, 2015, pp.23-24.

him up when the River Aetos flooded the land.[354] Interestingly, these rationalisations of the myth not only link Prometheus and Herakles to Egypt, and specifically to the Nile Delta region, but forge an additional link with the painting of Andromeda and Perseus, perhaps answering the question of why they were displayed as a pair. They also provide a tenuous connection between the Prometheus/Herakles myth and the earlier discussed storm-god versus sea-monster mythology associated with the temple and Mount Kasios, perhaps answering the question of why it too was an appropriate subject for a painting in that particular temple. I will briefly explain. In the rationalisation, Prometheus is cast in the role of Andromeda. His land has been flooded and he requires rescue. In Herodorus' version, he is even chained up by his people to await the oncoming Aetos as Andromeda is chained up by her parents to await the *ketos*. Both Prometheus and Andromeda are rescued by sons of Zeus, Herakles and Perseus, who respectively halt the progress of a body of water and a water-related monster. If Prometheus' situation can be compared with that of Andromeda, it can also be compared with that of Astarte, or Šauška, or Ishtar, or Inara, as, like theirs, his land is subject to an aqueous attack by a monstrous water-deity. In this scenario, Herakles takes on the role of Baal/Tešub/Tarhunna, the storm-god of Mount Kasios, as he defeats the water-deity and prevents the advance of the floodwaters. Herakles also takes on this role in another of the myths associated with him. The story of his rescue of Trojan Laomedon's daughter Hesione is recounted by Hellanicus (FGrHist 4 F 26b and 108), Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca*, 4.42) and by Philostratus (*Imagines*, 12). Ogden suggests that this tale was a model for Perseus' rescue of Andromeda, as he contends that the version with Herakles as the damsel-rescuing, *ketos*-defeating hero is the older of the two as it predates Homer's *Iliad*. He bases his argument on *Iliad* 20.145-148 which makes mention of Herakles' battle with the sea-monster.[355] There is evidence for an association between the two myths in the first/second century CE. At *Liber Spectaculorum* 32.9-11, an epigram about the amphitheatre *bestiarius* Carpophorus, Martial reflects the symmetry between the stories of Hesione and Andromeda "via the chiastic arrangement, with the girls' names framing the paronomasia *solute/solus et*": *Si vetus aequorei revocetur fabula monstri, / Hesionem soluet solus et Andromedan. / Herculeae laudis numeretur gloria…* "If the ancient story of the marine monster were recalled, he would release Hesione and Andromeda single-handed. Let the glorious deeds of Hercules be counted…" [my translation][356]

[354] Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 1885, II, p.34, no.23.
[355] Ogden, 2013, ch.3, p.4.
[356] Coleman, 2006, p.236.

So, what effect do all of these intercultural interactions have upon the experience of the reader? I think the answer to that largely depends upon the answer to another question. We know that Zeus Kasios' temple itself and the statue of the god within it were in existence in the second century CE, but did the diptych mentioned as being κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον 'in the rear room or inner shrine' really exist within the temple or was it a product of AT's imagination? If it did exist, we do not know if AT visited the temple and viewed it there or if he saw it elsewhere. If the diptych did exist and was situated within the temple, it suggests that the person who put it there, either as a dedication to the god or simply as a decoration for the temple, saw a connection between the content of the pictures and the temple's mythology. If AT saw the diptych elsewhere, his choice to describe it as being situated in the temple indicates that he saw a connection between its content and the temple's mythology. If the diptych is a fictional creation from the mind of the author, my previous point that AT saw a connection between its content and the temple's mythology still stands. Whichever of these options is correct, it indicates a familiarity with West Semitic and Egyptian mythology on the part of either AT or the person who put the diptych in the temple, as the story of Zeus Kasios' defeat of Typhon does not include an Andromeda-like goddess/sacrificial victim/temptress character. The appropriateness of the diptych (especially the Andromeda painting) to the temple is highly unlikely to be coincidental. The reader's experience, therefore, depends upon whether they are aware of the West Semitic and Egyptian mythology or not. If they are, additional layers of intertextual complexity become visible and the number of possible interpretations of the scene and its foreshadowing effects increase. Is Leukippe as Andromeda/Astarte going to be a victim or a temptress who employs deception to defeat her foe? The ancientness of Egypt is also brought to the fore in the mind of the reader, that this is a land full of myths predating Greek and Roman settlement there. What happens in Egypt might be of a more supernatural nature in keeping with ancient legends of storm-gods and sea-monsters. The country's multi-cultural nature is emphasised; Egypt's people aren't homogenous, as the nation has been formed through the intermingling of several different ethnicities with their respective mythologies. Therefore, the reader should not expect a monocultural narrative.

Returning to the cult statue of Zeus Kasios mentioned in B.i., Bonner discusses its description, the only extant literary description, in comparison with archaeological findings of coins and

gems depicting the god at his sanctuary in Pelusium.[357] τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα νεανίσκος, Ἀπόλλωνι μᾶλλον ἐοικως· οὕτω γὰρ ἡλικίας εἶχε· προβέβληται δὲ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἔχει ῥοιὰν ἐπ' αὐτῇ· τῆς δὲ ῥοιᾶς ὁ λόγος μυστικός (3.6.1-2). "In it the god is represented so young that he appears more like Apollo. He has one hand stretched out and holds a pomegranate in it, and this pomegranate has a mystical signification" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.147]. All mentioned coins and gems show Zeus Kasios as a young god holding a pomegranate, though some depictions have the fruit in his left hand rather than his right. Nearest to AT's date is a coin found in the Pelusiote nome and dated to 109 CE in the reign of Trajan, which shows a young god wearing a hemhem crown and a tunic, holding a sceptre in his left hand and a pomegranate in his right.[358] The hemhem crown was an item of Egyptian ceremonial regalia, described by Chuvin and Yoyotte as follows: "Le cimier *hemhem* se présente comme un groupe de trois faisceaux de tiges (stem bundles) végétables, bulbeux et étranglés par un lien au sommet, chacun surmonté d'un disque, l'ensemble étant flanqué de deux plumes d'autruche (ostrich), et reposant sur les cornes légèrement ondulées du belier (ram) *ovis longipes (an extinct type of Egyptian sheep)*."[359] This triple crown is not mentioned by AT.

The youthful appearance of the god could possibly be due to Zeus Kasios' association with Baal Sapon, as Baal of the Ugaritic *Baal Cycle* was a young god and still subordinate to his father El.[360] Green explains that the earliest Syrian seals show the storm-god of the region as "a vigorous young warrior-deity with a horned helmet and in some registers a long, curled plait falling down his back; glyptic art from Ugarit shows the storm-god, here specifically Baal Sapon, with the same attire and carrying weapons in both hands".[361] Bonner, however, speculates that Zeus Kasios was associated with Harpokrates, the young Horus.[362] I find this suggestion less attractive, as Harpokrates was usually depicted as a baby boy, not as a νεανίσκος like Apollo, and to the Greeks and Romans he was thought of as a premature and sickly child, with weak lower limbs. For example, τὴν δ' Ἰσιν ἐξ Ὀσίριδος μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν συγγενομένου τεκεῖν ἠλιτόμηνον καὶ ἀσθενῆ τοῖς κάτωθεν γυίοις τὸν Ἁρποκράτην (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 358e). "Osiris consorted with Isis after his death, and she became the mother of Harpocrates, untimely born and weak in his lower limbs." [trans. Babbitt, 1936(b),

[357] Bonner, 1946.
[358] Plate XII, 1, Bonner, 1946.
[359] Chuvin & Yoyotte, 1986, p.46.
[360] Schwemer, 2008, p.10.
[361] Green, 2003, p.156, pp.161-162; for example, the 'Grand stele of Baal' unearthed at Ugarit by Claude Schaeffer, p.164 fig. 28.
[362] Bonner, 1946, p.52.

p.49] Chuvin and Yoyotte more convincingly suggest that Zeus Kasios and Baal Sapon were associated with the Egyptian "roi des Dieux" Amon-Re in their adult form, Horus as a young man and Harpokrates as a child, as each of the Egyptian gods had three forms in later times "celle d'un adulte plein, celle d'un beau jeune homme, celle d'un bambin".[363] Horus' association with Mount Kasios is mentioned by Herodotus in his *Histories*, who explains that Horus vanquished Typhon (2.144) who was subsequently buried at Lake Sirbonis near to Mount Kasios (3.5). This indicates an association between Zeus and Horus in the region at the time of Herodotus' visit to Egypt. This makes sense as the cult of Seth, through its association with foreign Hyksos rule over Egypt, began to diminish in importance towards the end of the New Kingdom. By the time of Herodotus' visit, the cult was thoroughly demonised.[364] At this time, therefore, it would have been more appropriate to associate the Greek's supreme god Zeus with Horus, the vanquisher of Seth and triumphant victor of the contest for the former kingship of Osiris.

If we accept that the statue was intended to associate Zeus Kasios with Horus, an interesting connection between the statue and the diptych is brought to light. Wallis Budge explains that it was in the form of Horus of Behdet that Horus fought against Seth and that this version of the Horus deity was especially worshipped in the eastern Nile Delta, with a temple to the god being at Tanis.[365] The association of Horus of Behdet with Zeus Kasios, whom Kleitophon claims Ἀπόλλωνι μᾶλλον ἐοικώς (3.6.1), perhaps also makes sense, as Horus of Behdet was the god of Edfu, which was renamed Apollonopolis Magna. Horus of Behdet was worshipped as Horus-Apollo in this city in the Graeco-Roman period. Herodotus records that Horus τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσι, that he was the son of Osiris and that he deposed Typhon (*Histories*, 2.144). That the myths associated with Horus were known and read in AT's day is evidenced by the Tebtynis papyri, which were copied in the second century CE by Egyptian priests, who provided glosses in Demotic and Coptic for the hieroglyphs.[366] In the Roman period, the House of Life at Edfu was a centre of scholarly activity. As well as copying and glossing ancient hieroglyphic texts to make them accessible to those reading in Demotic or

[363] Chuvin & Yoyotte, 1986, p.44.
[364] Cox, 2013, p.52.
[365] Wallis Budge, 1904(a), pp.473-474. More speculatively, at Tanis, Horus of Behdet was depicted bearing a club and a bow and arrows, and occasionally theriomorphically with the head of a lion. The second century CE was a high point for the cult of the hero Herakles, shown in the second described painting of the temple diptych. The association of Herakles with the Nemean lion, whose pelt he wore, and with the weapons – club and bow – the latter of which he is depicted using in the diptych – suggest to me the possibility of an ancient connection between Horus of Behdet and Herakles. Herakles as a child was associated with Harpokrates (Horus as a child), so a connection between the adult forms of the Egyptian god and the Greek demi-god is also likely.
[366] Aufrère, 2013, pp.135-136.

Coptic, the priests engaged in intellectual activities such as compiling onomasiologic dictionaries, lists of hieroglyphs with their hieratic transliterations, grammar handbooks and encyclopedias.[367] In what follows, I am going to suggest that the myth concerning Horus' battle with Seth is intertextually linked to the sacrifice of Leukippe through Kleitophon's description of Poseidon's sea-monster as shown in the temple diptych.

The earliest references to the conflict between Horus and Seth can be found in the Egyptian *Pyramid Texts*; these references predate the incorporation of the conflict into the myth of Osiris, a myth which will be discussed in detail in **Case Study E/E.ii.** in relation to Leukippe's second *Scheintod*.[368] Greek and Latin writers only appear to be aware of the Horus and Seth conflict as part of the Osiris myth, not as a separate legend.[369] Plutarch tells the story of the conflict in his *De Iside et Osiride*, however, he refers to Seth as Typhon, as the Greeks syncretized Typhon with the Egyptian god Seth from as early as the time of Hecataeus (mid-sixth to early fifth century BCE) until late antiquity, as evidenced by references in Greek magical papyri and curse tablets.[370]

In contrast to his original role as protector of Re, defeating the monstrous serpent Apopis on a nightly basis from the bow of Re's solar barque, Seth in later times became one of the enemies of Re and Horus took his place as the sun-god's protector. On the walls of the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, the battle between Horus and Re's enemies is recorded in pictorial form. The pictures show Horus sailing in Re's barque, with the sun-god beside him, when all of a sudden they are attacked by Re's enemies in zoomorphic disguise. Seth and his confederates have disguised themselves as crocodiles and hippopotami. These animals open their mouths wide in an attempt to swallow the barque, but Horus defeats them and saves the sun-god.[371] This mythical battle was enacted in ritual.[372] Ritual texts connect the battle specifically with the area around Pelusium, explaining that Seth revolted against the sun-god Re and Horus chased him and his confederates through the dunes nearest to the Pelusian isthmus.[373] Plutarch was aware of this version of the story, as he states that Typhon escaped Horus by turning into a crocodile (*De Iside et Osiride*, 371D 50), and Herodotus was aware of the connection to the Pelusian area, because, as earlier mentioned, he was told whilst in Egypt that Horus defeated Typhon and

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[367] ibid., p.136.
[368] Griffiths, 1960(a), p.1, p.20.
[369] Griffiths, 1960(a), p.85.
[370] Ogden, 2013, ch.2, p.9.
[371] For a discussion of these depictions of the battle, see Fontenrose, 1959, pp.183-184.
[372] Griffiths, 1960(a), p.128.
[373] Chuvin & Yoyotte, 1986, p.48.

buried him at Lake Sirbonis near to Mount Kasios (*Histories*, 3.5). Through their association with Seth, crocodiles and hippopotami acquired the god's evil reputation in some Egyptian provinces and were often used as sacrificial offerings.[374]

Kleitophon's description of Perseus' sea-monster is intratextually linked to his later descriptions of the crocodile and the hippopotamus through a shared emphasis upon the gaping mouths of the beasts, and, in the case of the sea-monster and the crocodile, upon their tails and prickly spines. Notice especially in the quoted passages below the repetition of the phrase καὶ εὐθὺς ἡ γαστήρ "and immediately there is the stomach", which occurs in the description of the sea-monster (3.7.6) and in the description of the crocodile (4.19.5).[375] The sea-monster is described thus at 3.7.6: Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἅλμην τοῦ κύματος ἡ τῶν νώτων ἐγέγραπτο φαινομένη σκιά, τὰ τῶν φολίδων ἐπάρματα, τὰ τῶν αὐχένων κυρτώματα, ἡ λοφιὰ τῶν ἀκανθῶν, οἱ τῆς οὐρᾶς ἑλιγμοί. Γένυς πολλὴ καὶ μακρά: ἀνέῳκτο δὲ πᾶσα μέχρι τῆς τῶν ὤμων συμβολῆς, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡ γαστήρ. "Beneath the foam the outline of its back was represented as apparent, as well as its knotted scales, its arched neck, its pointed prickles, and its twisting tail. Its mouth was wide and deep, and gaped open to where its neck joined its shoulders, and straightway there is the belly." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, pp.149-151] And the crocodile thus at 4.19: οὐρὰ μακρὰ καὶ παχεῖα καὶ ἐοικυῖα στερεῷ σώματι. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπίκειται θηρίοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι τῆς ῥάχεως ἓν ὀστοῦν τελευτὴ καὶ μέρος αὐτοῦ τῶν ὅλων. Ἐντέτμηται δὲ ἄνωθεν εἰς ἀκάνθας ἀναιδεῖς, οἷαι τῶν πριόνων εἰσὶν αἱ αἰχμαί. (4.19.2-3). "Its tail is long and thick, like the solid part of its body; unlike that of other animals, it is the bony continuation of the spine, of which it is indeed an integral part. On the upper side it is divided into cruel spines, like the teeth of a saw." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.235] καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τὰς γένυς ἐκτείνεται καὶ ἀνοίγεται πᾶσα. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλον χρόνον, παρ᾽ ὅσον οὐ κέχηνε τὸ θηρίον, ἔστι κεφαλή: ὅταν δὲ χάνῃ πρὸς τὰς ἄγρας, ὅλον στόμα γίνεται. Ἀνοίγει δὲ τὴν γένυν τὴν ἄνω, τὴν δὲ κάτω στερεὰν ἔχει: καὶ ἀπόστασίς ἐστι πολλή, καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὤμων τὸ χάσμα, καὶ εὐθύς ἡ γαστήρ. (4.19.4-5) "It is generally in the condition of having its mouth wide open. For the rest of the time, when not

[374] Hamlyn, 1965, p.65, p.100; Cox, 2013, p.38; Wallis Budge, 1912, plates 1-6 show Horus s pearing a hippopotamus and a hippopotamus being sliced open by a priest. Herodotus (*Histories*, 2.69) records that some provinces viewed the crocodile as sacred and others saw it as an enemy.

[375] Ballengee (2005, pp.154-155) discusses AT's emphasis upon the mouths and bellies of the crocodile and the hippopotamus as examples of the author's interest in violation and penetration throughout the novel. For the Egyptians, the crocodile was the prototypically aggressive and rapacious creature. Its greed is thematised in various places. See also Laplace, 2007, pp.152-153. The Nilotic mosaic which borders the Alexander mosaic in the Casa del fauno in Pompeii focusses upon Egypt's wildlife: a hippopotamus rears its head from the Nile river and a crocodile sits on its bank, the river is teeming with an extraordinary variety of aquatic birds – see Versluys, 2019, p.231, fig.81.

agape, that part of the beast is a head; but when it yawns after its prey, it is all mouth. It lifts its upper jaw, keeping the lower one rigid. So wide apart do they go that the opening reaches all the way to the shoulders and the entrance to the belly is visible." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p235] The hippopotamus' enormous mouth is also emphasised: γένυς εὐρεῖα, ὅση καὶ παρειά, μέχρι τῶν κροτάφων ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα (4.2.3). "Its jaws enormous as its cheeks, and its mouth gaping open right to its temples." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.193]

The Nile beasts are intratextually connected to the sea-monster slain by Perseus, but to what end? I suggest that this connection achieves two things: first, it strengthens Leukippe's animalization; as already discussed, she is connected to the sea-monster, as both are killed with a peculiar-shaped sword, and she is connected to the crocodile and the hippopotamus, as both are objects of the male gaze. The intratextual links between the Nile animals and the sea-monster complete and reinforce the triangle. A reader aware that crocodiles and hippopotami were often used as sacrificial victims would be able to activate an additional connection between the Nile animals and Leukippe as a victim of sacrifice. Second, on account of its particular relevance to the Pelusian region, I suggest that the imagery of a crocodile/hippopotamus-like sea-monster being killed would suggest to some readers the myth of Horus' battle with Seth. If this battle is mapped onto Leukippe's first *Scheintod*, Horus, a thoroughly 'Egyptian' god, is represented by the Egyptian brigands, and Seth, the god of foreigners, is represented by the foreign-captive Leukippe. Seth attempts to evade capture by Horus by adopting the disguise of an animal. Similarly, Leukippe attempts to avoid a gruesome death by utilising an animal-related disguise; a sheep's stomach and entrails are attached to her body to be sliced open, cooked and eaten in place of her own stomach and entrails (3.21). This link between Leukippe and Seth is corroborated by a recent article by Rutherford in which he explains that Egyptian sacrificial animals symbolised either the eye of Horus, which was stolen by Seth, or the god Seth himself.[376] In the Ptolemaic tale from Edfu, Horus is described as killing the crocodiles and hippopotami (Seth and his confederates in disguise) and giving their intestines to his own followers to eat.[377] In another part of the tale, he kills the enemies of Re and their kidneys are removed and eaten by his followers. Thoth then says "kidneys shall be brought forth from the marshes of Thel from this day, and this god shall be called Horus of Behdet, Lord of *Msn*, from this day."[378] In the novel, Leukippe's intestines, like those of Horus'

[376] Rutherford, 2017, pp.254-256.
[377] Fairman, 1935, p.30.
[378] ibid., pp.34-35. *Pyramid Text* 51 notes that followers of Seth should be subjected to cannibalism, see Turner, 2012, p.42.

enemies, are shared out and eaten by the Egyptian brigands. In one of the reliefs from Edfu, Horus appears with rope and harpoon in hand onboard a boat. The goddess Isis stands beside him. He uses the harpoon to pierce the head of the hippopotamus which is rising out of the water. [Image B20]. The inscription accompanying the image reads: "The single-barbed weapon is in my left hand, the three-barbed in my grip."[379] I suggest that the description discussed earlier of Perseus' sickle-sword also bears a resemblance to the Egyptian harpoon, and that the image of Perseus killing a monster rising from the ocean with an odd-shaped sword, with Andromeda in the background, might remind a reader of images of Horus killing Seth as a hippopotamus or crocodile from a boat with a barbed weapon in his hand and the goddess Isis by his side. [Image B21]

Is this link between Seth and Leukippe, which I posited above, odd given that Seth is a male god and Leukippe is a human female character? I suggest not. First, we have seen elsewhere AT's fondness for linking his protagonists to mythic characters of the opposite gender, Leukippe to Marsyas and Kleitophon to Niobe. Second, Seth was often referred to in Egyptian texts as *hmty*, which is a word meaning womanly or cowardly derived from the Egyptian name for the female organ – *hmt*. The aforementioned temple carvings at Edfu feature a story (Chassinat, Edfou, II, 44, 12-13) in which Seth is referred to as *hmty* when he is impregnated by Horus, who tricks Seth into ingesting his seed by placing it on a lettuce leaf. The god Thoth is consequently born from the head of Seth.[380] Third, Leukippe's association with Selene, perhaps, reveals why she is so easily associated with male mythic figures. Selene's androgyny is referred to in a Demotic hymn to Hekate-Selene from the fourth century CE. Bortolani suggests that the moon-goddess was seen as being both male and female because the moon waxes and wanes.[381] Plutarch also noted that the Egyptians thought of the moon as both male and female (*De Iside and Osiride*, 368c9-368d2). However, the vast majority of Egyptian moon-deities are male, for example, Khonsu, Thoth and Osiris.

The concentration of intercultural intertexts is particularly dense in these chapters, more so than elsewhere in the novel. The reader noticing all of these connections is immersed in the multicultural mythological world of ancient Egypt. Although other ancient novels intertextually engage with Egyptian myths, as discussed in C.iv. of my introduction in relation

[379] Blackman, 1943, pp.2-3; Naville Mythe d'Horus pl.1.
[380] Griffiths, 1960(a), pp.41-46.
[381] Bortolani, 2016, p.259, referring to Bortolani Hymn 11.

to Tagliabue's recent monograph on Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaka* and the Osiris myth, none of them have such a profusion of intercultural intertexts. The striking thing about intercultural intertextuality in *L&C* is the way in which the intertexts are connected not just to the events of the main narrative but to the specific locations in which these events are taking place. This raises the question of whether AT picked these locations because of the density and complexity of their local mythologies, and, if he did, whether he did this in order that his readers might make the connections between his story and the myths. In **Case Study C**, I will suggest that the north-eastern Nile Delta region is important not just for its local mythology, but for the historical events which took place there, events recorded by Herodotus and events which took place in AT's own day. These historical intertexts are part of the polyphonic texture of **L&C** and, like the above discussed myths, engage with Leukippe's first *Scheintod* scene.

CASE STUDY C

Egyptian brigands and the first *Scheintod* of Leukippe (*L&C* 3.9-22)

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C.i. Greek and Roman intertexts

After resting for a couple of days in Pelusium, Kleitophon and Leukippe hire a boat and journey down the Nile towards Alexandria. Whilst making a stop at one of the towns along the route, they are waylaid by a band of brigands and taken captive. Leukippe is selected by the brigands to be sacrificed to their god. These brigands are referred to by Kleitophon as βουκόλοι "herdsmen". In the first part of section C.i., I will discuss existing scholarship on the historical intertexts of AT's description of the βουκόλοι, their revolt and their sacrifice of Leukippe. This literature review will include scholarship on Dio Cassius' account of the revolt of the Nile-Delta βουκόλοι in the second century CE, written a few decades after the events which it describes, contemporary Egyptian accounts, and recent archaeological investigations. Building upon this research, I will endeavour to answer the following questions: Are there any historical intertexts predating the revolt for the sacrifice scene in *L&C*, which shed light on the depiction of the cannibalistic rites of the βουκόλοι? If so, what is the function of these intertextual resonances? I am particularly interested in earlier descriptions of sacrifices which are intended to bind members of a group to its cause through the shared antinomian act of eating human flesh or drinking human blood, descriptions of sacrifices before battle with an anthropophagical element, and descriptions of nomadic/semi-nomadic peoples engaging in cannibalism. I will suggest that AT's description is an exaggerated fiction of the events in the Nile Delta of the second century CE, which engages with both contemporary events and with earlier propaganda directed against rebels opposed to the rule of Rome. I will argue that the stigmatisation of the Egyptian βουκόλοι as cannibalistic savages is undermined by the presence of intertextuality with exempla of Greeks and Romans engaging in similarly barbaric acts, and the absence of intertextuality with stereotypical descriptions of barbarian cannibalism.

Moving away from quasi-historical representations of barbaric cruelty to real-life examples, I will investigate the intertextual relationship between Leukippe's sacrifice and the horrific Roman practice of executing criminals and prisoners of war in mythic guise for popular entertainment. In including contemporary practices in my intertextual matrix, I follow Leitch's interpretation of Kristevan intertextuality in which "all contexts, whether political, economic, social, psychological, historical, or theological become intertexts; that is, outside influences and forces undergo textualization."[382] I will suggest that there is more to Kleitophon's comment about Marsyas' punishment at 3.15.4 than scholars have previously noticed, and that his commentary on the sacrifice of his beloved is, perhaps, engaging with the mythical staging of executions of *noxii*, the descriptions of these spectacles in the epigrams of Martial, and stone reliefs and mosaics depicting these spectacles. I will argue that this intertextuality creates an equivalence between the voyeurs of Roman public executions and the readers of the novel. The brigands' barbarianism is mitigated, as the intertextual connections force the reader to ask the question 'are we any less savage?' I speculate that, in this intertextual interaction, a Roman imperial reader would be discomfited by the substitution of a high-status maiden for a criminal/enemy of Rome.

C.i. will conclude with an examination of tragic, mimic, mythological and magical intertexts for Leukippe's first *Scheintod*. In bringing together several genres of intertext in this way, I aim to answer the question of what effect their coexistence in the text has upon the experience of the reader of the novel. Do we cry at the scene's tragic elements or at its hilarity, with fear for the heroine or in mockery of the hero? Should we view Leukippe's *Scheintod* as a religious transformation, or (as will be argued in more detail in C.iv) as a faux magical hoax?

Other ancient novelists included episodes involving the βουκόλοι in their stories: for example, writing after AT, Heliodorus has his hero and heroine, Charikleia and Theagenes, encounter brigands near to the Nile's Herakleotic mouth, who take the young couple prisoner and keep them captive in their marshland hideout in the Nile Delta (*Aethiopika*, 1.1-7); Xenophon of Ephesus' hero Habrokomes is attacked by *poimenes* "shepherds" living near to the Paralian mouth of the Nile, who capture him and take him to Pelusium to be sold into slavery (*Ephesiaka*, 3.12.2). So, is AT simply utilising a familiar novelistic trope by having the notorious βουκόλοι of the Nile Delta seize his protagonists? Recent scholarship on the

[382] Leitch, 1983, p.121; please refer to my **Introduction** for a more detailed explanation of my methodology in relation to theories of intertextuality.

historicity of *L&C*'s βουκόλοι suggests not. The key works in this regard are by Blouin (2010, 2014), who devotes a lengthy paper and a book-length study to the revolt of the Nile Delta βουκόλοι between 166 and 172 CE and the socio-economic, environmental and political factors which precipitated it. She compellingly argues that AT's description of the brigands' main base of operations in the Nile Delta marshes, Nikochis, "conforme aux informations que livrent la géomorphologie, l'archéologie et la papyrology sur l'environnement de la frange septentrionale (northern fringe) du delta et, notamment, du nome mendésien à l'époque romaine".[383] Kleitophon describes the principal hideout of the βουκόλοι in detail at 4.12.4-8. They live on a collection of islands in the Nile Delta marshes, the largest of which is called Nikochis (4.12.8). These islands are created annually by the Nile flood. The stretches of water in between them never dry up completely and are sometimes so muddy that travelling across them by boat is impossible and walking through the mud is the only option. The islands are covered in papyrus, some so densely that they provide perfect hiding places for the βουκόλοι to lie in wait to ambush unsuspecting travellers, and others less densely so that there is space enough for cabin dwellings. Nikochis is mentioned as having the largest number of cabins and the most defensible position. One of Blouin's primary sources is *P.Thmouis 1*, a second-century CE account of taxes owed and problems in collecting them in the Mendesian nome of the Delta.[384] Four passages from *P.Thmouis 1* refer to acts of violence committed specifically by inhabitants of Nikochis. Blouin explains that "les Nikôchites du *P.Thmouis 1* étaient les *Boukoloi* des auteurs de langues grecque et latine".[385]

If we compare Xenophon of Ephesus' treatment of the brigands and the region in which they live with that of AT, as Plazenet has done, it is clear that AT is describing a real people and place with a high degree of accuracy and detail, whereas Xenophon adds real-life elements to his novel with a lighter touch. Plazenet concludes that the Egypt of the *Ephesiaka* lacks characterisation: place names are used to evoke a precise geographical location and to create an "effet de réel", but these locations are not described in detail; the animals of the Nile Delta are not individuated, but simply referred to as θηρία; a punitive expedition against Hippothoos' band of brigands is described at *Ephesiaka* 5.3.1-2, but no details are provided which suggest a detailed knowledge of the second-century CE uprising of the βουκόλοι.[386] In relation to this

[383] Blouin, 2010, p.396, p.401; see also Blouin, 2014, p.275.
[384] For discussion, see Alston, 1995, pp.83-86
[385] Blouin, 2010, p.389; Blouin, 2014, pp.269-272. P.*Thmouis 1*, 116.2-11: cast-net fishermen killed by Nikochites in village of Zmounis, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνοσείων Νικωχειτῶν "by the impious Nikochites", also 104.9-21 Nikochites kill men of Kerkenouphis.
[386] Plazenet, 1995, pp.8-9.

last point, it might be that Xenophon of Ephesus wrote the *Ephesiaka* prior to the uprising, but was aware of reports of brigand activity in the region from an earlier date.[387] Documentary evidence of banditry in the Nile Delta region has survived which predates the revolt of the second century CE. For example, *P.Hibeh*, a Greek papyrus from c. 242 BCE found in the Egyptian Arsinoite nome, advises sea-travellers forced to anchor in the Delta region during stormy weather to immediately notify the police of their arrival and their ship's whereabouts. The reason given is so that a guard might be sent to protect them, their ship and their cargo from violent actions. Also writing in the second century CE, Lucian makes mention of a young man who went on a cruise up the Nile river. When he reached Clysma, he joined a ship bound for India without telling his servants, who immediately and incorrectly assumed that their master had been abducted by brigands on account of their numerousness in the region of the Nile at the time (*Alexander the false prophet*, 44).

McGowan also remarks upon *L&C*'s historical value and relationship to late second-century CE events, specifically to the extraordinary similarity between Leukippe's sacrifice by the βουκόλοι in the novel and the killing of the companion of a Roman centurion by the historical βουκόλοι. He speculates that AT based his story on reports of the revolt which were circulating in Egypt in the 170s CE.[388] The Roman centurion's capture and his companion's gruesome murder is described in the *Roman History* of Cassius Dio written in the late second/early third century CE. Dio relates how Egyptian brigands ate the man's entrails in conjunction with an oath in the year 172/173 CE (*Roman History* 72.12.4, epitome in Xiphilinus 259-260). The historical accuracy of Dio's account has been questioned by Alston, who highlights similarities between Dio's description of the cannibalism and savagery of the βουκόλοι and his earlier description of the horrific treatment of those captured by the Jews during the revolt of Cyrene in 117 CE. According to Dio, the Jews ate the flesh of their victims, made belts from their entrails and clothing from their skins, anointed themselves with their blood, sawed some in two from the head downwards, fed others to wild beasts, and made others fight as gladiators (*Roman History* 68.32.1-2, epitome in Xiphilinus 240-241). Alston suggests that Dio was "relying on a single source with a taste for portraying rebels in this rather extreme fashion". Plazenet also doubts the veracity of Dio's account of the βουκόλοι's revolt, suggesting that it was propaganda for the purpose of justifying Roman repression of a rebellion of an indigenous population.[389]

[387] The *Ephesiaka*'s date of composition has not been definitively established. Xenophon of Ephesus is generally believed to have written the novel in the late first century CE or early second century CE.
[388] McGowan, 1994, p.430.
[389] Plazenet, 1995, p.10.

Winkler similarly remarks that "propaganda and racism are a powerful shaping force in Dio's historiography".[390]

In a forthcoming book chapter, Hilton also comments upon Dio's account of the revolt, specifically the trickery employed by the βουκόλοι, who Dio claims dressed up as women and offered the Roman centurion a bribe in gold to ransom their 'husbands'. They reneged on their deal, assassinated him and then sacrificed his companion. As Hilton notes, this subterfuge has obvious parallels with *L&C* 4.13-14 where the elderly men of Nikochis go to the general waving palm-branches in an act of supplication and offer him a bribe of silver and hostages to leave their home alone. The general refuses the bribe but concedes to the old men's wish to die in their hometown. The army follows the old men into Nikochis. Meanwhile, the younger men of the brigand band lie in wait to flood the land by breaking down the dykes which hold back the flow of the Nile, and to then attack the army with their spears. As soon as the army is lured near enough, the βουκόλοι enact their plan and the army is defeated.[391] Hilton agrees with Blouin that AT wrote *L&C* during or after the uprising in the 170s CE. He convincingly argues that whilst it is not unusual for novels "to include quasi-historical accounts of battles, sieges and political conflicts" that AT offers instead a "fictionalised eye-witness account" of a rebellion in his own day.[392] As discussed in my introduction, the exact dating of *L&C* is uncertain. If those who argue for the first half of the 2nd century CE are correct, then Blouin's and Hilton's arguments need to be modified to reflect that the events described are fictionalised accounts of earlier skirmishes between the βουκόλοι and the Roman army in the Nile Delta region rather than specifically the notorious revolt of the 170s CE.

So, given the unmistakable similarities between the subterfuge and sacrifice descriptions, were Dio's source and AT's one and the same? Was Dio influenced by the description of the revolt in *L&C*? Or, is it possible that both authors were drawing upon a long-established tradition of portraying those who revolt or conspire against the Roman empire as unrestrained in their barbarity and depravity? The possibility that both AT and Dio utilised a single, no longer extant, source for their descriptions is very attractive. It would account for the striking similarities: the eating, specifically of a victim's entrails as a commitment of allegiance to the cause, and the deception and bribery employed by the brigands to gain the upper hand in the conflict. If instead Dio was influenced by *L&C*, he does not acknowledge this debt in his

[390] Winkler, 1980, p.178.
[391] Hilton, 2018(c), pp.9-10.
[392] ibid., p.12; Blouin, 2014, p.274.

writings. The third option, that both authors were drawing upon a tradition of portraying dissidents as depraved enough to sacrifice and consume their fellow man, has much to recommend it, as I will now discuss.

There are many examples within Herodotus' *Histories* of cannibalistic acts being carried out by people living at the edges of society, usually nomadic peoples whose lifestyle was seen as transgressive. For example, at 4.62.3-4, Herodotus explains that the nomadic Scythians sacrifice 1% of their prisoners of war to Ares, drink the blood of the first man overthrown in battle, scalp men killed in battle to make cloaks, flay the right arms of their dead enemies to make covers for their quivers, and use enemy skulls as drinking cups. At 1.216.2-3, he records that the Massagetae, also nomads, eat their elderly, and at 3.99 that the Padaei, Indian nomads, eat their old and infirm after sacrificing them to their gods. McGowan explains that in accounts of cannibalism geographical liminality is often associated with behavioural liminality.[393] Like faraway peoples and nomads, brigands also occupied a position outside of civilised society. In another second-century CE novel, Iamblichus' *Babyloniaka*, the hero and heroine stop at the house of a brigand who makes dinner of passing travellers.[394] In these stories, cannibals engage in cannibalism for its own sake, human flesh is their food and human body parts are used to make clothing and utensils. *L&C*'s βουκόλοι are not depicted in this way at all. There is a marked distinction between the type of cannibalism which the βουκόλοι are presented as engaging in and the type familiar from these narratives about nomadic savages and brigands; a distinction which has not been noted in previous scholarship on Leukippe's sacrifice scene.

The βουκόλοι, who chose to live a semi-nomadic existence farming the liminal area where the land and Nile met and merged, and who were also associated with brigandage, were an obvious target for accusations of uncivilised behaviour. However, in its fictionalised eye-witness account of the βουκόλοι's revolt, *L&C* does not engage with the stereotypes of nomads and brigands to brand the βουκόλοι as monstrous savages, but instead undermines their depiction as the transgressive other through intertextuality with other sources which portray Romans and Greeks behaving in a similar fashion, engaging in hematophagical oath-sacrifices and plots against Roman rule.

According to Plutarch, in the early days of the Roman republic, two families, the Vitellii and the Aquillii, met in secret to discuss killing the consuls and restoring the exiled king, Lucius

[393] McGowan, 1994, pp.425-426.
[394] As summarised in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 74b31.

Tarquinius Superbus, to power. They swore an oath with the blood of a slain man.[395] A similar story is told about the Catilinarian conspiracy in the first century BCE. Sallust, writing a few decades after the conspiracy, describes how Catiline compelled his co-conspirators to swear an oath of loyalty by drinking from a bowl of human blood mixed with wine. Sallust speculates that this oath-sacrifice was either a fiction invented to moderate hostility towards Cicero for having ordered the execution of the conspirators, or genuinely occurred with the purpose being to strengthen the conspirators' fidelity to one another.[396] Interestingly, in Dio's version of these events, Catiline and his followers do not merely drink human blood, but make their oath over the entrails of a young boy and then eat them, as happens in his version of the βουκόλοι's oath and in *L&C*'s.[397] As it would have been perfect ammunition for his condemnation of the conspiracy, it is significant that this hematophagical oath-sacrifice is not mentioned by Cicero in the speeches he delivered against Catiline in 63 BCE. This suggests that it was a later fabrication to barbarise the conspirators and justify their capital punishment.

Plutarch and Sallust use the accusation of hematophagy to dehumanise those who rebel against Roman rule, but, whereas in *L&C* the rebels are barbarian pastoralists, in the case of the plot of the Vitellii and the Aquillii and that of the Catilinarians the rebels are Roman citizens, members of the nobility, and educated elites. Both AT and Dio portray the βουκόλοι doing what rebels against Rome stereotypically do; they both draw upon a tradition of equating rejection of Roman authority with a rejection of civilised values. Therefore, intertextuality with accounts of aristocratic Romans making treasonous pledges to one another with the blood of human victims tempers the 'otherness' of the βουκόλοι, as they are depicted behaving as Romans in the same situation might do. However, there is a marked difference between the accounts of the Roman oath-sacrifices and that of the one made by the βουκόλοι in *L&C*. The Vitellii and the Aquillii gather at a sequestered location to cement their pact to restore the monarchy, so their ingestion of human blood is a private act; the Catilinarians also meet in secret to foment rebellion and swear oaths with a blood-wine mixture. Their antinomian deeds are private, because they are intended to ensure loyalty to the cause through fear of discovery and public condemnation; the plotters are unlikely to betray one another as doing so would likely lead to their part in the horrific deed being made public. Conversely, the βουκόλοι

[395] Plutarch, *Publicola*, 4.1.
[396] Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, 22.
[397] Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 37.30.3.

sacrifice Leukippe and eat her innards in full view of the opposing army. Their breach of civilised conduct is a very public one.[398]

As regards the overt nature of the anthropophagical act, a closer parallel to the oath-sacrifice in *L&C* can be found in Herodotus' *Histories* (3.10-11). This scene, which has not been commented upon previously in studies of *L&C*, has especial relevance to the scene of Leukippe's sacrifice, as both take place near to the Pelusian mouth of the Nile. The scenes share striking narrative parallels, which I will now outline. In Herodotus' story, the Egyptian army was positioned at the Nile's Pelusian mouth to await the attack of the Persians led by Cambyses. Herodotus describes how the Persians crossed the desert and took up position across from the Egyptian army only to be confronted by the shocking scene of a human sacrifice. Greek and Carian mercenaries fighting on the Egyptian side sacrificed two young men, the sons of Cambyses' friend Phanes, who was present in the Persian ranks. The mercenaries took Phanes' sons to the open ground between the two armies and then cut their throats over a bowl. Wine and water were added to the blood of the young men and the mercenaries took a swig of the mixture. Similarities with the situation in *L&C* are conspicuous. The Greek mercenaries in Herodotus' story become Menelaos and Satyros in the version in the novel, new recruits to the brigand band who need to prove their loyalty to the cause by sacrificing Leukippe. We know that Menelaos is an Egyptian and presumably Satyros is a non-Greek as he is a slave, but they both have Greek names, making their equation with the Greek mercenaries more obvious; Greek mercenaries within an Egyptian army become men with Greek names within an Egyptian brigand band. The βουκόλοι map neatly onto Herodotus' Egyptian army, as both are a) Egyptian and b) defending their Nile Delta lands against an invading army, the Persian army in the case of Herodotus and the Roman army in the case of *L&C*. As discussed in **Case Study B/B.ii.**, it is believed to be the encroachment of urban settlements into the Nile Delta marshes which caused the βουκόλοι to rebel. They were defending their ancestral marshland homes against Roman imperial expansion.[399]

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[398] Another novelist of the second century CE engages with these tales of cannibalistic acts performed to strengthen group ties. In lines 17-18 of Lollianos', *Phoinikika*, a brigand cuts open a boy (possibly the young eromenos of one of the male characters, or perhaps a young woman in disguise), tears out his heart and puts it on a fire. The cooked heart is then sliced up and the pieces are shared out. The brigands swear an oath that they will not betray their fellows even under torture. It is unclear whether this was a real sacrifice or a sham as in *L&C*. Unfortunately, as the *Phoinikika* is so fragmentary it is impossible to speculate upon the effect intertextuality with the conspiracies against Rome would have had upon the reader's experience of the novel. there is no evidence in the extant fragments of a public audience for the eating of the boy's heart by Lollianos' brigands. For a detailed discussion of this scene and its similarities with Leukippe's first *Scheintod* and the sacrifice of the Roman centurion's companion in Cassius Dio, see Winkler, 1980.

[399] See Alston, 1998, pp.142-144 and Bagnall, 2006, p.67.

The ruler of Egypt, who gives the Roman army orders to attack Nikochis, is referred to at 4.11.1 by the Persian term "satrap". Some scholars have taken this as an indication that *L&C* is set at the time of Persian rule in Egypt; however, the title survived the end of the Achaemenid rule in Egypt. Ptolemy Lago used the title "satrap" until he declared himself pharaoh in 305 BCE.[400] I believe that the contemporary elements in the narrative, such as the Alexandrian Sun and Moon gates mentioned by Kleitophon at 5.1.1-2, which, according to John Malalas, were erected in the second century CE by Antoninus Pius, suggest that the novel is set in Roman Egypt.[401] The anachronistic reference to the satrap of Egypt is perhaps present in the narrative to link the actions of the Roman army attacking Nikochis with the Persian army attacking the same region of the Nile Delta when they took control of Egypt in the sixth century BCE. Kleitophon is the equivalent of Phanes in Herodotus' story, the friend of the general of the Persian army whose loved ones are sacrificed; Phanes witnesses his sons die and Kleitophon witnesses his girlfriend die. In both stories, the sacrifice takes place in full view of both armies and involves the consumption of human flesh or blood as part of an oath of allegiance.

The sympathy which this intertextual connection generates for the βουκόλοι through their association with Egyptian natives fighting against a Persian invasion of their homeland is not at odds with contemporary feeling regarding the βουκόλοι's revolt. Alston argues that the number of βουκόλοι living in the Nile Delta marshes would have been too small to have caused the Roman army serious problems and suggests instead that the stories were attached to them as the "transgressive other", when, in reality, the revolt was much more widespread with brigand numbers supplemented by Egyptian villagers struggling to pay their taxes.[402] This view is supported by papyrological evidence and by *L&C*. Blouin notes that P.*Thmouis 1* mentions that the villagers of Petetei took part in the insurrection, prompting military intervention to quell the insurgence.[403] At *L&C* 3.19.1-2, Menelaos explains to Kleitophon that the βουκόλοι did not harm him upon finding him washed up on the shore, but instead treated him as a friend. As he was the owner of property in the region, he was known to members of the brigand band. They were delighted to see him, struck off his chains, and encouraged him to join their cause as a neighbour should: ώς δὲ ἄγουαι πρὸς τὸν λῄσταρχον, ταχύ με τῶν ληστῶν τινες γνωρίσαντες λύουσί μου τὰ δεσμά, θαρρεῖν τε ἐκέλευον καὶ συμπονεῖν αὐτοῖς, ώς ἂν οἰκεῖον (3.19.2). "When I was brought before the robber-chief, some of them at once recognized me,

[400] For a recent discussion of The Satrap Stele of Ptolemy, see Ockinga, 2018.
[401] Laplace, 2007, p.10; for a discussion of second-century CE elements in the novel, see Hilton, 2009.
[402] Alston, 1998, p.144.
[403] P.*Thmouis 1* 98.21-99; Blouin, 2014, p.272.

struck off my chains, and bade me be of good cheer and join their company, as a friend ought to do.” [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.175]

In addition to the eating of entrails as a means to demonstrate loyalty to the brigand cause, rather than simply for sustenance, there is a religious aspect to the sacrifice of Leukippe which is absent from typical accounts of barbarian cannibalism: κἀν τούτῳ χρησμὸν ἴσχουσι κόρην καταθῦσαι και καθῆραι τὸ ληστήριον καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἥπατος ἀπογεύσασθαι τυθείσης, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα σορῷ παραδόντας ἀναχωρῆσαι, ὡς ἂν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον ὑπερβάλοι τῆς θυσίας τὸν τόπον (3.19.3). “At this time it happened that they received an oracle that they should sacrifice a maiden and so purify the robber-camp, devouring her liver after her sacrifice; they were then to put the rest of her body in a coffin and retire from the spot, and all this was to be done so that the opposing army would have to march over the spot where the sacrifice had taken place.” [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.175] Leukippe’s sacrifice is prompted by an oracle (χρησμὸν ἴσχουσι) and is described as being for the purpose of purification (καθῆραι τὸ ληστήριον). The verb used to describe the sacrificial act is θύειν (κόρην καταθῦσαι) and the noun used is θυσία (τῆς θυσίας τὸν τόπον). In his study of human sacrifice in ancient Greece, Hughes notes that θυσία and θύειν are used for sacrifices to the Olympian gods. This type of sacrifice involved elaborate preliminaries, the slaughter of the victim (usually an animal), the burning of the victim’s bones, gall bladder and fat on an altar as an offering to the gods, and the consumption of the remainder of the animal by the worshippers.[404] If we look at Kleitophon’s description of Leukippe’s sacrifice, it is apparent that it adheres to several of the elements of this pattern. The preliminaries are carried out with all of the pomp and ceremony of a sacrifice to the Olympian gods: εἶτα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς σπονδὴν χέαντες, περιάγουσι τὸν βωμὸν κύκλῳ καὶ ἐπηύλει τις αὐτῇ, καὶ ὁ ἱερεύς, ὡς εἰκός, ᾖδεν ᾠδὴν Αἰγυπτίαν (3.15.3). “First they poured libations over her head and led her round the altar while, to the accompaniment of a pipe, a priest chanted what seemed to be an Egyptian hymn”. [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.167] Georgoudi identifies circumambulation as a standard feature of Greek purificatory sacrifices, so Leukippe being led around the altar is appropriate given that one of the purposes of the sacrifice is to purify the brigand camp.[405] At 3.15.5, Leukippe’s innards are placed on the altar (τὰ σπλάγχνα ... ἃ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐξελκύσαντες ἐπιτιθέασι τῷ βωμῷ), then they are roasted, cut up and divided between the worshippers to eat (καὶ ἐπεὶ ὠπτήθη, κατατεμόντες ἅπαντες εἰς μοίρας ἔφαγον). This is cannibalism for a religious purpose sanctioned by an oracle, not the type of

[404] Hughes, 1991, p.4.
[405] Georgoudi, 2017, p.131.

cannibalism engaged in by Herodotus' Scythians, Massagetae and Padaei. The βουκόλοι follow correct Greek religious procedure.

The aims of the sacrifice are threefold: to purify the brigand camp, pollute the ground over which the Roman army must cross to meet the brigands in battle, and to ensure victory. Two historical intertexts are worthy of note here, the first of which has been previously identified by Winkler. In Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander*, the enemies of Alexander, led by Kleitos, sacrifice three boys, three girls and three black rams outside the city of Pellium. They leave the victims' *sphagia* and then retreat, forcing Alexander's forces to cross the polluted ground to do battle with them. Winkler remarks that "exactly the same motif is found in Achilles Tatius".[406] Not commented upon previously is a story in the *Themistocles* of Plutarch in which he describes a sacrifice carried out before battle by members of a Greek army. Two enemy captives, Persian princes, were sacrificed to Dionysus Omestes to ensure a Greek victory. The Greek commander, Themistocles, didn't want to go ahead with this sacrifice, but his men, encouraged by the seer Euphrantides, proceeded without his permission.[407] In a twist to Plutarch's tale, it is the commander of the βουκόλοι who sanctions the sacrifice and two of his men (the new recruits, Menelaos and Satyros) who disobey his orders and those of the oracle in order to save Leukippe's life.

