

HELIODOROS *AITHIOPIKA* I:
A COMMENTARY WITH PROLEGOMENA

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by

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1

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ABSTRACT

The thesis comprises, in roughly equal proportions, a commentary on the first book of Heliodoros *Aithiopika* (a Greek novel of the third or fourth century A.D.); and prolegomena which treat issues raised by the work as a whole. A literal translation of *Aithiopika* I is included as an appendix.

In the commentary a range of points is covered, including philological and textual points, and questions of literary interpretation, and of the historical background of the action of the novel. Some of the literary points relate to the whole corpus of extant ancient Greek novels. One particularly obscure historical point, the identity of the 'Boukoloi', is given extended consideration.

The prolegomena consists of five chapters. The first is a brief survey of the textual tradition of the work. The second examines the question of its date of composition and of the identity of its author, surveying the history of this debate, and showing how the evidence of vocabulary can be used to add weight to the argument in favour of accepting the fourth century date (rather than the third century date favoured by some scholars), and the view that Heliodoros was a Christian. The third chapter disputes the current view that the use of terms for divine agencies in the text reflects a lack of a systematic theology. The fourth chapter asks whether the text bears any traces of the local cult of the author's home town of Emesa, and answers with a tentative affirmative. In the fifth chapter the author considers how his contributions to our understanding of the historical and conceptual background of the text could affect our interpretation of it as a literary work.

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I wish to express particular gratitude for assistance given to me in various ways by my supervisor Professor Maehler, and by Mr E.L. Bowie. Very many other people have helped me with advice, and with comments made in conversation, or in lectures, often where no advice was sought; I am grateful to all of these. It seems invidious to name some and not others, so I restrict myself to naming only those who have read and commented on parts of my work. The following read one or both of the chapters entitled 'Solar Theology in the *Aithiopika*', and 'Heliodoros and the cult of the Sun': Polymnia Athanassiadi, François Chausson, Mark Edwards, Stephen Harrison, John Hilton, Fergus Millar, John Morgan, Frank Trombley; Suzanne MacAlister read the note on dreams (ad I 18.2-5).

A British Academy award, the assistance of my parents, and the academic advice and personal support of my wife have all made a major contribution to the completion of this dissertation.

CONTENTS

<u>A NOTE ON THE TEXT</u>	5
<u>THE DATE OF THE <i>AITHIOPIKA</i></u>	10
I. THE TESTIMONIA	10
II. THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE	12
III. THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE	16
<u>SOLAR THEOLOGY IN THE <i>AITHIOPIKA</i></u>	29
I. INTRODUCTION	29
II. THE SUN AND MOON IN THE <i>AITHIOPIKA</i>	33
III. THE USE OF ΘΕΟΣ IN THE <i>AITHIOPIKA</i> : BACKGROUND, AND A CATALOGUE	38
IV. Ὁ ΔΑΙΜΩΝ IN THE <i>AITHIOPIKA</i> : BACKGROUND, AND A CATALOGUE	45
V. Ἡ ΤΥΧΗ IN THE <i>AITHIOPIKA</i> : BACKGROUND, AND A CATALOGUE	56
VI. SUMMARY	60
<u>HELIODOROS AND THE CULT OF THE SUN</u>	62
I. THE <i>SPHRAGIS</i> IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT	62
II. THE PAGAN SAINT AND THE <i>AITHIOPIKA</i>	65
III. THE SUN CULT AT EMESA	68
IV. THE EMESENE CULT AND THE <i>AITHIOPIKA</i>	71
V. CONCLUSION	73
<u>INTERPRETATIVE ISSUES</u>	74
<u>COMMENTARY</u>	79
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	159
<u>CONCORDANCE</u>	169
<u>INDEX</u>	170
<u>TRANSLATION</u>	173

A NOTE ON THE TEXT

In the commentary the text of the Budé is quoted in the lemmata, even where I disagree with it. As a result, it is the text which is criticized most often. Nonetheless, it is probably the best text, as well as the most accessible for many readers. It also has the advantage of numbering sentences as well as sections. However, the Budé line breaks, by which references are given in the TLG, have not been retained, nor has the practice of starting each sentence with an upper case letter.