The effect of the religiosity of the sacrifice combined with intertextuality with Arrian and Plutarch is to undermine the association of the act with barbarian identity. Greeks in similar situations have done the same: either to pollute the ground over which an enemy army must cross, or upon the orders of a seer before battle commences. The intertextuality forces the reader to consider whether a Greek army, upon receiving the same oracle, would also have sacrificed a prisoner of war to fulfil its demands. An interesting debate regarding human sacrifice at the behest of an oracle takes place as a result of a dream of Pelopidas, a Theban general at war with the Lacedaemonians. The dream and the resulting debate are described by Plutarch in his *Life of Pelopidas* 21-22. The night before battle commences, Pelopidas dreamt that the daughters of Scedasus were weeping and that their father ordered him to sacrifice an auburn-haired virgin on their tomb, or else lose to the Lacedaemonians in the upcoming fight. Pelopidas discussed the dream with the other commanders of the army and its seer: some urged him to obey the dream's instructions, arguing that human sacrifices had been acceptable to the gods in the past and that this virgin sacrifice would also be acceptable to them, and providing

[406] Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 1.5.7.; Winkler, 1980, p.167.
[407] Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 13.

examples from history and myth to back up their claim; others shared the feelings of Pelopidas in regarding human sacrifice as both lawless and barbarous. Pelopidas decided to sacrifice a female horse instead, as one fortuitously broke free of the herd and ran through the camp whilst the debate was taking place.

Frilingos also touches upon the way in which AT reorients the language of spectacle, which he describes as "an intensely powerful semiotic system", to destabilising effect in this scene. He compares the behaviour of the βουκόλοι to that of the Ephesian nobleman Thersander in Book 6, who imprisons Leukippe in a hut on his estate and attempts to rape her. Leukippe resists his advances and claims that he is worse than any of the brigands and pirates she has encountered, as none of them attempted to defile her chastity (6.22). Frilingos writes: "These two episodes, both related through the eyes of Clitophon, are joined together in a diptych of ironic violence. The first panel depicts the incompetence of the Egyptian army (meanwhile, the cannibalism of the savage bandits turns out to be a mirage). The beating in the second panel undermines the status quo through an alarming image of equivalence: in this tableau, anarchic figures (i.e., "bandits") closely resemble Thersander, a leading representative of the upper-crust and ostensibly gifted with the good breeding to preserve the social order". The barbarianism of the βουκόλοι is undermined through this intratextual association with Thersander, and his nobility is revealed to be a flimsy veneer for truly uncivilised behaviour.[408]

Though continuing to explore historical/quasi-historical intertexts for the sacrifice scene, I will now focus more attention upon its victim – Leukippe - a young virgin and heroine of the novel. Gruesome sacrifices and executions of young maidens are a recurrent feature in the ancient novels, both in the extant Latin examples and the Greek. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (6.31), a young woman called Charite is threatened with a painful and protracted death when she tries to escape from the clutches of a gang of robbers. They threaten to kill an ass (who, unknown to them, is the metamorphosed hero of the novel Lucius), sew Charite inside its carcass leaving just her head sticking out, and then lay the carcass in the heat of the sun. Her tortures, they agree, would be multiple: to be baked alive inside the carcass, to gradually starve to death, to be afflicted by the smell of the ass's rotting corpse, and to be torn to pieces by vultures whilst still living. In Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaka*, the heroine Anthia twice faces a prolonged and torturous death: at 2.13 she is offered as a sacrifice to Ares by an outlaw posse, who

[408] Frilingos, 2009, pp.838-844.

suspend her from a tree and prepare to throw spears at her; and at 4.6 she is buried alive with hungry dogs. Fortunately for Anthia, in the first instance, she is rescued in the nick of time by the authorities and, in the second, by the kindness of one of the outlaws, who gives the dogs food to prevent them from feasting upon her. The description of Leukippe's sacrifice and disembowelment clearly engages with this novelistic tradition of imagining degrading and dehumanising tortures for the heroine, as well as with the proximity in these stories of the heroine to animals and animal flesh, as Leukippe has a sheep's stomach and intestines strapped to her body.[409] The novelistic world is often an anarchic one, where higher social status does not afford a character the safety and privilege normally to be expected. However, though the heroines of the novels might be subjected to degrading treatment and might be given cause to fear for their lives, the hegemonic class-system always wins out, as the noble maidens are always saved from an early grave at the eleventh hour, and their undignified treatment is revealed to have been a mirage.

In relation to the dehumanisation of Leukippe and the grisly details of her sacrifice scene, I suggest that another genre of intertext is also at play. In an essay on the relationship of this scene to the *Charition mime*, Mignogna very briefly touches upon the intertextual connection between the violence and gore of Leukippe's sacrifice and amphitheatre spectacles in which those condemned to death were forced to act out scenes from myth and history.[410] I believe that this hypothesis is worthy of exploration in greater depth. The majority of our literary evidence for this practice comes from the first-century CE epigrams of Martial and the second-century CE writings of Tertullian. At *Apologeticus* 15.4-5, Tertullian writes: *Plane religiosiores estis in cavea, ubi super sanguinem humanum, super inquinamenta poenarum proinde saltant dei vestri argumenta et historias noxiis ministrantes, nisi quod et ipsos deos vestros saepe noxii induunt. Vidimus aliquando castratum Attin, illum deum ex Pessinunte, et qui vivus ardebat, Herculem induerat. Risimus et inter ludicras meridianorum crudelitates Mercurium mortuos cauterio examinantem, vidimus et Iovis fratrem gladiatorem cadavera cum malleo deducentem*. "You are clearly more religious in the amphitheatre, where over human blood, over the pollution of punishments undergone, your gods dance accordingly providing plots and stories for the criminals, unless it is that the criminals often play the parts of the gods themselves. Sometimes we have seen Attis castrated, that god from Pessinus, and a man who was being burned alive had played the part of Hercules. And we have laughed during the midday

[409] The animalisation of Leukippe has already been discussed extensively in **Case Study B**.
[410] Mignogna, 1997, p.231.

recreational cruelties at Mercury testing to see who is dead with his branding iron, and we have seen Jove's brother dragging out the bodies of gladiators with his hammer." [my translation] Epigraphic evidence suggests that the staging of this type of execution took place in the Greek East as well as in the western half of the Roman empire.[411]

Coleman explains that public humiliation was the purpose of dressing up a condemned criminal or prisoner of war in mythic guise and then making them die in a fashion appropriate to their mythic character. Seeing the *noxii*, the miscreants and enemies of Rome, degraded and shamed in such a fashion had the effect of uniting the spectators in a feeling of moral superiority.[412] It also reinforced the hegemonic class-system, as the nobility were exempt from such degrading punishments.[413] However, we have evidence of several executions which played with the spectators' expectations, finishing with a twist to the mythic tale, suggesting that for those staging these spectacles providing popular entertainment was as high on the agenda as punishment of offenders and the fostering of community solidarity. Coleman speculates that "part of the appeal of these performances must have been the incongruity of disturbing a traditional narrative pattern by the introduction of a maverick factor".[414] For example, Martial tells us that a man condemned to die as Orpheus was torn apart by a bear, impervious to his charming music (*Liber Spectaculorum*, 21); and that although the bandit leader Laureolus was famously crucified, the man condemned to die as Laureolus was mauled to death by a bear whilst hanging from a cross (*Liber Spectaculorum*, 7).[415]

In an original contribution to the study of *L&C*, I will suggest that Kleitophon's description of Leukippe's sacrifice intertextually engages with the incongruity of some of these violent amphitheatre spectacles, and that the staging of the sacrifice mimics the staging of an amphitheatre spectacle thereby encouraging the reader to view it as a captivating artistic performance. I am not the first scholar to suggest that the reader is encouraged to view Leukipppe's sacrifice as a spectacle for the purpose of entertainment. For example, in **Case study B/B.i.**, in my review of existing scholarship on the relationship between the diptych in the temple of Zeus Kasios in Pelusium and Leukippe's sacrifice, I made mention of

[411] Epplett, 2014, p.521. Tertullian is unusual amongst ancient sources in taking such a negative view of this practice, but my quotation of this passage from his writings is not done to highlight the fact that Tertullian viewed this form of execution as horrific, but simply to provide evidence from a second-century CE source for the practice having taken place.
[412] Coleman, 1990, p.47.
[413] Stratton, 2014(a), p.8.
[414] Coleman, 1990, p.65.
[415] See discussion in Coleman, 1990, p.62, pp.64-65.

D'Alconzo's research on the theatrical environment in which the pairing of a picture of Andromeda chained to a rocky arch and Prometheus chained to a rocky arch first originated, and how the pairing together of these two mythic scenes in the Pelusian temple foreshadows not just what will happen to Leukippe but the theatrical form which it will take.[416] In the same section, I also quoted Ballengee's argument that "Cleitophon gazes like a spectator (emphasized by the use of the verb θεωρέω) at the dramatic spectacle (τῆς θέας, a noun typically used to indicate a dramatic performance) of Leucippe's mutilation."[417] However, a connection between the sacrifice and specifically amphitheatre spectacle has not been explored in detail before in scholarship on this scene. I aim to rectify this.

At 3.15.4, Kleitophon tells us that Leukippe was laid down on her back and strapped to the ground using pegs, οἷον ποιοῦσιν οἱ κοροπλάθοι τὸν Μαρσύαν ἐκ τοῦ φυτοῦ δεδεμένον. Previous scholarship on this intriguing line has tried to explain why Marsyas' punishment by Apollo is Kleitophon's mythological exemplum of choice at this juncture, as the only correspondence appears to be that both victims have their hands tied above their heads. Surely for being pegged to the ground Tityos would be a more obvious choice? Why does Kleitophon not choose one of the mythological exempla he saw only days earlier in the diptych in the temple of Zeus Kasios – Andromeda chained to the sea-cliff or Prometheus on the Caucasus? Repath's contribution to this debate has already been discussed in **Case Study B/B.i.** He argues that Kleitophon's ineptitude as an interpreter of art is highlighted by his failure to connect Leukippe's sacrifice with the temple paintings.[418] Lefteratou suggests that Marsyas tied to a tree is meant to remind the reader of Anthia tied to a tree in the sacrifice scene in the *Ephesiaka* (2.13) mentioned above, and that it prompts the reader to recall "novelistic antecedents regarding virginal sacrifice".[419] I do not dispute either of these suggestions. However, I believe that the comparison of Leukippe's pose to that of Marsyas also brings to mind the execution of prisoners dressed as characters from myth, and would lead to the expectation that Leukippe will suffer the same punishment that Marsyas did. The twist to the myth or 'maverick factor', to use Coleman's term, would then be that Leukippe as Marsyas is disembowelled rather than flayed. AT plays with his readers' expectations just as the directors of the amphitheatre execution spectacles did by altering the means of death known from tradition.

[416] D'Alconzo, 2014(a).
[417] Ballengee, 2005.
[418] Repath, 2015.
[419] Lefteratou, 2018, p.65.

There are two additional connections between Marsyas and Leukippe which have not previously been explored. First is their shared semi-bestial status. Marsyas is a satyr, half-man and half-beast; Leukippe's name suggests that she is part animal, she is a "white horse", and she is also part animal thanks to the sheep's stomach which is strapped to her own stomach in order that her sacrifice might be faked. The animalisation of Leukippe in this scene has already been discussed in detail in **Case Study B**; her equation with Marsyas supports the argument I made there that she is dehumanised and 'othered' by the sacrificial act.

Second is a connection between Ovid's description of Marsyas' flayed torso and Kleitophon's description of the way in which Leukippe's entrails behaved when her stomach was sliced open. At 3.15.5, Kleitophon recounts that his girlfriend's entrails immediately leapt out (τὰ σπλάγχνα δὲ εὐθὺς ἐξεπήδησεν). The verb πηδάω means to leap, spring or throb. It is the verb from which the noun 'dancer or leaper' πηδητής is derived. At *Metamorphoses*, 6.382-400 Ovid describes the flaying of Marsyas and he notes that "you could count the dancing/leaping organs (*salienta viscera*) and the sinews glistening in his breast".[420] I suggest that Leukippe's leaping entrails direct the reader to the Ovidian scene in which Marsyas' organs leap and dance. However, the scenes are not just connected through this verbal allusion. James notes that Marsyas' transformation is a reversal of the type of metamorphosis Ovid's readers are accustomed to, his flaying makes him appear more human, whereas characters in the poems are normally changed from human to animal/plant.[421] Marsyas' bestial hirsuteness is removed as his animal skin is stripped from his flesh, his animal half is cut away. Likewise, it is the part of Leukippe which is animal, the sheep's stomach filled with entrails, which is cut open and removed. Leukippe, like Ovidian Marsyas, is made less animal and more human in this scene.

So, was the punishment of Marsyas one of the myths which was re-enacted in Roman amphitheatres during the imperial period? Archaeological evidence suggests that it was. The Campano amphitheatre at Capua was built during the reign of Domitian, its columns were added by Hadrian, and it was dedicated by Antoninus Pius in the second century CE. It was an important amphitheatre, the same size and shape as the Colosseum of Rome, and the only other

[420] For a discussion of Ovid's Marsyas in relation to amphitheatre spectacles, see Feldherr & James, 2004, pp.86-90. James writes that "In the discourse of the arena, Marsyas, who inhabits a half world of beast and man, already a metamorphic mix, could be viewed as a two for the price of one spectacle, both a low grade of humanity and an animal whose flogging or flaying would provide an appropriate public punishment." (Feldherr & James, 2004, p.92). See Lada-Richards, 2013, pp.124-125 for a comparison of the way in which Ovid's reader is encouraged to look at Marsyas and the way in which spectators looked at pantomime dancers.

[421] Feldherr & James, 2004, p.92.

amphitheatre in the ancient world with double peripheral galleries.[422] Reliefs which decorated the interior of this amphitheatre depicted famous mythic scenes, such as the punishment of Prometheus, and the punishment of Marsyas.[423] Tuck convincingly argues that the presence of architecture in these mythic scenes indicates that they were staged in the amphitheatre, as otherwise they would be depicted in the reliefs with their usual rural settings.[424] Tuck contends that the purpose of the reliefs was to transmit the message that anyone threatening Roman civilization would be punished.[425]

In addition to the link to the incongruity of these amphitheatre spectacles through Leukippe's equation with Marsyas, there are several other aspects of Leukippe's sacrifice which are shared by these executions. For example, the torments which the *noxii* were subjected to were usually of a degrading nature; for female criminals they often involved bestiality, for example, in one of his epigrams on the amphitheatre spectacles, Martial records that the audience can now believe that Pasiphae mated with the Dictaean bull as they have seen it with their own eyes in the arena (*Liber Spectaculorum*, 5). Epplett remarks upon the sexual aspect of female executions, the way in which a woman being mounted and killed by a bull was seen to re-establish the social order, because the bull represented male virility, power and control.[426] Although actual bestiality is not a feature of Leukippe's sacrifice, there is a sexual element to the way in which she is killed, and an association between those doing the killing and animals. This sexual element is emphasised through intratextuality with Panthea's dream at 2.23.5, in which Panthea envisions her daughter being sliced open with a sword by a brigand upwards from her private parts to the middle of her belly (μέσην ἀνατέμνειν τῇ μαχαίρα τὴν γαστέρα κάτωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς). Panthea interprets this dream as symbolising the rape of her daughter (2.24.4).[427] Leukippe is not mounted and killed by a wild animal, but she is stabbed and sliced open with a sword by the βουκόλοι, who, through intratextuality with the paintings of Andromeda and Prometheus, undergo animalisation, as they are the sea-monster preparing to eat the flesh of Andromeda chained to the rocky shore, and they are the bird which pecks at and ingests Prometheus' perpetually-regenerating liver. The consumption of Leukippe's entrails by the animalised βουκόλοι also recalls the eating of the bodies of the *noxii* by wild

[422] Tuck, 2007, pp.255-257.
[423] Tuck, 2007, pp.259.
[424] Tuck, 2007, pp.265. For an alternative interpretation of the amphitheatre reliefs see High-Steskad, 2016, p.89, who believes that Tuck's view is possible but debatable.
[425] Tuck, 2007, pp.271.
[426] Epplett, 2014, p.527.
[427] I will discuss this intratextual link in further detail in **C.ii.**

beasts of the amphitheatre. For example, Martial wrote an epigram about the execution of a condemned man dressed as the famous brigand Laureolus, which mentions that a Scottish bear ate the man's entrails: *nuda Caledonio sic viscera praebuit urso / non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus* (*Liber Spectacuorum*, 9.3-4). A mosaic dated to c.180 CE, on display in the museum of the El-Djem amphitheatre in Tunisia, shows two leopards attacking condemned criminals in the arena. [Image C1]

However, Leukippe's entrails are not really eaten, but those of the sheep which are hidden within her fake stomach as part of Menelaos' and Satyros' ruse. This is heavily ironic: the βουκόλοι, to whom, as brigands and rebels against Rome, the label of *noxii* could easily be applied, are eating the entrails of an animal as part of a spectacle, when it would be more usual to see the *noxii* eaten by the animals. This inversion of societal norms is in keeping with the other inversions created by intertextuality and intratextuality in this scene: for example, Leukippe's identification with Andromeda's sea-monster, as well as with Andromeda herself as the victim of sacrifice, because both Leukippe and the sea-monster are slain by Greek heroes (Menelaos and Perseus) wielding odd-shaped swords (as discussed in **Case Study B/B.ii.**); also, the gender inversions, such as Kleitophon likening himself to Niobe and Leukippe to Marsyas, and intertextual connections with Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* which invert gender roles, as Leukippe maps onto Orestes and Pylades as victims of sacrifice, and Menelaos and Satyros map onto Iphgienia as concocters of the ruse by which human sacrifice will be averted, as will be discussed below. As mentioned in the concluding paragraph of **B.ii.**, these inversions are appropriate for Egypt which, in Greek historiographical writings, was often a place where the norms of society were different from those of the classical world, gender roles were inverted, and gods were imagined in theriomorphic form (for example, in Herodotus, *Histories*, 2.34-36). I suggest that the subtle way in which intertextual and intratextual interactions in *L&C* showcase what the Greeks thought of as Egypt's topsy-turvy nature is one of this novel's distinctive contributions to ancient Greek literature about or set in Egypt.

In another novel of the second century CE, the practice of executing criminals by feeding them to wild beasts is mentioned explicitly. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 4.13, a nobleman named Demochares is said to be funding a gladiatorial show which will feature gladiators, animal-handlers and condemned criminals, the latter of whom will provide a banquet for the beasts of the amphitheatre: *Gladiatores isti famosae manus, venatores illi probatae pernicitatis, alibi noxii perdita securitate suis epulis bestiarum saginas instruentes*. "In this place were gladiators of famed strength, other there were hunters of proven skill, and elsewhere condemned criminals

who had lost their chance of reprieve, who were to provide a banquet of themselves to fatten the beasts." [my translation] The animals are referred to as becoming tombs for the criminals. *Nam praecipuo studio foris etiam advexerat generosa illa damnatorum capitum funera*. "For, with outstanding zeal, he had even imported from abroad these tombs of noble stock for the condemned men." [my translation] I suggest that Leukippe's sacrifice and especially Kleitophon's subsequent lamentation over her coffin intertextually engage with this scene. Leukippe's innards become a banquet (ὢ τροφῶν καινὰ μυστήρια 3.16.4) for the savage βουκόλοι, animalised through their connection to the sea-monster and bird of the temple diptych, in the same way that the criminals in Apuleius' narrative become a banquet (*suis epulis*) for the savage beasts of the amphitheatre. Kleitophon specifically refers to the burial of Leukippe's entrails within the bodies of the βουκόλοι (νῦν δὲ ἥ τῶν σπλάγχνων σου ταφὴ λῃστῶν γέγονε τροφή 3.16.4); and Apuleius' animals become tombs for the criminals (*damnatorum capitum funera*).

So, what effect does this intertextual interaction have upon the reader's experience? If Leukippe is to be identified with the unwilling star of an amphitheatre execution extravaganza, then the readers of the novel can be equated with the execution's spectators. As readers should we feel entertained by Leukippe's suffering, or should this intertextuality irk us? Leukippe is not a criminal like those condemned to die in the arena, but an innocent, aristocratic maiden. As Stratton discusses, status in the novels is corporeally located. Even though they are separated from their homes and families, the heroes and heroines of the Greek novels reveal their elite status through their divine beauty.[428] For example, when Dionysius first encounters Callirhoe, the eponymous heroine of Chariton's novel, he mistakes her for the goddess Aphrodite (2.3.6). His servant, Leonas, advises him that she is not a goddess but rather the slave-girl which he has just purchased on his master's behalf (2.3.6). Dionysius replies ταύτην λέγεις ἀργυρώνητων; (2.3.7), refusing to believe that Callirhoe is a slave. Later in the same book, Callirhoe tells Dionysius that the story the slave-traders told about her was false, and that she had never before been a slave (2.5.5). Dionysius turns to Leonas and tells him that he was always certain that Callirhoe was not a slave and μαντεύομαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ εὐγενής (2.5.6). Callirhoe's body reveals her status, her heavenly pulchritude indicates that she is of noble birth. In *L&C*, Leukippe's beauty confirms her elite status too, even when her hair has been shorn, her legs are fettered, her body is dirty, and she is wearing a slave's tattered tunic (5.17.3). Upon seeing her thus, Melite remarks that, despite her present miserable situation, Leukippe's

[428] Stratton, 2014(a), p.7.

appearance clearly denotes her gentility κέκραγε γάρ σου καὶ ἐν κακοῖς ἡ μορφὴ τὴν εὐγένειαν (5.17.4). The scene of Leukippe's elite body being cut open is, therefore, a direct attack upon the hegemonic class-system. Her high status should exempt her from public humiliation and a torturous death. This type of punishment was usually reserved for lower-class criminals, slaves and prisoners of war. An aristocrat, even one convicted of having committed a capital offence, would have been granted a more dignified death.[429] I would argue that a second-century CE reader would be discomfited by the image of a noblewoman being subjected to similar treatment to a low-status miscreant. Like Kleitophon, who cannot avert his eyes from the spectacle of his girlfriend's slaughter (3.15.6), the reader is enthralled by his description of the gruesome scene and cannot tear their eyes away from the page. An equivalence is created between the reader and Leukippe, as the latter is degraded by the ghastly abuse to which her maidenly body is subjected, and the former is debased by their enjoyment of reading about it.[430]

The scene of Leukippe's sacrifice has two obvious tragic intertexts: the Iphigenia plays of Euripides. Many scholars have already commented upon intertextual links between the sacrifice scenes in these two plays and the sacrifice of Leukippe in *L&C*. Most of these comments concentrate on connections between plot elements. For example, Laplace correctly notes that "comme Iphigénie (I.T. 8-24), Leucippé doit être immolée en victime expiatoire, pour la victoire d'une <<armée>>, par suite d'un oracle (3.12, 19.3)".[431] Lefteratou highlights that Agamemnon buries his face in his robes rather than watch the death of his daughter (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1547-1550) and that the Roman army and their general also turn away when Leukippe is being eviscerated (3.15.5).[432] Mignogna argues that the plot of Leukippe's sacrifice draws on a reversed version of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*: whereas in Euripides' play Iphigenia is required to sacrifice Orestes and Pylades and must concoct a plan to save them, in AT's version Leukippe has to be sacrificed by Menelaos and Satyros and they must devise a ruse to save her.[433] To Mignogna's argument I would add that, after surviving a

[429] Epplett, 2014, p.522, p.527; for a detailed discussion of the contrast between public executions of the *honestiores* and *humiliores* in relation to Roman ideology and Kristevan 'abjection', see Stratton, 2014(a), pp.5-10.
[430] Cf. Dio Chrysostom, 32nd Discourse, 'To the people of Alexandria', 32.50 on the Aexandrians' behaviour at spectacles "Is the conduct of the spectators not disgraceful and replete with every variety of wantonness? – I mean the intensity of their gaze, their souls all but hanging on their lips."
[431] Laplace, 2007, p.591; see also Baker, 2016(a), p.116.
[432] Lefteratou, 2018, p.65.
[433] Mignogna, 1997, p.228.

storm at sea and shipwreck, Menelaos and Satyros are found by the Egyptian brigands known as the βουκόλοι (3.19.2.); in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Orestes and Pylades arrive in the land of the Taurians by boat and are subsequently spotted by local βουκόλοι (lines 241-245). Later in the play, Iphigenia carries out a sham purification of Orestes as a ruse to avoid having to sacrifice him to the goddess Artemis (lines 1327-1363), and, as part of this purification ritual, she sings barbarian songs (line 1335); likewise the purpose of Leukippe's sacrifice is said to be to purify the brigand's camp (3.19.3.), it too is a staged sham and involves the singing of a barbarian/Egyptian hymn (3.15.3). The situations are not identical. In the play, it is Orestes' purification in the sea which is staged to avoid his sacrifice, whereas Leukippe's sacrifice is itself purificatory in nature.

So, does *L&C* engage with Euripides' Iphigenia plays at the level of plot alone? I suggest not. In his book on Euripides' escape-tragedies (specifically *Helen* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*), Wright compellingly argues that "Euripides Hellenises his barbarians and barbarises his Hellenes".[434] He discusses how Euripides achieves this Hellenisation by having his foreigners worship Greek gods, the Taurian Artemis, for example, and by making the choruses of the plays Greek to reduce the exoticism of their settings.[435] Contrariwise, throughout the *Iphigenia in Tauris* we are exposed to Greek savagery: we are repeatedly reminded that it was Agamemnon who ordered the sacrifice of his daughter at Aulis; Iphigenia is described as having prayed for retribution for her 'death' at Aulis and for Greeks to arrive on Tauric soil so that she might exact her vengeance by sacrificing them (lines 336-339); the Greek chorus wish that Helen might be transported from Troy to Tauris to be sacrificed by Iphigenia (lines 439-446).[436] Wright suggests that Euripides underplays and subversively undermines ethnic stereotypes.[437] As I have already demonstrated in relation to the characterisation of the βουκόλοι through intertextuality with Greek and Roman sacrifices of a similar nature, cultural destabilisation and the undermining of ethnic stereotypes are key features of Leukippe's first *Scheintod* scene. Is this cultural destabilisation a result of intertextual engagement with Euripides' plays, or is it an Egyptian perspective on the actions of the βουκόλοι seeping into the narrative, a perspective in which there is some justification for the βουκόλοι's actions (the aforementioned encroachment of their Nile Delta lands and the concomitant threat to their livelihoods), making them shades of grey rather than simply good or evil, civilised or barbarian? Is AT's contribution to writing

[434] Wright, 2005, p.184.
[435] ibid., pp.175-176, p.184.
[436] ibid., p.184, p.190.
[437] ibid., p.200.

about Egypt a more nuanced perspective on its second-century CE inhabitants, one in which all ethnicities have their flaws, their moments of cruelty and savagery?

The intermingling of generic codes in *L&C* is particularly evident in relation to Leukippe's sacrifice. There are clear echoes of tragic plays, as mentioned above, but there are also intertextual links to a more comedic form of entertainment: mime. In discussing the interplay of tragic (specifically Euripides' *Hippolytus*) and mimic (particularly adultery mime) intertexts in Knemon's inset narrative in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, Webb remarks that "the polyphonic nature of the novel as genre makes it entirely possible for the mimic model to be present alongside the tragic, giving rise to multiple diffraction of meaning".[438] Hilton explains that Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* continued to be performed in the imperial period and was the inspiration for a second-century CE farcical mime about a heroine called Charition, a technical version (as in a version with stage directions and sound effects) of which was discovered at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt (P.*Oxy* 413).[439] The mime is set in India and its eponymous heroine is a Greek priestess of the goddess Selene. To facilitate the escape by boat of herself and her brother she serves the barbarians (Indians, in this case) undiluted wine, thus putting them into a drunken stupor.[440] Hilton concurs with Mignogna that the *Charition mime* and Leukippe's first *Scheintod* scene are both mimic parodies of Euripides' play.[441] I agree that Leukippe's first *Scheintod* engages with the genre of mime and, utilising the thorough research of Webb on imperial mime,[442] I intend to highlight intertextual interactions between the *Scheintod* scene and common attributes of mimic plays which were being performed in the era in which *L&C* was written.

First, it is important to note that the text provides the reader with encouragement to look for intertextual connections to mime in the scene. At 3.16.3, as he laments the death of his beloved, Kleitophon says that he grieves on account of the mockeries which were added to Leukippe's misfortunes (ἀτυχημάτων παίγνια). Παίγνια were short mimic plays and burlesque scenes.[443] Plutarch describes them as being full of ribaldry and babbling βωμολοχίας καὶ σπερμολογίας, and unfit entertainment for a symposium, unfit even to be watched by slaves (Plutarch,

[438] Webb, 2013, p.293.
[439] Hilton, 2018(a); for detailed discussion of the technical aspects of P.*Oxy* 413 see Tsitsiridis, 2011.
[440] For discussion of Charition mime's intertextuality with Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, see Page, 1942, p.336.
[441] Hilton, 2018(a); Mignogna, 1997.
[442] Webb, 2008.
[443] Tsitsiridis, 2011, p.184.

Symposiaca, 7.8.712A). Also, as Mignogna argues, Kleitophon views Leukippe's sacrifice as if it were a mime, hinting to the reader to do the same. She explains that he observes Leukippe's disembowelment in mute horror, only able to grasp the meaning of what he is seeing by deciphering the actions of the actors; the scene is exactly like a mime from which he cannot look away.[444]

Second, Leukippe's sacrifice is incredibly gory. Gruesome deaths were popular in mime. Josephus and Suetonius both describe the excess of fake-blood in a performance of the *Laureolus mime* in 41 CE: the stage was covered in blood during the crucifixion scene and one of the characters died vomiting blood after throwing himself from a height.[445]

Third, Leukippe's 'death' is not permanent. Unlike Euripides' Iphigenia, who is transported from the altar by divine means, Leukippe is seemingly killed; it is only later that Kleitophon and the reader witness her 'resurrection' and discover the ploy used to fake her death. Winkler discusses the popularity of *Scheintode* scenes in imperial mimes, citing as examples Plutarch's canine mime (*de.soll.anim*. 973c-974a) and the *Jealous Mistress* mime (P.*Oxy* 413),[446] the latter of which possibly included *Scheintode* of three characters, though, due to its fragmentary state, only bears unambiguous evidence of one.[447]

Fourth, mimes had an improvised quality; mimic characters were seen on stage quickly adapting to take advantage of opportunities.[448] I suggest that Satyros and Menelaos do exactly this when they find a suitcase of stage props and, thinking on their feet, work out how they can utilise them to save Leukippe's life (3.20.6-3.21.6).

Fifth, the heroine's name might be a clue that mime will be a key intertext for her story, as *Leukippe* was the title of an imperial mime. Unfortunately, *Leukippe* has not survived, so we do not know whether it bore any similarities to the plot of *L&C*. What little we do know about it suggests that it probably did not, as, according to the *Berlin papyrus*, its props included barber's shop equipment, a forge and a painting. On account of the barber's shop equipment, I think it more probable that the mime was based on the story of Leukippe who cut her hair at the behest of Apollo, as recounted by Hyginus.[449]

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[444] Mignogna, 1997, p.230; also Brethes, 2007, p.237.
[445] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 19.94; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 57; Webb, 2008, p.121.
[446] Winkler, 1980, pp.174-175.
[447] Webb, 2008, p.110; for detailed discussion of the *Jealous Mistress* mime, see Tsitsiridis, 2011.
[448] Webb, 2008, p.133.
[449] Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 190.

Sixth and finally, ethnic mockery was a staple of imperial mime, according to Webb, who convincingly contends that mimic performances were aimed at a multicultural audience. A single mime might include mockery of both Greeks and barbarians. For example, the *Charition mime* features easily-fooled Indians speaking an incomprehensible tongue, but also a Greek buffoon who noisily farts and encourages the heroine to commit temple robbery.[450] Leukippe's sham sacrifice completely fools both the Egyptian brigands and Kleitophon, who is so convinced of Leukippe's death that he attempts to commit suicide over her coffin (3.17.1). After stopping Kleitophon in the nick of time, Menelaos then teases the credulous young man further by pretending to raise Leukippe from the dead and to use magic to restore her eviscerated stomach to its former state (3.17.2-3.18.5). Kleitophon takes on the role of the mimic buffoon; as the victim of the charade, the joke is on him. At 3.17.5 he says to Menelaos Ἔτι μου καταγελᾷς...; "Do you still mock/laugh at me?".

The substitution of an animal for Iphigenia is a feature of several versions of her myth: in Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, the eponymous heroine evades death at the final moment when Artemis whisks her away and substitutes her body for that of a deer; in Stasinos' *Kypria* she is also replaced by a deer, however, in this version she is called Iphianassa; Nicander has her replaced by a bull; Phanodemos and Euphorion both substitute a bear for the young maiden.[451] However, in Hesiod's telling of the tale, Iphimede is saved by Artemis and becomes the immortal Ἄρτεμιν εἰνοδίην, Artemis by-the-road, another name for Hekate (Hesiod, *Ehoiai,* fragment 19, lines 17-26). Line 1 of the Orphic *Hymn to Hekate* refers to her as Εἰνοδίην Ἑκάτην. Enodia was a Thessalian goddess of the crossroads, associated with magic, hunting and witchcraft. Rabinowitz argues that Hekate absorbed features of Enodia in the fifth century BCE.[452] Hekate's first association with witchcraft dates to this period (Euripides', *Medea*, 395-397). Cueva notes that, according to Philodemus (fr.215 PMG), Stesichorus' *Oresteia* featured Iphigenia being transformed into Hekate.[453] Bortolani discusses the transformation by Artemis of young women who failed to transition from virginal to maternal status into statues, priestesses, ghosts or Hekate.[454]

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[450] See full discussion in Webb, 2008, p.123, p.129.
[451] See discussion in Dowden, 1989, p.10, p.17.
[452] Rabinowitz, 1998, pp.36-39; see also a discussion of the relationship between Hekate and Enodia, and Hekate's links to necromantic and purification rites in Norton-Curry, 2014, p.89.
[453] Cueva, 2001, p.109.
[454] Bortolani, 2016, pp.227-228.

I suggest that Leukippe's sacrifice and resurrection draws upon both versions of the Iphigenia myth: the version in which an animal replaces her on the sacrificial altar at Aulis and the version in which she becomes the goddess Artemis Enodia or Hekate. In Leukippe's sacrifice scene, her whole body is not substituted, instead a pouch made from the skin of a sheep is attached to her stomach, and this is sliced open in place of her own stomach, the sheep's innards jump out of this pouch in place of her own innards. This equates to the animal-substitution aspect of Iphigenia's sacrifice. As explored in depth by Cueva, Leukippe's 'resurrection' during which Hekate is called upon for assistance, in combination with later events in Ephesus, where Leukippe masquerades as the Thessalian Lakaina and agrees to pick herbs for Kleitophon's wife Melite with which to make a love potion, are evidence that following her 'resurrection' Leukippe takes on characteristics of the goddess Hekate.[455] Leukippe, as a virginal maiden who has failed the transition to maternal status by symbolically having her womb sliced open, symbolism which I will discuss further in C.ii., fits the parameters for becoming Hekate as outlined by Bortolani.[456]

I will look at an aspect of the summoning of Hekate to assist when Leukippe is 'resurrected' which has not previously been touched upon by scholars, that is the specific role played by Hekate in this scene. Hekate is first mentioned at 3.18.3, when Menelaos tells Kleitophon that he is going to invoke the assistance of Hekate to heal the 'resurrected' Leukippe, specifically to give her back her entrails and heal the wound in her stomach: καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἀπολήψεται καὶ τὰ στέρνα συμφύσεται καὶ ἄτρωτον ὄψει. ἀλλ' ἐπικάλυψαί σου τὸ πρόσωπον· καλῶ γὰρ τὴν Ἑκάτην ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. "And now she will get her entrails back again, the wound in her breast shall close, and you shall see her whole and sound. But cover your face, I am going to invoke the assistance of Hecate in the task." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.173] I suggest that this role of healer is not typical of Greek depictions of Hekate and is instead a product of her association in Egypt with the goddess Isis. In Greek thought, Hekate had chthonic associations, and was often depicted as an intermediary between different worlds or as a gatekeeper. For example, in the first extant literary work to bear attestation of her name, Hesiod's *Theogony*, she is referred to as having dominion over portions of the earth, sea and sky (lines 411-452). In the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, Hekate welcomes Kore back from her first sojourn with Hades, and the poet tells us that from that day Hekate became Kore's attendant and substitute queen of the Underworld (lines 438-440). Bortolani describes Hekate's role in this poem thus:

[455] Cueva, 2006.
[456] Bortolani, 2016, pp.227-228; Leukippe as "white horse" is again relevant here, as Hekate was associated with horses, see Bortolani, 2016, pp.267-268.

"her presence in a time of crisis and transition – from life to death, Upper-world to Underworld, virginal to marital status – confirms her role as intermediary between different worlds and realities."[457] An Orphic *Hymn to Hekate* describes her as παντὸς κόσμου κληιδοῦχον ἄνασσαν (line 7), and, as discussed by Marquardt, a sixth-century BCE inscription in the temple of Apollo Delphinius in Miletus refers to her as a guardian of entrances.[458] I have discussed elsewhere the scene in the *Orphic Argonautica* in which Orpheus offers puppies in sacrifice to Hekate to persuade her to open the doors to the enclosure within which the golden fleece is draped over the branch of a sacred oak tree.[459]

Hekate was strongly associated with magic and witchcraft, but usually of a necromantic or erotic nature. For example, PGM 4.1390-1495 is a love spell of attraction, which calls upon the souls of those who have died a violent death to come to the aid of the spellcaster. Hekate is invoked in this spell in her role as "key-holder" κλειδοῦχε (line 1404). That κλειδοῦχε specifically refers to key-holder of the Underworld is likely. As noted by Bortolani, this word only appears twice in the *Greek Magical Papyri*, once here in relation to Hekate, and later at PGM.4.1466-1467 in reference to Anubis, where the Underworld is mentioned specifically.[460] Hekate is being invoked in this spell so that she may assist the souls of the dead to enter the world of the living, and then control them to torment the object of the spellcaster's lust until he or she relents and yields to the spellcaster's demands. PGM 4.2708-2784 is another spell in which Hekate is associated with those who have met an untimely end. She is again called upon to allow their souls to enter the Upperworld and assist the spellcaster in performing erotic magic. In this particular spell, Kore and Persephone are mentioned specifically as names of Hekate, emphasising her connection with the Underworld: "But you, O Hekate, of many names, O virgin, Kore, goddess, come, I ask, O guard and shelter of the threshing floor, Persephone, O triple-headed goddess".[461] It would, therefore, have been fitting, from a Greek perspective, for Menelaos to call upon assistance from Hekate to bring the soul of Leukippe, a young maiden who has suffered an untimely death, back from the Underworld, and to restore her to her lover. Menelaos, however, does not do this, as, for this aspect of her 'resurrection', he needs no assistance. He simply knocks upon Leukippe's coffin lid, calls to Leukippe to answer him, and then opens the coffin so that she might step out (3.17.5-7). Menelaos only asks Hekate to help

[457] Bortolani, 2016, p.225.
[458] Marquardt, 1981, p.251.
[459] Norton-Curry, 2014, p.85.
[460] Bortolani, 2016, pp.229-230.
[461] For discussion see Betz, 1986, p.332.

him after Leukippe has arisen from her grave, and the help he requires is to restore Leukippe's savaged body to full health and completeness. I suggest that Menelaos does not need Hekate-Kore-Persephone, the mistress of chthonic hosts, but rather Hekate-Isis, magician par excellence and healer.

In another second-century CE novel, the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, the goddess Isis is called upon by the hero Lucius for assistance. He has spent the majority of the story in the body of an ass, after undergoing a magical metamorphosis, and has been subjected to much cruel treatment. He begs Isis to visit him and to restore him to human form. She appears to him and, at 11.5, says: *Inde primigenii Phryges Pessinuntiam deum Matrem, hinc autochthones Attici Cecropeiam Minervam, illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem, Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam, Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam, Eleusini vetustam deam Cererem, Iunonem alii, Bellonam alii, Hecatam isti, Rhamnusiam illi, et qui nascentis dei solis inchoantibus illustrantur radiis Aethiopes utrique priscaque doctrina pollentes Aegyptii, caerimoniis me propriis percolentes, appellant vero nomine reginam Isidem*. "In one place the Phrygians, first-born of men, call me Pessinuntine Mother of the Gods, in another the autochthonous people of Attica call me Cecropian Minerva, in another the sea-washed Cyprians call me Paphian Venus; to the arrow-bearing Cretans I am Dictynna Diana, to the trilingual Sicilians Ortygian Proserpina, to the ancient people of Eleusis Attic Ceres; some call me Juno, some Bellona, others Hecate, and still others Rhamnusia; the people of the two Ethiopias, who are lighted by the first rays of the Sun-God as he rises every day, and the Egyptians, who are strong in ancient lore, worship me with the rites that are truly mine and call me by my real name, which is Queen Isis." [trans. Hanson, 1989, pp.245-247] She tells Lucius that she is known by different names around the world, that in Egypt her name is Isis, but that she is also known as Hekate.[462] She promises to assist Lucius if he becomes her devotee. At

[462] Compare the first-century BCE *Hymn to Isis* from Medinet Madi, written in Greek by Isidorus, which contains the lines: ὅσσοι δὲ ζώουσι βροτοὶ ἐπ' ἀπείρονι γαίηι, / Θρᾷκες καὶ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅσσοι βάρβαροί εἰσι, /οὔνομά σου τὸ καλόν, πολυτίμητον παρὰ πᾶσι, / φωναῖσι φράζουσ' ἰδίαις, ἰδίαι ἐνὶ πάτρηι. / Ἀστάρτην Ἄρτεμίν σε Σύροι κλῄζουσι Ναναίαν / καὶ Λυκίων ἔθνη Λητοῦν καλέουσιν ἄνασσαν, / μητέρα δὴ κλῄζουσι θεῶν καὶ Θρήϊκες ἄνδρες, / Ἕλληνες δ' Ἥρην μεγαλόθρονον ἠδ' Ἀφροδίτην, / καὶ Ἑστίαν ἀγαθήν, καὶ Ῥεῖαν, καὶ Δήμητρα, / Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ Θιοῦιν, ὅτι μούνη εἶ σὺ ἅπασαι / αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὀνομαζόμεναι θεαὶ ἄλλαι (lines 14-24). "All mortals who live on the boundless earth, Thracians, Greeks, and barbarians, express your fair name, a name greatly honoured among all, but each speaks in his own language, in his own land. The Syrians call you: Astarte, Artemis, Nanaia; the Lycian tribes call you: Leto, the Lady; the Thracians also call you as Mother of the Gods; and the Greeks call you Hera of the great throne, Aphrodite, Hestia the goodly, Rheia and Demeter. But the Egyptians call you Thiouis because they know that you, being one, are all other goddesses invoked by the races of men." [trans. Vanderlip, 1972, p.18]

11.12-15, after pledging himself to the cult of Isis during a festival, Lucius is transformed by the goddess back into a human being.

Isis does not just work magical, transformative wonders in Greco-Roman literature; she is the quintessential deity of healing magic in Egyptian magico-medical texts, and often referred to as a worker of powerful or effective magic.[463] In both Greek and Egyptian sources, Isis' magic is of a curative nature. For example, Plutarch explains how she revived the dead Osiris after piecing his body back together (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 373A). The Ptolemaic *Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, referring to the reconstitution of Osiris' body by Isis, include the line: "She makes hale for thee thy flesh on thy bones. She knits for thee thy nose to thy forehead. She gathers together for thee thy bones, and thou art complete." (Bremner-Rhind Papyrus I, *Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, 15.7-9) [trans. Faulkner, 1936] *Coffin Text* 15 refers to the severing of Horus' hands by Isis and how she fashioned new ones for him.[464] Menelaos calls upon Hekate specifically to reassemble Leukippe and make her whole again. He does not need Hekate's chthonic powers or erotic magic, but rather the restorative and healing magic that was attributed to Hekate in Egypt through her association with Isis. Menelaos, as an Egyptian character, invokes an Egyptianised version of Hekate.

So, if the goddess Menelaos summons is Hekate-Isis, and the purpose of her summoning is to make Leukippe, who appears to have arisen from the dead, whole again, then Leukippe can be identified in this scene with the dismembered, reconstituted and resurrected god Osiris. In Egyptian thought, the deceased was always associated with Osiris. Smith notes that "At the end of the embalming rites, having been returned to life and freed from imputation of wrongdoing, the deceased was endowed with an Osiris-aspect. In fact, the performance of such rites was sometimes described as "giving an Osiris to" someone. Many Egyptian texts for the afterlife are addressed or refer to "the Osiris of" an individual – that aspect or form which the dead person acquired through the efficacy of the rituals performed for his benefit in the embalming place, and in which he was supposed to endure for the rest of eternity."[465] Merkelbach comments in a similar vein, relating the removal of Leukippe's entrails by the brigands to the mummification process, the purpose of which was to endow the deceased with an Osiris-aspect: "Für das Herausnehmen der Eingeweide ist an das Ritual der

[463] For examples, see Bortolani, 2016, p.264 and p.376 n.124.
[464] Turner, 2012, p.52.
[465] Smith, 2008. See also Bleeker, 1958, p.5.

Mummifizierung zu erinnern, welches den Toten zu Osiris macht und ihm so die Unsterblichkeit im Jenseits sichert."[466]

If Leukippe is Osiris, then I suggest that the role of Isis is divided between the characters Menelaos and Kleitophon. Like Isis, who reassembles Osiris' dismembered corpse, Menelaos removes the brutally savaged fake stomach (ἀνέῳκτο μὲν ἡ γαστὴρ αὐτῆς πᾶσα καὶ ἦν ἐντέρων κενή: 3.17.7) and makes Leukippe whole again (καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἀπολήψεται καὶ τὰ στέρνα συμφύσεται καὶ ἄτρωτον ὄψει: 3.18.2). As will be discussed in detail below in C.ii., the cutting open of Leukippe's stomach symbolically represents the destruction of her womb; therefore, its restoration by Menelaos restores Leukippe's procreative abilities. Plutarch explains that Isis was unable to find all of Osiris' body parts, as the fish had eaten his male member, so she made him a replica phallus and joined it to his reconstituted body (*Moralia*, 358B). Isis restored Osiris' procreative ability and then lay with him to beget a child, the god Harpokrates (*Moralia*, 358E). This same event is referred to, though more obliquely, in the *Hymn to Osiris* inscribed on the Stela of Amenmose (Louvre C 286).[467] I more tentatively suggest that Kleitophon, as the sorrowing partner of the deceased, also corresponds to Isis. Isis' grief for Osiris, upon finding his coffin, was reputedly so extreme that her wailing caused the youngest son of the king of Byblus to expire (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 357D). Kleitophon feels the loss of Leukippe so profoundly that he is willing to stab himself with a sword so that he might die next to her grave (3.17.1-4). After Leukippe is revealed to be alive, she and Kleitophon embrace, cling together and fall to the floor (3.17.8). I suggest that this perhaps alludes to the love-making of Isis and Osiris after Osiris has been brought back from the dead, though the comparison is not exact as Leukippe has not been made whole again by this point, and Osiris was made whole before he and Isis lay together.

In the above, I have aimed to give a flavour of the intertextual density of the scene of Leukippe's first *Scheintod*, and of its polyphonic texture. Egyptian myth, Greek tragedy, mimic parodies of tragic scenes, and amphitheatre spectacles combine. A reader attempting to identify all of the components of this kaleidoscopic blend of resonances is left reeling. The generic codes do not follow on one from another in sequence, but instead create a dizzying number of

[466]Merkelbach, 1962, p.126. Merkelbach also compares Leukippe's *Scheintod* to the resurrection of Osiris as symbolised by a statuette from Cyrene. He argues that the woman of the statuette, whose abdomen is wrapped up like that of a mummy, is intended to represent Osiris.
[467] Lichtheim, 1976, p.83.

intersecting layers in the narrative. This overlapping of genres, each very different in tone, has the effect of making the reader unsure how to react to the scene they have just visualised. Should we laugh or gasp in horror? The intertextual reader leaves this scene feeling emotionally exhausted. As Kleitophon remarked during his tour of Alexandria, the metaliterary significance of which was discussed in **Case Study A/A.ii.**, "Ah, my eyes, we are beaten!" (5.1.5).

C.ii. Intratextuality

Many intratextual links between Leukippe's first *Scheintod* and other denouements in the novel have already been explored thoroughly in **Case Study B**, especially those between the *Scheintod* and the paintings (Andromeda's rescue by Perseus and Prometheus' rescue by Herakles) which Kleitophon describes as being present in the temple of Zeus Kasios at Pelusium. For example, in B.ii. I discussed the many intratextual links of the theatrical prop sword which is used to slice open Leukippe's fake belly, including its links to the in-built weaponry of the gnat, the strange-shaped sword wielded by Perseus in the temple diptych, which I argue is a Roman-period Egyptian khopesh, and the clods of earth which the Egyptian brigands throw at the attacking Roman army. In C.i., I have also discussed how Leukippe's evisceration and the consumption of her entrails by the brigands is foreshadowed by the bird pecking out Prometheus' liver in the second of the temple paintings, and how this intratextual link reinforces the intertextual links between Leukippe's sacrifice and amphitheatre executions in which animals were employed to maul and consume criminals and enemies of Rome.

In section C.ii. of this case study, I will focus upon intratextual links between Panthea's dream at 2.23.5 and the sacrifice scene. Building upon Repath's research, I will argue that the intratextual links to the dream are supported by intertextual links to stories told by Parthenius and Pausanias about the sacrifice of a woman who is possibly pregnant to encourage the reader to interpret the slicing open of Leukippe's fake stomach as symbolic of the destruction of her womb.[468] As mentioned in C.i. in relation to Prometheus' bird, the Egyptian brigands, and the amphitheatre beasts, one of the fascinating facets of AT's narrative which I intend for this thesis to highlight is the way in which intratextuality sometimes supports intertextual resonances and sometimes undermines them.

[468] Repath, 2016(b).

The dream of Leukippe's mother Panthea at 2.23.5, which initially appears to symbolise Kleitophon's attempt to take Leukippe's virginity in the same chapter, later reveals itself to be an uncannily accurate premonition of Leukippe's capture and disembowelment by the brigands a book later. We are told that: ἄρτι δέ μου προσελθόντος εἴσω τοῦ θαλάμου τῆς παιδός, γίνεταί τι τοιοῦτο περὶ τὴν τῆς κόρης μητέρα. ἔτυχε γὰρ ὄνειρος αὐτὴν ταράξας. ἐδόκει τινὰ λῃστὴν μάχαιραν ἔχοντα γυμνὴν ἄγειν ἁρπασάμενον αὐτῆς τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ καταθέμενον ὑπτίαν, μέσην ἀνατέμνειν τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὴν γαστέρα κάτωθεν ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς (2.23.4-5). "But hardly had I entered the maiden's chamber, when a strange event befell her mother: she was troubled by a dream in which she saw a robber with a naked sword snatch her daughter from her, throw her down on her back, and then rip her up the middle of the belly with the blade, beginning from the groin". [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.105] The description of Leukippe's disembowelment is as follows: εἶτα λαβὼν ξίφος βάπτει κατὰ τῆς καρδίας καὶ διελκύσας τὸ ξίφος εἰς τὴν κάτω γαστέρα, ῥήγνυσι (3.15.4). "Then he took the sword and plunging it in about the region of the heart, drew it down to the lower part of the belly, opening up her body". [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.167]

In a paper given at a research seminar in 2016, Repath highlighted the importance of Panthea's interpretation of her own dream when considering its relevance to Leukippe's sacrifice, that is that Panthea links the savage and unlawful violation which her daughter suffers in the dream to the reproductive act. At 2.24, when she discovers that someone has indeed been in her daughter's bedroom, Panthea assumes that her dream was prophetic and that Leukippe's virginity has been taken, possibly by a slave or a brigand. She regards this defilement of her daughter's chastity as worse than the girl being sliced open with a knife, as in the dream, and bewails Leukippe's diminished marriageability and the loss of her chances of producing legitimate aristocratic offspring in the future. Repath argued that the focus upon Leukippe's γαστέρα in both 2.23.5 and 3.15.4 links the two passages in the "nexus concerning reproduction" and further suggested that "the rupturing of the fake belly beneath her dress gives the impression of her unborn child being forcibly removed and destroyed: she has had something added to her, and the addition of the fake belly under her robe would have provided the image of pregnancy".[469] He strengthened this interpretation with further evidence from the text: for example, Kleitophon compares his petrifaction at the disembowelment of Leukippe to Niobe being turned to stone by Zeus, the latter an act borne of pity for Niobe's sorrow at the loss of her children. The way in which Leukippe is killed destroys her γαστέρα in a shockingly

[469] Repath, 2016(b).

graphic way, emphasising that Kleitophon's loss is not just that of his love but of the progeny which might have resulted from his union with her. To this interpretation I would add that the use of the word γυμνὴν (2.23.5) to describe the sword used by the brigand in Panthea's dream serves two functions: first, with its meaning 'naked', it strengths the phallic association of the sword penetrating Leukippe's γαστέρα; second, with its meaning 'unarmed', it suggests that the sword is not a lethal weapon and is proleptic of the use of a fake sword in the sham sacrifice of Leukippe.

Brief comment has been made by Hutton on the intertextual relationship between Leukippe's disembowelment and a story told by Pausanias (4.9.3-10) about the sacrifice of a virgin. Hutton simply notes that both sacrifices are mishandled.[470] I believe that there is significantly more to this intertextual connection and that it supports Repath's interpretation of the intratextual connection between Panthea's dream and Leukippe's sacrifice. Pausanias tells us that an oracle was delivered to the king of the Messenians instructing him to sacrifice a pure maiden to the chthonic deities at night (4.9.4). A nobleman called Aristodemos offered his daughter to be the sacrifice (4.9.6). The maiden's betrothed attempted to dissuade Aristodemos from this course of action and, when his pleas fell upon deaf ears, he resorted to a lie. He told Aristodemos that his daughter was not a virgin and that she was pregnant with his child (4.9.7). Incensed by this aspersion against his daughter's chastity, Aristodemos killed his daughter on the spot and cut her open to prove that she was not with child (4.9.8). The Messenians were then compelled to find another suitable victim for the sacrifice (4.9.9).

Leukippe's sacrifice is also prompted by an oracle and, in her case too, there is a question hanging over her virginity. However, Pausanias' tale is reversed in that Leukippe's mother Panthea refuses to believe that Leukippe has preserved her virginity, whereas Aristodemos refuses to believe that his daughter has lost her virginity. When she awakes from her troubling dream, Panthea immediately rushes to her daughter's bedchamber, just in time to see the figure of a man springing out of Leukippe's bed and fleeing into the darkness (2.23.6). She assumes this man has successfully defiled her daughter's chastity. Calling out to her absent husband Sostratos, she says καὶ τῆς θυγατρός σού τις τοὺς γάμους σεσύληκεν (2.24.2) "And another has ravished your daughter's marriage." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.107] At 2.25.1, Leukippe says to her mother μὴ λοιδόρει μου, μῆτερ, τὴν παρθενίαν. οὐδὲν ἔργον μοι πέπρακται τοιούτων ῥημάτων ἄξιον "Do not mother, thus disparage my virginity; nothing has happened to justify

[470] Hutton, 2009, p.160.

what you have said." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.107]. Leukippe urges her mother to believe that nothing has happened and that her virginity is still intact. Panthea, however, remains convinced that Leukippe is lying and is determined to torture her slave Klio to find out who was in her daughter's room (2.28.1). The slicing open of the womb of Aristodemos' daughter is mirrored by Panthea's stated preference for her daughter to have been cut open rather than deflowered: αὕτη δυστυχεστέρα τῆς μαχαίρας τομή (2.24.4) and intertextually linked to the later slicing open of Leukippe's fake stomach by the brigands. Intertextuality with Pausanias' story strengthens the intratextual link between Leukippe's sacrifice and Panthea's dream and further pushes the reader to interpret the sacrifice as akin to the act of defloration.

Parthenius tells a similar story to that of Pausanias in *Narrationes Amatoriae* 35. The Cretan ruler Cydon was instructed by an oracle to sacrifice a virgin. His own daughter, Eulimene, was selected by lot. Her lover Lycastos protested against this, confessed to having taken Eulimene's virginity and claimed that she was pregnant with his child. The Cretan assembly voted to sacrifice Eulimene anyway. Her stomach was cut open post mortem and Lycastos was found to have been telling the truth. An unborn child dies in this story as a consequence of a sacrificial act. The intertextual connections between this story and the scene of Leukippe's sacrifice, the oracle and the slicing open of Eulimene's stomach, strengthen Repath's suggestion that Leukippe's fake stomach could be interpreted as her impregnated womb. The intertextual and intratextual interactions force the reader to focus upon Leukippe's reduced marriageability if her ability to produce legitimate aristocratic offspring has been affected by physical violation. This is the primary concern of her mother Panthea at 2.24.2, who refers specifically to her daughter's marriage as the victim of the sexual act rather than the body of her daughter: "τοὺς γάμους σεσύληκεν" [quoted in full above] and "οἴμοι δειλαία, τοιούτους σου γάμους ὄψεσθαι οὐ προσεδόκων." ""Woe is me, I never thought to see your wedding in this wise."" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.107]

Another intertext warrants brief mention here as it links a character called Leukippe with cannibalism and the death of a child. In the mythic tale of the daughters of Minyas, as recounted by Plutarch at *Quaestiones Graecae* 38, Leukippe, Arsinoe and Alkathoe are driven so mad with desire to eat human flesh that they draw lots to decide which of their children to kill and consume. Leukippe's son Hippasos is chosen and is cut up into pieces. Again, this intertext adds weight to the suggestion that the brigands' actions symbolically destroy Leukippe's womb, as it is the contents of her fake stomach which are eaten by the brigands in the novel, and it is mythic Leukippe's son, the offspring of her womb, who is eaten in the myth.

These stories, all from the second century CE, reflect a concern on the part of imperial writers with the integrity and inviolability of the bodies of female members of the upper classes. As Stratton explores in her discussion of the depiction of witchcraft in Greco-Roman literature and the Kristevan theory of abjection, there is a tension between the act of penetration as one which is degrading and the fact that female bodies are naturally penetrable. She describes female bodies as "porous gaps in the security of the class-based hierarchy", with their natural penetrability being a danger to both family honour and certainty of paternity.[471]

In this section, I have demonstrated that intratextual and intertextual interactions work in tandem to direct the reader's attention to the symbolic violation of Leukippe's aristocratic womb. Intratextuality and intertextuality often cooperate in this way in *L&C* to provide the reader with clear instructions as to how to interpret the text. Similarly, in **Case Study E/E.ii.**, I will demonstrate how the foreshadowing of Leukippe's second 'resurrection' through intertextuality with the Osiris myth is supported by intratextual links between the descriptions of the festival of Serapis and the Pharos lighthouse in Book 5. However, intratextual and intertextual resonances in this novel sometimes work against one another to thwart a cohesive understanding of a scene. In **Case Study D/D.i.**, I discuss how Kleitophon's description of Alexandria intratextually engages with earlier scenes in the novel to establish Alexandria as a setting for romance, but also how these positive resonances are undermined by intertextual connections to scenes from tragedy of virgin sacrifice and untimely death. When an intratextual reading of a scene conflicts in this way with an intertextual reading, the reader is unable to predict with certainty whether the adventures which lie ahead will turn out well for the protagonists or will end tragically. The instability of the world of the novel, where unexpected dangers lurk around every corner, friends become enemies, and gruesome deaths are mere mirages, is reflected in the unpredictability of the novel's intertextual and intratextual interactions, which sometimes coalesce to shine a light on the way forward, but more often than not form an impenetrable layer of blind alleys and false clues preventing the reader from reaching their goal of a unified interpretation of the novel.

C.iii. Intercultural intertextuality

I have already touched upon one intercultural interaction in C.i.: the Egyptian colouring of Hekate, as an Isis-like healer and magician, who is called upon to reconstitute the heroine after

[471] Stratton, 2014(a), p.9.

her brutal mutilation. In C.iii., I will begin by discussing Egyptian historical intertexts, specifically archaeological data and iconographic representations, for the practice of human sacrifice in Egypt. I will argue that, whether we interpret the archaeological record as attesting to the actuality of this practice or not, the scenes of Egyptian rulers smiting their enemy captives in a religious context, which are depicted upon reliefs throughout Egyptian history (from the fourth millennium BCE up until the second century CE), and which would have been visible across Egypt and in nearby lands at the time *L&C* was written, intertextually interact with the scene of Leukippe's sacrifice to lend the event credibility as an example of Egyptian custom. The consequent verisimilitude of the sacrificial scene appears to be at odds with the interpretations generated by the other intertexts at play. How does the reader reconcile these different intertextual resonances?

Moving on from material culture into the realm of myth, I will briefly discuss the way in which Leukippe is sacrificed in comparison to scenes from the Egyptian Underworld books in which sinners are punished. I will argue that intertextuality with these scenes strengthens Leukippe's identification with the god Seth, enemy of Osiris, as discussed in **Case Study B**. I will conclude this section by turning to folktales; I will explore the intertextual connection between the widespread story of the rescue of the sage Ahiqar by his executioner and Leukippe's rescue by those ordered to take her life.

In *L&C* human sacrifice is depicted as an Egyptian rite. It is carried out by a group of Nile Delta bandits, who are specifically described as Egyptian by Kleitophon (νῦν δὲ καὶ παραδεδώκατε ἡμᾶς λησταῖς Αἰγυπτίοις 3.10.2) and whose priest sings an Egyptian hymn when performing the sacrificial preliminaries (καὶ ὁ ἱερεύς, ὡς εἰκος, ᾖδεν ᾠδὴν Αἰγυπτίαν 3.15.3). So, what evidence is there for the sacrifice of human beings in Egypt? This section will provide a brief summary of the archaeological, iconographic and literary evidence for the practice. Green's survey of the available archaeological evidence concludes that the ritual killing of royal attendants was practised in the Early Dynastic Period (2950-2575 BCE). He argues that subsidiary burials in and around royal tombs are those of the attendants, who would have been killed upon the event of the king's death, so that they might accompany him to the afterlife and serve him there as in life. By the time of the Middle Kingdom (1975-1640 BCE), this practice had been stopped.[472] Muhlestein comments upon evidence of a different kind of

[472] Green, 1975, pp.110-122.

ritual killing from an excavation of a fort at Mirgissa on the banks of the Nile in Kush (Nubia), dating to the Middle Kingdom. A human skull was buried there upside down in a pottery cup, surrounded by traces of beeswax and red ochre, which Muhlestein believes to be the remains of melted figurines. A flint knife was also found in the deposit, of the traditional type used for ceremonial slaughter. The body of the victim was found discarded nearby, thrown away rather than buried. The victim is clearly Nubian. Making the case for ritual killing even clearer was the discovery of 175 execration texts at the site.[473] Similarly, at Avaris, the execration pits used by Ahmose to prevent incursions by foreign invaders contain human remains. In Locus 1055, for example, archaeologists discovered three male skulls and fingers from the right hands of the victims. Muhlestein compares this to the sacrificial practice of severing an animal's head and foreleg and presenting them alongside one another. He argues that in Locus 1055 the "sacrificial context [is] almost inescapable."[474]

More relevantly for the sacrifice of Leukippe by the brigands to their god, is iconographic evidence for the ritual sacrifice of enemy captives to the gods. Such scenes are often found on temple pylons and typically depict the pharaoh in the act of massacring a group of his captives. Sales claims that these scenes of ritual massacre were a *topos* of Egyptian military iconography from as early as the fourth millennium BCE until as late as the second century CE.[475] The oldest example is a painting, rather than a stone relief. It was found in a tomb (number 100) at Hierakonpolis and dates to around 3500 BCE in the predynastic period of Egyptian history. In the painting, a large figure holds a weapon in one hand and a rope in the other, attached to the rope are three small figures kneeling ready for slaughter. A cylinder seal from the same city bears a picture of a large man smiting a small man, who kneels before him with his hands tied behind his back.[476] Also from Hierakonpolis, the c. 3100 BCE Narmer Palette made from slate shows King Narmer about to smash the skull of a kneeling man with a mace. Green believes that Narmer is sacrificing a prisoner to the deity, the goddess Bat, depicted on the palette. Sales comments upon the sacrificed man's bodily contortion, his head faces the king but his torso points in the opposite direction, and his arms fall at his sides; he argues that these attributes are indicative of a defeated man, a *bedesh*.[477] The reliefs on the pylon of the funerary temple of

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[473] Muhlestein, 2011, p.19. See also Yoyotte, 1980, p.58.
[474] Muhlestein, 2011, p.20.
[475] Sales, 2017, p.258.
[476] ibid.
[477] ibid.; Green, 1975, p.123. Similar examples include a first-dynasty (Late Predynastic 3100-2950 BCE) ivory plaque found at Abydos on which Den (also known as Hesepti and Semti) is about to smash the skull of a prisoner of war with a mace, a fourth-dynasty (Early Dynastic 2950-2575 BCE) relief at Wadi Magharah in Sinai of Sneferou in the same pose, a twelfth-dynasty (First Intermediate 2150-1975 BCE) pectoral from Dahsur featuring

Medinet-Habu from the twelfth century BCE provide clear evidence that these ritual massacres were carved into stone as political propaganda. The pharaoh, Rameses III, is shown killing enemy captives before the gods as in the aforementioned scenes, but in addition the gods are presented in the act of giving the pharaoh a sickle-shaped sword, the *khopesh*. Sales argues that the *khopesh* is a symbol of victory. The gods give victory to Rameses and his sacrifice receives divine sanction.[478] The Ptolemies, eager to legitimise their rule of Egypt, built temples and decorated them with traditional scenes, including the pharaoh smiting his enemies. This does not mean that the Ptolemies regularly engaged in such rites, but rather that they chose to utilise this iconography as political propaganda, as a way to Egyptianize their royal image and promote themselves as a continuation of Egyptian pharaonic rule rather than foreign interlopers. Nearer to the date of *L&C* than previously mentioned examples are a relief on a pylon of the temple of Isis at Philae and the decorated façade of the temple of Horus at Edfu, both dated to the first century BCE. At Philae, Ptolemy XII stands holding his enemies by their hair as he prepares to sacrifice them to Isis, Horus and Hathor [Image C2]; at Edfu the same pharaoh is shown sacrificing prisoners to Horus and Hathor.[479] Whether or not human sacrifice actually took place, as Green believes, or the iconographic images simply represented Egypt's power and success in conquest, they are likely to have contributed to an image of Egyptians as bloodthirsty, ruthless in war, and savage towards their prisoners.

Documentary evidence of the killing of enemy captives in Egypt is equally abundant. The Amada and Elephantine Stelae record that Amenhotep II (c. 1400 BCE) slew seven princes whom he had taken hostage after a successful campaign in Palestine and Syria, and a biography of a soldier by the name of Amen-em-hab refers to this event and explains that the seven princes were killed upon the occasion of Amenhotep II's accession to the throne. Other stelae list the number and nationalities of hostages clubbed to death. Green believes these records are conclusive evidence of the practice of human sacrifice in ancient Egypt and prove that the reliefs of pharaohs wielding maces above the heads of knelt men are not merely figurative representations of victory and power, but illustrations of sacrifices which took place.[480] As the killings mentioned in these documents are of enemy prisoners, they are obviously very relevant for Leukippe's sacrifice, as she is a prisoner of the brigands. However, is it justifiable to label

Amenemhet III committing the same act. See Green, 1975, p.124. The practice of human sacrifice continued into the New Kingdom (1520-1075 BCE). Scenes at Karnak also show enemy captives being led before the god bound and defeated, followed by a standard 'smiting' scene. See Green, 1975, pp.128-130; and Sales, 2017, p.259.

[478] Sales, 2017, p.260.

[479] Sales, 2017, pp.260-261.

[480] Green, 1975, pp.125-128.

these killings as "human sacrifice"? The killing of prisoners-of-war is a barbaric and violent act, but there appears to be little evidence for this being part of a religious ritual. More convincingly, the Middle Kingdom inscription of Senusret I from Tod records that those who desecrated the Temple of Tod were impaled and flayed. The words used for their impalement suggest that they were transfixed on four upright stakes which were bound together.[481] The word used for the victims is followed by a determinative indicating that they were sacrificial offerings. Muhlestein concludes that "There can be no doubt that Senusret intentionally included a sacrificial element in the executions he had just enacted." The victims were Nubians and Asiatics. As foreigners, they represented Isfet (chaos), so, by killing them, Senusret was restoring Maat (order).[482]

Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica*, 1.88.5), writing in the first century BCE, was aware of an Egyptian tradition of human sacrifice. He claims that in ancient times men were sacrificed at the tombs of the kings to the god Osiris, but only if they were red-haired, because Typhon, Osiris' adversary, was red-haired. As few native Egyptians naturally have red hair, this meant that foreigners were usually selected for the ritual sacrifice. Diodorus believes that the stories of the Egyptian king Busiris killing any foreigners who arrived in his land stem from this ancient custom. Rutherford argues against ethnic stereotyping in the writings of Diodorus and in favour of transcultural discourse and claims that much of what Greek writers say about Egyptian sacrifices matches up with Egyptian sources.[483]

The effect of intertextuality with these iconographic representations and written accounts of brutal slaughter of prisoners-of-war is to give the scene of Leukippe's sacrifice a semblance of authenticity. When the reader first comes to the description of the heroine's evisceration, he or she is unaware that the events are being carefully staged and faked. Like Kleitophon, the reader does not yet know that the men leading Leukippe to the altar are friends of the young couple; Kleitophon and the reader believe that they are Egyptian brigands. As sacrificing their captives to their gods is something Egyptians do, according to Diodorus and to the Egyptians' own temple iconography, then the reader might take the scene at face value and assume that Leukippe has been slaughtered. Her death would then be in accordance with Egyptian religious custom and would promote the brigands' power and capability of victory, just as the smiting pharaoh reliefs promote the power, legitimacy and military successes of the ruling monarchy.

[481] I will discuss below the use of stakes in relation to Leukippe's sacrifice and the punishment of sinners in the Underworld.
[482] Muhlestein, 2011, pp.37-38.
[483] Rutherford, 2017.

Other intertexts at play at this stage are historic and tragic, not mimic, and they combine with the smiting pharaoh iconography to create the option for the reader of viewing this scene in the most pessimistic light, as the death of the heroine of the novel. Whilst intertextuality with the myth of Iphigenia might hint to the reader that Leukippe will somehow be substituted, and links between the sacrifice scene and the temple paintings suggest that the heroine will be rescued by a Greek hero, the intertextual resonances of the historical examples of sacrifice before battle and of the Roman amphitheatre executions, intratextuality with Panthea's dream in which she foresees the evisceration of her daughter, and connections to the stories of Pausanias and Parthenius in which the daughter of Aristodemos and the daughter of Cydon actually die, promote the idea that the reader might just have witnessed Leukippe's end. It is not until Leukippe is 'resurrected' and Menelaos and Satyros explain that her death was bogus that the mimic intertexts come fully into play supporting the view of the optimistic reader that the heroine would be saved as in the temple diptych.

Is there also any evidence for the Egyptian practice of cannibalism? The eating of Leukippe's entrails at 3.15.5 has already been discussed in connection with oath-sacrifices in Greek and Roman literature. However, from an Egyptian perspective, perhaps the anthropophagical act was intended not to bind the brigands to the cause but rather to individually empower them. Cannibalism features as a metaphor for transcendence in two spells which were inscribed on the walls of the east gable of the antechamber of the tombs of pharaohs Unis and Teti (*Pyramid Texts*, 273-274). These spells were later reworked as *Coffin Text* 573 and are now known as the *Cannibal Hymn*. Lichtheim translates a section of *Pyramid Texts* 273-274 thus: "Unas is the bull of heaven who rages in his heart, who lives on the being of every god, who eats their entrails when they come, their bodies full of magic from the Isle of Flame…. It is Khons, slayer of lords, who cuts their throats for Unas, who tears their entrails out for him, he is the envoy who is sent to punish. It is Shesmu who carves them up for Unas, cooks meals of them for him in his dinner-pots. Unas eats their magic, swallows their spirits…"[484] Later, cannibalism is specifically associated with resurrection: "Lo, their power is in Unas's belly, their spirits are before Unas as broth of the gods, cooked for Unas from their bones… For Unas is of those who

[484] Lichtheim, 1975, pp.36-37, p.38, n.3 the Isle of Flame is part of the celestial topography.

risen is risen, lasting lasts. Nor can evildoers harm Unas's chosen seat among the living in this land for all eternity."[485]

In these texts, cannibalism is associated with becoming empowered. Muhlestein argues that, though cooking denies the victim their existence in this life and the next, and is, therefore, a destructive act, there is also a creative element to the rite, as the victim is transformed into a powerful substance which is absorbed by the receiver of the cooked offerings.[486] *Coffin Text* 6.223i-j refers to the stomach as the seat of desire, which is full of magical power.[487] By eating the contents of Leukippe's stomach, the brigands absorb its magical potency. As cannibalism in this hymn features alongside resurrection, I cautiously suggest that the presence of the cannibalistic act in Leukippe's sacrifice scene might have had the effect of making an Egyptian reader think of resurrection, thereby subtly prefiguring Leukippe's resurrection a few chapters later. My caution is definitely warranted, as the *Cannibal Hymn* is an isolated example of this symbolism. We do not know if there were other such texts in antiquity, and if any of them survived into the Roman period. It is, therefore, impossible to say whether cannibalism would still have had these resonances in the second century CE.

The act of removing Leukippe's entrails might also have brought to mind the practice of removing a dead person's innards as part of the mummification process, which was itself a preparation of the body for resurrection to eternal life. Mummification was adopted by both Greeks and Romans living in Egypt. There is evidence that the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, containing spells to prepare the deceased for the afterlife, was still used in conjunction with mummification in the Ptolemaic period. The latest datable version is from the first century CE, as, by this time, it had been replaced in popularity by the *Books of Breathing*, which contained a lot of older material, including material from the *Book of the Dead*. Mummies dating to as late as the fourth century CE have been found in Egypt, proving that this practice continued throughout the period of Roman rule.[488]

At 3.15., Kleitophon explains how Leukippe was sacrificed in detail: she was led out by two men with her hands tied behind her back (3.15.1), she was laid down on her back and strapped to pegs fixed into the ground (3.15.4), and, after she was eviscerated, her innards were placed

[485] ibid., p.38.
[486] Muhlestein, 2011, p.24.
[487] Zandee, 1960, p.63.
[488] Bortolani, 2016, p.242.

upon the altar, roasted and eaten by the brigands (3.15.5). I suggest that these specific elements of her sacrifice recall depictions in the Egyptian Underworld books of sinners being tortured in the afterlife by demons. In these books, the damned who are awaiting punishment are usually shown with their hands tied behind their backs.[489] Sinners are often tied to stakes or posts. For example, in a picture from the *Book of Gates*, three sinners are tied to torture-posts. These are the posts of Geb (god of the earth). The enemies of Re and Osiris were tied to them as an eternal punishment for sinning against the mysteries of Osiris.[490] Some sinners are described as having their hearts cut out on the slaughtering-block of "him who eats raw flesh", for example, in *Le livre des Quererts* CXVIII and *Coffin Text* 3.295h. The gruesome way in which Leukippe is killed associates her with the Underworld sinners, the enemies of Re and Osiris. Perhaps this strengthens her identification with Seth, the archetypal enemy of these two gods, as discussed in **Case Study B**? Or as Merkelbach suggests "Wir haben hier den Tod des Mysten bei der Initiation. …Leukippes Tod ist ein Sühnopfer; der Tod des Mysten sühnt die Sünden, welche er früher begangen hat."[491]

A key intertext for the rescue of Leukippe by her executioners is the *Story of Ahiqar*. The oldest extant version of this story has been found on a papyrus dated to 475 BCE written in Old Aramaic. This story was translated into many languages in antiquity, including Demotic, Greek and Latin, and was hugely influential.[492] It tells of Ahiqar, a court official in Nineveh during the rule of King Esarhaddon, who was betrayed by his nephew Nadin. Nadin falsely accused Ahiqar of plotting against Esarhaddon with the shah of Persia and the pharaoh of Egypt, by encouraging the two leaders to send their armies against Nineveh simultaneously. Upon hearing about this treasonous plot, Esarhaddon sentenced Ahiqar to death by beheading. Ahiqar escaped this fatal punishment with the help of the executioner, an old friend who owed Ahiqar his life. The executioner concealed Ahiqar in a subterranean vault and presented the headless

[489] Mahran, 2015, p.101; Zandee, 1960, p.21.
[490] Zandee, 1960, p.22. Book of Gates V. B.S. Pl. XVIII. Mahran, 2015, p.106.
[491] Merkelbach, 1962, p.126.
[492] Ahiqar has been associated with Akikaros, an ancient diviner referred to by Strabo at 16.2.39. Clement of Alexandria reported that Democritus of Abdera (460-370 BCE) plagiarized from a stele of Akikaro. Diogenes Laertius (*Vitae* 5.2.50) recorded that Theophrastus (372-287 BCE) wrote a work called *Akicharos*. See Selden, 2013, p.8; Greenfield, 1995, p.51; Kurke, 2011, pp. 33, 176-178. Marinčič, 2003, p.61 argues that *Life of Aesop* lines 101-108 were modelled on a lost Greek version of the *Story of Ahiqar*. See also Grottanelli, 1987, pp.10-12.

corpse of a dead slave to Esarhaddon instead, claiming that it was the body of Ahiqar. When Nadin's falsehoods became known, Ahiqar ascended from the vault to reclaim his rightful place as Esarhaddon's advisor. The story bears a strong resemblance to that of Cambyses' advisor Croesus, as told by Herodotus at *Histories* 3.36. Cambyses ordered Croesus' execution, but the executioners hid him instead. When he heard that Cambyses regretted his decision and missed his guidance, Croesus came out of hiding; this action resulted in the execution of the helpful executioners, who had incurred Cambyses' wrath by failing to obey his orders. Like Ahiqar and Croesus, Leukippe is saved from a grim fate by the very people instructed to put her to death. Ahiqar and Croesus wait until Esarhaddan and Cambyses are feeling better disposed towards them before coming out of hiding and revealing their deaths to have been faked. Leukippe, likewise, remains hidden (in her case, in a coffin) until the brigands have left the area and it is safe for her to rise from her grave.

Earlier I discussed Mignogna's suggestion that Leukippe's *Scheintod* playfully inverts the genders of the characters in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*: instead of Orestes and Pylades being rescued by their executioner, Iphigenia, Menelaos and Satyros are the executioners who rescue the woman they have been ordered to kill, Leukippe. So, what does intertextuality with the *Story of Ahiqar* add? Is this just another example of a kindly and devious executioner helping the hero or heroine escape death? I suggest that the *Story of Ahiqar* is more intricately entwined in the novel's narrative and that its relevance is not just to this scene but to Leukippe's second *Scheintod* scene as well. When Leukippe dies for a second time at 5.7.4, she is decapitated. Her headless corpse is then rescued from the sea by Kleitophon and is buried (5.7.6, 5.8.1). Kleitophon and the reader later discover that the woman who was beheaded was a prostitute and that the pirates had decided to kill her instead of Leukippe, as a virginal noblewoman would fetch them a higher price when sold at the slave market than a woman who had made her living selling sexual favours (8.16). I will discuss this scene in greater detail in **Case Study E.** Here it is sufficient to note that the motif of the headless corpse being mistaken for the body of the heroine does not owe its presence in the narrative to any of the intertexts I mention in **E.** I suggest that it is a carry-over from intertextuality with the *Story of Ahiqar* in the first *Scheintod* scene, that intertextuality with Ahiqar's fake execution is split between the two *Scheintode*: the executioner-helper features in the first and the headless corpse mistaken for the intended victim is in the second. This is not the only example of the recycling of an intertext within *L&C*. For example, the myth of Tereus' abduction of Philomela, which I explore extensively in **Case Study D**, interacts with the narrative not just at the point where a

painting of the myth in an Alexandrian artist's workshop is described at 5.3.4-5.5.9, but earlier at 1.8.4 when Kleinias mentions Φιλομήλας ἡ τράπεζα as an example of the evils of women, at 2.24.3 when Panthea tells her daughter that she would rather she'd been ravished by a Thracian (ὤφελόν σε κἄν θρᾲξ νικήσας ὕβρισεν) and Leukippe's response at 2.25.2 refers to fear having shackled her tongue (φόβος γὰρ γλώττης ἐστι δεσμός), as well as later in books 5-7 with respect to the love triangles on Ephesus (Thersander, Melite and Leukippe, and Kleitophon, Melite and Leukippe), Leukippe's imprisonment in a hut by Thersander and Sosthenes, and the false report of her death.

C.iv. Internymical intertextuality

In C.iv., building upon the recently published research of Lefteratou on the novels' intertextual relationship with narratives attached to female heroines of the epic cycle, I will further explore the relationship of Leukippe's first *Scheintod* to what Lefteratou calls the Iphigenia and Helen 'megatexts'.[493] As her book focusses upon the female characters of these 'megatexts', I will instead look closely at one of the male characters which these two 'megatexts' share. I will suggest that the novelistic character Menelaos, who is instrumental in rescuing Leukippe from her untimely death on the sacrificial altar, is a perversion of the hero of the Trojan War of the same name. I will argue that his character is both a recollection and distortion of the pre-Trojan War Menelaos, who escorts his niece Iphigenia to her grim fate in pictorial versions of the sacrifice at Aulis scene, of Homeric Menelaos, famed for his spear-throwing, and of the post-Trojan War Menelaos, who, according to Herodotus, sacrificed children to ensure a favourable wind for his escape from Egypt with his wife Helen.

I will argue that *L&C*'s Menelaos, whilst sharing the values of a Greek epic hero, such as willingness to face danger for the sake of a friend, lacks the martial prowess of such a hero; he, instead, demonstrates a different kind of heroism, one which relies upon trickery and magic (or, more accurately, his audience's willingness to believe that he has magical knowledge) and which, therefore, owes as much to his representation as an Egyptian as to his association through internymical intertextuality with Menelaos the Greek hero. I will also contend that the intertextual connection between novelistic Menelaos and Herodotean Menelaos undermines

[493] Lefteratou, 2018.

the ethnic stereotype of Egyptians practising human sacrifice, as Egyptian Menelaos' sacrifice of Leukippe is a sham and Greek Menelaos' human sacrifice is real.

AT first introduces Menelaos at 2.33-34.4 onboard a ship travelling to Egypt. Menelaos informs Kleitophon and his cousin Klinias that Egypt is his native land and that he is returning there after a three-year period of banishment. He tells the tragic story of how he accidentally killed his own boyfriend, a young huntsman, whilst they were chasing a wild boar. He sorrowfully explains to Kleitophon and Klinias that the boar charged ferociously at the young man, and so, fearing for the life of his beloved, he threw his spear quickly without aiming properly. The spear accidentally hit his boyfriend instead of the boar, resulting in the young man's death. Menelaos was tried for the crime and, though he begged for his punishment to be his own death, the court showed leniency and sentenced him to temporary banishment from the country.

Similarities between this story and that of Adrastus and Atys (in which Adrastus accidentally speared Atys whilst on a boar hunt, as told by Herodotus at *Histories*, 1.34-45) and that of Thrasyllus and Tlepolemus (in which, during a boar hunt, Thrasyllus speared Tlepolemus' horse on purpose causing his death, as recounted by a servant of the character Charite in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, 8.4-6) have been mentioned by Repath.[494] However, no previous scholarship has touched upon the intertextual relationship between this episode and the slaying of Scamandrius by Homeric Menelaos at *Iliad*, 5.49-59. Homer's Menelaos proves himself to be expert with a spear in several Iliadic episodes. In this particular battle scene, Menelaos faces Scamandrius son of Strophius, who is described by Homer as a huntsman taught by the goddess Artemis to kill any wild animals which roam the mountains. Menelaos throws his spear at the young huntsman with deadly accurate aim; it pierces his back in between his shoulders and passes right through his torso. Menelaos is here referred to as δουρικλειτός "famed for the spear" (*Iliad*, 5.55). Menelaos' love of the spear is also mentioned by his wife Helen in Euripides' *Helen* (line 1263). I suggest that *L&C*'s Menelaos is an ironic inversion of Menelaos of Trojan war fame. Whereas Homeric Menelaos' spear always hits its mark, and he kills a young huntsman on purpose, the spear of *L&C*'s Menelaos misses the wild boar, as he lets it fly before sufficiently checking its alignment πρὶν ἀκριβῶς καταστοχάσασθαι τοῦ σκοποῦ, πέμπω τὸ βέλος (2.34.4), and it finds a home in the chest of a young huntsman by mistake.

[494] 2000, p.628 n.7.

Does *L&C*'s Menelaos perhaps also share or invert character traits of the epic hero before his exploits in the Trojan War? In Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Menelaos is initially angry with his brother Agamemnon for his reluctance to sacrifice Iphigenia so that the Greek fleet might sail for Troy (334-375). However, he later reconsiders his position and says: καί σοι παραινῶ μήτ᾽ ἀποκτείνειν τέκνον / μήτ᾽ ἀνθελέσθαι τοὐμόν. οὐ γὰρ ἔνδικον / σὲ μὲν στενάζειν, τἀμὰ δ᾽ ἡδέως ἔχειν, / θνήσκειν τε τοὺς σούς, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐμοὺς ὁρᾶν φάος. (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 481-484) "Yes, and I will put myself in your present position; and I counsel you, do not slay your child or prefer my interests to yours; for it is not just that you should grieve, while I am glad, or that your children should die, while mine still see the light of day." [trans. Coleridge, 1891]

Like *L&C*'s Menelaos, he decides that a maiden's life is too steep a price for the sake of a war. However, unlike his namesake in the novel, he does nothing to prevent the sacrifice or to facilitate her rescue. The character in the novel, though unable to wield a spear to save the man he loves, demonstrates other heroic qualities when he saves the life of the kidnapped girlfriend of his friend Kleitophon, showing himself to be braver than his counterpart in the play when the life of an innocent maiden is at stake. The reader is encouraged to have Homeric Menelaos in mind again at this juncture, as Menelaos in the novel utilises one of the stage props, a sword with a retractable blade, belonging to a group of actors who recited Homer in the public theatres (καὶ γάρ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν τῶν τὰ Ὁμήρου τῷ στόματι δεικνύντων ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις 3.20.4). At 3.22 Menelaos recounts to Kleitophon his verbal exchange with Satyros prior to undertaking the rescue of Leukippe with this Homeric gear (Ὁμηρικὴν ...σκευὴν 3.20.4). This phrase has evident metaliterary connotations and is a flashing light to alert the reader to the intertextual resonances of Menelaos' actions and to point him/her to a specific hypotextual source.

Menelaos relates that he told Satyros that ὑπὲρ φίλου, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν δεήσῃ, καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος, γλυκὺς ὁ θάνατος "for a friend, even if one must die, danger is noble, death is sweet". Mitchell has previously discussed this line and argues that Menelaos does not rescue Leukippe for her own sake, but rather to ingratiate himself with his new friend Kleitophon.[495] Brief comment has very recently been made by Lefteratou on similarities between the friendship of Orestes and Pylades and the friendship of Menelaos, Satyros and Kleitophon, with reference to second-century CE debates regarding friendship such as in Lucian's *Toxaris*.[496] However, by choosing to name Kleitophon's friend Menelaos, and referring specifically to Menelaos' use of Homeric

[495] Mitchell, 2013.
[496] Lefteratou, 2018, p.39, p.66.

gear, I suggest that AT also intended for his readers to have in mind the Trojan War hero of the same name and, therefore, to recall this Menelaos' demonstrations of friendship and sentiments regarding friendship in the Homeric epics and later works featuring the same character. For example, throughout the 17th book of the *Iliad*, Menelaos demonstrates heroism for the sake of friendship when he rushes into the fray to protect the corpse of his fallen comrade Patroclus from the Trojans. His determination to rescue the young man's body is, however, no match for the onslaught of the Trojans once Hector leads their charge, so he flees to fetch enforcements. He returns with more men to guard the body, but not before Achilles' armour, which Patroclus was wearing, has been stripped from the corpse and donned by Hector. Argive heroism is eventually rewarded and Menelaos carries Patroclus' body back to the Greek camp.

In Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Menelaos frequently comments upon what it means to be a good friend. At lines 347-348 he says ἀλλὰ καὶ βέβαιον εἶναι τότε μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις, / ἡνίκ' ὠφελεῖν μάλιστα δυνατός ἐστιν εὐτυχῶν "but also to his friends he should be more steady than ever, when on account of good fortune his power to help them is greatest"; and at line 408 he says ἐς κοινὸν ἀλγεῖν τοῖς φίλοισι χρὴ φίλους "it is necessary for friends to share the suffering of their friends". These lines are spoken to persuade Agamemnon to sacrifice his daughter, before Menelaos' change of mind discussed above. Ironically, Menelaos in the novel echoes these sentiments when discussing the great lengths which he is prepared to go to in order to avert Leukippe's death on the sacrificial altar.

Menelaos also features as one of the characters in Euripides' *Orestes*, a play in which what it means to be a good friend is hotly debated. Orestes asks for his uncle's help, as he is about to be tried by the people of Argos for the slaying of his mother and fears that he will be sentenced to death by stoning. Resonating with the words quoted above of Menelaos to Agamemnon in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Orestes says: ἐς σὲ ἐλπὶς ἡμὴ καταφυγὰς ἔχει κακῶν. / ἀλλ᾽ ἀθλίως πράσσουσιν εὐτυχὴς μολὼν / μετάδος φίλοισι σοῖσι σῆς εὐπραξίας, / καὶ μὴ μόνος τὸ χρηστὸν ἀπολαβὼν ἔχε, / ἀλλ᾽ ἀντιλάζου καὶ πόνων ἐν τῷ μέρει, / χάριτας πατρῴας ἐκτίνων ἐς οὕς σε δεῖ. / ὄνομα γάρ, ἔργον δ᾽ οὐκ ἔχουσιν οἱ φίλοι / οἱ μὴ 'πὶ ταῖσι συμφοραῖς ὄντες φίλοι (Euripides, *Orestes*, 448-455). "So, since I am in misery and you arrive in prosperity, give a share of your good fortune to your kinsman! Don't take all the good and keep it to yourself but accept some trouble too in your turn by repaying to those you should the debt of gratitude you owe my father. Those who are not friends in misfortune have only the name of friendship, not its reality". [trans. Kovacs, 2002, p.463] Menelaos refuses to offer his nephew military aid but agrees to speak on his behalf at the tribunal: he believes that persuasive rhetoric will be more

effective in gaining leniency for Orestes than a show of force (682-716); however, when the time for the tribunal arrives, Menelaos does not turn up to support and defend his nephew (1058-1064). Orestes is incensed and brands his uncle the worst of friends (line 719, ὦ κάκιστε τιμωρεῖν φίλοις). In contrast, he considers his friend Pylades to be the very best of friends (line 1100, ὦ φίλτατ', εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κατθάνοιμ' ἰδών), as he professes a willingness to die with Orestes if need be (1069-1099) and is willing to help Orestes kill Menelaos' wife Helen as vengeance for her part in the Trojan War, as well as to grieve Menelaos whose apathy towards fighting on Orestes' behalf they resent (line 1105, spoken by Pylades: Ἑλένην κτάνωμεν, Μενέλεῳ λύπην πικράν).

So, is *L&C*'s Menelaos who thinks ὑπὲρ φίλου, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν δεήσῃ, καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος, γλυκὺς ὁ θάνατος a complete inversion of Menelaos of Euripides' *Orestes* and more like Orestes' friend Pylades? I suggest not. In the *Orestes*, Menelaos is faced with the choice of taking up arms against the people of Argos on behalf of a man who has committed matricide or adhering to the laws of the land; by doing the former, he would also be going against the wishes of his father-in-law, Tyndareus, who likens him to a barbarian at the mere suggestion that he might help Orestes (line 485, βεβαρβάρωσαι, χρόνιος ὢν ἐν βαρβάροις). Menelaos chooses not to offer military aid and not to defend a murderer, and, in doing so, takes the side of law and order over anarchy. As Tyndareus points out, if every murder were avenged by another murder then the sequence of killings would never end (507-511). Aiding a killer is here presented as a barbarian act, one which can only perpetuate the cycle of violence. In *L&C*, Menelaos is a barbarian, as in a non-Greek, and is welcomed into the Egyptian brigand band as a friend and neighbour. However, he prevents the killing of a woman and chooses his ties of friendship to Kleitophon over his ties of kinship with the brigands. Like Menelaos of the *Orestes*, he chooses to side with law and order against barbarian bloodshed. Conversely, Pylades of the play prioritises his friendship with Orestes over the law, and shows no reluctance as regards the killing of women – he plots with Orestes to kill Helen and mention is made that he previously helped Orestes kill his mother (line 1074).

The post-Trojan War exploits of Menelaos were also touched upon by Herodotus. At *Histories*, 2.119, he claims that Egyptian priests told him that Menelaos visited King Proteus in Egypt to retrieve his wife Helen, who had been resident in Proteus' kingdom throughout the war with Troy. Proteus restored Helen to Menelaos and entertained them both lavishly. When it came time for the couple to depart Egypt and return to Sparta, a storm prevented them from setting

sail. Menelaos was unwilling to wait for more clement weather, so he devised (ἐπιτεχνᾶται πρῆγμα) a means to overcome it. He stole two Egyptian children and sacrificed them to the gods. Herodotus explains that this sacrifice was considered to be οὐκ ὅσιον "not lawful, not pious" by the Egyptians, that they hated Menelaos for having acted thus and pursued him to exact revenge. However, he and Helen escaped them and reached Libya. Like his namesake, AT's Menelaos is the one to carry out a sacrifice to facilitate an escape. However, Menelaos is Egyptian not Greek and his sacrifice is a staged sham to fool the brigands and save Leukippe's life.[497] By naming the character performing the sacrifice Menelaos, making him Egyptian and having him fake the sacrifice, AT destabilises the reader's view of what it means to be a barbarian and what it means to be a Greek. Greek Menelaos is condemned by both Herodotus and the Egyptian people for his barbaric act, which was motivated by pure selfishness, but Egyptian Menelaos, though he has joined the brigand band and claims to have known its chief members prior to joining (3.19.1: ἦν οὖν μοι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κτημάτων περὶ ταύτην τὴν κώμην καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῆς γνώριμοι), refuses to act in a barbaric way and his motivations are altruistic.[498]

A possible reason for casting Menelaos as an Egyptian is that there was an association in Greek literature between Egyptians and magic, especially necromantic magic. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 2.25-30, Thelyphron encounters an Egyptian necromancer called Zatchlas who brings a dead man back to life to ask him how he died; and in Antonius Diogenes' *Wonders beyond Thule* (summarised at Photius *Bibliotheca* cod. 166, 109-11, sections 7-8) an Egyptian priest called Paapis uses sorcery to make the hero and heroine of the story live by night and be dead by day. At 3.17.5-7, Menelaos seemingly brings Leukippe back to life, when he knocks on the lid of her coffin and she answers from within; at 3.18.2-5, to Kleitophon's astonishment, he uses a magical incantation to heal Leukippe's torn stomach and restore her innards to their proper place. However, within a few pages, Leukippe's 'death' and 'resurrection' are revealed to have been an elaborate subterfuge. At this point, Menelaos' ethnicity appears doubly appropriate, as Egyptians were often associated with trickery as well as with magic. In the story of Rhampsinitus, for example, the eponymous Egyptian monarch is outwitted by one of his own subjects, who uses skulduggery to steal riches from the king and evade capture. It is likely

[497] It was popular practice in the Roman era, particularly the second century CE, for Egyptians to take Homeric Greek names in addition to their Egyptian names, as discussed by Broux, 2017.

[498] See also Nimis 2004, p.50 who remarks upon Menelaos being both Greek and Egyptian, as he can become a member of the Egyptian brigand band but can also manipulate the equipment of an Homeric rhapsode.

that AT's original readers would have been aware of this story, as Pausanias, also writing in the second century CE, could list no fewer than 28 variants (5.177). The story is recounted in detail by Herodotus (*Histories*, 2.121). It concludes with the trickster being offered the hand of Rhampsinitus' daughter in marriage as a reward for his intelligence and cunning.

This stereotyping of Egyptians as deceitful is also present in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, which I argued in **Case Study B** is an intertext for the rescue of Leukippe from the Egyptian brigands. I mentioned there that Euripides pretends to be several heroic characters from Greek myth and epic, including Menelaos rescuing Helen from the Egyptian island of Pharos. At 918-919, Euripides in his role as Menelaos says: σὺ τὴν ἐμὴν γυναῖκα κωλύεις ἐμέ, / τὴν Τυνδάρειον παῖδ᾽, ἐπὶ Σπάρτην ἄγειν; "Wouldst you prevent me my very own wife, the daughter of Tyndareus, to take to Sparta?" [trans. Henderson, 2000, p.571] To this, one of the female celebrants replies: οἴμ᾽ ὡς πανοῦργος καὐτὸς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖς / καὶ τοῦδέ τις ξύμβουλος. οὐκ ἐτὸς πάλαι / ἠγυπτιάζετ᾽. (920-922) "Oh my, you strike me as being a villain yourself, and some kind of ally of this other one. No wonder you kept acting like Egyptians!" [trans. Henderson, 2000, pp.571-573] Deception and cunning are here associated with Egypt. Euripides has adopted the guise of the Homeric hero Menelaos in order to rescue his friend, who is playing the part of Menelaos' wife Helen. The adoption of a false persona is portrayed as being appropriate for an Egyptian context. It makes sense for someone who is being cunning and deceitful to talk about Egypt.[499] In the novel, Menelaos the Egyptian takes on attributes of the Homeric hero of the same name, chiefly his courage and loyalty to friends, but he utilises these attributes in a stereotypically Egyptian way by creating a subterfuge to rescue Leukippe rather than relying on martial prowess.