One result of the lack of co-operation between Dörrie, Rattenbury and Lumb, and Colonna is that they each have differing systems of assigning letters to the manuscripts of Heliodoros. For convenience a table has been compiled of the three sets of *sigla* used by Dörrie, Rattenbury and Lumb, and Colonna. Detailed descriptions of the MSS are to be found in Colonna's introduction, as well as in some of the library catalogues. In the commentary I rely largely on the reports of the MSS given in the apparatus of the Budé, and employ the *sigla* used there; these are in bold type in this table.

Manuscript	Budé	Colonna	Dörrie
VATICANUS GRAECUS 157	V	V	V
MARCIANUS 411	N	<i>h</i>	<i>v</i> ₂
VATICANUS OTTOBONIANUS 226 ¹	O	<i>x</i>	<i>v</i> ₁
MARCIANUS 409 ff.1-163	Z	Z	E
MONACENSIS 96 ff. 278-322 (books I-III)	Y	<i>b</i>	<i>e</i> ₂
HIEROSOLYMITANUS cod.palimp.S.Crucis 57 (frgs.)	J	J	H
MARCIANUS 410	X	D	E'
VATICANUS GRAECUS 1390 ff.159-200 ²	C	C	Z
MONACENSIS 157 ff.124-167	M	M	<i>v</i> ₃
LUGDUNENSIS XVIII 73 F ff. 1-195	L	<i>k</i> ¹	<i>vv</i> ₃
LUGDUNENSIS VOSSIANUS GR. 61 A	λ	<i>k</i>	<i>vv</i> ₁
VINDOBONENSIS HIST.GR.130 ff. 1-62 (books I-IX 13)	B	S	K
PARISINUS GR.BIBL.NAT. 2905	Q1	R	M
PALATINUS 125 ³	P	P	<i>m</i> ₂
PARISINUS GR.BIBL.NAT. 2896	Q2	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i> ₁
MARCIANUS 607 ff. 1 sqq.	S	E	G
VINDOBONENSIS HIST.GR. 116	A	<i>a</i>	<i>g</i> ₂
LAURENTIANUS MEDIC. LXX 36	F	L	D
TAURINENSIS B III 29 ff.29-106 (olim CV11; cat.no.120)	T	T	T
PARISINUS GR.BIBL.NAT. 2904	D1	F	<i>P</i> ₁
PARISINUS GR.BIBL.NAT. 2906	D2	G	<i>P</i> ₂
PARISINUS GR.BIBL.NAT. 2907 ff. 1-162	D3	H	<i>P</i> ₃
NEAPOLITANUS BORBONICUS GR. III A 2 ⁴		N	<i>P</i> ₄
POLITIANI TRANSLATIONIS FRAGMENTUM		Pol.	
ROM.VALLICELIANUS GR.61 <i>a</i> (XCII Allacci) cont.excerpta		<i>y</i>	
ROMANUS BIBL.NAT. 11 cont.excerpta		<i>o</i>	
CANTABRIGIENSIS UNIV. Dd.IV 16 cont.excerpta ⁵		-	<i>P</i> ₅
MATRITENSIS GR.73 (nunc 79) ff.181-196v;212-213v;excerpta	Q	O	
[ESCURIALENSIS I-Γ-6, anno 1671 combustus			Ξ]
[MEMMIANUS DEPERDITUS			Ψ]
P. AMHERST 160 (cont. VIII 16.6-7; 17.3-4) ⁶			

¹Erroneously described by the Budé as 228.

²Erroneously described by Dörrie as 1930.

³Erroneously described by Dörrie as Parisinus 125.

⁴Colonna describes this as III AA 2, and says in his introduction that it is 205 in the catalogue of Cyrillus (in fact it is on p194 of the catalogue of Cyrillus, which has no numbers other than page numbers). Dependence on Colonna probably explains why Dörrie describes it as Borbonicus Neapolitanus 205, a number which cannot otherwise be interpreted from the published catalogues (unless there is an alternative edition of the catalogue of Cyrillus which I have not seen). There is a new catalogue of this library; the manuscript in question does not appear in vol.I, published in 1962; the long promised vol.II has not yet appeared.

⁵Erroneously described by Dörrie as Dd IV 28.