Baker discusses the description of Menelaos as a μάγος at 3.17.6. She notes that the word has a double meaning in Greek, both magician and charlatan, and provides examples of contemporary allegations of sorcerers engaging in chicanery. For instance, Lucian's reference to Alexander and Cocconas travelling the country as magicians and swindling people out of money (*Alexander the false prophet*, 6). She concludes that "μάγος perfectly captures the nature of Menelaos' behaviour insofar as his con is hidden under magical cover".[500] She also notes that the word used to describe Leukippe's fake stomach at 3.18.3 is μαγγανεύματα.[501] Dickie discusses examples in Greek and Roman sources of tricks used by magicians to create the

[499] For Egyptians and trickery in fifth-century BCE Athenian drama, see Rowlandson, 2013, p.231.
[500] Baker, 2016(a), p.111.
[501] Baker, 2016(a), p.115.

impression that they could kill their assistants and bring them back to life.[502] In Egyptian stories of wise men with magical powers, the element of trickery is usually absent. The wise men use real and powerful magic, often to help their pharaohs or for some other heroic purpose. In the story of the magician Djedi, written in Hieratic c.1550 BCE, Djedi proves to the pharaoh that he is able to reattach severed heads. He decapitates a goose, a pelican and a bull, reattaches their heads, then brings them back to life.[503] This is portrayed as actually taking place, not as an elaborate trick or subterfuge.

So, should the reader view Menelaos' resurrection of Leukippe as a faux magical hoax, or as a piece of religious theatre in which Leukippe represents the dead and dismembered Osiris who needs to be made whole again, as discussed in C.i.? I suggest that it can simultaneously be both. Merkelbach usually argues ardently for a religious interpretation of the novels, that the *Scheintode* represent the symbolic death and resurrection of the initiate, whose death has to be simulated before they can rise up from the funeral bier as a full member of the cult. However, in relation to Menelaos' role, he says: "Menelaos plays here completely the role of a magic priest. He also relies on his being Egyptian by birth. No doubt many Isis priests were real Egyptians. … It is particularly noteworthy, however, that jokes are openly made about these juggleries (Gaukeleien), and that Menelaos should by no means be disliked. Here, joke and seriousness, healing action and play, mysticism and farce merge."[504] I entirely agree. The polyphonic texture of the novel here, as elsewhere, provides the reader with several different ways of interpreting the text. No answers are wrong, and all can be concurrently possible.

Trickery can be a heroic characteristic in the Greek tradition. Greek Menelaos, like his novelistic counterpart, also engages in skulduggery when necessary. In the *Odyssey*, he deceives the sea-god Proteus by hiding in a seal-skin on the beach of Pharos, so that he might pounce upon Proteus when he lies on the beach for his daily slumber (4.351-592). In Euripides' *Helen*, a text I explore further in **Case Study E** in relation to the visit of Kleitophon and Leukippe to Pharos, Menelaos, with the help of Helen, stages a sham funeral for himself at sea, for the purpose of escaping the clutches of Pharos' ruler Theoclymenus (lines 1032ff). I suggest that Menelaos' sacrifice of Leukippe in *L&C* engages with both of these texts. The ruse by which the Egyptian brigands are fooled into thinking Leukippe has been sacrificed involves an

[502] Dickie, 2001, p.238, nn.141-144.
[503] This story can be found in Papyrus *Westcar* (P. Berlin 3033).
[504] Merkelbach, 1962, pp.127-128 [my translation]

animal-skin, as Homeric Menelaos' ruse to fool Egyptian Proteus did; and *L&C*'s Menelaos stages a sham funeral for Leukippe, just as Euripidean Menelaos staged one for himself.

By naming his protagonists' friend Menelaos, AT invites the reader to look for connections between his own narrative and all of the texts mentioned above which feature Menelaos as a character. The character of Menelaos in the novel draws upon all of the earlier literary versions of Menelaos, with some characteristics of the earlier versions being inverted, such as Homeric and Euripidean Menelaos' famed accuracy in spear-throwing, and other characteristics being replicated, such as loyalty to friends and willingness to engage in deception to rescue a woman. I suggest that internymical intertextuality is one of the defining features of *L&C*, and that this device to encourage intertextual reading is exploited more by AT than by any of the other extant ancient novelists.

My next case study moves forward several chapters in the narrative to the arrival of Kleitophon and Leukippe at the city of Alexandria, and to the second of the two ekphrasis/*Scheintod* pairs which it is the aim of this thesis to discuss.

CASE STUDY D

Alexandria and the painting of Philomela, Prokne and Tereus (*L&C* 5.1-5.5)

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D.i. Greek and Roman intertexts

At 5.1-2, our hero and heroine arrive at the city of Alexandria. For a discussion of the way in which Kleitophon's hodological description of his journey through the city reflects the experience of the intertextual reader of the novel, see **Case Study A/Aii**. In D.i. I will explore two previously undiscussed Greek intertexts for Kleitophon's description of his promenade: Euripides' *Hecuba* and Theokritos' *Idyll* 15. I will argue that the intertextual links to Euripides' tragic play undermine Kleitophon's positivity about the cityscape and suggest that Alexandria might be full of countless woes for the young couple rather than innumerable beauties and delights. Previous scholarship has identified intratextual links between Kleitophon's initial reaction to the city and his initial reaction to Leukippe, leading to the conclusion that Alexandria is feminized and sexualised by Kleitophon.[505] I suggest that the conflict between the tragic and the erotic resonances raises the following question for the first-time reader of the novel: will Alexandria be the place where Kleitophon's amorous ambitions towards Leukippe are realised, or will it be the place from where she is taken away from him once again? In relation to Theokritos' *Idyll* 15, I will discuss correspondences between the denouements of the poem, which begins with a walk through the city of Alexandria, and *L&C* 5.1-5. I aim to demonstrate that the poem's emphasis upon death and resurrection foreshadows Leukippe's second *Scheintod*.

In this section, I will provide a brief survey of the intratextual evidence and my own interpretation. At 5.1.1, he says that he was "immediately struck as if by lightning by the splendid beauty of the city": συνηντᾶτο εὐθὺς τῆς πόλεως ἀστράπτον τὸ κάλλος. When he sees Leukippe for the first time at 1.4.2, he is similarly "struck" by her face: καταστράπτει μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῷ προσώπῳ. The same wording is again used when he describes Thersander's first

[505] Morales, 2004, pp.104-105.

sight of Leukippe at 6.6.3: τὸ κάλλος ἐκ παραδρομῆς, ὡς ἁρπαζομένης ἀστραπῆς. Repath has discussed this metaphor of beauty as lightning in *L&C* and has convincingly attributed it to intertextual engagement with Plato's *Phaedrus*. Leukippe can be equated with the Phaedran beloved.[506] This combination of words κάλλος ἀστράπτον is also used at 1.19.1 to describe the "gleaming beauty" of the peacock and at 2.1.2 to describe the "glowing beauty" of the rose. The peacock's association with seduction has already been established, as it was through explaining its courtship rituals that Kleitophon first attempted to turn Leukippe's thoughts to matters of love (1.16.1). The rose has associations with love and is described at 2.1.3 as the "go-between of Aphrodite". These intratextual links suggest that Alexandria will be the stage for love and seduction. It is appropriate that the reader should look for a foreshadowing function in these intratextual links, as the verb ἀστράπτω was used in the Homeric epics of omens sent by Zeus (*Iliad* 2.353, 9.237). Does the fact that the beauty of Alexandria has a similar effect upon Kleitophon as the beauty of his wife-to-be demonstrate a fickleness in his nature, or is he viewing the city through the eyes of a lover? Leukippe must be at his side as he wanders through Alexandria, yet, until the first-person plural verb ἤλθομεν is used at 5.2.1, mention of her participation in their tour of the city is absent. Cynically, one might say that Kleitophon was so enamoured of Alexandria that, even when recounting its beauty to the anonymous narrator many months later, he temporarily forgets that Leukippe was there with him. If so, this might be considered evidence of Kleitophon's inconsistency when it comes to matters of the heart and, therefore, preparation for the reader for his betrayal of Leukippe with Melite later in the book. Alternatively, Kleitophon is very conscious of Leukippe's presence and it is because she, the woman he loves, is with him that the whole world has taken on a romantic hue. Morales advocates for the second of these interpretations, that it is Kleitophon's status as a lover which influences his perspective.[507] I agree.

Although these links between Alexandria, Leukippe and erotic desire might create a positive image of the city, and suggest that it will be the setting for the consummation of our hero's amorous feelings for Leukippe, their optimistic resonance is undermined by another intratextual connection. The verb ἀστράπτω and its derivatives are most frequently used in connection with a pleasurable sight, in particular one which elicits feelings of desire; however, ἀστραπῆς at 3.2.2. is used to describe the lightning flashing from the sky during the storm at

[506] Repath, 2001, pp.177-181.
[507] Morales, 2004, pp.104-105.

sea. This intratextual link suggest that Alexandria might also be a dangerous place for the lovers.

The element of foreboding introduced by intratextuality is supported by two intertextual links, both of which relate to 5.1.4-5. As Kleitophon wanders through Alexandria, he attempts to look down each and every street to see their respective beauteous sights, but there are simply too many such sights for him to take in. He remarks: ἐγὼ δὲ μερίζων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς πάσας τὰς ἀγυιάς, θεατὴς ἀκόρεστος ἤμην καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὅλως οὐκ ἐξήρκουν ἰδεῖν. τὰ μὲν ἔβλεπον, τὰ δὲ ἔμελλον, τὰ δὲ ἠπειγόμην ἰδεῖν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελον παρελθεῖν. ἐκράτει τὴν θέαν τὰ ὁρώμενα, εἷλκε τὰ προσδοκώμενα (5.1.4-5).[508] "I tried to cast my eyes down every street, but my gaze was still unsatisfied, and I could not grasp all the beauty of the spot at once; some parts I saw, some I was on the point of seeing, some I earnestly desired to see, some I could not pass by; that which I actually saw kept my gaze fixed, while that which I expected to see would drag it on to the next." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.237] Morales has connected Kleitophon, the unsatisfied spectator (θεατὴς ἀκόρεστος) of the sights of Alexandria, to the *topos* of the admirer of a beautiful woman, who is aroused by gazing at her pulchritude but unable to quench his lust for her by simply looking.[509] A good example of this is the reaction of Socrates' pupils to the beautiful Theodote in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*; they look at her, long to touch her, and go away excited and longing to see her again (ἡμεῖς δὲ ἤδη τε ὧν ἐθεασάμεθα ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἅψασθαι καὶ ἄπιμεν ὑποκνιζόμενοι καὶ ἀπελθόντες ποθήσομεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς μὲν θεραπεύειν, ταύτην δὲ θεραπεύεσθαι. 3.11.3). Kleitophon is viewing the city through the eyes of not just any lover, but an unsatisfied one. The way he views the city reflects his state of mind at this point in the novel. Kleitophon has been unable to fulfil his desire to consummate his relationship with Leukippe. At 4.1.2, he asked Leukippe Μέχρι πότε ... χηρεύομεν τῶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὀργίων; "How long are we to be deprived of the rites of Aphrodite?" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.191] and she replied that she had dreamt of Artemis, who insisted that she remain a virgin until the time when the goddess herself would make her Kleitophon's wife. The emphasis upon Kleitophon's inability to satiate his gaze when viewing the city, combined with the intratextual links between Alexandria and Leukippe, suggest that Kleitophon will be unable to satiate his lust for Leukippe in Alexandria.

The second way in which the positive connotations of Alexandria's beauty are undermined is through intertextuality with one of Euripides' tragic plays. The lines quoted above from 5.1.4-

[508] See Case Study A/A.ii. for my metaliterary interpretation of this passage.
[509] Morales, 2004, pp.104-105.

5 are strikingly reminiscent of Hecuba's speech upon learning that her daughter Polyxena has been sacrificed upon Achilles' tomb at Troy: ὦ θύγατερ, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἰς ὅ τι βλέψω κακῶν, / πολλῶν παρόντων: ἢν γὰρ ἅψωμαί τινος, / τόδ᾽ οὐκ ἐᾷ με, παρακαλεῖ δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν αὖ / λύπη τις ἄλλη διάδοχος κακῶν κακοῖς (*Hecuba*, 585-588). "Daughter, what single grief shall I look at? I don't know. Many, many press close. And if I seize this one, that one does not let me go, and out of it another heartache summons me, grief crowds on grief."[510] Like Kleitophon, who cannot focus his attention upon one particular sight without his eyes being drawn to another, Hecuba cannot look at one particular grief, without another cause for sorrow pulling her attention away in a different direction.

This intertextual connection is ominous, as it not only suggests that Kleitophon might be faced with grief in Alexandria, but that the grief might be of a similar nature to that which he experienced in Book 3. As discussed in **Case Study C**, Leukippe was offered in sacrifice by a man named after one of the Greek heroes of the Trojan war, Menelaos, in full view of the Roman army. In the play, Polyxena is sacrificed on Achilles' tomb by the hero Neoptolemus in full view of the rest of the Greek army. The connection between the visual attractions of Alexandria, which pull Kleitophon's attention this way and that, and the woes of Hecuba, which play tug-of-war with her heartstrings, resurrect the topic of virgin sacrifice in the reader's mind. Should the reader interpret this tragic resonance as a flashback to Leukippe's earlier sacrifice and the grief Kleitophon experienced then, before he discovered that her death had been staged? Or, should the reader interpret it as proleptic of another virgin sacrifice to come? Or, is Kleitophon-narrator's view conflated with that of Hecuba? At the point in time at which he is telling his story to the anonymous narrator of the novel, Kleitophon-narrator knows exactly what will befall Leukippe in Alexandria, that she will be taken from him once again, and that another attempt will be made upon her life. Perhaps, Kleitophon-narrator's description of Alexandria is coloured by this knowledge, and his engagement with the quote from Hecuba reflects the negative associations Alexandria has come to have for him? These negative associations delicately reveal themselves in Kleitophon-narrator's description of Kleitophon-character's promenade through the city, through the interaction with the line from *Hecuba*, even though Kleitophon-character's impression of the city at this juncture in the novel is immensely positive.

[510] All translations of Euripides' *Hecuba* are by Lembke and Reckford from Burian & Shapiro, 2010, pp.88-139.

Later in Book 5, Leukippe does 'die' again, and a reader who picked up on the allusion to Hecuba's grief crowding upon grief at 5.1.5 and, therefore, had in mind Polyxena's death might notice a couple of very subtle correspondences between the Trojan princess' death on Achilles' tomb and Leukippe's death on Chaereas' ship. At 5.3.1, the reader is first informed of the secret love harboured by Chaereas for Leukippe. Before this moment, Chaereas appeared to be a friend to the couple. We first encountered him at 4.15.2-4.18.2 when he informed Kleitophon that Gorgias had bribed a servant to administer a love-philtre to Leukippe, that this philtre had been administered undiluted, and that this was the cause of Leukippe's apparent madness. Chaereas told Kleitophon that there was an antidote and helped him obtain it, thus restoring Leukippe's sanity. At 5.3.1-2, we are told that Chaereas had only offered up his knowledge of the philtre in order to strike up a friendship with the young couple, and to save Leukippe so that he might abduct her for himself. I will discuss Chaereas' plan for this abduction in detail in **Case Study E**; suffice to say here that it involves inviting Leukippe and Kleitophon to the island of Pharos to celebrate his birthday. At 5.7.1-4, Chaereas successfully captures Leukippe, with the aid of a group of armed pirates, and attempts to abscond with her by sea; however, his ship is swiftly pursued by the boats of the Pharos navy, whom Kleitophon asks for help to retrieve his girlfriend. To encourage Kleitophon to give up the chase, the pirates bring Leukippe up on deck and cut off her head in full view of those pursuing. Ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ λῃσταὶ προσιοῦσαν ἤδη τὴν ναῦν εἰς ναυμαχίαν, ἱστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε δεδεμένην τὴν κόρην, καί τις αὐτῶν μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ 'ἰδοὺ τὸ ἆθλον ὑμῶν' εἰπὼν ἀποτέμνει αὐτῆς τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα ὠθεῖ κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης (5.7.4). "Directly the pirates saw our ship putting out to give them battle, they brought the maiden up on deck with her hands tied behind her; and one of them cried out with a tremendous voice, 'Here is the prize for which you are contending,' cut off her head, and threw the body into the sea." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.251] At the opening of Euripides' play, the ships of the Greeks are becalmed on the shores of Thrace and the Greek army is eager to sail home. The ghost of Polyxena's brother, Polydorus, tells the audience that the ghost of Achilles appeared to the Greeks and told them to sacrifice Polyxena on his tomb in exchange for a fair wind (lines 35-41): πάντες δ᾽ Ἀχαιοὶ ναῦς ἔχοντες ἥσυχοι / θάσσουσ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀκταῖς τῆσδε Θρῃκίας χθονός: / ὁ Πηλέως γὰρ παῖς ὑπὲρ τύμβου φανεὶς / κατέσχ᾽ Ἀχιλλεὺς πᾶν στράτευμ᾽ Ἑλληνικόν, / πρὸς οἶκον εὐθύνοντας ἐναλίαν πλάτην: / αἰτεῖ δ᾽ ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν Πολυξένην / τύμβῳ φίλον πρόσφαγμα καὶ γέρας λαβεῖν. "All the Achaeans, anchoring their ships, sit idle upon the shore of this land of Thrace. For Peleus' son Achilles appeared above his tomb and stopped the entire Greek fleet as they were steering their ships toward home, asking to receive my sister Polyxena as a special sacrifice for

his tomb and a prize of honor." [trans. Kovacs, 2005, p.403] Before he kills Polyxena, Neoptolemus says to his father Achilles (lines 534-541): Ὦ παῖ Πηλέως, πατὴρ δ᾽ ἐμός, / δέξαι χοάς μοι τάσδε κηλητηρίους, / νεκρῶν ἀγωγούς· ἐλθὲ δ᾽, ὡς πίῃς μέλαν / κόρης ἀκραιφνὲς αἷμ᾽ ὅ σοι δωρούμεθα / στρατός τε κἀγώ· πρευμενὴς δ᾽ ἡμῖν γενοῦ / λῦσαί τε πρύμνας καὶ χαλινωτήρια / νεῶν δὸς ἡμῖν †πρευμενοῦς† τ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Ἰλίου / νόστου τυχόντας πάντας ἐς πάτραν μολεῖν. "Son of Peleus, my father, receive these libations, libations that charm the dead and summon them back up to the land of the living! Come and drink the blood of a maiden, dark and undiluted, which is the army's gift and mine! Be propitious to us, grant us your leave to cast off the mooring cables from our sterns, and allow us all, journeying home in peace, to reach our native land!" [trans. Kovacs, 2005, p.447]

In both the novel and the play, it is necessary for a woman to be killed so that a ship might sail away. This is a somewhat tenuous connection on its own; however, it is supported by two other links between the description of Leukippe's death and that of Polyxena, and a third link to a previous description of Leukippe. First, both women are referred to as a type of prize: Leukippe at 5.7.4 ('Ιδοὺ τὸ ἆθλον ὑμῶν) and Polyxena at line 41 and line 115, specifically in Polyxena's case a gift of honour (αἰτεῖ δ᾽ ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν Πολυξένην / τύμβῳ φίλον πρόσφαγμα καὶ γέρας λαβεῖν at lines 40-41, and Ποῖ δή, Δαναοί, τὸν ἐμὸν τύμβον / στέλλεσθ᾽ ἀγέραστον ἀφέντες; at lines 114-115). Second, Polyxena has her throat cut by Neoptolemus and Leukippe has her head cut off by the pirates. Third, Polyxena is described as falling to the ground in such a modest fashion that all that should be hidden from men's eyes remained hidden: ἣ δὲ καὶ θνῄσκουσ' ὅμως / πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμων πεσειν, / κρύπτουσ' ἃ κρύπτειν ὄμματ' ἀρσένων χρεών (lines 568-570); in contrast, when Leukippe is seized by insanity at 4.9.3., as a result of being given an undiluted love potion, she struggles with Kleitophon without a care for exposing what a woman does not want to be seen: ἡ δὲ προσεπάλαιεν ἡμῖν, οὐδὲν φροντίζουσα κρύπτειν ὅσα γυνὴ μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι θέλει. I suggest that Leukippe is set up at 4.9.3 as an anti-Polyxena. Whereas Polyxena dies nobly in the play, Leukippe does not really die at all in the novel. Her beheading is faked and she and Kleitophon are reunited later in the story.[511]

Just as the visual attractions of Alexandria are multiple, so are the woes of Hecuba. The reader of the novel would be aware that it was not just the death of her daughter which caused Hecuba to grieve in Euripides' play, but also the death of her son. Hecuba's lines 585-588 are echoed at 689-692 when she discovers that the dead body of her son, Polydorus, has been washed up

[511] Liapis, 2006(a), p.226 notes a correspondence between Leukippe's description of herself at 5.17.3 as ἐλευθέραν μέν, ὡς ἔφυν, δούλην δὲ νῦν and Polyxena's at *Hecuba* line 420: δούλη θανοῦμαι, πατρὸς οὖσ' ἐλευθέρου.

on the shore. She says: ἄπιστ᾽ ἄπιστα, καινὰ καινὰ δέρκομαι. / ἕτερα δ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ἑτέρων κακὰ κακῶν κυρεῖ: / οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἀστένακτος ἀδάκρυτος ἁμέρα μ᾽ ἐπισχήσει. "Past all belief, the shocking sight. Volley on volley, grief crowds on grief. Never again shall my days break free of groans, free of tears." I suggest that Polydorus' death and the circumstances surrounding it are also connected to the fate of Leukippe. Polydorus was entrusted to a Thracian commander by the name of Polymestor for safekeeping during the Trojan war, along with a cache of treasure. In the latter half of *Hecuba*, we discover that Polymestor killed Polydorus for the treasure and threw his body into the sea. Hecuba begs Agamemnon to offer her assistance, referring to the fact that Polymestor broke the rules of guest-friendship, and, rather than giving her son proper burial, threw his corpse into the sea like rubbish. ἀλλ᾽ ὧνπερ οὕνεκ᾽ ἀμφὶ σὸν πίπτω γόνυ / ἄκουσον. εἰ μὲν ὅσιά σοι παθεῖν δοκῶ, / στέργοιμ᾽ ἄν: εἰ δὲ τοὔμπαλιν, σύ μοι γενοῦ / τιμωρὸς ἀνδρός, ἀνοσιωτάτου ξένου, / ὃς οὔτε τοὺς γῆς νέρθεν οὔτε τοὺς ἄνω / δείσας δέδρακεν ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον, / κοινῆς τραπέζης πολλάκις τυχὼν ἐμοί, / ξενίας τ᾽ ἀριθμῷ πρῶτ᾽ ἔχων ἐμῶν φίλων, / τυχὼν δ᾽ ὅσων δεῖ — . καὶ λαβὼν προμηθίαν / ἔκτεινε: τύμβου δ᾽, εἰ κτανεῖν ἐβούλετο, / οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφῆκε πόντιον (lines 787-797). "But hear why I have fallen at your knees. If you think the treatment I have received is such as the gods approve, I will bear it. But if not, punish for my sake the man, guest-friend most impious, who has done a deed most unholy, fearing neither the gods below nor those above. He often shared a common table with me and was numbered the most important of my friends. Though he had received all he should and been treated with consideration, he killed my son. And even granting that he wished to kill him, he did not think him worthy of a tomb but dropped his body into the sea." [trans. Kovacs, 2005, p.471] Agamemnon refuses to act, so Hecuba takes matters into her own hands. She enacts her revenge upon Polymestor by blinding him and killing his sons. She is aided in this act of vengeance by the other Trojan women. Agamemnon, though shocked by the actions of the women, agrees that Polymestor acted wrongly and orders that he be thrown onto a deserted island to live out the remainder of his days alone.

I suggest that Polydorus' death and Polyxena's death – the multiple woes of Hecuba – combine to foreshadow the death of Leukippe at Chaereas' hands. I have already mentioned the subtle correspondences between the death of Leukippe and that of Polyxena: both women are killed so that ships might sail away, and both have their throats cut, though in Leukippe's case her head is struck off completely. Polydorus' death shares with Leukippe's the disposal of the body in the ocean, and the fact that the person committing the murder was formerly a trusted friend. Polymestor was trusted by Priam and Hecuba to look after Polydorus: ἐμὸς ἐμὸς ξένος,

Θρῄκιος ἱππότας, / ἵν᾽ ὁ γέρων πατὴρ ἔθετό νιν κρύψας (*Hecuba*, 710-711), and Chaereas helped Kleitophon obtain an antidote for the love-philtre which was causing Leukippe's madness in Book 4. Both Polymestor and Chaereas break the laws of guest-friendship: a host should not kill his house-guest and steal their treasure, nor should he abduct one of his house-guests and stab the other in his thigh (as happens to Kleitophon at Chaereas' birthday party). Both perpetrators of the murders are subjected to a brutal punishment. Polymestor is blinded and stranded, and his children are killed; Chaereas' own men chop off his head and throw him into the sea, so that they might keep Leukippe to sell for their own profit.

Hecuba and Kleitophon's ekphrasis of the painting of Philomela, Prokne and Tereus are also connected by shared ideas about how certain types of people behave – Thracians and wronged women. First, Thracians are greedy. Thracian Tereus of the painting lusts after more than one woman (Philomela and Prokne); Thracian Polymestor lusts after money in the play.[512] Second, wronged women are vengeful and violent. Prokne and Philomela kill Tereus' son Itys in revenge for his rape of Philomela and infidelity to Prokne; and Hecuba and her female companions blind Polymestor and kill his sons in revenge for Polydorus' death. There is not a corresponding act of retribution carried out by the female characters of the main narrative. However, Kleitophon's infidelity with Melite and the absence of Leukippe from the opening frame of the novel, combined with hints by Kleitophon as to how badly women react when betrayed by their partner (e.g. μόνον γὰρ ἐρῶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνιᾶσαι τὸν τὴν εὐνὴν λελυπηκότα at 5.5.7), tease the reader with thoughts that Kleitophon might be alone at the start of the novel because his marriage to Leukippe ended unhappily when she discovered that he had been unfaithful to her.

I will now turn to intertextuality with Theokritos' *Idyll* 15. At 5.1.6, Kleitophon is astounded by the size of Alexandria and of its population. He remarks that the people of Alexandria outnumber a whole nation (ὁ δὲ πλείων ἔθνους), and he marvels that a city exists large enough to accommodate all of them (εἰ δὲ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐθεασάμην, ἐθαύμαζον, εἰ χωρήσει τις αὐτὸν πόλις). He emphasises the impossibility of determining which is the greatest, the city itself or its inhabitants (μεγέθους πρὸς κάλλος ἅμιλλαν καὶ δήμου πρὸς πόλιν φιλονεικίαν καὶ ἀμφότερα νικῶντα). This emphasis upon the density of the city's population recalls another fictive promenade through Alexandria, that of the Syracusan women, Praxinoa and Gorgo, who walk

[512] Liapis, 2006(a), p.231 notes that barbarian greed for money is denounced in Sophocles' *Tereus*: φιλάργυρον μὲν πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος (fr. 587 Radt).

through Alexandria to attend the Adonia festival in Theokritos' *Idyll* 15. Praxinoa describes the crowds they encounter in the streets as being like ants, "countless and innumerable". ὦ θεοί, ὅσσος ὄχλος. πῶς καὶ πόκα τοῦτο περᾶσαι / χρὴ τὸ κακόν; μύρμακες ἀνάριθμοι καὶ ἄμετροι (lines 44-45). In what follows, I will suggest that there are several narrative parallels between *Idyll* 15 and *L&C* 5.1-5, and that intertextual interaction at the level of plot between the two texts provides hints as to what lies ahead for Leukippe and Kleitophon.

Having walked through the city to the palace area, where the Adonia festival is being celebrated, Praxinoa and Gorgo stop to look at some tapestries, one of which depicts Adonis lying on a silver couch. He is described as being desired even in Acheron. αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὡς θαητὸς ἐπ᾽ ἀργυρέας κατάκειται / κλισμῶ, πρᾶτον ἴουλον ἀπὸ κροτάφων καταβάλλων, / ὁ τριφίλητος Ἄδωνις, ὃ κὴν ᾿Αχέροντι φιλεῖται (lines 84-86). This refers to the love of the goddess of the Greek underworld, Persephone, for Adonis. A songstress then begins to sing a hymn to Adonis, which focusses upon Cypris' (Aphrodite's) love for the young man (lines 100-144). In Apollodorus' version of the myth (*Bibliotheca*, 14.4), Adonis is part of a love-triangle: both Persephone and Aphrodite desire him. Zeus arbitrates between the rival claims of the two goddesses, and he decides that Adonis should spend one-third of the year with Persephone, one-third with Aphrodite, and the final third with the goddess of his choice. Adonis chooses Aphrodite. In the novel, Kleitophon and Leukippe also attend a festival, that of the god Serapis (5.2.1-2); the morning after the festival, they see a painting of the myth of Philomela which features a tapestry. This is another myth famous for its love-triangle, in which Tereus kidnaps Philomela, the sister of his wife Prokne, in order that he might have two wives. So, in both texts, two non-Egyptians walk through Alexandria, comment upon the size of its population, attend a festival, and look at a tapestry/painting which depicts a myth about a love-triangle.

The similarities do not end there. The two texts share a rich network of common ideas. There is an emphasis in *Idyll* 15 upon the speech of the two Syracusan women, and they are likened to birds, specifically turtle-doves, by an unnamed man. παύσασθ' ὦ δύστανοι, ἀνάνυτα κωτίλλοισαι, / τρυγόνες ἐκκναισεῦντι πλατείασδοισαι ἅπαντα (lines 87-88). At 5.5.2-4, Kleitophon's exegesis of the painting focusses upon Philomela's voice, or rather lack thereof (τὴν γλῶτταν τῆς Φιλομήλας φοβεῖται, καὶ ἕδνα τῶν γάμων αὐτῇ δίδωσι μηκέτι λαλεῖν, καὶ κείρει τῆς φωνῆς τὸ ἄνθος), and the metamorphosis of the women into birds (Φιλομήλα χελιδών, καὶ Πρόκνη ἀηδών). In both texts, the failure of the attempt of a male to silence a female/females is given prominence. The unnamed man of the poem is berated by Praxinoa, who tells him that he is not their master and has no right to tell her to be quiet. τί δὲ τίν, εἰ

κωτίλαι εἰμές; / πασάμενος ἐπίτασσε· Συρακοσίαις ἐπιτάσσεις (lines 89-90). Kleitophon tells Leukippe that Tereus' removal of Philomela's tongue was futile, because her skill at weaving provided her with a silent voice (ἀλλὰ πλέον ἤνυσεν οὐδέν· ἡ γὰρ Φιλομήλας τέχνη σιωπῶσαν ηὕρηκε φωνήν). More tenuously, the weaver of the tapestry which Praxinoa and Gorgo view is so skilled that her woven characters appear real, as though they are actually moving. ὡς ἔτυμ' ἑστάκαντι καὶ ὡς ἔτυμ' ἐνδινεῦτι, / ἔμφυχ' οὐκ ἐνυφαντά. σοφόν τι χρῆμ' ἄνθρωπος (lines 82-83). Kleitophon's ekphrasis of the tapestry within the painting likewise draws attention to the movement of the characters. At 5.3.6, Tereus is struggling (παλαίων) with Philomela, he draws her (ἕλκων) towards himself and tightens (σφίγγων) his embrace of her. Finally, the nightingale features in both the Adonian hymn and in the painting: in the hymn the Cupids flying around Aphrodite and Adonis are compared to fledgling nightingales (lines 120-122), and in Kleitophon's explanation of the painting Prokne is said to have metamorphosed into a nightingale (5.5.2).

A reader attuned to intertextuality with *Idyll* 15, in which Aphrodite features as a character in the Adonis myth, might notice that Kleitophon's description and explanation of the Philomela painting twice refer to lust as Aphrodite: πάλην Ἀφροδισίαν (5.3.5) and at 5.5.2. In both cases, it is Tereus' lust which is being referred to, and in the latter example, it is specifically the insatiability of his lust, that one wife is not enough to quench it (βαρβάροις δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐχ ἱκανὴ πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην μία γυνή). Tereus' desire to bed more than one woman ends in tragedy, as Prokne and Philomela kill Tereus' son Itys to avenge themselves upon him. Aphrodite's love for Adonis is important in the songstress' hymn in *Idyll* 15, as is Adonis' death; however, the link between the two is not made explicit. In some versions of the myth, the anger and jealousy of Ares (Aphrodite's lover) over the goddess' bedding of Adonis leads to Adonis' death. Adonis' thigh is wounded by a boar whilst he is out hunting, and he dies from the wound (see, for example, Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.708-739). Nonnus and Sidonius Apollinaris claim that Ares took the form of a boar to kill Adonis (Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 41.204-211; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen*, 23.291-295).

So, if there is intertextual interaction between 5.1-5 and *Idyll* 15, what effect does it have upon the reader's experience of the main narrative? First, I suggest that a reader with *Idyll* 15 in mind might recall Praxinoa's distrust of Egyptians. Her impression of them is not favourable. She comments upon their universally deceitful nature and that they are fond of trickery: οὐδεὶς κακεοργός / δαλεῖται τὸν ἰόντα παρέρπων Αἰγυπτιστί, / οἷα πρὶν ἐξ ἀπάτας κεκροτημένοι ἄνδρες ἔπαισδον, / ἀλλάλοις ὁμαλοί, κακὰ παίχνια, πάντες ἀραῖοι (Lines 47-50). Immediately

after the description of Kleitophon's tour of the city, the reader is informed that Chaereas, the Egyptian friend of the hero and heroine, is about to betray them (5.3.1-2). Second, both *Idyll* 15 and the Philomela painting hint at the possibility of a love-triangle and of a death; both of these elements prove proleptic of events to come, as Leukippe suffers a 'death' at the hands of Kleitophon's rival for her affections, Chaereas. As the painting foreshadows these events, what does intertextuality with *Idyll* 15 add? Kleitophon's lamentation over Leukippe's corpse by the seashore (5.7.8-9) and her later 'resurrection' in the novel are not foreshadowed by the painting; however, lamentation and resurrection are key features of the hymn to Adonis in the poem. The hymn describes how the women will take Adonis' body down to the seashore, will loosen their hair and robes, and will then lament. ἀῶθεν δ' ἅμμες νιν ἅμα δρόσῳ ἀθρόαι ἔξω / οἰσευμες ποτὶ κύματ' ἐπ' ἀιόνι πτύοντα, / λύσασαι δὲ κόμαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφυρὰ κόλπον ἀνεῖσαι / στήθεσι φαινομένοις λιγυρᾶς ἀρξεύμεθ' ἀοιδᾶς (lines 132-135). Lines 136-144 refer to Adonis' resurrection. The Philomela painting only foreshadows doom and gloom, whereas the Adonian hymn suggests a period of mourning followed by a happy reunion for Leukippe and Kleitophon.

At 5.3.3, our hero and heroine, unaware of Chaereas' planned treachery, accept the invitation to his birthday party on Pharos and are on the verge of setting out when a hawk chasing a swallow strikes Leukippe on the head with its wing. They interpret this as an omen and request clarification of its meaning from Zeus. They then see a painting of the story of Philomela, Prokne and Tereus. Kleitophon describes the painting and discusses the myth it presents with Leukippe (5.3.4-5.5.9). Much previous scholarship on these chapters has focussed upon the proleptic function of both Kleitophon's ekphrasis of the Philomela painting and his interpretation of its meaning. For example, Bartsch discusses how the reader is encouraged to interpret the painting as foreshadowing future events in the main narrative, because the characters themselves do.[513] Menelaos, for example, at 5.4.1-2, says: "Those who profess to interpret signs bid us pay attention to the stories of pictures, if such happen to meet our eye as we set forth to our business, and to conclude that what is likely to happen to us will be of the same character as the event of the painted story. You see how full of miseries is this drawing – unlawful love, shameless adultery, women's woes; I therefore recommend you to desist from this expedition of yours." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.243]

[513] Bartsch, 1989, pp.65-72.

Bartsch rightly highlights the terms in bold (symbols, interpret, pictures) as familiar from contemporary works on the ekphrasis and interpretation of paintings: Λέγουσι δὲ οἱ τῶν **συμβόλων ἐξηγηταὶ** σκοπεῖν τοὺς μύθους τῶν **εἰκόνων**, ἂν ἐξιοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν συντύχωσι, καὶ ἐξομοιοῦν τὸ ἀποβησόμενον τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγῳ (5.4.1). "Those who profess to interpret signs bid us pay attention to the stories of the pictures, if such happen to meet our eye as we set forth to our business, and to conclude that what is likely to happen to us will be of the same character as the event of the painted story." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.243] She argues that the invitation to the reader to interpret the painting as foreshadowing the events which immediately follow the young couple's viewing of it, as Menelaos does, is a false clue, as the events of Chaereas' abduction of Leukippe bear only a faint resemblance to the events described as taking place in the painting. Instead, the reader needs to look further forward in the main narrative to find the true parallels for the painting's story, in the form of two love-triangles which dominate the action later in Book 5 and in Book 6. Bartsch persuasively demonstrates that Thersander's attempted adultery with Leukippe whilst married to Melite, and Kleitophon's sexual liaison with Melite whilst in a relationship with Leukippe, more accurately map onto Tereus' rape of Philomela whilst married to Prokne, with Thersander's violence towards Leukippe representing the violence of the act of rape and Kleitophon's consensual intercourse with Melite representing the sexual element of the act of rape. Papadimitropoulos agrees with Bartsch that later developments in the novel's plot match the painting more accurately than Chaereas' abduction of Leukippe; however, she focusses upon the character of Sosthenes (Melite's steward). She argues that his acts of violence towards Leukippe, mentioned at 5.17.6 correspond to Tereus' violent treatment of Philomela, with the cutting out of Philomela's tongue corresponding to the cutting of Leukippe's hair (her head is mentioned as being shorn at 5.17.3). Philomela's transformation into a swallow becomes Leukippe's transformation into the Thessalian slave-woman Lakaina.[514]

I agree with Bartsch's and Papadimitropoulos' interpretations but would add that there is another love-triangle which neither author has taken into consideration, that of Melite, Kleitophon and Thersander. In this triangle, the character of Tereus maps onto Melite, that of Kleitophon onto Philomela, and that of Thersander onto Prokne. Below I will explain how these identifications are set up through intratextuality, and which intertexts this love-triangle has connections to.

[514] Papadimitropoulos, 2012, p.177.

Other scholarship has concentrated upon identifying key Greek and Roman intertexts for Kleitophon's ekphrasis and exegesis of the Philomela painting. Liapis, for instance, has written a detailed argument for strong intertextual connections with tragic plays, especially Sophocles' *Tereus*.[515] Bartsch and Nimis have both sought to highlight anomalous features of the painting. Bartsch points out that Tereus is not present in any extant artistic representations of the scene. She argues that his presence in the painting in the novel is for the express purpose of highlighting the love triangle.[516] However, like Andromeda's supposedly anomalous wedding gown, which, contrary to Bartsch's assertion, I demonstrated was a feature of depictions of Andromeda's sacrifice scene in B.i., Tereus' presence in this scene cannot be considered unique. For example, a carving on a second-century CE sarcophagus shows Tereus running from the banquet table, on which can be seen the remains of his meal, bone in hand as he chases Prokne and Philomela.[517] [Image D1] Nimis, on the other hand, referring to 5.3.5 where Philomela is described as standing near to the tapestry which she has woven and pointing to specific parts of the embroidered picture (Φιλομήλα παρειστήκει καὶ ἐπετίθει τῷ πέπλῳ τὸν δάκτυλον καὶ ἐδείκνυε τῶν ὑφασμάτων τὰς γραφάς), sees Philomela's presence in this part of the painting as "contradictory", as "it seems to conflict with the necessity of using a secret language".[518] I presume that he is thinking of the version of the story, familiar from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in which Philomela is imprisoned by Tereus in a hut (6.519-526) and her only means of escape is to weave a message into a tapestry and send it to Prokne (6.576-580), who then effects her rescue (6.587-602). If this version of the story, and only this version, were being followed to the letter, then her presence would indeed be inconsistent. However, there were other versions of the myth in circulation which do not mention Philomela's imprisonment. For example, Sommerstein et al highlight the "growing consensus" amongst scholars of Sophocles that the imprisonment of Philomela was not a feature of his tragedy *Tereus*, which has only survived in fragments.[519] If the painting follows the Sophoclean model in this regard, then Philomela's presence beside the tapestry is not in any way odd. I do, however, agree with the second point in Nimis' journal article that the tapestry as described "is clearly not the 'voice' of Philomela, but a salacious version of the events that borders on a pornographic representation".[520] I will argue below that readers should have both versions of the myth in

[515] Liapis, 2006(a).
[516] Bartsch, 1989, p.71.
[517] LIMC 16.
[518] Nimis, 2009, pp.88-89.
[519] Sommerstein et al, 2006, p.151.
[520] Nakatani (2004, p.73) focusses upon the theme of violence in the painting, specifically violence towards women. In relation to the description of Philomela at 5.3.5-6 as struggling with Tereus: ἐσπάρακτο τὰς κόμας ἡ

mind, the version in which Philomela is imprisoned and the version in which she is not, as the different variants of the myth foreshadow separate future events in the main narrative of the novel.

I will now explore the Greek and Roman intertexts for the omen and for Kleitophon's ekphrasis and exegesis of the painting of the Philomela myth, with particular emphasis upon the birds which are mentioned. I will argue that the birds are important for several reasons: the bird omen provides a link to several other intertexts, including Longus' novel about Daphnis and Chloe, and foreshadows the abduction of Leukippe by Chaereas, and the chase of Chaereas by Kleitophon; the hawk of the bird omen in combination with the hoopoe mentioned in Kleitophon's exegesis of the painting encourage the reader to think about the different versions of the Philomela myth, and how the denouements of the different versions map onto the main narrative. I will discuss the intercultural significance of the birds of the painting in D.ii., including their relationship to the myth of Isis and Osiris, which I argue in E.ii. is a key intertext for the second *Scheintod* of Leukippe.

At 5.3.3, Leukippe is hit upon the head by the wing of a hawk pursuing a swallow (χελιδόνα κίρκος διώκων). This event is interpreted by the characters as being an evil omen (οἰωνὸς ἡμῖν γίνεται πονηρός). The wording here is significant: οἰωνός can mean both 'omen' and 'bird'. The reader is encouraged to treat not just the omen itself as evil, but also the bird of the omen (the hawk) as evil.[521] I suggest that the hawk omen gives this part of the story an epic feel. Hawk omens feature in both of Homer's poems. In the *Odyssey*, upon his return to Ithaka, Telemachus is greeted by a hawk carrying a pigeon in its claws (525ff). This portends Odysseus' return to his homeland and his resumption of the kingship of the island. In the *Iliad*, a simile in which Achilles chasing Hector is compared to a hawk chasing a dove is portentous of Hector's death at Achilles' hands (10.139-142). The reader is also reminded of Hesiod's

γυνή, τό ζῶσμα ἐλέλυτο, τὸν χιτῶνα κατέρρηκτο, ἡμίγυμνος τὸ στέρνον ἦν, Nakatani remarks upon the gradual increase in the violence displayed towards the women in the novel's ekphrastic descriptions of paintings and the corresponding increase in the eroticization of their depictions. Europa rides unfettered on the back of the bull and the outline of her body can just be glimpsed through her clothing (1.1.10.); Andromeda is bound to a rock and the wool from which her clothing is made is as fine as a spider's web (3.7.5); Philomela's girdle has been undone, her dress is torn and her breasts are exposed.

[521] For a discussion of the intratextual resonances of the wording here, especially in relation to other omens in the novel, see Repath, 2007, p.105.

fable of the hawk and the nightingale (*Works and Days*, 202-212): a hawk abducts a nightingale by violence and carries her up into the clouds against her will.[522] In these hexameter verses, hawks are linked to violence and retribution: Odysseus murders his wife Penelope's suitors to punish them for having tried to usurp his position as ruler of Ithaka and his place in Penelope's bed; Achilles kills Hector to avenge Patroclus' death, and drags his corpse around Patroclus' tomb (Homer, *Iliad*, 24.14-16); Hesiod's hawk admonishes the nightingale for crying and tells her that it is foolish to struggle against one who is stronger than her, as she will suffer injury as well as insult. The omen perhaps then presages an act of violence or retribution or both.

The reader presumes that the omen at 5.3.3, immediately following mention of Chaereas' plan to abduct Leukippe at 5.3.2, refers to Chaereas' abduction of Leukippe. This presumption is supported by an intertextual link to Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, in which the Egyptian suitors of the Danaids are compared to hawks and the Danaids themselves to doves escaping from the hawks. The play associates bird preying upon bird with bride-theft: πάντων δ᾽ ἀνάκτων τῶνδε κοινοβωμίαν σέβεσθ᾽. ἐν ἁγνῷ δ᾽ ἑσμὸς ὣς πελειάδων ἵζεσθε κίρκων τῶν ὁμοπτέρων φόβῳ, ἐχθρῶν ὁμαίμων καὶ μιαινόντων γένος. ὄρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἁγνεύοι φαγών; / πῶς δ᾽ ἂν γαμῶν ἄκουσαν ἄκοντος πάρα / ἁγνὸς γένοιτ᾽ ἄν; (lines 226-228). "Now honour this common altar of all the Lords, and sit in this holy place like a flock of doves in fearful flight from hawks, their fellow-birds, hostile kindred who defile their race. How could a bird eat of another bird, and not be polluted? How could a man marry the unwilling daughter of an unwilling father, and not become unclean?" [trans. Sommerstein, 2008(b), p.317] Chaereas is both an Egyptian and a suitor who commits bride-theft, so he can be equated with the hawks of the play and the hawk of the omen. This would make Leukippe the swallow, Chaereas' prey. In this reading, the wing of the hawk hitting Leukippe on the head perhaps foreshadows Chaereas chopping off Leukippe's head. If we link together the hawk's pursuit of the swallow with the painting which follows it, the hawk pursuing the swallow can be interpreted as Tereus pursuing Philomela to exact revenge for the death of Itys. Tereus as a hawk or a hoopoe, Prokne as a nightingale, and Philomela as a swallow is typical of Greek versions of the myth, as will be discussed further below. If the hawk of the omen is Chaereas, then he maps onto the character of Tereus, and Leukippe maps onto Philomela as the swallow.[523] In Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, mentioned above,

[522] AT's familiarity with Hesiod is beyond doubt, as at 4.4.3 he refers to Hesiod's long-lived crow, details of which are absent from Hesiod's extant works, but preserved in direct quotation in Plutarch, *Moralia*, 415c.

[523] Papadimitropoulos has written about the ominous implications of the painting. In her reading, Chaereas' illicit desire for Leukippe, whom Kleitophon considers to be his wife equates to Tereus' desire for another women when already married, with the cutting out of Philomela's tongue realised in the decapitation of Leukippe (2012, p.178).

Tereus is a hawk who pursues his wife, in this case Metis, who has been metamorphosed into a nightingale (line 60).[524] So, in the play, the Egyptian suitors of the Danaids are associated with Tereus through the simile which compares them to hawks chasing doves, as Tereus is a hawk who chases a nightingale. However, Chaereas' actions are not an exact match for those of the Egyptian-hawk suitors nor for hawk-Tereus, as he does not actually chase Leukippe at any point in the story (she is abducted by his men at a party), and he is not intent upon exacting revenge like Tereus, as Leukippe has done nothing to wrong him. At first glance, he has little in common with Tereus other than being lustful, as he does not already have a wife. However, at 8.16.5-6, when Leukippe explains that a prostitute was beheaded in her place, she tells Kleitophon that Chaereas' crew (whose property the prostitute was) claimed Leukippe as their share of the voyage's spoils. They told Chaereas that he had already spent his share of their voyage's profit, in the form of the prostitute, and could not, therefore, have a second woman solely for his own pleasure. Chaereas becomes the man for whom one woman will not suffice, as Tereus is described at 5.5.2: βαρβάροις δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ἱκανὴ πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην μία γυνή.

These links between Chaereas, the pursuing hawk and the vengeful Tereus are compelling. However, as is usual in *L&C*, a single obvious mapping of one set of characters onto another is not possible. Intratextuality creates more than one option. Could the hawk of the omen also be Kleitophon? Kleitophon as the avenging hawk would make sense, as he is injured when Leukippe is abducted from him, and he does indeed chase Chaereas by boat with the Pharos navy at 5.7.3. He shows his wound to the navy commander and implores him to pursue those who inflicted it (δεικνύω δὴ τὸ τραῦμα καὶ δέομαι διῶξαι τοὺς λῃστάς). If Kleitophon is the hawk, then he maps onto Tereus of the painting, which is appropriate as on two occasions in the novel Kleitophon proves that one woman is not enough for him: first, when he decides to seduce Leukippe, even though he is betrothed to Kalligone (1.11.1-2); second, when he allows himself to be seduced by Melite, shortly after discovering that Leukippe is still alive (5.27.2-4). He is also described by Melite as a faithless barbarian at 5.25.6: ἄπιστε καὶ βάρβαρε. The phrase βαρβάροις δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐχ ἱκανὴ πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην μία γυνή (5.5.2) also reminds the reader of Kleitophon's account of his origins and family history. At 1.3.1-2, the reader learns that Kleitophon is not Greek, but rather Phoenician, and, therefore, a βάρβαρος, and that both Kleitophon's grandfather and father have been married twice.

[524] Metis was the name of one of the Oceanids (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 346-361 and Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 1.2.2).

In this second reading, is Leukippe still the swallow, and is Kleitophon chasing to rescue her, or is Chaereas the swallow who is being chased? Chaereas shares with Prokne the act of dealing himself a blow equal to the one which he deals out (κἂν πάσχωσιν ἐν οἷς ποιοῦσιν οὐχ ἧττον κακόν: 5.5.7); he beheads a prostitute in place of Leukippe (to fool Kleitophon and the Pharos navy into giving up the chase), only to be beheaded by his own crew for having killed their prostitute. This would suggest that he is the nightingale rather than the swallow of the painting. Leukippe has in common with Philomela the fact they are both abducted by lustful men, and the cutting out of Philomela's tongue in the painting could foreshadow the decapitation of Leukippe. If Chaereas were instead the swallow, then the hawk's motive for pursuing him would be vengeance for the thigh-wound his men inflicted. As in the case of the links between the painting of Andromeda and Leukippe's sacrifice, where Leukippe is simultaneously Andromeda being rescued and the monster being killed with an odd-shaped sword, as discussed in **Case Study B**, the mapping of the birds of the omen and the characters of the painting onto the characters of the main narrative is not straightforward, leading to multiple identities for the novel's protagonists. Chaereas is in one aspect the evil hawk of the omen, in another the fleeing swallow, and also the nightingale of the painting.

The scene in which Leukippe receives a blow to the head from the wing of a hawk chasing a swallow intertextually engages with a very similar scene in another romantic novel of the second century CE, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, henceforward *D&C*. In this pastoral tale, a grasshopper being chased by a swallow takes sanctuary in the bosom of the sleeping Chloe. The pursuing swallow glances Chloe's cheek with its wing waking her from her slumber (1.26.1-2). The grasshopper begins to sing from Chloe's bosom, causing Daphnis to laugh uncontrollably. He reaches into her bosom to retrieve the grasshopper (1.26.3). The gentle comedy and erotic charge of this scene in *D&C* is substituted for slapstick comedy in *L&C*'s version, as the hawk does not merely brush Leukippe with its wing but hits her on the head with it (πατάσσει τῷ πτερῷ εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν). This event in *D&C* is followed by a request from Chloe for Daphnis to explain the song of the wood-dove they are listening to (1.27.1): καὶ τῆς Χλόης ζητούσης μαθεῖν ὅ τι λέγει, διδάσκει αὐτὴν ὁ Δάφνις μυθολογῶν τὰ θρυλούμενα. This corresponds to Leukippe asking Kleitophon for an explanation of the Philomela painting: Τί βούλεται τῆς εἰκονος ὁ μῦθος; καὶ τίνες αἱ ὄρνιθες αὗται; καὶ τίνες αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ τίς ὁ ἀναιδὴς ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ; (5.5.1). Both Daphnis and Kleitophon oblige their respective girlfriends. Daphnis tells the story of a young maiden, skilled at playing the pipes, whose cattle are enticed

away by the pipe-playing of a rival cattle-herder. The maiden prayed to the gods to be transformed into a bird, so that she might forever sing for the cows she had lost (1.27.2-4). This story foreshadows the events immediately following it, as Daphnis is abducted by Tyrian pirates and Chloe plays a set of pipes, a gift from the dying cattle-herder Dorkon, to entice the cattle from the pirates' ship and into the sea. The ship capsizes and Daphnis is rescued (1.28-30). Kleitophon, likewise, provides Leukippe with an exegesis of the Philomela painting, and, as will be discussed in more detail below, the painting foreshadows later events in the novel.

So, in both *L&C* and *D&C*, the heroine receives a glancing blow to the head/face by a bird pursuing its prey, she then asks the hero for an explanation of a story (the story of the painting, and the story of the wood-dove's song). Both stories share themes of loss (Philomela's tongue and Itys' life, and the maiden's cattle) and metamorphosis into birds (all three characters of the painting become birds, and the maiden of the song becomes a bird). Both stories also foreshadow later events in their respective novels (Leukippe's abduction by Chaereas and the love-triangles of Books 5 and 6, and Daphnis' abduction by Tyrian pirates and his rescue by Chloe). A reader of *L&C* familiar with *D&C* might recognise the similarities between the incidents from the chase of the bird onwards and anticipate a correspondingly successful rescue of Leukippe. Such a reader's expectations would be dashed. *L&C* diverges from the shared sequence of events at the last moment. Leukippe is not rescued by Kleitophon, but instead seemingly beheaded, and rather than the pirates' boat suffering shipwreck and releasing a live captive into the water, as happens at *D&C* 1.30.2-5 when the cows capsize the boat and Daphnis swims with them to shore, the Egyptian pirates' ship successfully escapes and the only captive to enter the water is a dead and headless one.

The reader who maps the characters of *L&C* onto those of *D&C* in these matching sequences of scenes would notice that *L&C*'s intertextual engagement with *D&C* reflects two of the phenonmena I have already discussed in this thesis: gender-bending and identity-switching. In the scene in which Leukippe is hit on the head by a hawk, she is very clearly Chloe who is glanced on the cheek by the swallow's wing, and Kleitophon is Daphnis. Leukippe maps onto the female character, and Kleitophon onto the male. However, when she is abducted by pirates, Leukippe is Daphnis, and Kleitophon becomes Chloe who attempts the rescue. Leukippe and Kleitophon switch both identities and genders. As discussed in **Case Study B**, I suggest that these intertextual effects add to the impression of Egypt being a topsy-turvy and metamorphic land. They also serve the purpose of thwarting the efforts of the reader to utilise intertextual connections to predict what might happen next in the narrative. Yes, the sequence of events is

followed up to the point of the abduction: bird hits head, a question is asked, a story is told, the story foreshadows an abduction; however, the sequence is thrown off course just before its completion by the gender and identity switches, so, instead of the successful rescue in *D&C*, *L&C* gives us a failed rescue attempt, death and lamentation.

I suggest that, though they both share a violent end at the hands of pirates, Dorkon's character in *D&C* is in the inverse of Chaereas' in *L&C*. Dorkon starts out as Daphnis' rival for Chloe affections. At 1.16.1-2, Dorkon boasts to Chloe about his supposed superiority to Daphnis. He says ‘Ἐγώ, παρθένε, μείζων εἰμὶ Δάφνιδος, κἀγὼ μὲν βουκόλος, ὁ δ᾿ αἰπόλος: τοσοῦτον κρείττων ὅσον αἰγῶν βόες: καὶ λευκός εἰμι ὡς γάλα, καὶ πυρρὸς ὡς θέρος μέλλον ἀμᾶσθαι, καὶ ἔθρεψε μήτηρ, οὐ θηρίον. Οὗτος δέ ἐστι σμικρὸς καὶ ἀγένειος ὡς γυνή, καὶ μέλας ὡς λύκος: νέμει δὲ τράγους, ὀδωδὼς ἀπ᾿ αὐτῶν δεινόν, καὶ ἔστι πένης ὡς μηδὲ κύνα τρέφειν. Εἰ δ᾿, ὡς λέγουσι, καὶ αἲξ αὐτῷ γάλα δέδωκεν, οὐδὲν ἐρίφου διαφέρει. “I am bigger than Daphnis, miss; I am a cowherd and he is a goatherd. <So> I am as much better than him as cows are than goats. I am white as milk, and fire-fair like a field of corn waiting to be cut. I was nursed by a mother, not a wild animal. But this fellow is little, beardless like a woman, and black like a wolf. He tends billy-goats and stinks of them, and is too poor even to keep a dog. If, as they say, he is the nursling of a nanny-goat, then he is no different from a kid.” [trans. Morgan, 2004, p.35] At 1.19, Dorkon approaches Chloe's foster-father Dryas and offers him gifts (cheese, bees, apple-trees, plough-oxen, a bull's hide and a weaned calf) if he will consent to give him Chloe's hand in marriage. Dryas is tempted but refuses. At 1.20-21, Dorkon disguises himself as a wolf and lies in wait to assault Chloe, but he is sniffed out by her dogs and badly bitten. However, Dorkon redeems himself just before his death by helping Chloe save Daphnis from the Tyrian pirates. At 1.29, Dorkon is lying on the ground, having been beaten close to death by the pirates who have abducted Daphnis, and, with his last breath, he gives Chloe his pipes and instructs her as to how to use them to retrieve his captured cows and Daphnis along with them. Conversely, Chaereas is initially a friend to Leukippe and Kleitophon, as he helped Kleitophon restore Leukippe's sanity when she was poisoned, but he becomes both a rival for Leukippe's affections and a pirate-captain just prior to his death, which is at the hands of the very same band of pirates he assembled to help him kidnap Leukippe.

Leukippe's request for an explanation of the birds in the Philomela painting has generated a lot of scholarly interest for the precise reason that Kleitophon's ekphrasis of the painting did not include the mention of any birds. Gaselee commented “By an inadvertence of the author's or

an imperfection of the text no mention of birds was made in the description of the picture immediately preceding".[525] Vilborg assumed that "The author has forgotten to mention the transformation of Philomela and Procne into birds".[526] Bartsch considers the birds' absence in the ekphrasis and their prominence in the exegesis to be "a liberty that the readers might consider perfectly in keeping with the embellishment and expansion so typical of a Philostratus".[527] I suggest that three things contribute to force the reader to focus upon the birds: the bird omen which precedes the painting, Leukippe's specific request καὶ τίνες αἱ ὄρνιθες αὗται; (5.5.1) when the painting as just described did not feature any birds, and the fact that birds have played a prominent role earlier in the novel. For example, Kleitophon lists the birds in his garden: Ὄρνιθες δὲ οἱ μὲν χειροήθεις περὶ τὸ ἄλσος ἐνέμοντο καὶ οὓς ἐκολάκευον αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τροφαί: οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθερον ἔχοντες τὸ πτερὸν περὶ τὰς τῶν δένδρων κορυφὰς ἔπαιζον: οἱ μὲν ᾄδοντες τὰ ὀρνίθων ᾄσματα, οἱ δὲ τῇ τῶν πτερῶν ἀγλαϊζόμενοι στολῇ. Οἱ ᾠδοὶ δὲ τέττιγες καὶ χελιδόνες: οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἠοῦς ᾄδοντες εὐνήν, αἱ δὲ τὴν Τηρέως τράπεζαν: οἱ δὲ χειροήθεις ταῶς καὶ κύκνος καὶ ψιττακός: ὁ κύκνος περὶ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων πίδακας νεμόμενος, ὁ ψιττακὸς ἐν οἰκίσκῳ περὶ δένδρον κρεμάμενος, ὁ ταῶς τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἐπισύρων τὸ πτερόν. Ἀντέλαμπε δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀνθέων θέα τῇ τῶν ὀρνίθων χρόᾳ καὶ ἦν ἄνθη πτερῶν (1.15.7-8). "Birds there were too: some, tame, sought for food in the grove, pampered and domesticated by the rearing of men; others, wild and on the wing, sported around the summits of the trees; some chirping their birds' songs, others brilliant in their gorgeous plumage. The songsters were grasshoppers and swallows: the former sang of Aurora's marriage-bed, the latter of the banquet of Tereus. There were some tame birds too, a peacock, a swan, and a parrot; the swan fed round about the sources of the spring, the parrot was hung in a cage from the branches of a tree, the peacock spread his tail among the flowers, and there was a kind of rivalry between the brilliance of the flowers and the hues of the peacock, whose plumage seemed itself to consist of very flowers." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, pp.47-49] Following this, he uses the courting rituals of the peacock and the peahen to turn Leukippe's thoughts to love and romance (1.16). At 3.25.1, Kleitophon asks which bird is being so greatly honoured by the Egyptian people and an explanation follows as to the significance of the phoenix.

Depictions of birds were popular forms of decoration throughout Egyptian history, in domestic settings and on the walls of tombs. In the centre of modern Alexandria, near to the main Masr railway station, a Roman-period insula (a town block) has recently been excavated. At its

[525] Gaselee, 1984, p.244, n.1.
[526] Vilborg, 1962, pp.94-95.
[527] Bartsch, 1989, p.75.

northern end, the insula adjoins ancient Alexandria's main East-West street, the Via Canopica, the street along which Kleitophon walks as he enters the city from the harbour (**see Case Study A/A.ii.**). Villa A of this insula has been named the 'Villa of Birds', on account of the presence of numerous species of bird depicted on its mosaics. Mosaic α, for example, features a quail, a parrot, a purple gallinule, a duck, a peacock and a pigeon. The mosaic dates to the second century CE. Kolątaj, Majcherek and Parandowska note that bird depictions were the most popular theme of Egyptian mosaics of the Roman period.[528] The frequent mention of birds in *L&C* perhaps draws on an artistic trend of the period in which AT was writing.

In response to Leukippe's request for the birds of the painting to be explained, Kleitophon says: Ἀηδών, καὶ χελιδών, καὶ ἔποψ, πάντες ἄνθρωποι, καὶ πάντες ὄρνιθες. ἔποψ ὁ ἀνήρ· αἱ δύο γυναῖκες, Φιλομήλα χελιδών, καὶ Πρόκνη ἀηδών. πόλις αὐταῖς Ἀθῆναι. Τηρεὺς ὁ ἀνήρ· Πρόκνη Τηρέως γυνή (5.5.1-2). "They are the nightingale, the swallow, and the hoopoe – all human creatures, and all birds as well; the man became the hoopoe, Philomela the swallow, and Procne the nightingale. Both these women had their home in Athens, and the man Tereus was Procne's husband." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.245] Tereus metamorphoses into an epops, usually translated as hoopoe, Philomela into a swallow, and Prokne into a nightingale.[529] This is the Greek version of the myth, as recounted by Apollodorus and Aeschylus.[530] Latin versions of the myth have Philomela as the nightingale and Prokne as the swallow, for example, Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 45. Some versions of the myth feature Tereus as a hawk and some feature him as a hoopoe.[531] I suggest that the omen of a hawk chasing a swallow immediately preceding

[528] Kolątaj, Majcherek and Parandowska, 2007, pp.34-38.

[529] Burkert, 1983, p.181 notes that the epops is a woodpecker-like bird, often mistranslated as hoopoe. It is appropriate that the epops can split wood with its beak as Tereus was often depicted chasing Philomela and Prokne with an axe.

[530] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca,* 3.14.8; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1140-1145 where the nightingale mourns her son whom she has killed; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1050-1051 where the language of the swallows is referred to as unintelligible. Philomela's speech is unintelligible because Tereus has removed her tongue.

[531] Tereus is a hawk in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, line 60; an epops in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* 3.14.8. Roman sources also disagree as to which type of bird Tereus became. Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 45 mentions Tereus' metamorphosis into a hawk; and Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 6.674 *nomen epops volucri*. Fontenrose (1948, p.151) postulates that Sophocles was the first to depict Tereus as a hoopoe, "sharing the ancient belief that hawks turned into hoopoes in the spring". Fragment M581 of Sophocles' *Tereus*, preserved in Aristotle's *History of Animals* (633a 18-27), supports this hypothesis. Sophocles suggests that the hawk and the hoopoe are the same bird and that its plumage has seasonal variations, so that Tereus will be a multi-coloured hoopoe until spring arrives, at which point his feathers will turn white and he will become a hawk. There is some disagreement as to the authorship of this fragment, with some scholars attributing it to Aeschylus, some to Euripides and some to Sophocles. Sommerstein et al, 2006, 189-191 make a case for the fragment's identification as Sophoclean, based on the vocabulary. Regardless of which of the playwrights wrote the lines in question, the reference in *L&C* to the hawk pursuing the swallow at 5.3.3 and the description of Tereus' transformation into a hoopoe at 5.5.1 show either an awareness on AT's part of both variants of the myth, or of the ancient belief that the hoopoe and the hawk are the same bird.

the ekphrasis and exegesis of the painting reminds the reader that there is a version of the myth in which Tereus became a hawk and not a hoopoe. The reader is encouraged to think about differences between the versions of the Philomela myth which they know. It is my intention to examine several different versions, both Greek and Latin, to see if their events bear any relevance to the main narrative of *L&C*. I also suggest, as the birds are given prominence, that versions of the myth in which the characters are known by their bird-names alone are equally relevant. Therefore, connections between the myths of Aedon (nightingale) and Chelidon (swallow) will also be discussed in relation to the main narrative.

In chapter 11 of his *Metamorphoses*, Antoninus Liberalis tells a story about Pandareus' daughter Aedon.[532] The intertextual connections between this version of the myth and the main narrative of *L&C* are particularly numerous. According to Antoninus Liberalis, Pandareus lived with his wife, son and two daughters, Aedon and Chelidon, by the sea in Ephesus. Aedon was given in marriage to a carpenter called Polytechnus and together they had a son called Itys. Aedon and Polytechnus declared their love to be stronger than that of Hera for Zeus, thus angering the goddess, who responded by creating discord between the loving couple. Polytechnus went to fetch Chelidon, claiming that her sister wished to see her; he raped her in a copse, cut off her hair, dressed her as a servant, and then gave her to Aedon to wait upon her. Chelidon was overheard bemoaning her situation by Aedon, who then recognised her sister and vowed to avenge her. I suggest that these mythic events map onto the events in the novel in the following way: Leukippe clearly plays the role of Chelidon, as she is abducted, dressed as a prostitute, her hair is shorn, attempts are made to defile her chastity, she is forced to work as a slave, and she is not recognised by Kleitophon until he reads her letter lamenting her sorry fate; Chaereas (who abducts her and changes her clothes), Sostratus (who cuts off her hair and makes her work as Melite's slave), and Thersander (who attempts to defile her chastity) combine to play the part of Polytechnus; Melite (whose slave Leukippe becomes) and Kleitophon (who does not recognise Leukippe without her fine clothes) combine to play the part of Aedon. In

[532] In Pherekydes' version, a woman called Aedon was jealous of Niobe's many children, so she took up a weapon to kill one of the boys and killed her own son Itylus by mistake (Pherekydes (Fr.Gr.Hist.3F124). Homer also refers to Pandareus' daughter, Aedon, who unwittingly slew her own child with a sword: ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη, χλωρηῒς ἀηδών, / καλὸν ἀείδησιν ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο, / δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκινοῖσιν, / ἥ τε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν, / παῖδ᾽ ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὅν ποτε χαλκῷ / κτεῖνε δι᾽ ἀφραδίας, κοῦρον Ζήθοιο ἄνακτος (*Odyssey*, 19.518-523). "Just as the daughter of Pandareüs, the nightingale of the greenwood, sings sweetly, when spring is newly come, as she sits perched amid the thick leafage of the trees, and with many trilling notes pours out her rich voice in wailing for her child, dear Itylus, whom she had one day slain with the sword unwittingly, Itylus, the son of king Zethus." [trans. Murray, 2004, p.273]

addition, Melite's estate is in Ephesus, which is the town from which Aedon and Chelidon hale.[533]

In the version found in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* (3.14.8), there is no mention of Prokne's desire to see her sister nor of her sending Tereus to fetch her, as there is in Kleitophon's version at 5.5.3: τῇ φύσει Πρόκνης ἡ φιλοστοργία ... πέμπει γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὸν ἄνδρα. Instead, Tereus seduces and marries Philomela, after telling her that Prokne is dead (καὶ Φιλομήλας ἐρασθεὶς ἔφθειρε καὶ ταύτην, εἰπὼν τεθνάναι Πρόκνην). This is also the case in Hyginus' *Fabulae*, 45. Kleitophon can be mapped onto Tereus, as he claims that Leukippe is dead (though he genuinely believes this to be the case) and marries Melite, with Leukippe being his Prokne, his supposedly dead wife. However, Melite does not map so easily onto the character of Philomela, as she is not abducted or persuaded to go on a journey with Kleitophon to become his wife (she is the one who does the proposing and persuading), and she is not treated with physical cruelty as Philomela is (αὖθις δὲ γήμας Φιλομήλαν συνηυνάζετο, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξέτεμεν αὐτῆς), though she does claim that Kleitophon has treated her badly by not making love to her at 5.25.2-8.

I suggest that Apollodorus' version of the myth can also be mapped onto a love-triangle not previously discussed by Bartsch or Papadimitropoulos, that of Thersander, Melite and Kleitophon, with Melite as Tereus, Kleitophon as Philomela, and Thersander as Prokne. At 5.11.6, we are told that Melite's husband has been lost at sea and is dead (τέθνηκε δὲ αὐτῆς προσφάτως ὁ ἀνὴρ κατὰ θάλασσαν), that she wishes to make Kleitophon her husband (βούλεται δὲ τοῦτον ἔχειν δεσπότην· οὐ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἐρῶ), and that she has spent four months asking him to be her companion on her voyage home to Ephesus (δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ τέτταρας μηνας νῦν ἐνθάδε διέτριψεν, ἀκολουθῆσαι δεομένη). Kleitophon and Melite marry at 5.14.2 in the temple of Isis at Alexandria (τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ συνέκειτο ἡμιν εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἱερὸν ἀπαντῆσαι ... καὶ ὡμνύομεν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀγαπῆσαι ἀδόλως, ἡ δὲ ἄνδρα ποιήσασθαι), before embarking on a sea voyage to Ephesus. At 5.27.3, Melite and Kleitophon have sexual intercourse. So, like

[533] As in the painting, the sisters in the *Metamorphoses* plotted their revenge together. They killed, cut up and cooked Itys before fleeing to Ephesus to seek sanctuary there with their family. Polytechnus ate the meal that was prepared for him, but, upon realising that the flesh he had consumed was that of his son, he chased after his wife and her sister in a rage. Upon arriving in Ephesus, Polytechnus was captured by Pandareus' men, tied up, smeared with honey and put in a sheepfold. Aedon felt sorry for him, and, remembering their former love, tried to keep the flies off him. Pandareus, his wife and son, angered by their daughter's kind treatment of the man who raped her sister, set out to kill Aedon, but Zeus intervened and turned the whole family into birds. Pandareus became a sea-eagle, his wife a halcyon, their son a hoopoe, Polytechnus a woodpecker, Chelidon a swallow and Aedon a nightingale. Contrary to the painting, Aedon of the *Metamorphoses* forever mourns Itys.

Tereus, Melite tells the person whom she wishes to seduce, Kleitophon, that the person to whom she is married, Thersander, is dead. This is an unintentional falsehood on her part, as she genuinely believes Thersander to have perished at sea. Like Tereus, Melite marries for a second time whilst her first spouse is still alive, then takes her new spouse on a journey over the sea to a place where they will consummate their love. At the point when Melite and Kleitophon have sexual intercourse, Melite is aware that Thersander is alive and well, so at this point her character more closely aligns with that of Tereus than it did when she made her proposal of marriage to Kleitophon. Here we see another example of a reversal of genders taking place within an intertextual interaction: Kleitophon and Thersander are equated with the female characters of the myth, and Melite with the male character. Gender reversal is far from uncommon in *L&C*'s intertextual interactions. I would go further to suggest that AT encourages his readers to consider reversing genders before mapping characters from the hypotext onto those of the novel, by describing Kleitophon doing exactly this in Book 3. At 3.15.6, Kleitophon self-identifies with Niobe, and at 3.15.4, he compares Leukippe's gruesome death at the hands of the Egyptian brigands with that of Marsyas being flayed by Apollo.

Melite's identification with Tereus is established intratextually. I suggest that the line βαρβάροις δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐχ ἱκανὴ πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην μία γυνή (5.5.2) could also apply to Melite, as she proves that one husband is not enough for her lust, and she is specifically associated with Aphrodite in the novel, the personification of lust in this line. At 5.11.5, we are told that Aphrodite offers Melite to Kleitophon (ἡ γὰρ Ἀφροδίτη μέγα τούτῳ παρέσχεν ἀγαθόν); at 5.13.2, Melite is described as shining with a splendour appropriate to Aphrodite (ἐμάρμαιρεν αὐτῆς τὸ βλέμμα μαρμαρυγὴν Ἀφροδίσιον); and at 5.15.6, she begs Kleitophon to join her as an initiate in the sacred rites of Aphrodite (μυηθῶμεν οὖν, ὦ φίλτατε, τὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μυστήρια).

In discussing Kleitophon's exegesis of the painting, Bartsch remarks that the emphasis at 5.5.7 upon the violent revenge enacted by Philomela and Prokne against Tereus, the reason for which is stated to be Tereus' infidelity (μόνον γὰρ ἐρῶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνιᾶσαι τὸν τὴν εὐνὴν λελυπηκότα), leads the reader to expect that Leukippe will find out about Kleitophon's amorous tryst with Melite, and that she too will exact vengeance. Bartsch argues that Kleitophon's interpretation is misleading and meaningless, as nothing of this nature comes to pass.[534] I disagree. In the Melite-Thersander-Kleitophon love-triangle, both the events

[534] Bartsch, 1989, p76.

foreshadowed by the painting and Kleitophon's interpretation of the painting, with its emphasis upon the discovery of infidelity and the violent revenge of the cuckolded party, are realised. At 5.23.4, Thersander returns home, having survived shipwreck at sea, and makes straight for his wife's new husband. He says to Kleitophon "Ὁ μοιχὸς οὗτος", "there is the adulterer", before punching him in the forehead with all the might of his anger, grabbing him by the hair, throwing him to the floor, and raining blows down upon him (ῥαπίζει με κατὰ κόρρης πληγὴν θυμοῦ γέμουσαν. ἑλκύσας δὲ τῶν τριχῶν, ῥάσσει πρὸς τοὔδαφος, καὶ προσπίπτων κατακόπτει με πληγαῖς). The irony of the situation is that, at this point, Kleitophon and Melite have not consummated their marriage.

There is a significant intertextual link between Ovid's version of the myth of Philomela, as told at *Metamorphoses*, 6.424-674, and the painting in *L&C* as described by Kleitophon. I will briefly mention this link and a couple of other correspondences, before commenting upon how Ovid's version of the tale foreshadows three events in *L&C*'s main narrative: the incarceration in a cottage in the countryside of Leukippe by Sosthenes and Thersander, Kleitophon's detention by Thersander in a closet in the house of Thersander and Melite, and Kleitophon's burial and mourning for a woman who is not Leukippe. I suggest that the parallels between Ovid's telling of the myth and the painting are clues for the reader to have the events of the *Metamorphoses*-version in mind as they read on.

According to Ovid, Tereus had been sent by Prokne to Athens to fetch her sister to visit with them in Thrace (*Metamorphoses*, 6.440-444). Upon seeing Philomela he was overwhelmed with lust. The narrator says: *Digna quidem facies: sed et hunc innata libido / exstimulat, pronumque genus regionibus illis / in venerem est: flagrat vitio gentisque suoque. ... Iamque moras male fert cupidoque revertitur ore / ad mandata Procnes, et agit sua vota sub illa. / Facundum faciebat amor: quotiensque rogabat / ulterius iusto Procnen ita velle ferebat. / Addidit et lacrimas, tamquam mandasset et illas.* (*Metamorphoses*, 6.458-471) "Her looks deserved his love; but inborn lust goaded him too, for men of that rough race are warm for wenching. Thracian villainy joined flaring with his own. ...Now he'll not linger and turns eagerly to Procne's plan again, and under hers forwards his own. Love made him eloquent; and, if at times he pressed his pleas too far, why, Procne wished it so; he even wept, as if she'd ordered tears." [trans. Melville, 1986, p.135] This clearly engages with Kleitophon's comment at 5.5.2-3. that "One wife at a time, it seems, is not enough for a barbarian's love, especially if

opportunity occur for him to give rein to his wantonness; and this Thracian's opportunity came through the natural affection of Procne, who sent her husband to bring her sister to her." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.245] Both Ovid's Tereus and *L&C*'s utilise the opportunity provided by Prokne's desire to see her sister to persuade Philomela to leave her home in Athens and journey over the sea to Thrace. Their reasons for doing so are the same: the natural lustfulness of their race. Their wickedness and excessive ardour are seen as being natural characteristics for Thracians. The lust of Ovid's Tereus is inborn *innata libido* and his villainy is both innate on account of his racial origins and part of his own character: *flagrat vitio gentisque suoque*. The lust of *L&C*'s Tereus is described specifically as barbarian and his wantonness is connected to his Thracian identity. Kleitophon does not say "Tereus' opportunity came from the natural affection of Prokne", but rather "this Thracian's opportunity": καιρὸς οὖν γίνεται τῷ Θρᾳκὶ τούτῳ.[535]

A few lesser, but still noteworthy, correspondences reinforce the intertextual connection mentioned above. In the painting in the novel, Tereus has raped Philomela and cut out her tongue (5.5.4). Ovid's Tereus also rapes Philomela (6.524-525), cuts out her tongue to prevent her from informing her sister, and then rapes her again: *Iugulum Philomela parabat / spemque suae mortis viso conceperat ense: / ille indignantem et nomen patris usque vocantem / luctantemque loqui comprensam forcipe linguam / abstulit ense fero. Radix micat ultima linguae, / ipsa iacet terraeque tremens inmurmurat atrae; / utque salire solet mutilatae cauda colubrae, / palpitat et moriens dominae vestigia quaerit. / Hoc quoque post facinus (vix ausim credere) fertur / saepe sua lacerum repetisse libidine corpus.* (*Metamorphoses*, 6.553-562). "Philomela, seeing the sword, offered her throat and hoped she would have died. But as she fought, outraged, for words and called her father's name continually, he seized her tongue with tongs and, with his brutal sword, cut it away. The root jerked to and fro; the tongue lay on the dark soil muttering and wriggling, as the tail cut off a snake wriggles, and, as it died, it tried to reach its mistress' feet. Even after that dire deed men say (could I believe it), lusting still, often on the poor maimed girl he worked his will." [trans. Melville, 1986, p.138] Tereus' motivations are cited by Ovid as being fear and anger, as Philomela threatened to report his violence towards her to Prokne: *Talibus ira feri postquam commota tyranni / nec minor hac metus est,*

[535] See Liapis, 2006(a), p.228 for a discussion of barbarian rapaciousness in Ovid and in a fragment from Accius' *Tereus*: *Tereus indomito more atque animo barbaro conspexit in eam; amore vecors flammeo depositus*. Fragment 636-9 R~639-42 W~439-42 D. See pp.231-232 for a good summary of the association of barbarian avarice and lechery in Greek sources, including a fragment from an unknown play by Aeschylus which refers to Thracians as a race of polygamists (p.232, n.71).

causa stimulatus utraque / quo fuit accinctus, vagina liberat ensem / arreptamque coma flexis post terga lacertis / vincla pati cogit (*Metamorphoses*, 6.549-553). "In anger at her words and fear no less, goaded by both, that brutal despot drew his dangling sword and seized her by the hair, and forced her arms behind her back and bound them fast." [trans. Melville, 1986, p.138] Likewise, *L&C*'s Tereus is said to have committed this foul deed on account of fearing Philomela's tongue: τὴν γλῶτταν τῆς Φιλομήλας φοβεῖται, καὶ ἕδνα τῶν γάμων αὐτῇ δίδωσι μηκέτι λαλεῖν, καὶ κείρει τῆς φωνῆς τὸ ἄνθος (5.5.4). "Fearing Philomela's tongue, his bridegroom's present to her was that should be dumb, and he shore away the glory of her speech." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.245] Upon discovering that the feast he has eaten was the meat of his own son, Ovid's Tereus calls forth the Furies/Erinyes, presumably to exact revenge for Prokne's filicide: *Thracius ingenti clamore repellit / vipereasque ciet Stygia de valle sorores* (*Metamorphoses*, 6.661-662). *L&C*'s Tereus does not do this, but, in his exegesis of the painting, Kleitophon refers to Tereus' meal as the Erinyes' feast: ἐδείπνησεν ὁ Τηρεὺς δεῖπνον Ἐρινύων (5.5.8). In *L&C*'s version, Prokne and Philomela are cast as the chthonic deities responsible for punishing those who shed kindred blood, rather than the Erinyes being invoked to pursue them. Does *L&C*'s scene have a touch of irony? Maybe. However, there is another possibility. In Euripides' *Medea*, the chorus refer to Medea as an Erinys after she has killed her children: ἔξελ᾽ οἴκων τάλαι- / -ναν φονίαν τ᾽ Ἐρινὺν ὑπαλαστόρων (*Medea*, 1259-1260). Kovacs explains that Medea is acting as Zeus' agent in bringing about the root-and-branch destruction of Jason's house as retribution for his failure to keep his oath of marriage to her.[536] In Homer's *Iliad* 3.275-291, Agamemnon calls upon the Erinyes to witness his oath that Paris can keep Helen, if Paris kills Menelaos in single combat. By casting Prokne and Philomela as Erinyes, *L&C* follows Euripidean and Homeric examples of Erinyes as agents of Zeus who pursue and destroy those who break sacred oaths, as opposed to the Aeschylean version of the deities, who pursue Orestes for his crime of matricide in the *Eumenides*.

Having established the intertextual connections between Ovid's Philomela story and the paintings, I will turn to the foreshadowing function of this intertextuality. A key feature of Ovid's story is that Tereus takes Philomela to a cabin in the woods to ravish her. He locks her up there, returning every so often to have his wicked way with her, and she remains there until she finds a way to communicate her situation to Prokne by means of the tapestry. Her incarceration in a cabin in the woods is not mentioned in Kleitophon's description of the painting, nor in his explanation of its subject-matter. Though his telling of the story draws

[536] Kovacs, 2001, p.280.

heavily on Ovid's, as demonstrated above, he does not include this particular element of Ovid's version. However, it is a plot element which is twice duplicated in *L&C*'s main narrative. If we return to my proposed love-triangle of Melite, Thersander and Kleitophon, in which Melite is Tereus, discussed above in relation to the version of the story known from Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*, a hut episode of sorts does feature. At the point when Melite-Tereus persuades Kleitophon-Philomela to have sex with her, Kleitophon is imprisoned in a closet: καὶ καλεῖ δεσμὰ καὶ πέδας. δεσμεύουσιν οὖν με καὶ ἄγουσιν εἴς τι δωμάτιον (5.23.7) "and then he called for chains and fetters; his servants bound me and threw me into a closet". In a twist to the mythic scene, in which Tereus cuts out Philomela's tongue to prevent her from revealing to Prokne his adultery and what she has suffered at his hands, Kleitophon makes love to Melite (5.27), thus being unfaithful to Leukippe, and then Kleitophon keeps silent about this act of infidelity when telling the story of his adventures to Leukippe and her father later in the novel (8.5.3). Kleitophon, though in the same position as Philomela, locked up and being sexually propositioned, behaves in exactly the opposite way. He willingly gives in to Melite's sexual demands and chooses not to divulge what transpired between them, whereas Philomela resists and vows to tell Prokne everything. Flipping the situation on its head, Melite can also be equated with Ovid's Philomela in this scene and Kleitophon with Tereus, as in her monologue berating Kleitophon for the lack of love he showed towards her as her husband, she refers to him as ἄπιστε καὶ βάρβαρε (5.25.5). This recalls Philomela's accusation to Tereus at *Metamorphoses*, 6.533-536: *o diris barbare factis, / o crudelis" ait "nec te mandata parentis / cum lacrimis movere piis nec cura sororis / nec mea virginitas nec coniugialia iura!* "You brute! You cruel brute! Do you care nothing for the charge, the tears of my dear father, for my sister's love, for my virginity, your marriage vows?" [trans. Melville, 1986, p.138] Both Melite and Philomela refer to the men who have injured them as unfaithful barbarians.

I further suggest that Melite can be mapped onto Ovid's Prokne and Kleitophon onto Philomela in this closet scene. Liapis comments that "Perhaps the most eye-catching of these divergences is the spectacular Bacchic element introduced by Ovid (*Met*. 6.587-600), when he presents Prokne in maenadic costume, fawn-skin and all, storming the hut where her sister had been imprisoned, liberating her, and dressing her up as a bacchanal too, in order to facilitate her escape. Now, Tatius preserves no trace of such an episode…"[537] I beg to differ. Philomela's rescue by Prokne is not mentioned by Kleitophon when he describes the painting and elaborates upon the myth it depicts, but that does not mean that *L&C* "preserves no trace of such an

[537] Liapis, 2006(a), p.234.

episode”. I contend that Ovid’s Bacchic rescue is intertextually connected to the episode of Kleitophon in the closet and his escape from it. At 6.1.1., Melite helps Kleitophon escape from Thersander’s clutches by dressing him in her clothes, and instructing him to cover his face, so that he is able to walk past the closet-guards and run away to safety: σὺ δὲ ἔνδυθι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἐμήν, καὶ κλέπτε τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ πέπλῳ. At *Metamorphoses* 6.598-600, we learn that Prokne dresses Philomela as a bacchanal and covers her face, so that she can exit the hut and return with Prokne to the palace in secret: *raptaeque insignia Bacchi / induit et vultus hederarum frondibus abdit / attonitamque trahens intra sua moenia ducit*.

There is a second hut-episode which matches the scene in the *Metamorphoses* more closely: Leukippe’s incarceration in a cottage in the countryside and Thersander’s attempted ravishment of her there. At 6.18.5, Thersander joins Leukippe in the cottage and endeavours to seduce her. His actions are described thus: Ὡς δὲ χρόνος ἐγίνετο τῇ τῆς χειρὸς πάλῃ, φιλονεικία λαμβάνει τὸν Θέρσανδρον ἐρωτική, καὶ τὴν μὲν λαιὰν ὑποβαλὼν τῷ προσώπῳ κάτω, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ τῆς κόμης λαβόμενος τῇ μὲν εἷλκεν εἰς τοὐπίσω, τῇ δὲ τὸν ἀνθερεῶνα ὑπερείδων ἀνεώθει. “Some time passing in this wrestling against the force of his hand, Thersander was overcome by love’s anger and strife: he put his left hand beneath her face, while with the right he took hold of her hair; and pulling her head backward with the one and pushing upward beneath her chin with the other, he made her lift up her head.” [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.339] The wrestling imagery ὡς δὲ χρόνος ἐγίνετο τῇ τῆς χειρὸς πάλῃ recalls Tereus wrestling with Philomela as described in the painting (θρᾷξ ὁ Τηρεὺς ἐνύφαντο Φιλομήλᾳ παλαίων πάλην Ἀφροδισίαν: 5.3.5-6). This intratextual link equates Leukippe with Philomela and Thersander with Tereus. However, in the description of the painting it is the position of Philomela’s hands which are noted, not Tereus’. Philomela is said to be using her right hand to aim for Tereus’ eyes and her left to draw her torn garments across her exposed breasts (5.3.6). Thersander’s actions here do not bear a resemblance to those of Tereus of the painting, but they do to Ovid’s Tereus. As quoted above, at *Metamorphoses* 6.549-554, we are told that “In anger at her words and fear no less, goaded by both, that brutal despot drew his dangling sword and seized her by the hair, and forced her arms behind her back and bound them fast; and Philomela, seeing the sword, offered her throat and hoped she would have died.” [trans. Melville, p.138] Both Ovid’s Tereus and *L&C*’s Thersander grab hold of the hair of the maiden they wish to ravish (τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ τῆς κόμης λαβόμενος 6.18.5 and *arreptamque coma* 6.552). However, the outcomes of these parallel actions are markedly different. Philomela hopes that Tereus will use his sword to cut her throat (*Iugulum Philomela parabat / spemque suae mortis viso conceperat ense*: 6.553-

554), but Tereus does not kill her, he instead cuts out her tongue (*comprensam forcipe linguam / abstulit ense fero*: 6.556-557) and then rapes her again (*Hoc quoque post facinus (vix ausim credere) fertur / saepe sua lacerum repetisse libidine corpus*: 6.561-562). Leukippe also says that she would welcome a sword being used to slit her throat: φερέτω καὶ σίδηρον· ἰδοὺ δέρη, σφαζέτω (6.21.2) as part of a lengthy soliloquy in which she berates Thersander for his actions, in a similar vein to Philomela's admonition of Tereus at *Metamorphoses* 6.533-548; however, in contrast to Tereus, Thersander heeds Leukippe's words and decides to retire from the hut to consider his options (7.1.1). Leukippe suffers little more at Thersander's hands than a period of captivity and some rough treatment, including a slap on the face (ῥαπίζει δὴ κατὰ κόρρης αὐτήν 6.20.1).

At *Metamorphoses* 6.566-570, after being told by Tereus that Philomela has died, Ovid tells us that: *Velamima Procne / deripit ex umeris auro fulgentia lato / induiturque atras vestes et inane sepulcrum / constituit falsisque piacula manibus infert / et luget non sic lugendae fata sororis.* "Then Procne snatches off her gleaming robe, with its wide golden fringe, and clothes herself in weeds of black and builds a cenotaph, with offerings to the ghost that is no ghost, and mourns her darling sister's tragedy." [trans. Melville, 1986, p.139] Prokne mourns and builds a tomb for a sister who is not really dead, and leaves offerings for a ghost that is not a ghost. I suggest that this part of Ovid's Philomela story is recalled in Kleitophon's burial of the torso of the woman he believes to be Leukippe, as he too mourns for someone who is not really dead.

There are two important links in the description of Tereus' meal to other tales in which vengeance is a dish best served from the bodies of your enemy's children: the toppling table and the setting aside of the head, hands and feet of the cooked child. In relation to the line τὸ σκέλος ἤρειδεν ἐπι τὴν τράπεζαν· ἡ δὲ οὔτε ἕστηκεν, οὔτε πέπτωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐδείκνυε ῥοπὴν μέλλοντος πτώματος (5.3.8) "His leg was pressing against the table, which neither stood nor fell, but displayed the unstable balance of an impending fall." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.243], Garson comments upon the "masterly way" in which "the imminent fall of the table is brought before the imagination", but goes on to describe this detail as a "triviality".[538] I disagree. The image recalls Thyestes' action in kicking over the table upon which the feast of his children had been served: λάκτισμα δείπνου ξυνδίκως τιθεὶς ἀρᾷ (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1601). In Seneca's Latin play about Thyestes, the table trembles on account of the shaking of the floor,

[538] Garson, 1978, p.84.

as though there is an earthquake: *et ipsa trepido mensa subsiluit solo* (*Thyestes*, line 989).[539] Tereus' toppling table in the painting forges a link to these other stories of child murder, dismemberment and cannibalistic cooking. That these stories were seen as connected in antiquity is evidenced by references to Prokne's killing of Itys in Seneca's *Thyestes*. Liapis notes that "Seneca explicitly models his treatment of the Thyestes myth on the fable of Tereus … Especially revealing is *Thyestes* 56-7 where *Thracium nefas* refers to Procne's child-murder as a precedent for Atreus' imminent act; also, 272-7 where Atreus expressly parallels his situation with that of the *domus Odrysia* (272-3), and even invokes Procne and Philomela for guidance in his act, hoping that he may even surpass them in originality."[540] At 5.3.7, the reader is told that Prokne and Philomela showed Tereus the remains of his feast in a basket, the head and hands of his child: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς εἰκόνος, αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν κανῷ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ δείπνου τῷ Τηρεῖ δεικνύουσι, κεφαλὴν παιδίου καὶ χεῖρας. This recalls *Histories* 1.119.4-6, where Herodotus describes how Harpagus was served his own son as a meal, minus his head, hands and feet, which were kept apart in a basket until he had eaten his fill and were then shown to him.

Through their depictions of elite bodies being at risk and gruesome deaths, I suggest that the intertextual links mentioned above reinforce the sinister atmosphere created by the evil bird omen and by the tragic painting. I also contend that both Philomela and Itys of the myth can be equated with the prostitute who is beheaded in place of Leukippe by Chaereas and his pirate-band. At 5.4.2, Menelaos interprets the painting as follows: "You see then how full of miseries is this drawing – unlawful love, shameless adultery, women's woes". The misfortunes are not of a single woman, but of women plural (γυναικείων ἀτυχημάτων). As well as the abduction of Leukippe by Chaereas and the attempted rape of Leukippe by Thersander, the scene depicted on the painting also foreshadows the beheading of the prostitute by Chaereas, as described by Leukippe to Kleitophon and his father (8.16.1-3). The unfortunate woman (γυναῖκα κακοδαίμονα: 8.16.1) is tricked into accompanying the pirates, who pretend that she is to be married to the captain of their ship. Tereus uses a similar ruse to abduct Philomela in some versions of the myth by telling her that her sister Prokne is dead and that he is taking her to be his new wife (for example, Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 3.14.8, as discussed above). The

[539] Tarrant (1985, pp. 40-43) postulates that Seneca's *Thyestes* followed an outline worked out by the Greek playwrights. There was a large corpus of Greek plays based on this myth, but, unfortunately, none of them have survived in more than a few fragments. Tarrant suggests that Seneca is likely to have been particularly influenced by Sophocles' *Atreus* and *Thyestes in Sicyon* and by Euripides *Thyestes, Plisthenes* and *The Cretan Women*.
[540] Liapis, 2006(a), pp.229-230.

prostitute is stripped of her clothes by the brigands: περιελόντες τόν τε κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῆς ταλαιπώρου γυναικός ἐμοὶ περιτιθέασι (8.16.2). I suggest that this corresponds to the undressing of Philomela by force in the painting: τὸ ζῶσμα ἐλέλυτο, τὸν χιτῶνα κατέρρηκτο, ἡμίγυμνος τὸ στέρνον ἦν (5.3.6). The prostitute's head is chopped off (τὴν κεφαλήν ἀποτέμνουσιν αὐτῆς (8.16.2), but only her body is initially thrown into the sea to become food for the fishes. Her head is kept aside for a while on the ship, before later being thrown into the sea too: τὴν δὲ κεφαλήν, ὡς ἔπεσεν, εἶχον ἐπὶ τῆς νηὸς τότε (8.16.2). This corresponds to the setting aside of Itys' head, hands and feet by Philomela and Prokne; they only served Tereus his cooked body to eat: ἐν κανῷ τὰ λείψανα ... κεφαλὴν παιδίου καὶ χεῖρας (5.3.7).[541]

Leukippe can be equated with Prokne of the painting through internymical intertextuality. Leukippe, daughter of Minyas, is recorded as having killed her son and metamorphosed into a winged creature (usually a bird, but sometimes a bat). In Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* 3.14.8 we are told that Tereus chased Philomela and Prokne with axe in hand: Τηρεὺς δὲ αἰσθόμενος, ἁρπάσας πέλεκυν ἐδίωκεν. However, at *L&C* 5.3.8, Tereus is brandishing a sword: καὶ ἕλκων τὸ ξίφος ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. Fontenrose suggests Tereus' pursuit of the women brandishing a sword has associations with an Orchomenian rite described by Plutarch (*Moralia*, 299E-300A), in which the priest of Dionysus gave chase to a group of women and killed those he caught. The rite itself is presumed by Plutarch to be based on the myth of the daughters of Minyas.[542] Plutarch says: τὰς Μινύου θυγατέρας φασὶ Λευκίππην καὶ Ἀρσινόην καὶ Ἀλκαθόην μανείσας ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιθυμῆσαι κρεῶν καὶ διαλαχεῖν περὶ τῶν τέκνων: Λευκίππης λαχούσης παρασχεῖν Ἵππασον τὸν υἱὸν διασπάσασθαι. "They relate that the daughters of Minyas, Leucippe and Arsinoe and Alcathoe, becoming insane, conceived a craving for human flesh, and drew lots for their children. The lot fell upon Leucippe to contribute her son Hippasus to be torn to pieces." [trans. Babbitt, 1936(a), p.221] Leukippe, like Prokne, is a killer of her own son in this myth. However, her excuse is that she is insane. She and her sisters are described as having an appetite for human flesh. They cast lots to decide which of their children to kill. Hippasus, Leukippe's son, is the unfortunate victim and he is cut into pieces. In Aelian's

[541] I very tentatively suggest that some wordplay is being employed here, as the noun νηὸς in the nominative can mean 'temple'. The placing of the prostitute's head ἐπὶ τῆς νηὸς, though it means 'in the ship', perhaps also conjures up images of cultic sacrifices, of the type described by Pausanias as taking place to honour Tereus at Megara, which involved the setting aside of the head, hands and feet of the sacrificial victim (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.48.8-9). McGowan (1994, p.428-429) asserts that the meal prepared by Prokne for Tereus had cultic associations which continued into the second century CE.
[542] Fontenrose, 1948, p.162.

account of the tale, Leukippe and her sisters tear her child into pieces and are then transmogrified into a crow, a bat and an owl.[543] This intertextual interaction between mythological Leukippe who killed her son and then became a winged creature, and mythological Prokne who her own son Itys before transforming into a bird, does not appear relevant to the events which befall *L&C*'s Leukippe, nor does it provide an insight into her character. The expectation of the reader who makes the link between these two mythological filicidal mothers is that Leukippe of the novel will turn out to be a child-killer too. This turns out to be a false clue. Intertextuality in *L&C* creates many avenues for the reader to wander down, some are lined with useful discoveries, which shed light on events in the main narrative or presage future events, and some are simply dead ends. This is not frustrating for the reader who enjoys digging beneath the surface of the text, but rather part of the fun of the game of spotting intertextual events.