⁶Pack 2797. This is a fragment of parchment written on both sides in an uncial hand of the sixth or seventh century. There is a transcription and brief discussion of this fragment of in

Dörrie, Rattenbury and Lumb, and Colonna worked at a time when confidence in stemmatics was at its height, and all offer rather different stemmata for Heliodoros, none of which are conclusive. The proposed stemmata do of course reflect the affinities which exist between manuscripts. The main advantage of the stemmata is to enable an editor to decide which manuscripts not to use. The reader is referred to the stemma in the first volume of the Budé for a general outline. Essentially the stemma of Colonna differs from that of the Budé editors in that it assumes that Z is derived from the archetype via an independent exemplar, rather than being derived from the same exemplar as CBP (so the tradition is in effect regarded as tripartite rather than bipartite⁷). Dörrie differs by making M a descendant rather than a brother of V. There is enough contamination to make the stemma of the manuscripts which are used of little help when deciding which reading to print. The texts of the Budé and of Colonna are fairly sound, but over-reliance on stemmatics, and an associated tendency to favour particular manuscripts is the main cause of the poor decisions about which reading to print which these editors made.

In addition, both Colonna and the Budé editors, although at odds with each other, were reluctant to print emendations, on the grounds that the style of Heliodoros is in any case strange and unconventional. Colonna was more extreme in this policy. The editors of the Budé felt obliged to emend more often, partly because they favoured a third century date for Heliodoros whereas Colonna favoured a fourth century date, and it was assumed that more stylistic oddity was possible for a fourth century author. They were restrained to some extent by their policy of printing the manuscript reading at those places (which are indicated in the apparatus) where only Rattenbury or only Lumb wished to emend. Furthermore, although both the Budé editors (vol. I pLXI) and Colonna accept that departures from 'pure' Greek usage should be expected in Heliodoros, both made judgements based on their own rather impressionistic ideas about the extent of the departures from pure Greek to be expected. (Koraes, on the other hand, knew 'late' Greek, and could compare Heliodoros directly with fourth century contemporaries, and did not compare his Greek with pure Attic.)

M. Gronewald *ZPE* 34 (1979) 19-21. The only implications for the text appear to be 1. to support the conjecture of Koraes, τὸ μὲν, at VIII 17.4.3; 2. to supply the variant ἄκρωτον for μεγίστην at VIII 17.4.2, a variant which has a Heliodorean ring. The complete lack of papyri of Heliodoros is not surprising if the *Aithiopika* was composed in the late fourth century.

⁷ A point which the Budé editors accept in the introduction to their vol.III, pV.

An important bone of contention between Colonna and the Budé editors is the value of C.⁸ Colonna rightly regards this manuscript as ‘corrected’ by a scholar who removed many genuine readings where the Greek is unconventional, and argued that the Budé editors sometimes went wrong because they over-valued it, a charge which they partly accept in the introduction to their third volume.

There are two ways in which the procedures of the earlier editors can be improved. The first is to improve our knowledge of good Greek usage; in this we are assisted now by the availability of the electronic Thesaurus (TLG), which enables us for instance to demonstrate that the MSS reading at I 13.1 is good Attic, and that the ‘normalising’ emendation has no support either in Attic or in late Greek (v. the note below ad I 13.1 **πολίτην . . . ἀποφήνας**).

The second way in which the procedures of earlier editors can be improved is by attempting to define Heliodoros’ own linguistic habits. Where the text is suspect the attempt is sometimes circular, but in other cases it is possible to form a clearer idea of what to expect than the earlier editors had, partly with the help of the electronic Thesaurus. For instance it can be demonstrated that many words which editors regarded as *hapax legomena*, presumably relying on Dindorf’s Stephanus, are indeed *hapax legomena*, and there are enough such words to show that they are a feature of Heliodoros’ style: therefore it would be wrong to suspect a word because it is otherwise unattested. It is also possible to demonstrate that there are several words and usages not found before the fourth century: therefore there are no adequate grounds for suspecting any single reading simply because it is inconsistent with pre-fourth century usage. On the other hand there are no usages in the manuscripts which (with the exception of Heliodoros) are restricted to a documentary context; and there are no semitisms: therefore any defence of a suspect manuscript reading on the grounds that it may represent a colloquial or local usage not attested in other literary texts (which is perhaps the kind of defence which Colonna sometimes has in mind when he prints indefensible readings) must be treated with great caution.

⁸In spite of his low opinion of this manuscript, Colonna asserted that it preserves readings of the copy used by Maximus Confessor in his *Florilegium* (PG 91, 721-1018). In fact the attribution of the *Florilegium* to the seventh century Maximus, accepted by Colonna, is spurious. It is likely to date from the ninth or tenth century, but in the absence of a critical edition it is unclear whether the quotations from Heliodoros belong to the original, or a later, augmented version of this *Florilegium* (v. M. Richard 1962).

The question of how much consistency to expect in Heliodoros' use of Greek remains problematic; there are things in the Greek of Heliodoros which it is tempting to say are simply wrong, (e.g. οἱ φύντες = 'parents', when it normally means 'offspring': cp. J.R. Morgan (1978) ad IX 11.6, and S.A. Naber *Mnemosyne* N.S. I 1873 145-169; the gender of πρηστήρ: cp. note below on I 22.4 καταγίζοντες), although not nearly so many as Naber (ibid.) claims.

THE DATE AND IDENTITY OF HELIODOROS

Current estimates put the date of the *Aithiopika* between the third and the fourth centuries A.D..⁹ Some of the scholars who accept the fourth century date also accept the assertion of the earliest testimonia, that Heliodoros became a bishop. I will argue that the fourth century date is certainly right, and that within the fourth century the years 350-370 (as suggested by J.R. Morgan 1978) are the most likely. I will also argue from internal evidence that Heliodoros was certainly familiar with some Judaeo-Christian literature, and that he probably knew Latin.

The only external evidence for the date of Heliodoros are some testimonia in church historians; we have no papyri of the *Aithiopika*, and the fragment of parchment from the sixth century adds nothing to our knowledge of the date. The internal evidence may be divided into historical and linguistic evidence. The testimonia and the internal historical evidence have been thoroughly studied, and work on these areas is briefly reviewed in the first two sections of this chapter. The internal linguistic evidence has been less thoroughly discussed, and in the third section, which deals with this evidence, some new material is offered.

I. THE TESTIMONIA

A. The ancient and medieval testimonia on Heliodoros are collected in A. Colonna's 1938 edition of the text. There is a sensible discussion of them in the introductory epistle of ~~W.~~ Koraes (1804). The earliest mention of Heliodoros by an ancient author is made by the church historian Socrates, and this gives us our only really firm *terminus ante quem* (Socrates seems to have died in the late fifth century). Koraes, like virtually all earlier scholars, accepts the statement by Socrates, that Heliodoros, Bishop of Trikke in Thessaly in the late fourth century,¹⁰ was the author of the *Aithiopika*.¹¹ He rejects the

⁹E. Feuillâtre (1966 p147) places the *Aithiopika* in the time of Hadrian. He writes 'Nous croyons en effet qu' Héliodore a écrit son roman pour illustrer, grâce à une fiction édifiante, la veracité de l'oracle, le prestige de Delphes comme centre religieux ou intellectuel, la mission civilisatrice échue à la cité d'Apollon. C'était le temps où Hérode Atticus en même temps que l'empereur continuait à rendre à Delphes une partie de sa gloire.' His arguments concerning the date can be safely ignored.

¹⁰Socrates' statement is in his book V, which covers the reign of Theodosios. Therefore it is implicit, but not certain that Socrates thought that Heliodoros was bishop during the reign of Theodosios.

¹¹Socrates *Ecclesiastical History* V 22 (PG 67,63) ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἔθνους ἀρχηγὸς Ἡλιόδωρος Τρίκκης τῆς ἐκεῖ γενομένου ἐπίσκοπος, οὗ λέγεται πονήματα ἐρωτικὰ βιβλία ἃ νέος ὢν συνέταξε καὶ Αἰθιοπικὰ προσηγόρευσε. The context is that Heliodoros is alleged to have introduced celibacy for the priesthood in Thessaly.

additional information of the later testimonia as erroneous. Koraes largely defined the *communis opinio* of the nineteenth century.¹²

The late nineteenth and the twentieth century tradition of placing Heliodoros in the third century has its origins with E. Rohde. Rohde (1914) 460(432)-473(444) spent thirteen pages refuting the view of Koraes that Heliodoros was Christian, and arguing that his theology was rather Neo-Pythagorean. From these pages one can get the impression that Rohde thought that Heliodoros is not bad enough to justify us damning him as a fourth century writer and a Christian. He takes the fact that Heliodoros shows familiarity with Philostratos *Life of Apollonios of Tyana* as a *terminus post quem*; he regards Heliodoros as a heliolater and an admirer of Apollonios of Tyana, and believes (496(466)-498(467)) that these proclivities point to a date in the reign of Aurelian.