So, in summary, the birds of the omen and the birds of the painting encourage the reader of *L&C* to think about the different versions of the Philomela myth and how they relate to the main narrative. The Philomela 'megatext', to utilise Lefteratou's phrasing, intertextually engages with the main narrative of *L&C*. However, just as the 'megatext' was divided between several ancient sources, so the intertextual connections of the 'megatext' are not to a single event in the novel but to several different events. The characters of the Philomela myth are fragmented, their constituent attributes and plot episodes are shared between the characters of the novel. I contend that the way in which intertexts are divided into component parts and distributed throughout the narrative is a dominant feature of *L&C*'s intertextual structure. I discuss another example of this fragmentation and division in relation to the Helen 'megatext' in **Case Study E**.

[543] The reason for their madness is stated to be their refusal to join the dance of the god Dionysus, out of love for their husbands. μόνας δὲ ἀφηνιάσαι τῆς χορείας ταύτης λέγουσι τοῦ Διονύσου τὰς Μινύου θυγατέρας Λευκίππην καὶ Ἀρσίππην καὶ Ἀλκιθόην. ... ἐνταῦθά τοι καὶ πάθος εἰργάσαντο ἔξω Κιθαιρῶνος, οὐ μεῖον τοῦ ἐν Κιθαιρῶνι: τὸν γὰρ τῆς Λευκίππης παῖδα ἔτι ἁπαλὸν ὄντα καὶ νεαρὸν διεσπάσαντο οἷα νεβρὸν τῆς μανίας ἀρξάμεναι αἱ Μινυάδες, εἶτα ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ᾖξαν μαινάδας: αἳ δὲ ἐδίωκον αὐτὰς διὰ τὸ ἄγος. ἐκ δὴ τούτων ἐγένοντο ὄρνιθες, καὶ ἣ μὲν ἤμειψε τὸ εἶδος ἐς κορώνην, ἣ δὲ ἐς νυκτερίδα, ἣ δὲ ἐς γλαῦκα (*Vita Historia*, 3.42). Ovid's version is slightly different, in that no child murder takes place. The daughters of Minyas are not named. They refuse to take part in the Bacchic rites, choosing to weave and tell stories instead, and are changed into bats by the god as a punishment (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4.1-40, 390-415).

D.ii. Intercultural Intertextuality

The already discussed emphasis on the birds of the painting also has intercultural significance. Although Kleitophon does not focus upon the remorse of Prokne for the killing of Itys, nor upon the mournful song of the nightingale, many intertexts for this story do. For example, in Aeschylus' play about Agamemnon's homecoming after the Trojan war, the chorus, in response to Cassandra prophesying both her own and Agamemnon's imminent death, say to her: φρενομανής τις εἶ θεοφόρητος, ἀμ- / -φὶ δ᾽ αὑτᾶς θροεῖς / νόμον ἄνομον, οἷά τις ξουθὰ / ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ, ταλαίναις φρεσίν / Ἴτυν Ἴτυν στένουσ᾽ ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς / ἀηδὼν βίον. (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1140-1145) "You are possessed of God, mazed at heart to sing your own death song, the wild lyric as in clamor for Itys, Itys over and over again her long life of tears weeping forever grieves the brown nightingale." [trans. Lattimore, 1953, p.71]

I suggest that the association of the nightingale with mourning was so well-known in antiquity that its absence in Kleitophon's exegesis of the painting serves only to highlight its significance. Leukippe asks specifically about the birds, but Kleitophon chooses not to tell her about the nightingale's primary association. As discussed in D.i., the omen reminds the reader that there is more than one version of the Philomela myth: there is a version in which Tereus is a hawk rather than a hoopoe. When reading Kleitophon's ekphrasis and exegesis of the painting, the reader looks for ways in which Kleitophon's version of the myth differs from other versions they know, with particular emphasis upon the birds because of the omen, because Leukippe has asked about them, and because they are only present in the exegesis not the ekphrasis. The version of the myth in which the nightingale eternally mourns the death of Itys is propelled to the forefront of the reader's mind precisely because it is not mentioned by Kleitophon. Many versions of the myth refer to the mourning of both the nightingale and the swallow. For example, referring to the tomb of Tereus at Megara, Pausanias says: καί σφισι τὴν ἐς ἀηδόνα καὶ χελιδόνα μεταβολὴν ἐπεφήμισαν ὅτι οἶμαι καὶ αὗται αἱ ὄρνιθες ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρήνῳ ὅμοιον ᾄδουσιν.[544] He specifically attributes the metamorphosis of Prokne and Philomela into a nightingale and a swallow to the fact that the songs of these birds sound like lamentations. Hesiod also refers to the plaintive voice of the swallow: ὀρθογόη Πανδιονὶς ὦρτο χελιδὼν; and Aristophanes refers to the mournful songs of both birds: δεινὸν ἐπιβρέμεται / Θρῃκία χελιδὼν / ἐπὶ βάρβαρον ἑζομένη πέταλον: / κελαδεῖ δ᾽ ἐπίκλαυτον ἀηδόνιον νόμον.[545] "Roaring terribly, a Thracian swallow, sitting on a barbarian leaf, makes sounds in the mournful

[544] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.41.9.
[545] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, line 568; Aristophanes, *Frogs*, lines 680-684.

way of the nightingale." [my translation] Plato has all three birds, the nightingale, the swallow and the hoopoe, singing songs out of grief: οὐδὲ αὐτὴ ἥ τε ἀηδὼν καὶ χελιδὼν καὶ ὁ ἔποψ, ἃ δή φασι διὰ λύπην θρηνοῦντα ᾄδειν.[546]

The mourning of two women associated with birds for the death of a relative who has been dismembered and partially eaten recalls the Egyptian Osiris myth in which Osiris' sisters/lovers (Isis and Nephthys) mourn over his dismembered corpse, the phallus of which is missing having been eaten by a fish. In Egyptian art, the goddesses Isis and Nephthys were often depicted either as birds or as winged women. For example, a commonplace illustration for chapter 17 of the *Book of the Dead* is Isis and Nephthys as kites mourning either side of Osiris' funeral bier. There is a particularly well-preserved example of this illustration from the tomb of Nefertari, the wife of Rameses II (1279-1213 BCE). [Image D2] There are many Roman-era examples from Alexandria, including a painting in the Tigrane tomb from the catacombs of Kom el Shoqafa. [Image D3]

Isis and Nephthys are also regularly referred to as winged in Egyptian hymns. For example, *The Great Hymn to Osiris* from the eighteenth dynasty (c.1550-1305 BCE) *Stela of Amenmose* (Louvre C 286) includes the lines: "Mighty Isis who protected her brother, who sought him without wearying. Who roamed the land lamenting, not resting until she found him, who made a shade with her plumage, created breath with her wings."[547] Utterance 532, line 1255d from the *Pyramid Texts* refers to Isis and Nephthys as birds, each a different type of bird.[548] Coffin Text 73 refers to Nephthys as a screecher and to Isis as a kite.[549] In Egyptian mythology, Isis is most usually associated with the kite, however, in Plutarch's version of the myth, Isis transforms herself into a swallow and flits around lamenting: αὐτὴν δὲ γενομένην χελιδόνα τῇ κίονι περιπέτεσθαι καὶ θρηνεῖν (*Moralia*, 357D).

The story of the goddesses' lamentation over Osiris' body was ubiquitous throughout Egypt up to and including the Roman period. Their lamentations became the topic of hymns, which were sung or recited at festivals and at private funerals. For example, the *Songs of Isis and Nephthys* (henceforward *Songs*) dated to the second century BCE, were intended for performance by two women representing the goddesses at a celebration of the Osirian mysteries.[550] The text refers to the lamenting goddesses as kites: "Here begin the stanzas of the Festival of the Two Kites

546 Plato, *Phaedo*, 85A.
547 Trans. Lichtheim, 1976, p.83.
548 Bleeker, 1958, p.4.
549 Turner, 2012, p.195.
550 Papyrus Bremner-Rhind = Pap.Brit.Mus.10188. See also Holm, 2007, pp.280-281.

which is celebrated in the temple of Osiris, First of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos, in the fourth month of the inundation, from the twenty-second day down to the twenty-sixth day.” (1.1-2)[551] In the *Songs*, the fact that Osiris’ corpse had been dismembered and required reassembling prior to his resurrection is referred to at several points: “But thou art repulsed, being scattered through all lands, and he who shall reunite thy body, he shall inherit thy estate.” (5.20) “Join together thy body, O great god, provide thee with thy shape.” (8.20) “They reassemble thy limbs for thee with mourning” (11.7) “She makes hale for thee thy flesh on thy bones. She knits for thee thy nose to thy forehead. She gathers together for thee thy bones, and thou art complete.” (15.7-9)[552]

The myth of Isis and Osiris is a more overt intertext for Leukippe’s two *Scheintode* than it is for the Philomela painting. As discussed in **Case Study C** in relation to the reconstitution of Leukippe’s body after her first faked death, Leukippe can be connected to the mummified Osiris, as her saviour, Menelaos, calls upon Hekate-Isis to assist him in healing her. In **Case Study E**, I will discuss how (and if) Leukippe again maps onto the character of Osiris, when she is beheaded and thrown into the sea, and how Kleitophon maps onto Isis, when he laments over her headless corpse like Isis lamented over Osiris’ reconstituted body, which was complete except for his phallus. The Philomela painting is positioned between these two *Scheintode*. It foreshadows aspects of the second *Scheintod*, such as the Chaereas-Kleitophon-Leukippe love-triangle and Leukippe’s beheading, and, with its emphasis on cannibalism, it also looks back to the first *Scheintod*. As both *Scheintode* intertextually engage with the Osiris myth, the painting’s positioning between them and the way in which it intratextually engages with both of these scenes, make it reasonable to assume that some ancient readers would have connected the birds of the painting with the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, even though this intertextual interaction is far more covert.

The swallow had several associations in ancient Egyptian culture, including solar rejuvenation and cyclical rebirth.[553] In mythological vignettes from funerary papyri, the swallow is often depicted accompanying the sun-god Re on his solar barque. Cooper and Evans argue that the

[551] All translations of the *Songs of Isis and Nephthys* are from Faulkner, 1936.
[552] These lines have already been discussed in C.iii. in relation to Leukippe’s first *Scheintod*, when Menelaos calls upon Hekate (associated in Egypt with Isis) to make Leukippe whole again after she has seemingly been disembowelled.
[553] Cooper & Evans, 2015, p.12.

swallow was a *topos* of solar creation, as its migratory path was associated with the celestial path of the Sun.[554] In the so-called transformation spells, swallows were associated with freedom of movement in the afterlife, and transforming into a swallow allowed the deceased to fly to an island of eternal life. I suggest that from an Egyptian perspective the swallow of the omen, and especially the metamorphosis of Philomela into a swallow in Kleitophon's exegesis of the painting, could be interpreted as symbolising death and resurrection to new life. The swallows, therefore, are proleptic of the 'resurrection' of Leukippe after her second faked death.

Spell 86 of the *Book of the Dead* is for transferring attributes of the swallow to the deceased, including the bird's freedom and manoeuvrability to make use of in the afterlife.[555] Taylor notes that "These spells are particularly concerned with the notion that the spirit should be able to travel back and forth repeatedly between the realm of the living and that of the dead, departing from the Netherworld every morning and returning in the evening. So, by turning into a swallow, the deceased is enabled to 'enter [again] after going forth by day, in any form in which he wishes to emerge from the Field of Reeds.'"[556] *Coffin Text* Spell 294 is similar. Cooper and Evans state this spell's goal as being "to allow the deceased to experience a transfiguration, which was achieved through a recitation of swallow behaviour … By uttering this spell the deceased inherited the positive aspects of the bird – mobility and celestial freedom, which would grant them passage to the afterlife, but also the swallow's place on the solar boat."[557] Utterance 626, line 1770a from the *Pyramid Texts* says that the dead pharaoh has ascended like a swallow and has alighted like a falcon, and in Utterance 519, lines 1216a-c, the dead pharaoh goes to an island in the afterlife where the swallow-gods live and the swallows are likened to "imperishable stars". Swallow amulets were a common decoration for funerary clothing.[558]

Assmann discusses the body of water in the Egyptian Underworld which separates the deceased from a godlike existence in a place of eternal life.[559] Many spells give the deceased the attributes of the swallow, so that they can fly across this expanse of water and land on the hallowed shores on the far side. For example, *Coffin Text* spells 278, 287 and 581 all begin "I

[554] ibid., p.13.
[555] ibid., p.12.
[556] Taylor, 2010, p.166.
[557] Cooper & Evans, 2015, p.22.
[558] Patch, 1995, p.110.
[559] Assmann, 2005, pp.130-132.

flew up as a swallow" and include lines about landing on an island "I was granted an alighting on the shore of the great island". The deceased is said to alight on this island, but not to "land", which means not to die. The deceased is said to appear on this island as a god. Other ways to cross the water included by boat. Spell 98 of the *Book of the Dead* is for summoning the boat. Assmann argues that this body of water was thought to separate the land of eternal life from the area of the Underworld in which Osiris' agents acted as wardens to catch evil-doers. As I will discuss in **Case Study E**, some of these wardens are described as bird-catchers and some as fishermen. I argue that Chaereas, as a former fisherman, represents the wardens of Osiris. He catches Leukippe but fails to keep hold of her. She crosses the ocean in his boat and is given a new life on Ephesus.

In this case study, I have demonstrated that the Greek resonances of the birds of the omen and the birds of the Philomela painting are escape from danger (particularly from the pursuit of a lustful suitor or vengeful husband), lamentation and metamorphosis. The primary Egyptian resonances are also lamentation and metamorphosis. However, the Egyptians also associated the swallow with freedom to move through the Underworld and resurrection to new life. I suggest that a reader who ignores this episode's intercultural interactions misses out on a layer of subtle foreshadowings, clues that Leukippe will survive her abduction by the lecherous fisherman Chaereas, and will journey over the sea to a new land, a land where she will be metamorphosed into the slave-woman Lakaina. In the episodes discussed in this case study, the Egyptian intertexts faintly whisper from within the depths of the lattice of intertextual connections, which serve as the substratum to the novel's main narrative. In contrast, as I aim to highlight in **Case Study E**, during the protagonists' visit to Pharos and their adventures in its surrounding waters, the Egyptian material rises to the surface and declares its presence more clearly, aided in doing so by intratextual connections which highlight the theme of resurrection and draw attention to the Osiris myth.

CASE STUDY E

Pharos and the second *Scheintod* of Leukippe (*L&C* 5.6-7)

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In this case study, I will explore intertextual and intratextual interactions in *L&C* 5.6-7. In these chapters of the novel, Kleitophon and Leukippe travel to the island of Pharos to attend the birthday party of their friend Chaereas. Chaereas first gives them a tour of the island, showing them the famous Pharos lighthouse, before taking them to his home by the seashore. During his birthday meal, a group of men whom Chaereas has hired abduct Leukippe by boat. Kleitophon is badly injured whilst trying to prevent them. Kleitophon then enlists the help of the commander of the island's navy and they set sail in pursuit of Chaereas' ship. Chaereas thwarts their plans to rescue Leukippe by bringing her up on deck, cutting off her head and throwing her body into the sea. The chase is given up and Leukippe's body is retrieved from the water. This section of the novel ends with Kleitophon lamenting over Leukippe's decapitated corpse.

I will argue that there is very clear intertextual engagement in these chapters with the works of Plutarch, his *De vitioso pudore*, his *De Iside et Osiride* and his *Alcibiades*. *De vitioso pudore* and *De Iside et Osiride* share the theme of betrayal at a dinner party. In the former, historical examples are provided of men who unwisely accepted dinner party invitations from hosts they knew might not have their best interests at heart, and were, predictably, killed shortly after dinner; in the latter, the myth of Osiris' capture at a dinner party and murder at the hands of Seth and his confederates is told. I contend that both of these Plutarchan essays foreshadow the betrayal of the dinner party host (Chaereas) and the murder of the dinner party guest (Leukippe), but that only *De Iside et Osiride* foreshadows Leukippe's later 'resurrection' and reunion with Kleitophon. I will explore intertextuality with *De vitioso pudore* in E.i. and with *De Iside et Osiride* in E.ii. alongside Egyptian versions of the Osiris myth and an interpretation of the description of the Pharos lighthouse focussed upon both its Greek and Egyptian resonances. In Plutarch's *Alcibiades*, a dream is recounted in which Alcibiades is killed whilst dressed as a courtesan. I propose that this dream is an intertext for the faking of Leukippe's

death by Chaereas, who beheads a prostitute dressed in Leukippe's clothes to fool Kleitophon into thinking his girlfriend is dead. Brief comment on this intertextual relationship will lead into a discussion of stories in which 'unchaste' women are killed by being thrown into water. Building upon the work of McHardy, who discusses this practice in relation to the fidelity test of Melite in Book 8, I will argue that these stories are also intertexts for the beheading of Leukippe's unfortunate substitute. Additionally, I proffer the suggestion that Leukippe's beheading recalls the death of Apsyrtus at the hands of Jason and Medea, and Aeetes' chase of the Argo, as recounted by Apollodorus.

In **Case Study B**, I suggested that locations can also have intertextual associations. I demonstrated the significance of the mythology of the north-eastern Nile Delta region for recognising and understanding intercultural interactions between Leukippe's first *Scheintod* and the paintings depicted in Zeus Kasios' temple in Pelusium. Building upon this hypothesis, I will suggest in this case study that the island of Pharos has intertextual associations which are relevant for the denouements of the novel. Through the protagonists' visit to Pharos, notably unaccompanied by their travelling companion Menelaos, the reader is reminded of the long sojourn there of Euripides' Helen, of Menelaos' shipwreck there, and of the escape of Helen and Menelaos from the clutches of the island's ruler Theoclymenus. I will argue that Euripides' *Helen* is an intertext for several events in the novel, such as the existence of a phantom double of Leukippe, and the failure of Kleitophon to recognise Leukippe when she is in the guise of the slave-girl Laikaina. Pharos is the reader's cue to have the tragic play in mind when reading on. I will demonstrate that Leukippe, Melite and Kleitophon can all be mapped onto the character of Helen who did not go to Troy, but that the events which befall these three characters and the speeches which they make also intertextually engage with other versions of the myth in which Helen did go to Troy, such as Homer's *Iliad*, or in which Helen is in the process of being won over by Paris' flattery and protestations of love, such as Ovid's *Heroides* epistles 16 and 17. With each mapping, I will ask the question, 'if this character is Helen, who is her Paris and who is her Menelaos, and how well do they match up?'[560]

Building upon McGill's discussion of Kleitophon's lamentation over Leukippe's headless corpse, I will show that whilst the wording of the lament is typically Greek, drawing heavily upon Greek funerary epigrams, that the lament also intertextually engages with Egyptian

[560] Comparisons between the characters of Leukippe and Helen are discussed in Lefteratou's 2018 book on the tragic heroines of the novels. I presented the parallels I identify below at a conference in 2016. I did not have sight of Lefteratou's book until November 2018.

hymns about the mourning of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys over the corpse of their brother/lover Osiris, which is missing not its head but its phallus. I aim throughout this case study to showcase the interplay between Greek, Roman and Egyptian intertexts. This multicultural mixture of resonances reflects the cosmopolitan character of Roman-period Alexandria.

E.i. Greek and Roman intertexts

At 5.6.1, Kleitophon explains how he and Leukippe fell victim to Chaereas' plot. He tells the anonymous narrator that they were too ashamed to turn down Chaereas' invitation to dinner for a second day in a row (καὶ ἡμεῖς αἰδεσθέντες ἀντιλέγειν οὐκ εἴχομεν), so they overcame their apprehension and journeyed to Chaereas' house on the island of Pharos. Previous scholarship on these lines has failed to identify the Plutarchan intertext which underscores them. In his essay entitled *De vitioso pudore*, Plutarch equates shame to a fear of ill-repute. He suggests that those who feel shame are fundamentally of better character than those who are shameless; however, feeling shame is a mark of bad conduct, because it leads to compliancy and those who are too compliant have a tendency to agree to requests which put themselves in danger, as Kleitophon and Leukippe are doing here. Later in this essay on shame, Plutarch cites the example of Antipater, son of Cassander, who invited Demetrius to dinner and, on the following day, received an invitation to dine at Demetrius' house. Although he had misgivings, he was too ashamed to refuse the invitation of a man who had trusted him enough to dine at his table, so he accepted the invitation and was murdered after the meal (*De vitioso pudore,* 530C).[561] Plutarch also mentions Herakles, a son of Alexander the Great, who was invited to dinner by Polyperchon. He feared a plot, but, having been encouraged by Polyperchon to emulate his father's obliging nature, he was too ashamed to refuse the invitation. Polyperchon's associate Cassander strangled Herakles as soon as he had finished eating (*De vitioso pudore,* 530D).

These ominous intertextual resonances intensify the element of foreboding introduced by the bird omen, the painting of the myth of Philomela, and Menelaos' insistence that events of the

[561] In his essay on the life of the same Demetrius, Plutarch claims that it was Alexander, Antipater's brother, whom Demetrius invited to dinner and murdered (Plutarch, *Demetrius,* 36). cf. also Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica,* 22 fragment 7 who appears to state that Demetrius killed both Alexander and Antipater, though elsewhere Antipater's death is attributed to his father-in-law Lysimachus (Justinus, *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' 'Philippic Histories',* 16.2.4).

kind depicted in the painting will come to pass if they proceed on their present course and go to Pharos (as discussed in **Case Study D**). They also foreshadow the death of Leukippe at the hands of the party host. The reader aware of the fates of Antipater and Herakles is alerted to the fact that Kleitophon's acceptance of Chaereas' invitation is incredibly unwise, and might lead to the untimely death of one of the invited guests. This prediction turns out to be correct, as Leukippe is abducted and seemingly killed as a direct result of Kleitophon's imprudent action in acquiescing to Chaereas' invitation.

I contend that the intertextual connection with *De vitioso pudore* does more than simply foreshadow the deadly event to come, but also gives us an insight into the character of the hero of the novel. Plutarch comments that an excess of shame is a character flaw, particularly in the young, is symptomatic of an effeminate nature and lack of strength of will, and that it can and should be remedied through proper instruction (*De vitioso pudore,* 528D-529A). Plutarch's character analysis of the type of person who succumbs to shame and allows this emotion to influence their actions appears to be very apt for Kleitophon. He is young and his effeminacy is suggested at several points in the novel: for example, he compares himself to a female mythical character, Niobe, when he witnesses the evisceration of Leukippe at 3.15.6; he dresses as a woman to escape Thersander's clutches at 6.1.1-3; Thersander describes Kleitophon as one of those youths who "ape manhood when they are among women, while they count as women among men." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.431]: ὃς πρὸς μὲν γυναῖκας ἄνδρας ἀπομιμεῖται, γυνὴ δὲ γίνεται πρὸς ἄνδρας (8.10.9). Kleitophon's lack of strength of will is most clearly demonstrated by his infidelity with Melite at 5.27.2-3, after discovering that Leukippe is alive and well. He recalls that he was overpowered by his compassionate feelings for a fellow human being (ἔπαθόν τι ἀνθρώπινον), and, therefore, did not resist when she put her arms around him and drew him close (περιβαλούσης οὖν ἠνειχόμην καὶ περιπλεκομένης πρὸς τὰς περιπλοκὰς **οὐκ ἀντέλεγον**). Here the wording explicitly recalls Kleitophon's lack of resistance to Chaereas' dinner invitation: καὶ ἡμεῖς αἰδεσθέντες **ἀντιλέγειν οὐκ εἴχομεν** (5.6.1).

Pharos is important as a location for Chaereas' abduction for three reasons. First, it is near to the island of Melite (Agathemerus, *Geography,* 23.4). Kleitophon's adventures on Pharos bring him near to the island of Melite and move the plot closer to his first meeting with the widow Melite at 5.13.1, whom he marries at 5.14.2. Second, it is the mythical home of the god Proteus, a renowned shapeshifter (Homer, *Odyssey*, 4.351-419). The reader might expect that Pharos

will be a place where the identity of characters will not be static, and this turns out to be exactly the case. On Pharos and in its surrounding waters, fishermen become pirates, friends become enemies, a prostitute takes the place of the heroine, and the heroine becomes a slave. Third, in combination with the name of the couple's absent companion being Menelaos, Pharos puts the reader in mind of Euripides' *Helen*, in which Menelaos discovers that the real Helen has been on Pharos during the Trojan War and that the Trojans and Greeks had fought over a phantom.[562] At Zeus' command, Hermes abducted Helen from Paris and took her to Egypt to live under the protection of Proteus, who dwelt on the island of Pharos, until such time that her true husband came to claim her (lines 44-48): λαβὼν δέ μ᾽ Ἑρμῆς ἐν πτυχαῖσιν αἰθέρος / νεφέλῃ καλύψας — οὐ γὰρ ἠμέλησέ μου / Ζεύς — τόνδ᾽ ἐς οἶκον Πρωτέως ἱδρύσατο, / πάντων προκρίνας σωφρονέστατον βροτῶν, / ἀκέραιον ὡς σῴσαιμι Μενέλεῳ λέχος. "So Hermes took me up within the recesses of the sky, hiding me in a cloud (for Zeus had not forgotten me), and put me down at this house of Proteus, whom he judged the most virtuous man on earth, so that I might keep my bed unsullied for Menelaus." [Kovacs, 2002, p.17] I will argue below that this play is intertextually significant for many of the subsequent denouements in Book 5, and that the characters Leukippe, Melite and Kleitophon all map onto the character of Helen in different ways.

Previous scholarship has touched upon the intertextual relationship between the characters Helen and Leukippe. Laplace devotes several pages of her monograph on the novel to the identification of Leukippe with Helen. She explains that by choosing the name Lakaina for herself when she becomes the slave of Melite (5.17.5), Leukippe associates herself with Helen of Troy, as Helen is referred to as the Lakainan in several sources. "Dans les 'Troyennes', Ménélas, avant de remettre la main sur elle, declare <<Je viens pour la Laconienne (τὴν λάκαιναν) – je n'aime pas de prononcer le nom de mon ancienne épouse -, que je vais emmener. Elle est ici dans le baraquement des captives>> (5.869-71). Dans les 'Odes' d'Horace, elle est

[562] At 5.6.1 we are told that Menelaos was unwell and, therefore, unable to accompany the hero and heroine to Chaereas' dinner party - ὁ δὲ Μενέλαος ἔμεινεν αὐτοῦ, φήσας οὐχ ὑγιῶς ἔχειν. The reader realises that this is a bad sign, because, when Kleitophon's stepmother and Leukippe were both too poorly to attend the propitiatory sacrifice to Zeus at 2.16.1, Kalligone, Kleitophon's half-sister and betrothed, attended alongside Leukippe's mother and was consequently mistaken for Leukippe by Kallisthenes, a rival for Leukippe's affections, and later abducted by his henchmen (2.18). So, aware of Chaereas' plan to abduct Leukippe, the reader will now anticipate its fulfilment. Baker, 2016(a), p.116 – "Achilles in fact appears to humorously allude to the epic Menelaus' virtual imprisonment on Pharos when he depicts his own character delaying a trip there because of bad omens and ultimately begging off, claiming illness (5.4, 5.6). Achilles' Menelaus seems to remember what happened to Homer's Menelaus and thus alter his behaviour."

parfois dénommée seulement <<la Laconienne (Lacaenae) adultè>> (3.3.25)."[563] Leukippe is also linked to Helen through the poetry of Ovid. In Ovid's *Heroides*, epistles 16 and 17, Paris and Helen exchange letters. Laplace notes correspondences between the description of Helen in these letters and the effect she has upon Paris, and the descriptions of Leukippe in the novel and the effect she has upon Kleitophon. Examples include: Leukippe's fatal beauty at 1.4.4 (ὡς δὲ εἶδον, εὐθὺς ἀπωλώλειν· κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον τιτρώσκει βέλους καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ.) which recalls Helen's at *Heroides*, 16.277-278: *non mea sunt summa leviter districta sagitta / pectora; descendit vulna ad ossa meum!*; Kleitophon's stupefaction at seeing Leukippe at 1.4.5 (πάντα δέ με εἶχεν ὁμοῦ, ἔπαινος, ἔκπληξις, τρόμος, αἰδώς, ἀναίδεια· ἐπῄνουν τὸ μέγεθος, ἐξεπεπλήγμην τὸ κάλλος, ἔτρεμον τὴν καρδίαν, ἔβλεπον ἀναιδῶς, ᾐδούμην ἁλῶναι.) which recalls the effect of the sight of Helen upon Paris at *Heroides*, 16.135-136: *ut vidi, obstipui praecordiaque intima sensi / attonitus curis intumuisse novis*; the seduction techniques employed by Kleitophon to win over Leukippe at 1.16-19 recall those used by Paris to seduce Helen at *Heroides*, 16.243-246: *a, quotiens aliquem narravi potus amorem, / ad vulnus referens singula verba meum, / indiciumque mei ficta sub nomine feci! / ille ego, si nescis, verus amator eram*; the combined effects of wine and love are discussed by Kleitophon at 2.3.3 (ὁ μὲν καίνω αὐτην τῷ συνήθει πυρί, ὁ δὲ τὸν οἶνον ὑπέκκαυμα φέρων·) and in *Heroides*, 16.231-32: *saepe mero volui flammam compescere, at illa / crevit, et ebrietas ignis in igne fuit*; Leukippe and Kleitophon drink from the same cup at 2.9.3-4, as do Paris and Helen at *Heroides*, 17.79-80: *et modo suspires, modo pocula proxima nobis / sumis, quaque bibi, tu quoque parte bibis*.[564]

Euripides was not the only author to assert that the real Helen never went to Troy. Herodotus claimed that Proteus took Helen from Paris when their boat was driven into the Egyptian sea during a storm, and that he vowed to keep her safe in Memphis until her rightful husband should come to claim her *(Histories*, 2.113-117). Apollodorus asserted that Hermes, by order of Zeus, gave Helen to Proteus for safekeeping and sent Paris to Troy with a phantom (*Library Epitome,* E3.5): ἔνιοι δέ φασιν Ἑλένην μὲν ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ κατὰ βούλησιν Διὸς κομισθῆναι κλαπεῖσαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ δοθεῖσαν Πρωτεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φυλάττειν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ παραγενέσθαι εἰς Τροίαν πεποιημένον ἐκ νεφῶν εἴδωλον Ἑλένης ἔχοντα. Plato commented that the poet Stesichorus was stricken with blindness for having lied about Helen's part in the

[563] Laplace, 2007, p.579. For a discussion of the relevance of the name Laikaina to Leukippe undergoing a rite of passage, see Laplace, 2007, pp.579-586.
[564] Laplace, 1991, p.37.

Trojan war and, therefore, wrote her an apology in which he said: οὐδ᾽ ἔβας ἐν νηυσὶν εὐσέλμοις, "οὐδ᾽ ἵκεο Πέργαμα Τροίας. "You did not go within the well-oared ships; you did not go to the walls of Troy" (*Phaedrus,* 243a-b, Stesichorus fragment 32).

The word commonly used to describe Helen's phantom double is εἴδωλον.[565] In Euripides' *Helen*, Hera creates a phantom Helen to give to Paris (lines 31-36): Ἥρα δὲ μεμφθεῖσ᾽ οὕνεκ᾽ οὐ νικᾷ θεάς, / ἐξηνέμωσε τἄμ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λέχη, / δίδωσι δ᾽ οὐκ ἔμ᾽, ἀλλ᾽ ὁμοιώσασ᾽ ἐμοὶ / **εἴδωλον** ἔμπνουν οὐρανοῦ ξυνθεῖσ᾽ ἄπο, / Πριάμου τυράννου παιδί: καὶ δοκεῖ μ᾽ ἔχειν / — κενὴν δόκησιν, οὐκ ἔχων. "But Hera, annoyed that she did not defeat the other goddesses, made Alexandros' union with me as vain as the wind: she gave to king Priam's son not me but a breathing image she fashioned from the heavens to resemble me. He imagines—vain imagination—that he has me, though he does not." [trans. Kovacs, 2002, p.15] Kleitophon refers to the εἴδωλον of Leukippe when he and Melite are crossing the sea to Ephesus. He refuses to consummate his marriage to Melite at sea, as Leukippe rests beneath the waves and her εἴδωλον might be floating over the ship. Μή με βιάσῃ λῦσαι θεσμὸν ὁσίας νεκρῶν. οὔπω τῆς ἀθλίας ἐκείνης τοὺς ὅρους παρήλθομεν, ἕως ἄν γῆς ἐπιβῶμεν ἑτέρας. οὐκ ἤκουσας ὡς ἐν θαλάσσῃ τέθνηκεν; ἔτι πλέω Λευκίππης τὸν τάφον. τάχα που περὶ τὴν ναῦν αὐτῆς εἰλεῖται τὸ εἴδωλον. (5.16.1) "No, force me not to do violence to the duty owed to the dead; we have not traversed the limits consecrated to that poor girl until we land in another country. Did you not hear that she perished at sea? I am now sailing over Leucippe's grave, and perhaps her shade is even now hovering round the ship." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.269] This is a glaring clue for the reader that the real Leukippe was not beheaded by Chaereas and thrown into the sea, but rather that the woman beheaded at 5.7.4 was her phantom double. Like Menelaos, who rescues Helen's εἴδωλον from Troy and secretes her in a cave on the shore of Pharos (line 573), Kleitophon rescues the εἴδωλον of Leukippe (from the sea) and buries her corpse on Pharos' shore (5.8.1). In commenting upon the relationship between Leukippe and Helen, Laplace has noted the way in which Leukippe's beauty can be conjured up like a phantom to stir the hearts of her would-be lovers. For example, having never seen Leukippe, Kallisthenes is described at 2.13.2 as picturing her beauty in his imagination (ἀναπλάττων γὰρ ἑαυτῷ τῆς παιδὸς τὸ κάλλος καὶ φανταζόμενος τὰ ἀόρατα), and when Sosthenes describes Leukippe to Thersander at 6.4.4 we are told that Thersander is aroused by the beautiful vision of her created by Sosthenes' words (μεστὸς γενόμενος ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ὡσεὶ κάλλους φαντάσματος).[566] These lines

[565] Apollodorus*, Library Epitome,* E3.5.
[566] Laplace, 1991, pp.39-40.

engage with Paris' letter to Helen in Ovid's *Heroides*. Paris tells Helen that, before having ever seen her, a vision of her filled his thoughts by day and his dreams by night: *te vigilans oculis, animo te nocte videbam, / lumina cum placido victa sopore iacent. / quid facies praesens, quae nondum visa placebas?* (16.101-103).

Leukippe's εἴδωλον and Helen's εἴδωλον both cause the deaths/near-deaths of characters loved by their real counterparts. Teucer, not realising that he is conversing with the real Helen, lists the deaths by suicide committed on account of the actions of the Helen who went to Troy, whom the reader/spectator of the play knows to have been a fake Helen. Teucer says that Leda, Helen's mother, put a noose about her own neck and hanged herself (Euripides, *Helen*, line 136) and that Helen's brothers also killed themselves on account of the ill-repute of their sister (line 143). It is on account of the beheading of the fake Leukippe that Kleitophon attempts to kill himself at 5.7.5.

When Kleitophon is reunited with the real Leukippe on Melite's estate in Ephesus, he does not immediately recognise her, as she is dressed in the garb of a slave. However, he says that he was greatly moved by her plight as she had the look of Leukippe about her: ἐγὼ μὲν συνεχύθην· καὶ γάρ τι ἐδόκει Λευκίππης ἔχειν (5.17.3). This recalls the reactions of both Teucer and Menelaos upon seeing Helen on Pharos. They both immediately notice the resemblance of the woman they meet to Helen, but do not recognise her as the real Helen, because they do not know of the existence of a phantom Helen. Teucer says: ὦ θεοί, τίν᾽ εἶδον ὄψιν; ἐχθίστης ὁρῶ / γυναικὸς εἰκὼ φόνιον, ἥ μ᾽ ἀπώλεσεν / πάντας τ᾽ Ἀχαιούς. θεοί σ᾽, ὅσον μίμημ᾽ ἔχεις / Ἑλένης, ἀποπτύσειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ 'ν ξένῃ / γαίᾳ πόδ᾽ εἶχον, τῷδ᾽ ἂν εὐστόχῳ πτερῷ / ἀπόλαυσιν εἰκοῦς ἔθανες ἂν Διὸς κόρης (Euripides, *Helen*,72-77). "Ah! O gods, what sight is this I see? The deadly image of a woman most hateful, her who ruined me and all the Greeks! The gods' hatred be yours for being Helen's double! If I were not standing on foreign soil, this unerring arrow would have killed you for looking like Zeus's daughter!" [trans. Kovacs, 2002, p.19], and Menelaos says: Ἑλένῃ σ᾽ ὁμοίαν δὴ μάλιστ᾽ εἶδον, γύναι (Euripides, *Helen*, 563). "You are more like Helen than any woman I have seen." [trans. Kovacs, 2002, p.73] Helen is not working as a slave, as Leukippe is, but she does think of herself as a slave. She says that "amongst barbarians all people are slaves except one" (the one being the king): δούλη καθέστηκ᾽ οὖσ᾽ ἐλευθέρων ἄπο: / τὰ βαρβάρων γὰρ δοῦλα πάντα πλὴν ἑνός (Euripides, *Helen*, 275-276). As the slave Lakaina, Leukippe's hair is shorn and she is dressed in a short, threadbare garment with fetters on her feet, her back is marked with the scars of beatings she has endured (5.17.3 and 5.17.6). Leukippe's attire as a slave is an inadvertent disguise, as it

results in Kleitophon’s failure to recognise her. Helen also cuts her hair, scratches her face and dons dark garb: ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐς οἴκους βᾶσα βοστρύχους τεμῶ / πέπλων τε λευκῶν μέλανας ἀνταλλάξομαι / παρῇδί τ᾽ ὄνυχα φόνιον ἐμβαλῶ χροός (Euripides, *Helen*, 1087-1089). She inflicts these injuries upon herself so that she might appear to be in mourning for her husband Menelaos, whom her captor Theoclymenus believes to be dead, but whom Helen knows to be alive and well at this point in the play. Her mourning attire disguises her real intentions. She tells Theoclymenus that she is rowing out to sea to give Menelaos his last rites, when actually her plan is to escape with Menelaos and return home with him to Sparta.

The different versions of the Helen myth all engage with the same question: was Helen faithful to her husband Menelaos, or did she willingly go to Troy and commit adultery with Paris? Leukippe’s fidelity to Kleitophon is never questioned in the novel; however, her status as a virgin is always in doubt. At 2.24, Panthea believes that Leukippe has lost her virginity to a man seen exiting Leukippe’s bedchamber in the middle of the night, as she dreamt of her daughter being sliced open by a brigand upwards from her private parts. Leukippe defends herself at 2.25.1-3 by saying μὴ λοιδόρει μου, μῆτερ, τὴν παρθενίαν: οὐδὲν ἔργον μοι πέπρακται τοιούτων ῥημάτων ἄξιον, οὐδὲ οἶδα τοῦτον ὅστις ἦν, εἴτε δαίμων εἴτε ἥρως εἴτε λῃστής. Ἐκείμην δὲ πεφοβημένη, μηδ᾽ ἀνακραγεῖν διὰ τὸν φόβον δυναμένη: φόβος γὰρ γλώττης ἐστὶ δεσμός. Ἓν οἶδα μόνον, οὐδείς μου τὴν παρθενίαν κατῄσχυνε. “Do not mother thus disparage my virginity; nothing has happened to justify what you have said, and I know not who was here – god, demigod, or burglar. I was lying stricken with fright, and I was too much afraid, even to cry out: fear is a shackle on the tongue. Only one thing I know, that nobody has offended my virginity.” [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.107] Likewise Ovid’s Helen tells Paris that, when Theseus abducted her, he did not achieve the objective of his amorous desires, but succeeded only in frightening her: *non tamen e facto fructum tulit ille petitum; / excepto redii passa timore nihil* (*Heroides*, 17.25-26). Euripides’ Helen also defends herself against the false accusation that she gave herself to Paris and thereby caused the war between Greece and Troy. At line 270, she comments that although she never acted wrongly, her good name has been ruined: πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ οὖσ᾽ ἄδικος, εἰμὶ δυσκλεής. She says that the ill-repute which her name endures on account of actions which were not her own has greater power than the truth: καὶ τοῦτο μεῖζον τῆς ἀληθείας κακόν, / ὅστις τὰ μὴ προσόντα κέκτηται κακά (lines 271-272). Similarly, Panthea says to Leukippe that she has lost her good name as well as her happiness, and that this is truer than any dream: (νῦν δέ, κακόδαιμον, ἀδοξεῖς ἐν οἷς δυστυχεῖς· ἐπλάνα δέ με καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνυπνίων φαντάσματα, τὸν δὲ ἀληθέστερον ὄνειρον οὐκ ἐθεασάμην· 2.24.4).

Later in the novel, Leukippe's virginal status is again impugned, on this occasion by her would-be lover Thersander. At 6.21.3, he says to her: Παρθένος τοσούτοις συννυκτερεύσασα πειραταῖς; εὐνοῦχοί σοι γεγόνασιν οἱ λῃσταί; φιλοσόφων ἦν τὸ πειρατήριον; οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶχεν ὀφθαλμούς; "Virgin indeed! The ridiculous impudence of the baggage! You a virgin, who passed night after night among a gang of pirates! I suppose your pirates were eunuchs? Or was the pirates' lair a Sunday-school? Or perhaps none of them had eyes?" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.345] Leukippe boldly retorts that she is still a virgin despite having spent time with pirates and the brutish Sosthenes (6.22.1-2). I suggest that her defiant tirade here recalls the opening of Helen's letter to Paris in Ovid's *Heroides*. Helen asks Paris if his brazen request for her to have a love-affair with him stems from his knowledge that she was previously abducted by Theseus: *quo magis admirer, quae sit fiducia coepti, / spemque tori dederit quae tibi causa mei. / an, quia vim nobis Neptunius attulit heros, / rapta semel videor bis quoque Digna rapi?* (17.19-22). She refers to Paris' intended villainy (*tua nequitia*), comparing it to her time as Theseus' captive. At 17.29-34, she argues that Theseus returned her untouched, and that he was, therefore, a better man than Paris intends to be (*similis non fuit ille tui. / reddidit intactam*). These lines are clearly echoed in Leukippe's accusation that Thersander is worse than any of the brigands and pirates who have previously abducted her, as they did not attempt to force her to have sex with them: Εἰμὶ παρθένος καὶ μετὰ Σωσθένην ἐγὼ πυθοῦ Σωσθένους: οὗτος γὰρ ὄντως γέγονέ μοι λῃστής: ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὑμῶν μετριώτεροι, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἦν οὕτως ὑβριστής: εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς τοιαῦτα ποιεῖτε, ἀληθινὸν τοῦτο πειρατήριον. Εἶτα οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε ποιοῦντες ἃ μὴ τετολμήκασιν οἱ λῃσταί; λανθάνεις δὲ ἐγκώμιόν μοι διδοὺς πλεῖον διὰ ταύτης σου τῆς ἀναισχυντίας: καί τις ἐρεῖ, ἂν νῦν μαινόμενος φονεύσῃς, 'Λευκίππη παρθένος καὶ μετὰ βουκόλους, παρθένος καὶ μετὰ Χαιρέαν, παρθένος καὶ μετὰ Σωσθένην (6.22.1-2). "Virgin I am, even after passing through Sosthenes' hands; if you do not believe me, ask him. He was the real brigand to me: the others had more command over their passions than both of you, and none of them shewed the brutal lust that you shew. If you behave like this, here is the true pirates' lair. Do you feel no shame in acting as the pirates never dared to act? You do not seem to realize that by this very shamelessness of yours, you are piling up the greater eulogies for me; if you kill me now in your mad passion, people will say; 'Here is Leucippe, who remained a virgin after falling among buccaneers, who remained a virgin after her abduction by Chaereas, who remained a virgin after passing through the hands of Sosthenes!'" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, pp.345-347] Thersander refuses to believe Leukippe's protestations of sexual purity and, therefore, at 8.3.3, he challenges her to 'the trial of the pan-pipes', a virginity test: "...τὸ δὲ τῆς ψευδοπαρθένου ταύτης ἑταίρας ἡ σύριγξ τιμωρήσεται." Leukippe accepts the challenge

(8.7.1), but her father is uneasy because he still doubts that Leukippe has managed to remain chaste throughout the ordeals she has undergone (8.7.3-4). Leukippe reassures him that she has not lied about preserving her virginity (8.7.5), and then successfully passes the virginity test at 8.14.1-2.

If Leukippe can be equated with Helen, then Kleitophon is clearly her husband Menelaos. So, who is Paris in this scenario? Chaereas, maybe? Chaereas does abduct Leukippe because he wishes her to be his wife, but that is where the similarities begin and end. Chaereas is not a handsome and wealthy suitor, beloved of women, as Ovid's Paris is (*forma vigorque animi, quamvis de plebe videbar, / indicium tectae nobilitatis erat*: / *Heroides*, 16.51-52; *utque ego te cupio, sic me cupiere puellae*: 16.93; *regna parens Asiae, qua nulla beatior ora est, / finibus inmensis vix obeunda, tenet*: 16.177-178); he is a fisherman turned soldier turned pirate. Nor does Chaereas fight Kleitophon for Leukippe, as Menelaos fights Paris for return of Helen in Homer's *Iliad*. So, could Thersander perhaps be Paris? Like Paris, he is a handsome, wealthy nobleman, whom women find attractive (γένει δὲ πρῶτος ἁπάντων τῶν Ἰώνιων· πλοῦτος μείζων τοῦ γένους, ὑπὲρ τὸν πλοῦτον ἡ χρηστότης. τὴν δὲ ἡλικίαν οἷός ἐστιν εἶδες, ὅτι νέος καὶ καλός, ὃ μάλιστα τέρπει γυναῖκα. 6.12.2), and he does fight Kleitophon for possession of Leukippe. At 8.1.2, Thersander enters the Ephesian temple of Artemis, where Kleitophon and Leukippe have sought sanctuary, and he claims that Leukippe is his property. He says ἔχεις δὲ καὶ δούλην ἐμήν, γυναῖκα μάχλον καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἐπιμανῆ· "And you have here a slave-girl of mine, a harlot who cannot be stopped from madness for men." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.391] Kleitophon, incensed by this disparagement of Leukippe's character, defends his girlfriend's honour and accuses Thersander of being a lecher (8.1.2). Thersander responds by punching Kleitophon in the face twice, causing his nose to bleed (8.1.3). His third blow misses and hits Kleitophon square in the teeth, causing more injury to Thersander's fist than to Kleitophon's mouth (8.1.4). This contretemps between Kleitophon and Thersander does not, however, bear any close similarity to the clash between Menelaos and Paris on the Trojan battlefield.

As established in **Case Study B** in relation to the mapping of the characters of the temple diptych onto the characters of Leukippe's first *Scheintod*, and in **Case Study D** in relation to the mapping of the characters of the Philomela painting onto the characters of Leukippe's second *Scheintod* and the love-triangles of Books 5 and 6, it would be highly unusual for there to be a straightforward mapping of one set of characters from an intertext onto the characters in the novel. So, with this in mind, could Melite also be Helen, or could Kleitophon also be Helen? I will explore these possibilities below.

Melite can be equated with Helen of Euripides' play in that both believe their husbands to be dead, lost in storms at sea. At 5.11.6, Satyrus tells Kleinias of Melite's love for Kleitophon and that: τέθνηκε δὲ αὐτῆς προσφάτως ὁ ἀνὴρ κατὰ θάλασσαν. "Her husband has lately been lost at sea." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.261] When Thersander is revealed to be alive after all, the reader is informed that: Τῶν γὰρ συνόντων αὐτῷ τινες οἰκετῶν, ὡς περιετράπη τὸ σκάφος, σωθέντες καὶ νομίσαντες ἀπολωλέναι, τοῦτο ἀπαγγείλαντες ἔτυχον. "Some of the servants, who happened to be with him when his boat was overturned, had afterwards been saved, and, thinking that he had perished, had spread the report of his death" (5.23.4). [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.289] At *Helen* 123-132, Teucer tells Helen that many of the Argive ships were knocked off course by a storm, that Menelaos has not been seen since and is thought to have died at sea. In both cases, the rumours of the husband's demise turn out to be false. However, the reactions of the two women to their husband's apparent deaths could not be more different. Melite finds herself a new husband, Kleitophon, and then endeavours to seduce him. Her seduction attempts succeed eventually, but only after the revelation that her first husband is still alive. Helen, though genuinely believing that Menelaos has perished (ὁ δ᾽ ἐμὸς ἐν ἁλὶ πολυπλανὴς / πόσις ὀλόμενος οἴχεται (lines 204-205). "My husband wandering on the sea is lost and gone." [trans. Kovacs, 2002, p.35]; and ἄγκυρα δ᾽ ἥ μου τὰς τύχας ὤχει μόνη, / πόσιν ποθ᾽ ἥξειν καί μ᾽ ἀπαλλάξειν κακῶν / — οὗτος τέθνηκεν, οὗτος οὐκέτ᾽ ἔστι δή (lines 277-280). "The one anchor that steadied me in my misfortune, that my husband would one day come and rescue me from misery, no longer exists since he has perished." [trans. Kovacs, 2002, pp.41-43]), refuses to become the wife of Theoclymenus and contemplates ways to kill herself (lines 293-302), as will be covered in more detail below in relation to Kleitophon's suicide attempt. Through her adulterous liaison with Kleitophon, Melite more closely aligns herself with Helen who did go Troy than with Helen who did not.