It does not seem useful to dwell on the debate about whether Heliodoros became a bishop; there is not enough solid evidence to go further than S. Goldhill (1995 121), who quotes the argument of J.R. Morgan (*TAPA* 1989 p320), that the *Aithiopika* 'has elevated love to the status of a sacrament', and comments that 'this makes understandable the identification that ancient writers made: that Heliodoros was a Christian bishop.' Koraes probably over-emphasized any Christian element in Heliodoros, and Rohde was to some extent right to detect elements in the religiosity of Heliodoros which can be found in third century paganism. On the other hand Koraes appears to be familiar with Greek patristic writing; Rohde, by contrast, demonstrates little knowledge of Christianity,¹³ and an attempt is made below to demonstrate¹⁴ that Koraes' claim to find typically Christian words and phrases in the *Aithiopika* is not as groundless as Rohde believed.

Many twentieth century scholars have accepted a third century dating; before the debate about the possible historical sources for the siege of Syene in book IX they accepted it on the basis of the arguments put forward by Rohde, and subsequently, on the basis of the argument that Julian's account of the siege of Nisibis, historically inaccurate, was modelled on the siege of Syene in Heliodoros IX, rather than the other way about.¹⁵

¹²Represented, for instance, by A. Chassang (1862 p415) in his monograph on the ancient novel.

¹³Rohde's attitude to Christianity may be studied in the final chapter, entitled 'Das Ende', of E. Rohde (1925) vol.II 396(683)-404(691).

¹⁴Below, in section III 'The Linguistic Evidence', p16.

¹⁵Recent scholars to accept a third century date include E.L. Bowie (1985) 136, 249-250; and R. Lane Fox (1986) p137-138 with n52.

II. THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

As far as Koraes and Rohde were concerned the only internal evidence for the date of the *Aithiopika* were details of language and thought, particularly religious or philosophical thought. M. van der Valk (*Mnemosyne* 9, 1941 97-100) introduced a new piece of evidence when he argued that the siege of Syene in Heliodoros IX is based on the allusions to the siege of Nisibis of 350 by Julian (*Or.* I 22-23; III 11-12). The ensuing debate is summarised and examined in detail by J.R. Morgan (1978) ii-xxviii. This is the best discussion of the issue; Morgan concludes that neither Julian nor Heliodoros imitates the other, but that they shared a common source; and that the *Aithiopika* was composed after, and probably within twenty years of, the siege of Nisibis of 350 A.D.

For present purposes a brief overview of the literature on this topic will suffice.

R. Keydell *Polychronion: Festschrift F. Dölger* Heidelberg 1950 245-250 argues that the siege of Syene is unnecessary to the plot of the *Aithiopika*, and that its inclusion requires some other explanation. Keydell supposes that Heliodoros included it after being impressed by the accounts of the siege of Nisibis by Julian.¹⁶ He also argues that the key rôle of the sun god in the *Aithiopika* is no less consistent with a fourth than a third century date; and that the Ethiopians' rejection of their πάτριον of human sacrifice at the end of the novel, and the Gymnosophists' rejection of all sacrifice, amounts to a recommendation of Christian worship.

A. Colonna *Athenaeum* 28 (1950) 79-87 draws attention to the similarities between the description of cataphracts in Heliodoros and the descriptions of them by Julian (*Or.* I 30, III 7), and emphasizes the verbal similarities between the description of the siege of Syene in the *Aithiopika* and Julian's descriptions of the siege of Nisibis. He argues that while the version of the siege of Nisibis in Theodoret (*Eccl. Hist.* II 30, followed by Zonaras XIII 7.1ff, vol. III ed. Dindorf) is reliable, Julian's rather different version is supported by Ephraem and the *Chronicon Paschale*, and is too historically accurate to be influenced by fiction. He also draws attention to the testimony of the ninth century Theodosios Melitenus that Heliodoros was bishop of Trikkha in the reign of Theodosios, and, identifying him as Theodosios I (379-395), notes that the date

¹⁶This point is emphasized by J.R. Morgan 1978. The implication of Keydell's argument is that the imagination of Heliodoros was fired by reading of the siege in Julian, giving the date of publication of Julian's *Orations* as a *terminus post quem*; whereas Morgan, suggesting that Julian and Heliodoros had a common source, makes the siege of Nisibis itself the *terminus post quem*.

harmonizes with the idea that the *Aithiopika* was composed after the publication of Julian's orations.¹⁷

J. Schwarz *AC* 36 (1967) 549-552 accepts the case made by van der Valk. He also draws attention to apparent imitations of the *Aithiopika* in the *Historia Augusta* which, he argues, suggests that these works were close to one another in date.