Though the above mentioned parallels between Leukippe's defence of her chastity and Helen's defence of her fidelity are compelling, with regard to refutation of false accusations of adultery specifically, a strong link, with a heavily ironic twist, exists between Helen's avowals that she has not forsaken her marriage troth and Melite's defence of her fidelity to Thersander. At 6.9, Melite rebuts Thersander's accusation that Kleitophon is her lover by saying that Thersander has not heard the full story, that Kleitophon was merely the survivor of a shipwreck like Thersander himself, and that she had taken pity upon him for Thersander's sake, and had helped Kleitophon in the hope that someone somewhere might be helping Thersander in a similar fashion. Melite defends herself against charges of adultery, even though she has committed

adultery. Contrariwise, Euripides' Helen defends herself truthfully, as she has not been unfaithful to Menelaos, as the adulteress was the double of her created by Hera.

Melite and Helen are also connected through other versions of the Helen myth. Melite's association with Aphrodite has already been touched upon in **Case Study D**. At 5.11.5, Satyrus tells Kleinias that Aphrodite offers Melite as a prize to Kleitophon: ἡ γὰρ Ἀφροδίτη μέγα τούτῳ παρέσχεν ἀγαθόν. This recalls Aphrodite offering Helen as a prize to Paris for naming her as the most beautiful of the goddesses. In Ovid's telling of the story, Paris writes to Helen and specifically describes her as his prize from Aphrodite: *praemia magna quidem, sed non indebita, posco; / pollicita est thalamo te Cytherea me* (*Heroides*, 16.19-20), he tells her that he seeks her affections because Aphrodite promised her to him for his bed: *te peto, quam pepigit lecto Venus aurea nostro* (*Heroides*, 16.35), and he recalls for Helen the words used by Aphrodite when she made this promise: *"nos dabimus, quod ames, et pulchrae filia Ledae / ibit in amplexus pulchrior illa tuos!"* (*Heroides*, 16.85-86). Melite's beauty is compared to that of Aphrodite by Kleitophon at 5.13.2: ἐμάρμαιρεν αὐτῆς τὸ βλέμμα μαρμαρυγὴν Ἀφροδίσιον, just as Helen's is by Paris at *Heroides* 16.137-138: *hic similes vultus, quantum reminiscor, habebat / venit in arbitrium cum Cytherea meum*.

So, if Melite is Helen, then Thersander is her cuckolded husband Menelaos, and Kleitophon is her lover Paris. Like Helen of Troy, Melite will be the cause of violence, specifically violence between her Menelaos and her Paris. At 5.23.5, Thersander arrives home from his fateful voyage full of anger towards Kleitophon for having become Melite's consort in his absence. He refers to Kleitophon as an adulterer, before striking him on the forehead, grabbing his hair, flinging him to the floor and pelting him with blows (ἑλκύσας δὲ τῶν τριχῶν, ῥάσσει πρὸς τοὔδαφος, καὶ προσπίπτων κατακόπτει με πληγαῖς). In Homer's description of the battle of Menelaos and Paris for Helen, Menelaos, having broken both his spear and sword in earlier attempts to kill Paris, grabs him by the horse-hair crest of his helmet and begins to drag him towards the Greek army: ἦ καὶ ἐπαΐξας κόρυθος λάβεν ἱπποδασείης, / ἕλκε δ᾽ ἐπιστρέψας μετ᾽ ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιούς (*Iliad*, 3.369-370). I suggest that the dragging of Paris by the horse-hair of his helmet's plume corresponds to the dragging of Kleitophon by his hair. This fight between the pair is a much closer match for the Iliadic duel than the aforementioned scuffle in the temple of Artemis (8.1.3-4).

Could Kleitophon also be Helen? Both Kleitophon and Euripides' Helen spend time living with a lustful suitor but are able to honestly declare to their original partners that they have remained

faithful. At 5.20.5, Kleitophon writes to Leukippe to assure her that he has emulated her virginity and begs her not to condemn him before hearing the full story: εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν περιμένεις, μηδὲν προκαταγινώσκουσά μου, μαθήσῃ τὴν σήν με παρθενίαν μεμιμημενον. At this point in the novel, his words are truthful, as he has not consummated his new marriage to Melite. Similarly, when Menelaos and Helen are reunited on Pharos, and Menelaos enquires οἶδ᾽: εἰ δὲ λέκτρα διέφυγες τάδ᾽ οὐκ ἔχω (Euripides, *Helen*, line 794) "I know it, but I am not clear whether you have escaped his embraces." [trans. Kovacs, 2002, p.103], Helen responds that she has saved herself untouched for him: ἄθικτον εὐνὴν ἴσθι σοι σεσῳσμένην (line 795). Earlier in the play, before her reunion with Menelaos, Helen contemplates killing herself. She is told that Menelaos has died. She tells the Chorus that she would prefer to end her life rather than be forced to marry Pharos' ruler Theoclymenus: τί δῆτ᾽ ἔτι ζῶ; τίν᾽ ὑπολείπομαι τύχην; / γάμους ἑλομένη τῶν κακῶν ὑπαλλαγάς, / μετ᾽ ἀνδρὸς οἰκεῖν βαρβάρου πρὸς πλουσίαν / τράπεζαν ἵζουσ᾽; ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν πόσις πικρὸς / ξυνῇ γυναικί, καὶ τὸ σῶμ᾽ ἐστιν πικρόν. / θανεῖν κράτιστον: πῶς θάνοιμ᾽ ἂν οὐ καλῶς; / ἀσχήμονες μὲν ἀγχόναι μετάρσιοι, / κἀν τοῖσι δούλοις δυσπρεπὲς νομίζεται: / σφαγαὶ δ᾽ ἔχουσιν εὐγενές τι καὶ καλόν, / σμικρὸν δ᾽ ὁ καιρὸς σάρκ᾽ ἀπαλλάξαι βίου. / ἐς γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἤλθομεν βάθος κακῶν: / αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι διὰ τὸ κάλλος εὐτυχεῖς / γυναῖκες, ἡμᾶς δ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτ᾽ ἀπώλεσεν (lines 293-305). "Why then do I go on living? What fate is left for me? Choose marriage as an escape from trouble and live with a barbarian husband, sitting at his rich table? But when a woman is married to a man she dislikes, even her own body becomes distasteful to her. Death is best. How can it not be right to die? [To hang oneself is unseemly: it does not look good even in a slave. Death by the sword is noble and glorious, but it is hard to find the vital spot that will end the body's life.] That is the depth of misery to which I have sunk: while other women are made happy by their beauty, mine is the very thing that has destroyed me." [trans. Kovacs, 2002, pp.43-45] Similarly, Kleitophon attempts suicide after witnessing the beheading of the woman he believes to be Leukippe (5.7.5). In both instances, the suicidal party considers death preferable to living without their beloved, is falsely convinced that their beloved has died at sea, and is prevented from bringing about their own death by bystanders connected to the island of Pharos. The Chorus tell Helen not to believe that Menelaos has really died, and to remember that she has female friends on Pharos who might be able to help her. They encourage Helen to visit Theonoe, the sister of her lustful suitor, to ask her if Menelaos still lives, as she is omniscient. ἐλθοῦσ᾽ ἐς οἴκους, ἣ τὰ πάντ᾽ ἐπίσταται, / τῆς ποντίας Νηρῇδος ἐκγόνου κόρης, / πυθοῦ πόσιν σὸν Θεονόης, εἴτ᾽ ἔστ᾽ ἔτι / εἴτ᾽ ἐκλέλοιπε φέγγος: ἐκμαθοῦσα δ᾽ εὖ / πρὸς τὰς τύχας τὸ χάρμα τοὺς γόους τ᾽ ἔχε. / πρὶν δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὀρθῶς εἰδέναι, τί σοι πλέον / λυπουμένῃ γένοιτ᾽ ἄν; ἀλλ᾽

ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ: / τάφον λιποῦσα τόνδε σύμμειξον κόρῃ: / ὅθενπερ εἴσῃ πάντα τἀληθῆ φράσαι / ἔχουσ᾽ ἐν οἴκοις τοῖσδε, τί βλέπεις πρόσω; / θέλω δὲ κἀγὼ σοὶ συνεισελθεῖν δόμους / καὶ συμπυθέσθαι παρθένου θεσπίσματα: / γυναῖκα γὰρ δὴ συμπονεῖν γυναικὶ χρή (lines 317-329). "Go into the house and ask the Nereid's omniscient daughter Theonoe whether your husband is alive or dead. When you have learned the truth, then weep or rejoice according to your fate. But before you know for sure, what good will it do you to grieve? Take my advice! [Leave this tomb and meet with the maiden: from her you will learn all. Since you have her to tell you the truth in this house, why do you look elsewhere?] I too am willing to go in and hear the maiden's prophecy with you: women must help one another." [trans. Kovacs, 2002, p.47] Kleitophon is prevented from throwing himself into the sea by his male companions from the navy base at Pharos: ὡς δὲ οἱ παρόντες κατέσχον (5.7.5). So far so similar. However, whereas, after his suicide has been prevented, Kleitophon accepts Leukippe's death, buries her and marries Melite a few months later, Helen vows to commit suicide if Theonoe reveals that Menelaos has really perished at sea. She tells the Chorus that she will either hang or stab herself if rumours of her husband's demise prove true: σὲ γὰρ ἐκάλεσα, σὲ δὲ κατόμοσα, / τὸν ὑδρόεντι δόνακι χλωρὸν / Εὐρώταν, θανόντος / εἰ βάξις ἔτυμος ἀνδρὸς / ἅδε μοι — τί τάδ᾽ ἀσύνετα; / — φόνιον αἰώρημα / διὰ δέρης ὀρέξομαι, / ἢ ξιφοκτόνον διωγμὸν / λαιμορρύτου σφαγᾶς / αὐτοσίδαρον ἔσω πελάσω διὰ σαρκὸς ἅμιλλαν, / θῦμα τριζύγοις θεαῖσι / τῷ τε σήραγγας Ἰ- / - δας ἐνίζοντι Πρια- / -μί δᾳ ποτ᾽ ἀμφὶ βουστάθμους (lines 348-359). "I call upon you, I make you my witness, Eurotas green with water reeds, that if the tale of my husband's death is true (but how is this unclear?), I shall fasten a deadly noose about my neck or thrust the sword of bloody death with self-slaughtering force into my flesh, a sacrifice to the three goddesses and to Priam's son who once sat in the hollow caves of Ida with his cattle." [trans. Kovacs, 2002, pp.49-51] Like Melite discussed above, Kleitophon does share traits of Euripides' Helen, but they both fail to match Helen's loyalty to her husband post mortem, as they both move on with their lives after their partner's passing and find themselves a new spouse.

Perhaps then, like Melite, Kleitophon shares a mixture of the attributes of faithful Helen and unfaithful Helen? Like Helen of Ovid's *Heroides*, who is wooed by the persuasive epistle of a handsome and wealthy man favoured by Venus/Aphrodite (i.e. Paris), Kleitophon is beguiled by the winning words of a wealthy woman who is associated with Aphrodite (i.e. Melite). Kleinias says of Melite: κάλλος γὰρ καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ ἔρως εἰ συνῆλθον ἐπὶ σέ, οὐχ ἕδρας ἔργον οὐδ᾽ ἀναβολῆς. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ κάλλος ἡδονήν, ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος τρυφήν, ὁ δὲ ἔρως αἰδῶ: μισεῖ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἀλαζόνας (5.12.1) "When beauty, wealth, and love beckon you all at once, it is no

time for sitting down and procrastination: her beauty will bring you pleasure, her wealth luxurious living, and her love the respect of men" [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.261] Ovid's Helen initially berates Paris for his passionate advances, as quoted above in relation to her comparison of Paris' intended 'villainy' to her time as Theseus' captive (17.19-24), but as the letter progresses she provides clear indications that she is not immune to his charms. For example, at 17.131-136, Helen tells Paris that she is pleased that he values her over the gifts offered to him by Juno and Pallas, and that her heart would have to be made of iron for her not to love him. She concludes her epistle by admitting that her written words have revealed the secrets of her heart (her secret love for Paris), and with the suggestion that they continue to communicate via her handmaidens (17.265-268). Kleitophon admits that Melite's beauty brings him pleasure (5.13.2); however, he refuses to consummate his marriage to Melite at several points (5.14.1, 5.16.1-2, 5.16.7-8, 5.21.3-7), on account of a pledge he made to Leukippe: Φθάνω γὰρ ἐπομοσάμενος ἐνταῦθα μὴ συνελθεῖν, ἔνθα Λευκίππην ἀπολώλεκα (5.12.3). He does, however, give in to her persistent requests later in the novel at 5.27.2-3. I suggest that the scene in which Kleitophon eventually makes love to Melite is intertextually connected to a scene in which Paris and Helen make love in Homer's *Iliad*, and that Kleitophon plays the part of Helen in this scene and Melite of Paris. At *Iliad* 3.383-447, after the fight between Menelaos and Paris on the Trojan battlefield, Aphrodite whisks Paris away to his bedchamber. She beckons Helen thither to console Paris over his defeat at Menelaos' hands by joining him in his bed. Helen initially refuses (κεῖσε δ᾽ ἐγὼν οὐκ εἶμι: νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη: κείνου / πορσανέουσα λέχος: 3.410-411), but, fearing the wrath of Aphrodite, she eventually succumbs and makes love to Paris: τὴν δὲ χολωσαμένη προσεφώνεε δῖ᾽ Ἀφροδίτη: / 'μή μ᾽ ἔρεθε σχετλίη, μὴ χωσαμένη σε μεθείω, / τὼς δέ σ᾽ ἀπεχθήρω ὡς νῦν ἔκπαγλ᾽ ἐφίλησα, / μέσσῳ δ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων μητίσομαι ἔχθεα λυγρὰ / Τρώων καὶ Δαναῶν, σὺ δέ κεν κακὸν οἶτον ὄληαι. / ὣς ἔφατ᾽, ἔδεισεν δ᾽ Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα, / βῆ δὲ κατασχομένη ἑανῷ ἀργῆτι φαεινῷ / σιγῇ, πάσας δὲ Τρῳὰς λάθεν: ἦρχε δὲ δαίμων (3.413-420). "Angered, fair Aphrodite spoke to her: 'Provoke me not, hard woman, lest I desert you in anger, and hate you, just as now I love you exceedingly, and lest I devise grievous hatred of you from both sides, Trojans and Danaans alike; then would you perish of an evil fate.' So she spoke, and Helen, sprung from Zeus, was seized with fear; and she went, wrapping herself in her bright shining mantle, in silence; and she escaped the notice of the Trojan women; and the goddess led the way." [trans. Murray, 1999, p.159] After his defeat at the hands of Thersander, Kleitophon is locked in a closet (5.23.7). Melite goes to his closet to attempt to seduce him (5.25-27). Kleitophon gives in to her sexual demands, claiming that fear of the wrath of Eros forced him to accept her loving embraces: καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐφοβήθην τὸν

Ἔρωτα, μή μοι γένηται μήνιμα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ (5.27.2). In this scene, Kleitophon flits from being the defeated Paris to being Helen forced to have sex with Paris through fear of the god of love; and Melite flits from being Helen over whom two men were fighting to being Paris persuading a reticent lover to surrender to their sexual urges.

If Kleitophon is Helen, then Melite would be Paris, who whisks him away across the sea to become her husband, and Leukippe would be Menelaos. Like Euripides' Menelaos, Leukippe initially doubts her partner's fidelity. After Helen tells Menelaos that she has not shared Theoclymenus' bed, he asks her for proof: τίς τοῦδε πειθώ; φίλα γάρ, εἰ σαφῆ λέγεις (*Helen*, line 796). Helen tells him that she has been sleeping on a simple straw bed near to Proteus' tomb (ὁρᾷς τάφου τοῦδ᾽ ἀθλίους ἕδρας ἐμάς; line 797), that the tomb has been her sanctuary from Theoclymenus' bed: ἐνταῦθα λέκτρων ἱκετεύομεν φυγάς (line 799). In her letter to Kleitophon, Leukippe assumes that he is happy in his new marriage: ἔρρωσο, καὶ ὄναιο τῶν καινῶν γάμων (5.18.6). It is Melite who convinces her that their marriage has not been happy, and has not been consummated, when she asks Lakaina-Leukippe to acquire a love potion for her to induce Kleitophon into her bed (5.22.2-6). Kleitophon tells the narrator that "Leucippe, on hearing this, was naturally delighted that nothing further had passed between myself and Melite". [trans. Gaselee, 1984, pp287-289] In her lament to Leukippe over Kleitophon's celibacy, she refers to him as being made of iron for not yielding to her entreaties to have sex (5.22.5). I suggest that, in this respect, Kleitophon is unlike Ovid's Helen, who claims in her letter that she would have to have a heart of iron not to love Paris (*Heroides*, 17.131-136).

I have highlighted in the above discussions another clear example of an intertextual phenomenon I discussed in **Case Study D**, in relation to the fragmentation of the Philomela 'megatext'. In its engagement with the different versions of the Helen myth, the Helen 'megatext', *L&C* also fragments both the plot and the characters. As I demonstrated above, different versions of the myth of Helen map onto different events in the novel's storyline, and characters of the myth have their characteristics and associated plot elements divided amongst characters of the novel. The novel's complex intertextual structure defies a unified interpretation and contributes to a sense of multifacetedness.

I will next briefly demonstrate that the narrative of Leukippe's abduction and beheading, and the Pharos navy's pursuit of Chaereas' ship, closely interacts with the version of Apsyrtus' death known from Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*. At 5.7.4-9, Kleitophon and the Pharos navy chase

after Chaereas and his men by boat, as they have abducted Leukippe. Leukippe is brought up on deck and is beheaded in full view of the pursuing ships. Her body is thrown into the sea. Kleitophon begs the navy commander to halt the chase, so that Leukippe's body might be rescued for burial. Two sailors jump overboard and recover Leukippe's torso. The navy ships return to the shore and Kleitophon buries Leukippe. These events strongly recall Aeetes' pursuit of the Argo to rescue his son Apsyrtus, as recounted by Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca,* 1.9.23-24). According to Apollodorus, Jason and Medea took both the golden fleece and Medea's brother Apsyrtus, and absconded with them by sea in Jason's ship, the Argo. Aeetes, the father of Medea and Apsyrtus, went in pursuit of the Argo to rescue his son and to recover the golden fleece. To force her father to give up the chase, Medea killed Apsyrtus, dismembered him and threw his limbs into the sea: ἰδοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν πλησίον ὄντα Μήδεια τὸν ἀδελφὸν φονεύει καὶ μελίσασα κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ ῥίπτει (1.9.24). Aeetes stopped his ship to collect his son's remains, thus increasing the distance between his ship and the fleeing Argo. Realising that the Argo was beyond his reach, he gave up the chase, returned to shore and buried his son: συναθροίζων δὲ Αἰήτης τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλη τῆς διώξεως ὑστέρησε: διόπερ ὑποστρέψας, καὶ τὰ σωθέντα τοῦ παιδὸς μέλη θάψας, τὸν τόπον προσηγόρευσε Τόμους (1.9.24). The events in the novel obviously engage with this version of the death of Apsyrtus, as opposed to the version recounted by Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica,* 4.468-481) and Euripides (*Medea,* 1334-1335), in both of which Apsyrtus is killed on dry land, by Jason in the former and Medea in the latter.

In his pursuit of Chaereas' ship, Kleitophon takes the place of Aeetes; however, though both Aeetes and Kleitophon have something precious taken away from them, Kleitophon's loss of Leukippe occurs whilst he is a visitor in Chaereas' home, whereas Aeetes' loss of the golden fleece is on account of a visitor to his home. I suggest that Chaereas can be equated with Medea, as both abscond with a person dear to the one giving chase, and both behead the person they have absconded with and throw the body into the sea. Both characters also commit their acts of betrayal on account of love; Chaereas desires Leukippe and Medea wishes to marry Jason. Apsyrtus of the myth clearly maps onto the prostitute who is beheaded and thrown overboard, and Leukippe onto the golden fleece, the item/person of value which/whom has been taken. An alert reader realising that this particular intertext is in play is clued into the fact that Chaereas might have left Pharos with more than one captive, and that, therefore, it is not necessarily Leukippe who is killed and flung off the ship. Just as Medea and Jason took both the golden fleece and Apsyrtus, so Chaereas and his men take both Leukippe and a prostitute. Just when

it appears that a one-to-one mapping of the characters of the myth onto the characters of the novel is possible, the reader might recall that Medea's eagerness to help Jason acquire the golden fleece and flee with him on the Argo was on account of his promise to marry her. She was offered the hand in marriage of the Argo's captain. At 8.16.1., Leukippe informs Kleitophon that the prostitute was lured onto Chaereas' ship by the promise of the hand in marriage of the ship's captain. Medea and the prostitute share this plot element. As discussed in relation to the Philomela and Helen myths, a character from the hypotext undergoes fragmentation and can be mapped onto more than one character in the hypertext. Chaereas is Medea who acts out of love and beheads a captive, but the prostitute is also Medea as she boards a ship on account of a promise of marriage to its skipper.

In the example above, *L&C* clearly engages with a specific version of a myth, that in which Apsyrtus dies and is dismembered at sea. In this next section, I will demonstrate the way in which the denouements of *L&C* often simultaneously interact with more than one version of a story. My example is intertextual engagement with the story of the death of the Athenian politician and military commander Alcibiades in the fifth century BCE. I suggest that the switching of Leukippe's and the prostitute's clothing, and the beheading and burial of the prostitute which follows this, interact with both the account of Alcibiades' murder told by Cornelius Nepos (first century BCE/CE) and the version found in Plutarch's biography of Alcibiades (second century CE). At 8.16, Leukippe explains to Kleitophon that a prostitute was killed by Chaereas' men in her place, and that, to fool Kleitophon into thinking this unfortunate woman was his beloved Leukippe, they dressed her in Leukippe's clothes and cut off her head. This dressing of the prostitute in Leukippe's clothes recalls a dream recounted in Plutarch's *Alcibiades*. At 39.2, Alcibiades dreams that he is wearing the garments of a courtesan, that his head was cut off, and that his body was buried. At 39.3, Alcibiades rushes out of a burning house and is shot to death with arrows. At 39.4, Plutarch informs the reader that Timandra, Alcibiades' courtesan, dressed his corpse in her own clothes before burying it. An alternative version of the story is told by Cornelius Nepos. He claims that Alcibiades' headless corpse was cremated by his courtesan and that his head was taken to the Persian commander Pharnabazus (*Alcibiades*, 10.2-6). I suggest that the prostitute's death in *L&C* engages with both versions of Alcibiades' demise. The dressing of Alcibiades' corpse in the courtesan Timandra's clothes corresponds inversely to the dressing of the prostitute in Leukippe's clothes, as recounted by Plutarch. The beheading of Alcibiades from Nepos' version corresponds to the beheading of the prostitute in *L&C*. The burial of the headless torso of the prostitute in the novel takes

elements from both versions: the burial from Plutarch and funeral rites for a headless corpse from Nepos.

Even though there is considerable intertextual engagement with Plutarchan texts from the acceptance of the invitation to the party onwards, the reader cannot rely on intertextuality with Plutarch alone for a complete understanding of the corresponding episodes in the novel. *L&C* is considerably more complex and multi-layered. Just as Plutarch's deadly dinner parties will be shown in E.ii. to have a counterpart in the deadly dinner party which Seth throws for Osiris, and just as both of these intertexts prove necessary for an understanding of different aspects of Leukippe's abduction and apparent killing, so here it is necessary to factor in intertextuality with both versions of Alcibiades' story in order to be able to map all of the events of the novel onto the historical event. The reader who does not factor in both versions of Alcibiades' story misses out on an additional layer of nuance.

McHardy discusses myths, tragic plays and historical accounts in which unchaste women are drowned or thrown into the sea (sometimes in a chest), or are sold by merchants overseas as slaves.[567] With these tales she compares Melite's fidelity test in Book 8, in which her loyalty to her marriage vows during her husband Thersander's absence is verified through a trial by water.[568] I suggest that a stronger intertextual connection to these tales exists earlier in the novel in Book 5. Leukippe's second *Scheintod* engages with both variants of these stories, as she appears to be thrown into the sea, but an unchaste woman (the prostitute) is thrown overboard in her place, and Leukippe is then sold into slavery overseas. One example of this tale-type, which includes both the tropes of drowning and sale in another land after a sea voyage, is Herodotus' story of the Cretan maiden Phronime (*Histories*, 4.154.2-155.1). In this story, Phronime is falsely accused by her stepmother of having intercourse outside of marriage. Her father, believing his new wife's lies, ordered a merchant called Themison to throw Phronime into the sea. Themison took Phronime onto his ship and, when they were on their way to Thera, he lowered her into the water on a rope. He raised her up again before she drowned, and sold her on Thera to be the concubine of a nobleman.[569] McHardy suggests, because the sea was associated with Aphrodite, and Aphrodite with erotic love, that the sea was considered to be an appropriate place to punish those who sexually transgress: "the sea is connected to lust and is

[567] McHardy, 2008.
[568] McHardy, 2008, pp.9-10.
[569] For other examples of tales of this type, see McHardy, 2008.

a dangerous force which the gods use to punish transgressors".[570] If we apply the logic of the stories which McHardy discusses to Leukippe's second *Scheintod*, the logic being that a chaste maiden is highly unlikely to be killed by the sea, but might end up sold into slavery or sexual servitude, as happens to Phronime when she is falsely accused of being unchaste, then it becomes clear that it is unlikely that it is Leukippe who has been beheaded and thrown into the waves at 5.7.4. Leukippe, is a virgin and, therefore, should be judged innocent by the sea, and miraculously saved by a deity or rescued by a seafaring merchant. It is less probable that she will have suffered so final a death as a beheading and then been cast into the waves. According to the general conventions of this story-type, she can be sold by the pirates for profit when they next reach land. Her ordeal at sea adheres to these conventions, as this is exactly how she ends up as the property of Melite on Ephesus. Leukippe tells Kleitophon that Melite's estate-manager, Sosthenes, purchased her from the pirates' regular slave-dealer: οἱ δὲ λῃσταί, δύο πλεύσαντες ἡμερῶν, ἄγουσί με οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι γε, καὶ πιπράσκουσιν ἐμπόρῳ συνήθει, κἀκεῖνος Σωσθένει (8.16.7). The prostitute, on the other hand, due to her sexual impurity, can be killed by the sea. For her there will be no incredible escape from death.

The reader, having just read the episode in Book 5 in which Leukippe's headless corpse is thrown into the sea, and who is aware of the above discussed mythic conventions, senses that some deception must be afoot. Surely chaste Leukippe cannot die in this way? The reader is granted a perspective on the situation through the mythic resonances which is at odds with Kleitophon-character's interpretation of his beloved's death at the time it occurred. Kleitophon witnesses the event and is convinced by it; the intertextual reader is more sceptical.

In this final part of E.i., I will briefly touch upon the Greek intertextual connections of Kleitophon's dirge over the corpse he believes to be Leukippe's, but which is actually that of the prostitute who died in her place. The Egyptian associations of his lament will be discussed in E.ii. At 5.7.8-9, Kleitophon buries the woman he fished out of the sea on the Egyptian shore and bemoans her untimely demise: Νῦν μοι Λευκίππη τέθνηκας ἀληθῶς θάνατον διπλοῦν, γῇ καὶ θαλάσσῃ διαιρούμενον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ λείψανον ἔχω σου τοῦ σώματος· ἀπολώλεκα δὲ σέ. οὐκ ἴση τῆς θαλάσσης πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἡ νομή. μικρόν μοί σου μέρος καταλέλειπται ἐν ὄψει τοῦ μείζονος· αὕτη δὲ ἐν ὀλιγῳ τὸ πᾶν σου κρατεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπεί μοι τῶν ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ φιλημάτων ἐφθόνησεν ἡ Τύχη, φέρε σου καταφιλήσω τὴν σφαγήν. "Now, Leucippe, are you really dead;

[570] McHardy, 2008, p.6.

and a double death, with its share both in land and sea. The poor remains of your body I possess, but you I have lost; the division between land and sea is no fair one; though there seems to be left to me the greater part of you, it is really the less, while that which seems to possess but a small part of you has really all. Come, since Fate has grudged me kisses on your face, I will kiss instead your wounded neck." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, pp.251-253] Kleitophon refers to Leukippe's death being shared by the land and the sea (γῇ καὶ θαλάσσῃ), the trunk of her body will be laid to rest on land, whereas the sea provides a grave for her head. As has been observed by McGill, this line of Kleitophon's lamentation is influenced by the tradition of Greek funerary epigrams, many of which refer to the fate of sailors, fishermen and shipwrecked persons whose deaths were shared by land and sea.[571] For example, Οὐδετέρης ὅλος εἰμὶ θανὼν νέκυς, ἀλλὰ θάλασσα / καὶ χθὼν τὴν ἀπ᾽ ἐμεῦ μοῖραν ἔχουσιν ἴσην. / σάρκα γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ φάγον ἰχθύες· ὀστέα δ᾽ αὖτε / βέβρασται ψυχρῇ τῇδε παρ᾽ ἠϊόνι (Antipater, *Greek Anthology* 7.288). "I belong entirely to neither now I am dead, but sea and land possess an equal portion of me. My flesh the fishes ate in the sea, but my bones have been washed up on this cold beach." [trans. Paton, 1917, p.157]; Κὴν γῇ καὶ πόντῳ κεκρύμμεθα· τοῦτο περισσὸν / ἐκ Μοιρέων Θάρσυς Χαρμίδου ἠνύσατο. / ἦ γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἀγκύρης ἔνοχον βάρος εἰς ἅλα δύνων, / Ἰόνιόν θ᾽ ὑγρὸν κῦμα κατερχόμενος, / τὴν μὲν ἔσωσ᾽, αὐτὸς δὲ μετάτροπος ἐκ βυθοῦ ἔρρων / ἤδη καὶ ναύταις χεῖρας ὀρεγνύμενος, / ἐβρώθην· τοῖόν μοι ἐπ᾽ ἄγριον εὖ μέγα κῆτος / ἦλθεν, ἀπέβροξεν δ᾽ ἄχρις ἐπ᾽ ὀμφαλίου. / χἤμισυ μὲν ναῦται, ψυχρὸν βάρος, ἐξ ἁλὸς ἡμῶν / ἤρανθ᾽, ἥμισυ δὲ πρίστις ἀπεκλάσατο· / ἠόνι δ᾽ ἐν ταύτῃ κακὰ λείψανα Θάρσυος, ὦνερ, / ἔκρυψαν· πάτρην δ᾽ οὐ πάλιν ἱκόμεθα (Leonidas of Tarentum, *Greek Anthology* 7.506). "I am buried both on land and in the sea; this is the exceptional fate of Tharsys, son of Charmides. For diving to loosen the anchor, which had become fixed, I descended into the Ionian sea; the anchor I saved, but as I was returning from the depths and already reaching out my hands to the sailors, I was eaten; so terrible and great a monster of the deep came and gulped me down as far as the navel. The half of me, a cold burden, the sailors drew from the sea, but the shark bit off the other half. On this beach, good Sir, they buried the vile remains of Tharsys, and I never came home to my country." [trans. Paton, 1917, p.275]; and Ἕβρου χειμερίοις ἀταλὸς κρυμοῖσι δεθέντος / κοῦρος ὀλισθηροῖς ποσσὶν ἔθραυσε πάγον, / τοῦ παρασυρομένοιο περιρραγὲς αὐχέν᾽ ἔκοψεν / θηγαλέον ποταμοῦ Βιστονίοιο τρύφος. / καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡρπάσθη δίναις μέρος· ἡ δὲ τεκοῦσα / λειφθὲν ὕπερθε τάφῳ μοῦνον ἔθηκε κάρα. / μυρομένη δὲ τάλαινα, "Τέκος, τέκος," εἶπε, "τὸ μέν σου πυρκαϊή, τὸ δέ σου / πικρὸν ἔθαψεν ὕδωρ." (Flaccus, *Greek Anthology*

[571] McGill, 2000.

7.542). "The tender boy, slipping, broke the ice of the Hebrus frozen by the winter cold, and as he was carried away by the current, a sharp fragment of the Bistonian river breaking away cut through his neck. Part of him was carried away by the flood, but his mother laid in the tomb all that was left to her above the ice, his head alone. And, wailing, she cried, "My child, my child, part of thee hath the pyre buried and part the cruel water."" [trans. Paton, 1917, p.293] This last epigram describes the death of a boy who fell into a river and was decapitated by a piece of ice. His mother retrieved his head and buried it, but the rest of his body was taken away by the current. It is the boy's mother who speaks the words of the lament. McGill comments upon this last example in relation to Kleitophon's recovery of the trunk of 'Leukippe's' body rather than her head and suggests that AT is manipulating the common code. He argues that it is the theme of mutilation and partial recovery which is reworked by AT, not intertextual engagement with specific epigrams.[572]

The line "the part of you which is left to me seems smaller though it is the greater part; whereas that which seems to possess a little of you really has everything": μικρόν μοί σου μέρος καταλέλειπται ἐν ὄψει τοῦ μείζονος· αὕτη δὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ πᾶν σου κρατεῖ (5.7.9) also shares imagery with Greek funerary epigrams. Hegesippus (*Greek Anthology* 7.276) writes about a half-eaten man whose corpse is caught in the nets of a group of fishermen. The fishermen decide to bury both the man and the fishes which they caught with him, so that the whole of the man might rest on land, as part of him resides within the fishes which had been feeding on his flesh: Ἐξ ἁλὸς ἡμίβρωτον ἀνηνέγκαντο σαγηνεῖς / ἄνδρα, πολύκλαυτον ναυτιλίης σκύβαλον· / κέρδεα δ̣ οὐκ ἐδίωξαν ἅ μὴ θέμις· ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς / ἰχθύσι τῇδ' ὀλίγῃ θῆκαν ὑπὸ ψαμάθῳ. / ὦ χθών, τὸν ναυηγὸν ἔχεις ὅλον· ἀντὶ δὲ λοιπῆς / σαρκὸς τοὺς σαρκῶν γευσαμένους ἐπέχεις. "The fishermen brought up from the sea in their net a half eaten man, a most mournful relic of some sea-voyage. They sought not for unholy gain, but him and the fishes too they buried under this light coat of sand. Thou hast, O land, the whole of the shipwrecked man, but instead of the rest of his flesh thou hast the fishes who fed on it." [trans. p.151] I suggest that the equivalence between Itys of the Alexandrian painting and the prostitute, discussed in **Case Study D/D.i.** in relation to the separation of their heads from their torsos, is further strengthened by the intertextual links between Kleitophon's funeral lament over the trunk of the prostitute's body and epigrams for those who have died at sea. The epigrams describe the unfortunate mariners as being part eaten by the fishes. Surely this will be the fate of the prostitute's head? As was the case with Itys, part of the prostitute will be eaten. However, as is

[572] McGill, 2000, p.326.

frequently the case with intertextuality in *L&C*, there is an inversion. Itys' head escaped the cooking pot, whereas it is the prostitute's body which is saved from the sea and its hungry inhabitants.

Imagery of 'part' and 'whole' and a division of the two is common in *L&C*. Compare, for example, 3.8.7 where Prometheus' gaze is divided between his wound and Herakles. He wants to see Herakles ὅλοις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς "with his whole eyes", but is unable to, because the pain of his wound is forcing half of the whole in its direction. At 4.19.2-3, the tail of the crocodile is described as being unlike the tails of other animals, which appear as an addition to the spine, but as μέρος αὐτοῦ τῶν ὅλων "part of the whole". Episodes in the novel frequently feature characters being physically dismembered: for example, Leukippe's innards are removed from her stomach by the Egyptian brigands, Itys' head, feet and hands are shown to Tereus separated from his cooked body, and the prostitute's head is cast into the sea at a different point to her torso, one ends up buried on land and the other becomes food for the fishes. I suggest that *L&C*'s obsession with imagery of division of part and whole, emphasised here through intertextuality with Greek funerary epigram, is a metaliterary commentary on the way in which the fabric of the novel is fragmented. Intratextuality connects scenes, but it also fragments them, as constituent parts of a given scene are separated out from the whole to individually interact with other scenes in the novel. Likewise, as has been mentioned several times in this thesis, whole intertexts are fragmented into parts and these individual parts interact with different episodes in the novel; whole characters from the intertexts are likewise divided and their characteristics and plot elements shared between several characters in the novel.

E.ii. Intercultural intertextuality

In this section, I will explore intercultural intertextuality in two scenes from Book 5: the visit of Leukippe and Kleitophon to the Pharos lighthouse (5.6), and the kidnap and beheading of Leukippe by Chaereas and his band of brigands (5.7). I will argue that the imagery employed in the description of the lighthouse hints to the reader familiar with Egyptian religion that the death of the heroine in the second of these two scenes will not be final, and that the key intertext for Leukippe's apparent death and resurrection is the Egyptian Osiris myth. In my discussions of intercultural intertextuality below, I refer frequently to the cults of Serapis and Isis and to

the myth of Osiris' resurrection.[573] My justification for doing so is that AT and his second-century CE readership were, undoubtedly, very familiar with these cults, their practices and the mythology which they originated in. At least twenty-two Greco-Roman sites to Isis, Serapis or both were founded in the second century CE, significantly more than in any previous or later centuries. This century also saw a peak in the number of votive offerings to these two divinities. Wild believes that Isis-Serapis worship was both popular and respectable during this period throughout the Roman empire. For example, he notes that Pausanias, probably a contemporary of AT, mentions nineteen sites of architectural merit in Greece dedicated to the worship of Isis-Serapis, which is far more than to any of the other oriental deities and on a par with the number of sites dedicated to several of the indigenous gods and heroes.[574] Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*, of the same period, provides the most complete extant account of Osiris' death at the hands of Typhon (Greek name for Seth), Isis' search for his body and his subsequent resurrection. Bohak notes that this myth is referred to more than any other in Greek magical texts of the Roman period.[575]

At 5.6.2 Chaereas takes Kleitophon and Leukippe to the Pharos lighthouse. This famous lighthouse was commissioned by Ptolemy Soter, who ruled Egypt from 305 BCE until 285 BCE. He also commissioned the *heptastadion* to link the island of Pharos to the mainland. Construction was completed during the reign of Ptolemy II, 285-246 BCE.[576] Strabo (*Geography,* 17.1.6) recalls that it was positioned at the eastern end of the island, nearest to the Lochias promontory, and that it was erected by the architect Sostratus of Cnidus for the safety of mariners. It was built from marble and was several stories high. Interestingly for what transpires on Pharos in *L&C* Book 5, Strabo mentions that there were a few dwellings near to the lighthouse occupied by sailors and guards. Presumably, Chaereas' house, described by Kleitophon as being "on the shore at the extremity of the island" (5.6.3) is one of these, and is located near to the quarters of the commander of the island guards, who arrives upon the scene very quickly when he hears the tumult at Chaereas' house caused by Leukippe's violent

[573] Serapis was the *interpretatio Graeca* of the Memphite deity Osiris-Apis, the deity into which every Apis bull was transformed when it died. A bilingual dedication on the Alexandrian Serapeum equated Serapis with Osiris-Apis (Pfeiffer, 2008, p.390). For a discussion of the union of Greek and Egyptian elements in the Serapeum at Alexandria, and the cult of Serapis in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Pfeiffer, 2008.
[574] Wild, 1981, pp.5-7.
[575] Bohak, 2016, p.362; used predominantly in connection with aggressive and erotic magic.

[576] Mosjsov, 2005, pp.104-105. 285-280 BCE is Empereur's more precise estimate for completion (1999, p.40).

abduction. Sadly, the lighthouse tumbled into the eastern harbour at some point between 1303 CE and 1349 CE.[577] Empereur's exploration of the underwater site revealed gigantic statues of the pharaoh and his queen, which are believed to have stood either side of the lighthouse entrance.[578] Kleitophon's description of the lighthouse does not mention its shiny marble, nor these statues. Maybe the sheer size of the lighthouse overwhelmed even these colossal statues, or maybe they would have been impossible to miss. We do not know. Rather than a precise factual report of what the lighthouse looked like, as we get from Strabo, Kleitophon's description is instead impressionistic, with the lighthouse and its foundations likened to natural features – a mountain topped by a sun: ὄρος ἦν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ θαλάσσῃ κείμενον, ψαῦον αὐτῶν τῶν νεφῶν. ὑπέρρει δὲ ὕδωρ κάτωθεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιήματος· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης εἱστήκει κρεμάμενον· ἐς δὲ τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ἀκρόπολιν ὁ τῶν νεῶν κυβερνήτης ἀνέτελλεν ἄλλος ἥλιος. (5.6.3). "It was like a mountain, almost reaching the clouds, in the middle of the sea. Below the building flowed the waters; it seemed to be as if it were suspended above their surface, while at the top of the mountain rose a second sun to be a guide for ships." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.249]

In this first part of E.ii, I will investigate the intertextual and intratextual resonances – both Greek and Egyptian - of Kleitophon's description of the lighthouse. I will argue that the Greek associations of the imagery are portentous and pessimistic, suggesting that Pharos will be a place where the hero and heroine will meet with misfortune; but that the Egyptian associations are optimistic, suggesting resurrection to new life. I will demonstrate that both the negative Greek associations and the positive Egyptian associations are backed up by intratextual connections to other parts of the novel. At 5.6.3 Kleitophon describes the lighthouse as being "a mountain in the middle of the sea" - ὄρος ἦν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ θαλάσσῃ κείμενον. This calls to mind the sorry fate of the Phaeacian ship which transported Odysseus safely home to Ithaka. Poseidon was angered by the help which the Phaeacians had given to Odysseus and by their granting of safe convoy to all those requiring their help to sail across the sea, so the sea-god turned the ship to stone near to their land of Scheria (Homer, *Odyssey,* 13.149-184). Zeus said to Poseidon: "ὁππότε κεν δὴ πάντες ἐλαυνομένην προΐδωνται / λαοὶ ἀπὸ πτόλιος, θεῖναι λίθον ἐγγύθι γαίης / νηῒ θοῇ ἴκελον, ἵνα θαυμάζωσιν ἅπαντες / ἄνθρωποι, μέγα δέ σφιν ὄρος πόλει ἀμφικαλύψαι." (Homer, *Odyssey,* 13.155-158). "When all the people are gazing from the city upon her as she speeds on her way, turn her to stone close to shore—a stone in the shape of a

[577] Empereur, 1999, p.38.
[578] Empereur, 1999, pp.39-40.

swift ship, that all men may marvel; and hide their city behind a huge encircling mountain." [trans. Murray, 2004, p.13] This intertextual link is ominous. Will Kleitophon and Leukippe, like the Phaeacian ship, be forever prevented from returning home? Elsewhere in *L&C*, the word ὄρος 'mountain' is used at 1.1.9 and 3.2.5. At 1.1.9, the anonymous narrator describes a painting of Europa's abduction. Zeus was depicted as a bull on the sea with Europa on his back, a billow rose where his leg was bent in swimming and this billow was like a mountain: ὡς ὄρους ἀναβαίνοντος τοῦ κύματος. At 3.2.5, Kleitophon and Leukippe are on board a ship when it is struck by a storm. Kleitophon describes the billows as like mountains and valleys: ἐῴκει δὲ τῶν κυμάτων τὰ μὲν ὄρεσι, τὰ δὲ χάσμασιν. Together these intratextual echoes forebode an abduction and misfortune at sea for the hero and heroine. The first forges a link between Zeus' abduction of Europa and the island of Pharos, which will soon be the setting for the abduction of Leukippe by Chaereas. The second reminds the reader of the young couple's earlier ill-fated sea voyage, of how their ship was destroyed by a storm just off the coast of Egypt, and of how they clung to the wreckage and prayed to Poseidon for salvation.

Later in 5.6.3, the top of the lighthouse is referred to as ὄρους ἀκρόπολιν. The word ἀκρόπολις is only used by AT here. The word ἀκρόπολις conjures up the idea of a man-made edifice, rather than a natural feature of the landscape, which, as well as being in keeping with the fact that Kleitophon is describing a lighthouse and not an actual mountain, given the Egyptian context, immediately calls to mind the pyramid tombs (man-made mountains) built to house the dead pharaohs and Egyptian elites. Laplace proposes that the combination of words ὄρους ἀκρόπολιν might also be an echo of a Homeric formula used to refer to tall mountains.[579] She offers *Iliad*, 5.523 and *Odyssey*, 19.205 as examples, where ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρρεσιν is simply the "mountain tops". She does not expand upon the effect of these echoes. I suggest that the contrast of the impressionistic description of Pharos, as epitomised by the mountain imagery used to describe its most prominent building, with the description of the Alexandrian cityscape at 5.1, with its emphasis on columns, right angles and squares (στάθμη μὲν κιόνων ὄρθιος ἑκατέρωθεν ... ἐν μέσῳ δὴ τῶν κιόνων τῆς πόλεως τὸ πεδίον: 5.1.2-3), establishes Pharos as a place apart from civilisation, a wilderness where savage behaviour might be expected.

Having discussed the Greek intertexts of this description, I will turn to the Egyptian resonances of this imagery. As elsewhere in this thesis, I will incorporate visual media into my intertextual matrix. I will argue that from an Egyptian perspective the Pharos lighthouse is described in

[579] Laplace, 2007, p.223, n.128.

such a way as to suggest resurrection, foreshadowing the second *Scheintod* of Leukippe, and that this interpretation is backed up by an intratextual connection to the festival of Serapis described at 5.2.2. At 5.6.3, the image of a sun atop a mountain in the middle of an ocean recalls Egyptian mythology concerning the god Atum, who, as Rundle Clark explains, was associated with both the Sun and the primeval mound, the latter of which arose from the primordial ocean at the time of creation.[580] [Image E1] For example, utterance 600 to Atum in the *Pyramid Texts* contains the lines "O Atum! When you came into being, you rose up as a high hill, you shone as the Benben stone in the temple of the Phoenix in Heliopolis". Many pyramidia (the uppermost capstones of pyramids and obelisks) have been found with engravings of the Sun at their peak.[581] [Images E2 and E3] The *Victory Stela of King Piye* from the eighth century BCE mentions a visit of Piye to the Pyramidion House in Heliopolis. It says "Mounting the stairs to the great window to view Re in the Pyramidion House. The king stood by himself alone. Breaking the seals of the bolts, opening the doors; viewing his father Re in the holy Pyramidion House; adorning the morning-bark of Re and the evening bark of Atum."[582] The creation of the pyramid was linked to the solar cult, with the pyramid both representing the primeval mound and acting as a place of ascension for the king to join the sun-god in his journey across the sky.[583]

I, therefore, suggest that from an Egyptian perspective the image of a sun atop a mountain is symbolic of resurrection to a new life. This intertextual resonance is supported by intratextuality. The phrase ἄλλος ἥλιος "another sun" has an odd ring to it, which is perhaps why Laplace contends that "le mot ἄλλος est erroné" at 5.6.3, and suggests replacing it with αἶθοψ, despite this being a rarer word and one not used elsewhere by AT.[584] αἶθοψ would give the reading 'blazing sun'. I disagree with her suggestion, as replacing ἄλλος would cause the phrase to lose its intratextual significance. ἄλλος ἥλιος is a phrase already used at 5.2.2, where the procession of torches during the night-time festival of Serapis is described as creating the impression that ἄλλος ἀνέτελλεν ἥλιος "another sun had risen": Ἦν δέ πως κατὰ δαίμονα

[580] Rundle Clark, 1959, p.27, p.37; for the primeval hill rising out of the primeval ocean as a concept held in common by all Egyptian cosmogonies, see Hamlyn, 1965, pp.27-28.
[581] See also the Sun emerging from a hill at dawn on 'The Amduat' in the British Museum (Stephens, 2003, p.146, plate 6).
[582] Cairo Museum 48862; trans. Lichtheim, 1980, p.77.
[583] Mosjsov, 2005, p.25; David, 1980, pp.54-55; Hamlyn, 1965, p.28. However, by the Roman period, pyramids were already ancient history in Egypt, as no one had erected them for over 1000 years. The obelisk, however, remained a productive architectural form; for example, in the Piazza Navona in Rome an obelisk was erected during the reign of Domitian, and in the Pincio Gardens in Rome an obelisk was erected during the reign of Hadrian.
[584] Laplace, 2007, p.223, n.129.