C. Lacombrade *RÉG* 83 (1970) 70-89 argues in favour of accepting that Heliodoros was Bishop of Trikke in the second half of the fourth century. He cites some linguistic evidence (v. p16 below); he also argues that Neo-Pythagorean elements in the world view of the *Aithiopika* are as consistent with a fourth as a third century date; and that the exclusion of pederasty from the novel, and an emphasis on virginity and on the sacredness of marriage reflect a fourth century concern for purity. He regards the view that Heliodoros depended on Julian for his description of cataphracts, and of the siege of Syene as the only reasonable one; and is inclined to accept the testimony of Nikephoros Kallistos as well as that of Socrates.

T. Szepessy *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24 (1976) 247-276 accepted that there is a close link between Julian's account of the siege of Nisibis and Heliodoros' siege of Syene. He argued that Heliodoros is likely to be an early third century writer, and was the first to suggest that Julian imitated him. In his view the evidence of Theodoret, St. Ephraem and the *Chronikon Paschale* show that the construction of a bank around the walls of Syene and the formation of a lake upon which boats could sail had no part in the historical siege. He concludes that Julian imitated these details from Heliodoros.

E. Feuillâtre (1966) was not alone in seeking evidence other than that produced by an examination of the relations between the siege of Syene and Julian's accounts of the siege of Nisibis to determine the date of the *Aithiopika*.¹⁸ A.M. Saracella *Maia* 24 (1972) 8-41, in an article arguing that the *Aithiopika*, with its frequent lamentation, and the pessimistic opinions which Heliodoros is said to display, reflects the turbulence of the times in which it was written, favours a date at the end of the of third century.¹⁹ G. Anderson (1984 p91) in a book

¹⁷Theodosios Melitenos is not necessarily an independent witness: the Theodosian date could be seen as implicit in Socrates' testimony: v. n10.

¹⁸cf. n9.

¹⁹A.M. Saracella's tentative arguments about the date are tucked away in a footnote, p10 n6, which is perhaps surprising in an article which endeavours to relate the *Aithiopika* to the conditions of the age in which it was written. G.N. Sandy *CW* 67 (1974) 348 missed these arguments, stating that Saracella favours a fourth century date. They are: 1. The respect with which Hydaspes is described reflects the theocratic monarchy founded by Diocletian in 293; 2. The elevation of Helios-Apollo is linked to Diocletian's persecution of Manichaeans and

whose thesis is that much of the narrative material in the Greek and Roman novels is derived from Near-Eastern traditions of folk-tale and legend, draws attention to an eighth century B.C. inscription from Syria relating the siege of Hatarikka, and implies that Heliodoros could have known about a siege of this type regardless of whether he knew about the siege of Nisibis: "We must abandon any reasonable hope of establishing a contemporary allusion for a technique so long established and memorable."²⁰

C.S. Lightfoot *Historia* 37 (1988) 105-125, in a fine and detailed study of the historical siege of Nisibis, concludes that Julian's accounts contain a mixture of factual information (in particular, that the city walls were breached by a torrent of water released against them), and of fiction (in particular the idea that a dyke erected around the city produced a lake upon which ships could sail²¹). Lightfoot assumes that Julian imitated the fictional components of his account from Heliodoros, and provides perhaps the strongest argument on the side of those who believe that Julian imitated Heliodoros. Of course, even with Lightfoot's view of the evidence, it remains possible that the fictional elements in Julian's account were invented by himself and imitated by Heliodoros, or derived from a source (not necessarily an historical account of the third siege of Nisibis) which he shared with Heliodoros. The links between Heliodoros' siege of Syene and what Lightfoot regards as the *factual* elements in the sources for the siege of Nisibis are slight: the diversion of a river, and the collapse of part of the city walls under the weight of water. However, against those who would use Lightfoot's arguments to support a third century date for Heliodoros, the argument that contemporary public interest in the siege of Nisibis is required to explain why Heliodoros included the siege of Syene in the *Aithiopika*, an incident not essential to the plot, retains its validity.