ἱερομηνία τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ, ὃν Δία μὲν Ἕλληες, Σέραπιν δὲ καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι· ἦν δὲ καὶ πυρὸς δᾳδουχία. καὶ τοῦτο μέγιστον ἐθεασάμην· ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἥλιος κατεδύετο καὶ νὺξ ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἄλλος ἀνέτελλεν ἥλιος κατακερματίζων (5.2.2). "It so fortuned that it was at that time the sacred festival of the great god whom the Greeks call Zeus, the Egyptians Serapis, and there was a procession of torches. It was the greatest spectacle I ever beheld, for it was late evening and the sun had gone down; but there was no sign of night – it was as though another sun had arisen, but distributed into small parts in every direction." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.239]

The festival in question was an annual one, celebrated on the 25th of April each year. It was a celebration shared by all inhabitants of Alexandria, with the exception of the monotheistic Jews and Christians.[585] Serapis is the *interpretatio Graeca* of the Memphite deity Osiris-Apis, the deity which every Apis bull was transformed into when he died. A bilingual temple dedication on the Alexandrian Serapieion equates Serapis with Osiris-Apis.[586] The imagery of the torchlight combining to create the impression of a sun rising is appropriate, as Serapis was associated with the Sun. A common formula in the second and third centuries CE was "Zeus Helius Great Serapis" and votive eyes were often dedicated to him, because the Sun sees all things. Coins from Catana dated to the second century BCE show Serapis wearing a solar disk atop his head and surrounded by rays.[587] Macrobius specifically refers to Serapis as the Sun (*Saturnalia*, 1.20.16-17). Merkelbach notes that "Lichterfeste sind für die Isis-Sarapis Religion mehrfach bezeugt", as, for example, at Sais, described by Herodotus (*Histories*, 2.62).[588]

The line ἄλλος ἀνέτελλεν ἥλιος, specifically referring to a night-time celebration, intertextually engages with a core tenet of Egyptian religious thought - the belief in the nocturnal union of Osiris and the sun-god Re. The Sun's daily rising and setting was thought to be Re's daily death and resurrection, with his descent to the underworld at sunset akin to death. The Sun was believed to be resurrected at night-time through the union of Re and Osiris. Re and Osiris were the chief gods of the coastguards and goatherds who created the settlement of Rhakotis, the site of the future Alexandria.[589] The association of Osiris with Re and the Sun was still strong in

[585] Rowlandson & Harker, 2004, p.88.
[586] Pfeiffer, 2008, p.390. The oldest source for the name Serapis is a fragment of Menander (fr. 139) from the third century BCE. "The union of Greek and Egyptian elements can be found most significantly in the Serapieion in Alexandria, which was a Greek temple, but which contained a Nilometer and the subterranean galleries emulated from the Memphite Serapieon." (Pfeiffer, 2008, p.393).
[587] Stambaugh, 1972, p.61, p.79-81.
[588] Merkelbach, 1962, p.137.
[589] Mosjsov, 2005, p.103.

the Ptolemaic period. Faulkner comments upon the "markedly solar character" of the lector-priest's hymn to Osiris within the *Songs of Isis and Nephthys* (henceforward *Songs*), a text already discussed in D.iii. which dates to the fourth century BCE.[590] For example: "To thee belongs sunlight, O thou who art equipped with rays. Thou shinest at the left hand of Atum. Thou art seen in the place of Re. … Thou shinest in the morning, thou settest in the evening. … To thee belongs the light of the solar disk." (10.6-10.23) [trans. Faulkner, 1936] The intratextual link between another sun rising over the Pharos lighthouse and another sun rising during the night-time festival of Serapis strengthens the association of Pharos' sun-mountain imagery with resurrection, foreshadowing Pharos as the setting for the second 'death' and 'resurrection' of Leukippe.[591]

The betrayal of Leukippe and Kleitophon at a dinner party, Leukippe's abduction, and the beheading of fake Leukippe by Chaereas' henchmen, recall the betrayal, capture and dismemberment of Osiris by his brother Seth and his confederates, and also intertextually connect to Egyptian Underworld texts which describe fishermen capturing and cutting off the heads of sinners. I will explore these intertextual interactions alongside Greek intertexts which cast Chaereas and his fishermen friends in a comic light. I suggest that *L&C* engages with Egyptian mythic and religious material, but that the Greek comedic intertexts which interact with the exact same denouements distort the religious colouring, and make the intercultural engagement irreverent and amusing.

At 5.3.1-2, the reader is told that Leukippe's and Kleitophon's friend and travelling companion Chaereas harbours amorous feelings for Leukippe, and that he has devised a plot to kidnap her for himself. He has enlisted a group of pirates to help him carry out his plan, which will be set in motion at his birthday gathering on the island of Pharos, his place of birth (γένος ἐκ τῆς νήσου τῆς Φάρου; 4.18.2). The men enlisted by Chaereas are described as ληστήριον ὁμοτέχνων "brigands of his own sort/of his own trade", and, like Chaereas, they are seafaring men (ἅτε θαλάσσιος ὢν ἄνθρωπος). They are presumably fishermen turned brigands, or navy sailors turned brigands, as Chaereas is described as a fisherman by trade who served in the navy sent to combat the βουκόλοι (τὴν δὲ τέχνην ἁλιεύς, ἐστρατεύετο δὲ μισθῷ κατὰ τῶν

[590] Faulkner, 1936, p.122.
[591] The goddess Isis was also associated with the Pharos lighthouse. In her temple on the island, she was referred to as Isis Pharia, and was worshipped there as the patroness of seamen. Lamps have been found on which Isis is depicted above her lighthouse. See Frankfurter, 1998, p.54; Haas, 1997, p.144.

βουκόλων; 4.18.2). Fishermen were stock characters of Greek comedy - old, middle and new. The activity of fishing is mentioned in several fragmentary plays.[592] In Menander's *The Fishermen* (fragment 14), a fisherman bemoans his lot in life. He tells his audience that trades undertaken by poor people to put food on their tables bring with them a lot of unhappiness, and that it would be better for those unable to live a painless life to die. Later in the play (fragments 15 and 24), it becomes evident that the fishermen have become pirates. In Alciphron's *8th Fisherman's Letter*, a fisherman tells his wife that he has been offered the opportunity to escape poverty by becoming a partner in a pirate band. The Greek parallels here cast Chaereas' pirate-band of fishermen in a comic light, but also emphasise the poverty and desperation which would have caused them to give up their honest trade to become outlaws. Fishermen also have negative associations in some Egyptian stories. *The Eloquent Peasant* papyri are dated to 2040-1650 BCE.[593] They are all fragmentary, but together comprise the full story of a peasant who was robbed and complained to a magistrate. The magistrate found the eloquence of the peasant's petition so remarkable that he informed the king. The king instructed the magistrate to force the peasant to continue petitioning, so that they might both be entertained by his eloquence. The fifth petition of the unfortunate peasant compares fishermen ravaging the river to the magistrate who robs the peasant of compensation for his lost goods.[594]

Fisherman were not usually associated with the god Seth in Egyptian sources and are not listed amongst his confederates. They are, however, associated with the god Osiris in the *Coffin Texts* and the *Book of the Dead*. They are punitive demons in the Underworld, who fish for sinners using nets. They endeavour to prevent the deceased from reaching the banks of the land of eternal life, as touched upon in **Case Study D** in relation to Egyptian spells in which the deceased seeks to be transformed into a swallow to fly across an expanse of water in the Underworld to reach this hallowed land. *The Book of the Dead* contains a chapter for escaping the fisherman's net, which includes the lines: "O you fishermen, children of your fathers, you takers of your catch, who go round about the abode of the waters, you shall not catch me in this net of yours in which you catch the inert ones, you shall not trap me in this trap in which you catch the wanderers" (153A). In the *Coffin Texts*, Osiris' fishermen are described as chopping off the heads of sinners. For example, *Coffin Text* 3.295h-296e reads: "Save me from the

[592] Anaxandrides, fragment 33; Epicrates, fragments 7 and 8; Alexis, fragment 155; Xenarchus, fragment 8; Plato, fragment 11; Menander, fragments 13-29 and 863; and presumably in the lost plays Epicrates, *Fish-spear* and Antiphanes *Girl who went fishing*.
[593] P.Berlin 3023 B1, P.Berlin 3025 B2, 10499 CR and P.Butler 527 (=P.British Museum 10274); see Lichtheim, 1975, p.169.
[594] See translation Lichtheim, 1975, p.178.

fishermen of Osiris, who chop off heads and cut off necks, who take souls and spirits along to the slaughtering-block of him who eats raw flesh."[595] I suggest that Chaereas and his pirate-band are connected to these Underworld fishermen and that their actions in chopping off the head of the prostitute in place of Leukippe is comparable to the actions of Osiris' fishermen in cutting off the heads of sinners. Leukippe, due to her virginal innocence, is allowed safe passage by boat to the other side of the ocean, to a land where she will be 'resurrected' to a new life as Lakaina.

Chaereas and his henchmen also recall tales of Seth and his confederates and their betrayal and murder of Osiris. In his *De Iside et Osiride* (part of the collection of essays known as the *Moralia*), Plutarch explains that, whilst Osiris was touring the world to bring civilisation to mankind, Typhon (the Greek name for Seth) gathered together seventy-two conspirators, including the Ethiopian queen Aso, and laid a trap to capture and kill Osiris upon his return from his travels (*Moralia*, 356B). Spells 20 and 189 of the *Book of the Dead* also refer to the confederacy of Seth.[596] In Plutarch's version of the story, Typhon decided to hold a banquet, to which he invited Osiris. Prior to this banquet, he had a beautiful chest made exactly to Osiris' measurements. At the banquet, he offered to give the chest as a gift to whomsoever it fitted. Several of his guests lay in the chest, but it fitted none of them perfectly. Finally, Osiris, enticed by the chest's beauty, decided to see if it would fit him. As soon as he lay down in it, Typhon and his conspirators slammed the lid, nailed it shut and sealed it closed with molten lead (*Moralia*, 356C). Chaereas also decides to throw a party, a celebration of his own birthday, to which he invites Leukippe and Kleitophon. Once the party has started, Chaereas excuses himself πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος τὴν γαστέρα, and moments later his pirate-band rush in with drawn swords to abduct Leukippe (5.7.1). Leukippe can here be equated with Osiris, and Kleitophon with Osiris' sister and wife Isis. Chaereas' actions and Typhon's share the ruse of the party, and the gathering together of co-conspirators for assistance; however, whereas Typhon participated in the capture of Osiris, Chaereas absents himself in cowardly fashion and leaves the abduction of Leukippe to his pirate-band. Typhon's entire plan relied upon guile and deceit, whilst Chareas' ultimately relies on brute force and aggression. I suggest that two factors combine to make *L&C*'s reimagining of this event a comic distortion of the mythic original: first, Chaereas absents himself to defecate; second, his co-conspirators are fishermen

[595] Trans. Zandee, 1960, p.149.
[596] Turner, 2012, p.184.

turned pirates, characters straight out of Greek comedy. The religious colouring provided by interaction with the Osiris myth is muted by the comic intertexts and toilet humour.

Although I will argue below that Osiris' reconstitution and resurrection foreshadows Leukippe's 'resurrection' on Ephesus, and that Leukippe can, therefore, be equated with Osiris, I suggest here that the decapitation of fake Leukippe and the disposal of her body in the sea equate her with Osiris too. These events correspond to two separate sets of actions on the part of Typhon and his confederates: the throwing of Osiris in the chest into the Nile, and the later dismemberment of Osiris and scattering of his corpse. Chaereas and his men put Leukippe aboard a boat and head out to sea with her (5.7.3). When Kleitophon and the navy give chase, fake Leukippe is brought up on deck by Chaereas' men and beheaded, her body is cast into the water (5.7.4). This recalls Typhon and his confederates throwing Osiris in his chest into the Nile. The chest and Osiris were washed out to sea (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 356C). The drowning of Osiris is referred to in the *Memphite Theology* inscribed on the Shabaka Stone, which dates to around 710 BCE.[597] In this theology, the god Geb judges between the claims of Horus and Seth to the kingship of Egypt. He decides that the land should be split between them: he awards Upper Egypt to Seth and Lower Egypt to Horus. The text reads: "And Geb made Horus king of Lower Egypt, up to the place in which his father drowned….Geb's words to Horus: 'Go to the place in which your father was drowned.' Horus: 'Lower Egypt.'"[598] The drowning of Osiris is also mentioned in the Ptolemaic *Songs*: "O thou who wast drowned in the nome of Aphroditopolis" (6.2 and referred to again at 14.28).[599] According to Plutarch, Isis wandered the world in search of Osiris' chest. After finding it in Byblos, she returned with it to Egypt and hid it in the marshes at Buto. Typhon later chanced upon the chest whilst out hunting for a boar at night by the light of the full moon. He tore Osiris' body into fourteen pieces and then scattered them (*Moralia*, 354A, 357D, 357F). That one of the pieces was Osiris' head is evident from a passage in the *Book of the Dead*, a compilation of spells to bring about the resurrection of a dead person and to ensure their safety in the afterlife. Chapter 43 reads: "I am the great one, son of the great one, the fiery one, son of the fiery one, to whom his head was given after having been cut off. The head of Osiris shall not be taken from him, my head shall not be taken

[597] Lichtheim, 1975, p.51, lines 8, 11a, 11b; Shabaka Stone (British Museum 498).
[598] Trans. Lichtheim, 1975, p.52. There is alternative tradition that Osiris was killed at place called Nedyet, as, for example, mentioned in Utterance 42 of the *Pyramid Texts* (from the west wall of the sarcophagus chamber of Pepi I): "Truly, the Great One has fallen on his side, he who is in Nedyt was cast down." [trans. Lichtheim, 1975, p.45]; see Lichtheim, 1975, p.46, n.1. Nedyet was a locality in Abydos, the southern cult centre of Osiris. Abydos was also reputed to be where the head of Osiris was found.

[599] Trans. Faulkner, 1936.

from me! I am risen, renewed, refreshed, I am Osiris!" [trans. Lichtheim, 1976, p.121] I suggest that the dismemberment and scattering of Osiris' body corresponds to the beheading of fake Leukippe and the disposal of her body in two separate locations. At 8.16.2-3, Leukippe explains to Kleitophon that a prostitute was killed in her place and that her torso was thrown into the sea at a different place to her head: καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔρριψαν, ὡς εἶδες, κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης, τὴν δὲ κεφαλήν, ὡς ἔπεσεν, εἶχον ἐπὶ τῆς νεὼς τότε. Μικρὸν γὰρ ὕστερον καὶ ταύτην ἀποσκευάσαντες ἔρριψαν ὁμοίως, ὅτε μηκέτι τοὺς διώκοντας εἶδον. "Her body, as you saw, they threw into the sea, while they picked up her head and kept it for the time on the ship: not long after, when they were no longer being pursued, they made away with her head too and threw it overboard." [trans. Gaselee, 1984, p.445] So, through intertextuality, an unchaste woman is being equated with an Egyptian god. I suggest that this irreverence is a clear sign that Merkelbach is wrong to assume that *L&C* is a religious text encoding secret information for initiates of the Isiac mysteries.

The search for the body parts of fake Leukippe by Kleitophon and the Pharos navy recalls Isis' search by boat for the scattered body parts of Osiris. According to Plutarch, she found the scattered parts of his body, reassembled him and then brought him back to life (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 358A, 358B, 373A). The *Songs* mention the scattering of Osiris' body, Isis' search and the corpse's reassembly at several points: "But thou are repulsed, being scattered through all lands, and he who shall unite thy body, he shall inherit thy estate" (5.20); "Join together thy body, O great god, provide thee with thy shape" (8.20); "They reassemble thy limbs for thee with mourning" (11.7); the woman representing Isis sings at 13.5 "I tread the earth, I weary not in seeking thee"; "She makes hale for thee thy flesh on thy bones. She knits for thee thy nose to thy forehead. She gathers together for thee thy bones, and thou art complete" (15.7-9). His resurrection is mentioned at 10.2 "O thou who awakes in health, lord of the bier."[600] The *Great Hymn to Osiris* from the *Stela of Amenmose* (Louvre 286) tells of Isis' search for Osiris, his resurrection and their subsequent love-making to produce Osiris' heir, the god Horus: "Mighty Isis who protected her brother, who sought him without wearying, who roamed the land lamenting, not resting till she found him, who made a shade with her plumage, created breath with her wings. Who jubilated, joined her brother, raised the weary one's inertness, received the seed, bore their heir, raised the child in solitude, his abode unknown." [trans. Lichtheim, 1976, p.83] After witnessing fake Leukippe's beheading and her body being thrown into the sea, Kleitophon begs the navy commander to cease the chase of Chaereas' ship. At

[600] Trans. Faulkner, 1936.

Kleitophon's behest, two sailors then jump into the ocean to find and retrieve the young woman's corpse. Unfortunately, they only find her trunk (5.7.5-6). In Plutarch's version (*Moralia*, 358B), Isis finds all but one of Osiris' body parts, his phallus, which had been eaten by the fishes. She created a replica phallus to take the place of the missing part. Fake Leukippe's body, like that of Osiris, is missing a crucial part. His missing part was essential for procreation, and hers for identification. Without the head, Kleitophon cannot correctly identify the woman he holds. He mistakenly thinks that she is his beloved Leukippe, when he actually holds the body of a prostitute dressed in her clothes. Here Kleitophon plays the part of the goddess Isis, who searches for and retrieves the dismembered corpse of her husband. However, he does not have her power to bring the dead back to life, so he buries the body and laments. Again, the prostitute is equated with Osiris. The scene is a grotesquely comic parody of the mythic scene. Whereas Isis lays her face on Osiris', kisses it and weeps (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 357D), Kleitophon is only able to kiss the bloody neck of the headless torso he holds (5.7.9). His love for Leukippe even in death can be compared to the love of Isis for the dead Osiris, but it is a twisted love, as the torso he caresses is that of a woman unknown to him, an unfortunate woman who has been killed in Leukippe's place. The real Leukippe will be brought back to life like Osiris, as she never really died, but the torso of the woman Kleitophon holds will never be reunited with its head, reconstituted and resurrected.

The disposal of fake Leukippe's body in water and its subsequent retrieval is also perhaps intertextually connected to Egyptian rituals of the cults of Isis, Osiris and Serapis. Water was important in the worship of these gods. Many temples to Isis-Serapis featured ablution facilities, including the Serapeion in Alexandria, which was founded 246-221 BCE and remodelled in the late second century CE, clear evidence that the cult was still popular at the time when AT was writing. Water was linked not just to purification, but to life after death. Inscriptions mentioning Osiris, water and the promise of life beyond the grave have been found on many ritualistic objects.[601] Plutarch describes a festival which took place on the 19th day of the month of Athyr (November 15th) based upon the myth of Osiris' death. The festival celebrants would go down to the sea at night carrying a sacred chest, within which was a small golden coffer. They would pour seawater into the chest and then shout out to indicate that Osiris had been found. A crescent-shaped figure was then made from soil, water, spices and incense, and bedecked with clothing and jewellery (*Moralia*, 366F).[602] Frazer discusses this festival and

[601] Wild, 1981, pp.81-82, p.125, p.137, p.163.
[602] See discussion of this festival in Frazer, 1906, pp.256-258.

another very similar one, which took place in the month of Choiak. The Choiak festival lasted for eighteen days and celebrated Osiris' death, dismemberment and reconstitution. Again, images were made from vegetable matter, soil and incense. These images were put into tiny papyrus boats, which were lit and put into the water. A coffin with an effigy of Osiris within was buried each year, and the coffin from the previous year removed from the grave.[603] Evidence for the celebration of the Isia festival in Egypt, which commemorated Isis' discovery and reconstitution of Osiris' corpse, is attested as late as the fourth century CE.[604]

I suggest that the substitution of the prostitute for Leukippe and the burial of the prostitute's body after it has been retrieved from the ocean perhaps engages with these rituals, with the prostitute's body being comparable to the effigies of Osiris made from vegetable matter, which are, in Plutarch's version, bedecked with clothing and jewellery. The prostitute is dressed in Leukippe's clothes, presumably much grander and more costly than her own, so that Kleitophon will be convinced that Leukippe has died. Like the effigy of Osiris which is buried each year as part of the Choiak festival, the prostitute is buried near to the seashore. In this reading, Leukippe is equated with the real Osiris, Osiris the deity who is resurrected, whilst the prostitute (Leukippe's phantom double, the fake version of her) maps onto the effigy of Osiris, the fake version of him used merely to represent him for ceremonial purposes. In this intertextual interaction the novel engages with the Osiris myth less irreverently, as the prostitute is not being equated with the god Osiris but only with vegetable matter formed by human hand to resemble the god's shape. Merkelbach suggested that Pharos, as a cult place of Isis, represents a test for the initiate of the mystery cult, and that the *Scheintod* and *Scheinbestattung* (fake death and fake funeral) are an allusion to two of the rituals of the mystery cult. I partly agree with this assertion, as the fake death and fake funeral do intertextually engage with the festival described by Plutarch and the Choiak festival described by Frazer. However, Merkelbach also claimed that by dying like Osiris, by being thrown into the water, Leukippe becomes a devotee of the goddess Isis, that Melite is a representative of Isis, and that it, therefore, makes sense for Leukippe to become her slave.[605] Here I disagree, as it is not Leukippe who dies like Osiris but the prostitute, and, although Kleitophon and Melite are married in the temple of Isis at Alexandria at 5.14.2, Melite bears little resemblance to the Egyptian goddess, renowned for her fidelity to her husband even after death, as she not

[603] Frazer, 1906, pp.258-261.
[604] Frankfurter, 1998, p.56 re. P.Oxy.XXXVI.2797.
[605] Merkelbach, 1962, p.138.

only remarries after her husband Thersander's apparent death, but commits adultery with Kleitophon even after discovering that Thersander still lives.

In **Case Study C**, I discussed Leukippe's first *Scheintod* in relation to Osiris' resurrection. I argued that Leukippe's rising from the grave, and her reconstitution by Menelaos with the help of the goddess Hekate-Isis, corresponded to Osiris' reconstitution by Isis and his rising from the funeral bier. I suggested that, just as Leukippe's womb (essential for procreation) had been cut open and her innards eaten, so Osiris' phallus (also essential for procreation) had been lost and eaten by the fishes; that, in removing the fake stomach from Leukippe, Menelaos acted in the role of Isis who provided Osiris with a replica phallus, as both restored the procreative abilities of those they reconstituted. I further proposed that the scene in which Leukippe and Kleitophon fell down together in a loving embrace recalled Isis having sex with Osiris after his resurrection. The intertextual connections between Osiris' resurrection in the above discussed myths (both Greek and Egyptian) bear very little resemblance to Leukippe's return to the narrative, alive and well on Ephesus, at 5.17.3. However, I would argue that there is an indication in the text that the reader should think of Leukippe has having been resurrected. For example, at 5.19.2, when Kleitophon receives a letter from Leukippe informing him that she still lives and that she is the slave woman Lakaina whom he earlier met, Kleitophon asks Satyrus if he has brought the letter from Hades, and then he says "Has Leukippe come to life again?": Λευκίππη πάλιν ἀνεβίω; Satyrus informs Kleitophon that Leukippe is indeed alive again. The discovery that Leukippe still lives is phrased in terms which suggest that she has been to the Underworld and risen from its depths back to the land of the living, just as Osiris did.

The Greek intertexts for Kleitophon's lamentation over the corpse of Leukippe have been discussed in E.i. There I argued that Kleitophon's mournful monologue at 5.7.8-9 was influenced by Greek funerary epigrams. The wording of the lament is entirely Greek. However, given that intertextuality with the myth of Osiris is particularly strong in this portion of the novel, as demonstrated above, the possibility of intertextuality with the mourning of Isis and her sister Nephthys for Osiris cannot be ignored. Plutarch refers to Isis' grief over Osiris' death at several points: she cut her hair and donned mourning garments (*Moralia*, 356D); upon finding Osiris' coffin at Byblos, she threw herself upon it and wailed so dreadfully that the youngest son of the king of Byblos died (*Moralia*, 357D); she took Osiris' coffin to a remote spot, opened it, pressed her face to his and wept (*Moralia*, 357D). Kleitophon's grief is similarly profound. When he sees Leukippe beheaded, he cries out and weeps (ἀνέκπαγον

οἰμώξας καὶ ὥρμησα) and would have thrown himself into the water to die with her had it not been for his shipboard companions restraining him (5.7.5). When the trunk of Leukippe's body has been recovered, Kleitophon takes it to the shore, embraces it and weeps again as he laments her death: ἀποβὰς τοῦ σκάφους καὶ τῷ σώματι περιχυθείς (5.7.8).

The lamentations of the sisters/wives of Osiris became the topic of hymns, which were sung or recited at festivals and at private funerals. For example, the *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys* (henceforward *Lamentations*), a Ptolemiac-period text, was found in the tomb of a woman called Tentruty or Teret. The *Lamentations* were written in hieratic and appended to a hieroglyphic papyrus of the *Book of the Dead*. The instructions accompanying the text tell us that it was intended for performance by two women representing the goddesses at Tentruty's funeral, as the Egyptians associated the deceased person with Osiris.[606] Like the *Songs*, the *Lamentations* emphasise Osiris' solar aspect, for example "You rise for us like Re every day, you shine for us like Atum, gods and men live by your sight."[607] The two goddesses implore Osiris to come back to them, and they reassure him that his foe, Seth, has been defeated and can no longer harm him: "Your foe has fallen, he shall not be!"[608] The *Songs* also refer to Seth's punishment for having tried to overthrow Osiris, and emphasise that it is now safe for Osiris to return to life: "He who rebelled against thee is at the execution-block, and shall not be." (16.18) "For Neki is gone. He is in his hell of fire every day. His name has been cut from among the gods. And Tebha is dead in slaughter. But thou are at thine house without fear. While Seth is in all the evil which he has done. He has disturbed the order of the sky." (2.14-2.20)[609] Chaereas, whose role in the abduction and killing of Leukippe has much in common with Seth's role in the capture and killing of Osiris, as discussed above, is also executed for his crime. At 8.16.4-7, Leukippe tells Kleitophon that Chaereas received the punishment he deserved for abducting her: "The result was that I saw Chaereas suffer the fate he deserved … one of the pirates, I am thankful to say, crept behind him and struck off his head. He thus received the most providential reward for his violent abduction of me, and was himself thrown into the sea."

The polyphonic texture of the novel, with its overlapping of generic codes, is as prominent in the scenes I have analysed in **Case Study E** as it is elsewhere in the novel. Here we have

[606] Lichtheim, 1980, p.116.
[607] Trans. Lichtheim, 1980, p.118.
[608] Trans. Lichtheim, 1980, p.118.
[609] Neki and Tebha are epithets of Seth.

witnessed a heady mixture of intertexts: comedy (Chaereas the fisherman turned pirate whose ruse to abduct Leukippe involves pretending that he needs to defecate), history (the Plutarchan deaths at dinner parties, and the beheading of Alcibiades dressed as a courtesan, which combine to foreshadow Leukippe's abduction at a dinner party and the decapitation of the prostitute in her stead), tragedy (Euripides' *Helen*), love letters (the Ovidian epistles of Paris and Helen), funerary epigram (in which the motif of the division of the dead mariner's body between land and sea engages with the burial of the prostitute's body on the seashore whilst her head is food for the fishes), religious ritual (the Egyptian festivals associated with the finding and reconstitution of Osiris), and mythology (Greek myths of unchaste women dying at sea, and chaste women being sold into slavery; the Egyptian Osiris myth and Underworld texts). These competing voices and resonances give the narrative a hybrid quality which is in keeping with the polyglot nature of Roman-period Egypt.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored intertextuality in the books of AT's *L&C* which have Egypt as their setting (i.e. 3.6.5-14).

In **Case Study A/Ai.**, I argued that AT encourages a hermeneutic and intertextual reading strategy through his description of the harbour of Sidon, with its emphasis upon inner and outer layers, and through the figure of the gardener/author in Europa's meadow, who makes channels to water his flowers/intertexts. One of my original contributions in this section is my suggestion that the dream sequence in Moschus' *Europa*, in which female figures representing the continents of Europe and Asia vie for Europa, is a key intertext for the corporeal description of the Sidonian coastline at 1.1.1., and that this intertextual connection is a clue to the novel's intercultural dynamic, suggesting that the novel's intertexts will be Near Eastern as well as Greek and Roman, and that they will contend for dominance over the reader's interpretation of the text, providing alternative, and often conflicting, proleptic readings of events to come. In **A.ii.**, I demonstrated that Kleitophon's description of his promenade through Alexandria, in which he is overwhelmed by the city's scopophilic delights, can be likened to the experience of intertextual readers of the novel, who, when encountering passages of particular intertextual density, find themselves overstimulated by the volume of possible connections. This overstimulation results in aporia. The numerousness of the passage's possible interpretations and foreshadowings created through intertextuality obstruct a single, 'correct' interpretation of the text.

I have shown in every case study, but especially in sections **B.iii.** and **E.ii.**, that it is beyond doubt that the intertextual fabric of the novel is made up of Near Eastern as well as Greek and Roman resonances, even if some individual instances are more securely identifiable than others. Multi-ethnic Egypt, especially its most cosmopolitan of cities, Alexandria, the home of AT, speaks out from within the lattice of *L&C*'s intertextual interactions, declaring this novel to be a product of its eclectic and culturally diverse environment. I have highlighted how, in the Egyptian books of the novel, these intertexts are often connected to specific locations which the novel's protagonists visit during their journey from Pelusium to Alexandria. In **Case Study B/B.iii.**, in an original contribution to scholarship on Leukippe's first *Scheintod* scene and the paintings which foreshadow it, I explored the relationship of the myths of the diptych (Andromeda's rescue by Perseus and Prometheus' rescue by Herakles) and the sacrifice of Leukippe (especially its anthropophagical element) to the mythology of the Nile Delta region.

I highlighted ways in which the paintings and Leukippe's sacrifice are related to mythical stories of a battle between a polycephalous water-deity and a storm-god wielding a curved sword, and how these myths, in there various incarnations throughout the centuries, have been associated with the Nile Delta region and Mount Kasios near Pelusium. West Semitic mythology was incorporated into my intertextual matrix alongside Greek myths and local Egyptian legends, as tales of Baal and Astarte were linked to the region during the period of Hyksos rule, and there was still awareness of the West Semitic god and goddess in Egypt of the Roman period. In **Case Study E/E.ii.**, I discussed the relationship of Leukippe's second *Scheintod* scene to the Osiris myth and its rituals. I argued that *L&C*'s interaction with Egyptian mythology is often of a ludic and irreverent nature. These intertexts are toyed with in the exact same way as other non-religious intertexts of the novel.

I feel that there is still more work to be done on the locations chosen by AT for the key events in his narrative, their intertextual associations, and especially their mythology. As discussed in **Case Study A/Aii.**, Selden and Morales have briefly investigated the polysemy of the Sidonian location chosen by AT for the meeting between the novel's anonymous narrator and Kleitophon, and I have attempted to demonstrate the polysemous nature of the location for Kleitophon's and Leukippe's arrival in Egypt. In **Case Study B/B.i.**, I hope to have provided enough evidence to justify my description of the temple of Zeus Kasios at Pelusium as a nexus for the meeting and mingling of myth. In **Case Study E/E.i.**, I explored how the island of Pharos provides a link between Euripides' *Helen* and the novel, a link which bears fruit in the form of several intertextual connections between the play and events in the novel, and between characters of the play and characters in the novel. A desideratum for further study is the intertextual associations of Ephesus, the setting for the novel's final episodes. Are there any links between stories about Ephesus, mythology of the region, famous buildings and artwork of the city, and events which take place in the novel? I suggest that my methodology in relation to looking at the intertextual associations of locations might be fruitfully applied to the other ancient novels, in particular to Heliodorus' *Aethiopika*, with its exotic Egyptian and Ethiopian locations for key events.

Throughout this thesis, I have demonstrated that intertextuality in *L&C* characterises Egypt as a surreal and metamorphic land, a place where the identities of characters created through intertextual, intratextual and intercultural interactions are constantly in flux, where nothing is quite what it at first appears to be, and where miraculous events are possible. In **Case Study E/E.i.**, for example, I demonstrated how the character of Helen of Troy can simultaneously be

equated with three of the novel's protagonists, Kleitophon, Melite and Leukippe. Her character traits and key incidents in her story are fragmented and distributed between the characters of the novel. I have argued that this intertextual fragmentation is a distinctive feature of *L&C*, is emphasised throughout the novel by means of the preoccupation with division between part and whole, and is one of the ways in which intertextuality operates to confuse and befuddle the reader. As well as this fragmentation of traits and story components of characters from the novel's hypotexts, I have also demonstrated how intertextuality with numerous hypotexts in certain scenes creates shifting identities for the novel's protagonists. For example, in **Case Study B**, I explored how Leukippe is simultaneously Andromeda being sacrificed to the sea-monster, the sea-monster being killed with an odd-shaped sword, the Egyptian god Seth being slain by Horus, the West Semitic god Baal being eaten by Mot, and Prometheus having his innards eaten. These shifting identities created through intertextuality characterise Egypt as a land of metamorphosis. I have argued that, whilst the image of a metamorphic Egypt is far from unique in ancient literature, AT is unique in showcasing Egypt's metamorphic character subtly through intertextuality, and that the *topos* of metamorphosis operates beneath the surface level of the narrative in *L&C* through intertextual and intratextual connections.

L&C is probably the most intertextually complex of the extant ancient Greek novels. The Egyptian books, like enigmatic Egypt, defy a single, harmonious reading. The polyphonic texture of the books, the intermingling of genres, the profusion of intertexts (both ancient and contemporaneous), the intertextual fragmentation, the intricate network of intratextual connections, and the intercultural resonances all combine to reflect different aspects of Roman-period Egypt and its people. Egypt was a land of ancient wonders and mythology, but it was also a place where for millennia different cultures had mingled and merged. Under Roman rule, it was a cosmopolitan land, defined by its multiculturalism and hybridity. *L&C* was a product of the environment in which it was composed. Roman-period Egypt and its many voices speak out from beneath the novel's pages, in many mingling tongues and with many stories.

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Abbreviations

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Appendix B

The relationship of Baal Sapon and Zeus Kasios

Both Baal Sapon and Zeus Kasios were patron deities of seafarers: anchors have been found dedicated to Baal Sapon at several places along the Syro-Palestinian coast and are thought to be offerings to the god in hope of and thanks for a safe journey.[610] Anchors and model ships have also been found dedicated to Zeus Kasios at coastal sites around the Mediterranean.[611] The association of the two deities is thought to have arisen in Syria in the region surrounding Mount Kasios (modern day Jebel al-Aqra) near to the mouth of the Orontes river on the Mediterranean coast.[612] This mountain was known by several names in antiquity: it was Mount Sapanu to the people who lived 30km to the south of the mountain in the Bronze Age city of Ugarit (now Ras Shamra) and Mount Hazzi to the Hurrians and later Hittites who lived on the northern side.[613] Greek traders are suggested to have visited the area in the Bronze Age, as early as the 13th century BCE, when the neo-Hittites were still calling the mountain Hazzi, from which name the Greek Kasios is thought to be derived.[614] The mountain itself was the mythical home of a mighty storm-god, known to the people of Ugarit as Baal Sapon 'Lord of Sapanu', to the Hurrians as Tešub and to the Hittites as Tarhunna. Similarities between the Ugaritic, Hurro-Hittite and Greek theogonies, led to an association between Zeus and the site's older deities, as discussed in detail by Lane Fox.[615] A temple was dedicated to Zeus Kasios on the upper slopes of the mountain during the 1st millennium BCE and was in use until its conversion to a Christian monastery in late antiquity.[616]

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610 Hayes, 1963, p.423; Schwemer, 2008, p.13; Collar, 2017, pp.31-33 for a discussion of the meaning of these anchor offerings.
611 Collar, 2017, p.27; Chuvin & Yoyotte, 1986, pp.59-61.
612 Giveon, 1965, p.199.
613 Lane Fox, 2008, pp.257-259; Collar, 2017, p.23.
614 Lane Fox, 2008, pp.264-265; Collar, 2017, p.23.
615 Lane Fox, 2008, pp.273-218; In c. 950 BCE there is interaction between Phoenicians, Syrians and Greeks on the southern side of the mountain at Posideion (now Ras el-Bassit) and on the northern side there was a settlement of Euboeans and Cypriots from the 8th century BCE at the port of Al Mina, see Lane Fox, 2008, p.259. Bachvarova (2016, pp.231-232, pp.250-263) discusses evidence from the linear B tablets found in Thebes for interaction between Mycenean Greeks and people from the Anatolian region at festivals as well as the performance of 'Chaoskampf' myths, such as Zeus killing Typhon, Herakles killing the Hydra and Apollo killing Python, at such international festivals. Rutherford (2009) and West (1997, pp.277-280) both discuss how the Hittite myths about the storm-god Tessub's battles with the sea-monster Hedammu and a monster made of stone called Ullikummi might have been transmitted to Greece and the influence they possibly had on Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. Performances of the myths in the form of songs on Mount Hazzi (Kasios) in Syria is mentioned as one of the possible ways in which Greeks encountered Near Eastern mythology.
616 Collar, 2017, p.24.

The six extant tablets of the Ugaritic *Baal Cycle* bear the name of their scribe Ilimalku[617] and date to the first half of the 14th century BCE;[618] however, the stories they contain are, undoubtedly, much older.[619] They were discovered in the city of Ugarit (now Ras Shamra) in the years 1929-1933.[620] The first two tablets are devoted to the story of the victory of Baal over Yamm (Sea), the second two to the building of Baal's palace on Mount Sapanu (Mount Kasios) and the third to Baal's defeat at the hands of Mot (Death) and subsequent resurrection.

Archaeological finds in Syria and Egypt prove that Baal Sapon was known in Egypt at least as early as the reign of Rameses II (19th dynasty, reigned 1279-1213 BCE).[621] Papyrus *Sallier IV* states that Baal Sapon was worshipped during the reign of Rameses II in the city of Memphis.[622] Memphis is also linked to the mythology surrounding Baal Sapon in Ugaritic sources, as it is the home of Kothar, the craft-god who makes the weapons with which Baal defeats Yamm. El's two messengers journey to Kothar: "Then they surely head toward the whole of divine Memphis – Kaphtor is the throne of his sitting, Memphis is his inherited land". [*The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* KTU 1.1. III, trans. Smith, M.S. 1994. p.159][623]

Giveon speculates that Rameses II introduced the worship of Baal Sapon in Egypt.[624] It is thought that the Phoenicians who lived in Tahpanhes in the 7th century BCE introduced the

[617] Smith & Pitard, 2009, p.7.
[618] Smith, 1994, p.xxii.
[619] Green, 2003, p.176 speculates that "the theological conceptions of the Ugaritic pantheon and the nature and function of Baal in particular were probably well established as early as the third millennium BCE".
[620] Pritchard, 2011, p.107.
[621] The Mamy Stele, a funerary stele found in Ugarit and dating to the New Kingdom (16th-11th centuries BCE), depicts an Egyptian official named Mamy engaged in the worship of Baal Sapon (Levy, 2014, p.293; Giveon, 1965, p.199). This stele was made from sandstone imported from Egypt (Lane Fox, 2008, p.266). Schwemer speculates that Ammurapi, king of Ugarit in the late 13th/early 12th century BCE, renovated the temple of Baal Sapon using Egyptian craftsmen whom he requested from the pharaoh Merneptah, a son of Rameses II (2008, p.10); a letter from Ammurapi to Merneptah mentions the erection of a statue of Merneptah next to that of Baal Sapon in Ugarit (Singer, 1999, p.713).
[622] Giveon, 1965, p.199; for worship of Baal in Memphis see also Cox, 2014, p.201 fig. T21 (a record of tribute) Pap. Hermitage 1116A, p.202 fig. T22 (a letter) BM EA 10184 British Museum London and p.202 fig. T23 (a magical spell) Leiden I 343 + I 345.
[623] Smith speculates that Kothar's home in Memphis "may reflect trade (between Ugarit and Egypt) in materials for crafts such as metals or trade in materials produced by crafts" (1994, p.xxiv) and that Kothar was identified with the Egyptian craft-god Ptah (1994, p.167).
[624] Giveon, 1965, p.200. Cox, however, places the introduction a little earlier, during the reign of the renowned conqueror Thutmose III, who brought many craftsmen and sailors back to Egypt as prisoners of war from his campaigns in Syro-Palestine (2014, p.66). Zivie-Coche (2011, p.2) argues for the introduction during the reign of Amenhotep/Amenophis II, son of Thutmose III. Chuvin & Yoyotte suggest that the cult was "implanté sur la rive du lac Sirbonis par les navigateurs cananéens" (1986, p.42). All agree that introduction of the cult took place towards the end of the second millennium BCE. Sparks' (2003, pp.52-56) study of stone vessels found in Ugarit bearing royal names corroborates this view as it provides evidence of diplomatic missions between Egypt and Ugarit in the latter half of the second millennium, from Amenophis II 1427-1401 BCE until the time of Rameses II 1279-1213 BCE. Sparks suggests that Ugarit was strategically important to Egypt in this period, as it lay between their territory and that of the expanding Mitannian and Hittite empires.

Greek population of the city to Baal Sapon and told them of his identification with Zeus Kasios in Syria.[625] The Egyptian cult of Zeus Kasios maintained a conceptual link with that of Zeus Kasios in Syria into the Roman period, as demonstrated by the interest shown by Hadrian in both the Syrian Mount Kasios and the sacred site at Pelusium. In 129/130 CE he first visited the Syrian mountain and attempted to ascend to its summit to witness the breaking of dawn, and just a few months later arrived at Pelusium to dedicate a new temple to Zeus Kasios there.[626] The West-Semitic deities Reshep, Hauron, Qadesh, Anat, Baal and Astarte remained in the Egyptian pantheon into the Roman period.[627]

[625] Collar, 2017, pp.25-26; Lane Fox, 2008, p.268.
[626] Lane Fox, 2008, p.270; Collar (forthcoming); Aelius Spartianus, *Life of Hadrian*, 14 "As he was sacrificing on Mount Casius, which he had ascended by night in order to see the sunrise, a storm arose, and a flash of lightning descended and struck both the victim and the attendant. He then travelled through Arabia and finally came to Pelusium, where he rebuilt Pompey's tomb on a more magnificent scale" [Trans. https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/ancient/aelius-hadrian.asp].
[627] Zivie-Coche, 2011, p.2.

Appendix C

The relationship of Seth and Baal Sapon

Early archaeological finds, such the Her-Ouben funerary papyrus mentioned in the main body of my thesis in section B.iii., pictorially show the battle between Seth and Apopis in a typically Egyptian fashion. In contrast, Rameses II, whose possible connection to the introduction of the worship of Baal Sapon in Egypt was noted in **Appendix B**, erected a stele, the so-called '400 year stele', in the temple of Tanis, and, on this stele, Seth is depicted wearing conical headgear with horns and a sun, with a long ribbon hanging down, typical of depictions of Baal.[628] The stele bears the inscription "Great of power in the barque of millions, slaying his enemies, in front of the barque of Re, great of war cry".[629] Levy discusses this stele and other depictions of 'Asiatic Seth' or Baal-Seth, many of which feature the conical headgear and ribbon.[630] Cox identifies several depictions of Baal-Seth on scarabs, stele and plaques in the act of slaying Apopis.[631]

A poem about the battle of Qadesh (between the Egyptians and the Hittites) includes the line "He is no mere man, he that is among us! – it's Seth great of power, very Baal in person!". The man being referred to is the leader of the Egyptian forces, Rameses II.[632]

Chuvin & Yoyotte speculate that "Baal avait été identifié à Seth, sinon depuis l'époque Hyksos, du moins depuis la XVIIIe Dynastie".[633] This is also the opinion of Cox, who corroborates this assertion with evidence from the recent excavations of the Hyksos capital in the north-eastern Nile Delta, Avaris (originally Hutwaret, modern Tell el-Daba).[634] It is clear that in this region Seth was already the primary local god. In his role as god of Levantine foreigners, Seth was

[628] Stele from the temple at Tanis, 1279-1213 BCE, Rameses II period. Cox, 2014, p.155, fig. BS1 and discussion on p.3, p.68; see also Te Velde, 1967, p.99, p.124.
[629] Cox, 2014, p.46; Te Velde, 1967, p.124, p.125 fig.15.
[630] Levy, 2014, pp.293-310; see also Cylinder seal from Tell el-Zafi, c.13th century BCE. Seth killing Apopis but wearing Asiatic dress. Cox, 2014, p.137, fig. S10; Stele from Thebes. 8440 Ägyptisches Museen Berlin. 1300-1200 BCE. Seth wearing conical tiara and ribbons. Cox, 2014, p.156, fig. BS2; Stele from Qantir, 2km north of Tell el-Daba. JE 88879 Egyptian Museum Cairo. Rameses II killing a prisoner with a 'khopesh' and Seth wearing conical tiara and ribbons presenting Rameses II with a 'khopesh'. Cox, 2014, p.157, fig. BS3.
[631] Baal-Seth kills Apopis: Stele AEIN 726. Ny Carlsberg Glytotheque Copenhagen. 1300-1200 BCE. Cox, 2014, p.159, fig. BS5. Plaque. E6190 Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis Brüssel. 1279-1213 BCE. Cox, 2014, p.181, fig. BS29. Scarab. E VI 24/29 Institute of Archaeology London. 1500-1150 BCE. Cox, 2014, p.167, fig. BS15. Scarab. Cassirer private collection. 1500-1300 BCE. Cox, 2014, p.168, fig. BS16.
[632] Levy, 2014, pp.305-306 & trans.; Wallis Budge, 1904(b), p.281; Cox, 2014, p.21, p.69, pp.190-192 figs. T2, T4, T6.
[633] Chuvin & Yoyotte, 1986, p.44.
[634] Cox, 2014, p.214.

naturally worshipped in the north-eastern Nile Delta borderlands.[635] The Hyksos princes who settled in this borderland area and ruled from Avaris during the 15th dynasty identified Seth with their Levantine storm-god Baal and referred to him as the 'Lord of Avaris'.[636] Avaris was situated on the eastern bank of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. Above its busy harbour, stood a temple to Seth. The cult of Baal Sapon was implanted at Avaris in around 1700 BCE, and the association between Seth and Baal Sapon was commemorated with a stele to Baal Sapon on Seth's temple in around 1300 BCE.[637]

Wallis Budge agrees that Baal and Seth were seen as having attributes in common and cites as evidence the Egyptian texts which, when referring to Baal, include the figure of the Seth animal after the transliteration of Baal's name.[638] An example of the use of the determinative of the Seth animal with Baal's name can be found on the Mamy stele in Ugarit.[639]

[635] Cox, 2014, p.41; Zivie-Coche, 2011, p.2.
[636] Cox, 2014, p.2, p.4, p.7, p.52, p.67, for the distinction between the Hyksos regime and the Levantines who settled in the region see p. 213. A seal discovered at Avaris depicts Baal-Seth astride two mountains. The Egyptian cultural milieu is reflected on the seal by the presence of the 'ankh' and the Egyptian-style weapons which Baal-Seth carries (Green, 2003, pp.162-163). The image of the storm-god astride two mountains is common in Hurrian and Hittite iconography. For example, at the Yazilikaya sanctuary near to the early 2nd-millennium BCE Hittite capital Hattuša (near to the modern-day village of Boğazköy/Boğazkale, 150km east of Ankara in Turkey) there are reliefs cut into the rock depicting parades of male and female gods (Seeher, 2011, p.11). The male gods are mostly dressed in conical hats with horns and kilts, are young and muscular, and carry sickle-shaped weapons (Seeher, 2011, p.23) or swords with crescent-shaped hilts (Seeher, 2011, p.44, fig.38), as Baal-Seth is depicted. The chief storm-god Tešub is shown at the head of the Yazilikaya parade of male deities and is stood atop two mountain-gods called Namni and Hazzi (Seeher, 2011, p.67; Deighton, 1982, p.35, fig.11), Hazzi being the Hurro-Hittite name for Mount Kasios in Syria. There is no consensus amongst scholars as to the location of Namni, which might be the lower peak of Mount Kasios or another mountain entirely. It is possible that Hittite mythology was known in Egypt, as Hittite diplomatic texts have been found at Amarna in archive which also contains mythological texts in the Akkadian language of Mesopotamia (Bachvarova, 2016, p.7).
[637] Bietak & Von Rüden, 2018, pp.20. Avaris was also an important contact point between inner Egypt and the Mediterranean. The palaces of Avaris were decorated with wall paintings and stucco reliefs with designs similar to those found in the palaces of Minoan Crete (Bietak & Von Rüden, 2018, pp.22-23)
[638] Wallis Budge, 1904(b), p.281; Zivie-Coche, 2011, p.5.
[639] Cox, 2014, p.3.