P. Chuvin (1991), in an appendix on the date of the *Aithiopika* (320-325), accepts the fourth century date. He points out that as a Syrian Heliodoros was well placed to know about the siege of Nisibis, reviews the debate about the date, and draws attention to Themistios *Disc.* II 36, (a discussion of kingship which seems barely relevant to the date of the *Aithiopika*). He notes that Syriac *tlī*, if it can mean *tumuli*, can also mean πρόχωμα. On an apparent discrepancy between the account of Julian and Heliodoros' Siege of Syene, and

Christians; 3. The rigorous morality demanded by that emperor explains the chasteness of the conclusion of the *Aithiopika*; 4. Defenders of Greek culture appeared in the third century but declined in the fourth; 5. The decline of the middle class in the third century created a bipartite society such as we find in the *Aithiopika*.

²⁰The inscription in question can be found at ANET³. It is far from certain that it refers to a siege which was prosecuted by *inundation*.

²¹This is the key feature of the accounts of Julian and Heliodoros which makes M. Maróth *Acta Antiqua Hungarica* 27 (1979) 239-243 conclude that they are based on a siege other than the siege of Nisibis referred to by Theodoret, Ephraem and his biographers.

the other accounts of the siege of Nisibis, he writes, speculatively, “Enfin, si aucun historien ne parle du transport des machines de guerre par bateaux, la plupart mentionnent néanmoins l’abondance de ces machines et Chapour a bien dû les mettre sur des pontons, au moins pour les approcher des murailles.” He regards Heliodoros, Julian and Ephraem all as well informed about the siege of Nisibis.

G.W. Bowersock²² (1994), having discussed some of the previous contributions to the discussion of the date of Heliodoros, describes T. Szepessy’s interpretation of Ephraem as ‘simply wrong’. Szepessy objected that the *tumuli* in Ephraem’s account of the siege of Nisibis could not be compared with the earthworks which surrounded Syene. Bowersock asserts that Szepessy was misled by the Latin translation of Ephraem which he used, stating of the word there translated *tumuli*, “The Syriac plural *talāla* matches precisely the use of *χώματα* to describe the earthworks in Heliodorus (9.3), and *χώματα* is similarly the word used in two places by Julian in his account of the siege of Nisibis.”²³ Bowersock then points out that the embassies to Hydaspes in Heliodoros X appear to be echoed in the *Historia Augusta*: *Aurelian* 33 includes Blemmyes, Exomitaes (Aksumites) and giraffes; *Aurelian* 44 includes Blemmyes, Exomitaes and Seres (Chinese). He argues that because the Chinese would not historically have visited Ethiopia Heliodoros and the HA are interdependent. He also suggests that the presence of cataphracts in both the *Aithiopika* and the HA²⁴ reflects a general interest in this type of armour among late fourth century writers; and concludes that the HA imitated Heliodoros.

²²In G.W. Bowersock (1994) Appendix B, ‘The *Aethiopika* of Heliodorus’ 149-160.

²³G.W. Bowersock (1994) p155. Unfortunately Bowersock does not support his assertion: C.S. Lightfoot *Historia* 37 (1988) 105-125 accepts *tumuli* as the proper translation of the Syriac *tl̄l̄*.

²⁴*Historia Augusta Sev.* 56.5; *Aur.* 34.4.

III. THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

Several scholars have argued that the way in which Heliodoros wrote Greek points to a fourth century date for the composition of the *Aithiopika*. D. A. Koraes (1804), although he did not claim that the language of Heliodoros is specifically fourth century, does claim that it supports the view that he was Bishop of Trikkia,²⁵ which implies a fourth or fifth century date.

A. Wifstrand (*Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1944-1945 69-109) adduces a handful of linguistic arguments which he asserts point to a later rather than an earlier date for Heliodoros. These are, in brief: that the periodic style with many participle constructions is typical of fourth century writers such as Julian, Themistios, Basil; that ἡ ἐνεγκοῦσα for πατρίς, λοιπόν for ἤδη, εἰς for ὥς (preposition with accusative), and an article placed between attributive adjective and noun, are late usages; that abstract nouns with possessive pronouns are a 4th - 7th century usage; and that constructions like ἀλλ' ὁμοίως παῖς, γυνή καὶ πρεσβύτης ἔργου εἶχετο (IX 3.8) become commoner in later Greek. R.M. Rattenbury *CR* 60 (1946) 110-111 replies simply that this evidence is not conclusive.

M.P. Nilsson (1974) 565-567 [542-544] accepts Wifstrand's arguments, and confines himself to religious points. He asserts that various religious features of the *Aithiopika*, which he enumerates, are more typical of the fourth than the third century. He adds three verbal usages which he asserts point to the later date: οἱ κρεῖττονες / τὸ κρεῖττον for divinities; δύναμις for magical power; and ἀντίθεος for a spirit which hinders magic.

C. Lacombrade *REG* 83 (1970) 70-89, as well as mentioning τὸ κρεῖττον, notes as late usages some terms for virginity (ἀκήρατος, ἀδιάφθορος, ἄχραντος).²⁶

²⁵I quote from his introductory epistle, vol. I p24-25 (my translation): "Those who do not believe that the author of the *Aithiopika* was a Christian are very irrational. Even if we lacked the testimonies of Socrates, Photios and Nikephoros, a careful reading of the text is enough to persuade us of the author's religion. Words and phrases from the ecclesiastical books of the Christians, hinting at Christian history and customs, are so scattered in different parts of the work that it is difficult to doubt that the author was a Christian."

²⁶These three words occur once in Heliodoros, all together in II 35.5. As an argument for a late date their use here carries little weight. They are certainly used often by fourth century, especially Christian, writers, both with reference to chastity and in other contexts. This may be because late and Christian writers wrote more about chastity than earlier writers, but their use for virginity or chastity is not exclusively a late development, as is shown by the following references for their use in these senses by earlier writers. The list is complete up to the end of the third century AD: ἄχραντος, Achilles Tatios VIII 17.4; Xenophon of Ephesos II 13.8, IV 3.3; Ps-Lucian *Amores* 22.2 (of avoiding homosexuality); Oppian *Kynegetika* I 238; Josephos *Bell. Jud.* V 381; Clemens Alexandrinus *Stromata* III 12.82.5; Origen *Scholia*

J.R. Morgan (1978) frequently identifies words or uses of words which appear to support a fourth century date. He treats this evidence with great caution. The possibility of using the electronic thesaurus to make more or less exhaustive checks of attestations of words in extant literature allows us to reject some of these examples, but to use others with much greater confidence.

The evidence which can be gathered using the electronic thesaurus shows that some of these linguistic points from the *Aithiopika* do indicate a date not before the fourth century. There are many other such points in the text. In this section I collect some points which seem to indicate a fourth century date. I then collect some usages which are wholly or largely confined to Jewish or Christian writing, and these, taken together, strongly suggest that Heliodoros was familiar with Jewish and Christian texts. I also collect a few usages which suggest that Heliodoros knew Latin. These three collections of linguistic points are made on the assumption that no single point is decisive on its own, but that cumulatively they carry great weight.²⁷

The catalogues of expressions indicating a fourth century date, and indicating a familiarity with Christian literature include only those examples where the statistical evidence is most compelling.²⁸ There are probably other expressions which could be adduced, even from the books I have examined, particularly in the case of phrases, which are more difficult to check than individual words. There are certainly words not included in the catalogues for which the statistics

in *Apocalypsem* ed. C. Diobouniotis et al. 33; *Orac. Sib.* ed. J. Geffcken (Gr. Christ. Schrift.) VIII 429 (?meaning: text corrupt), 461; Cornutus (referring to Artemis) Teubner 73.19; ἁδιόφθορος, Chrysippos, quoted in Gellius *NA* XIV 4; Ailian *VH* XII 1.1.97; Plutarch *Art.* 26.9; id. *Ad principem ineruditum* 781 b 6; Clemens *Stromata* IV 25.161.1; Athenagoras *Legatio* 32.2; Diodoros I 59.3 (=Hecataeos, Jacoby IIIa F25.729); ἀκήρατος, Plato *Leges* 840 d 2; Xenophon *Hiero* 3.5; Plutarch *Numa* 9.5; Clemens Alexandrinus *Paedagogus* I 6.42.1; this sense is perhaps implicit in Euripides *Hippolytos* 73, 76, in the opening speech of Hippolytos.

²⁷For this survey I have examined only books I and II. The points collected from books IX and X are mainly the result of following up suggestions in J.R. Morgan (1978). In the books not covered by Morgan's work or my own there are probably many similar linguistic points which could have been included, and which would have added to the weight of evidence without changing its general import. A slightly different approach to using vocabulary to study the dating of Chariton is adopted by C. Ruiz-Montero *CQ* 61 (1991) 484-489. She examines the overlap between his vocabulary, and the vocabularies of Diodorus Siculus, Philo, Josephos, Dio Chrysostom, and Plutarch (concluding that a greater coincidence between Chariton and the latter two points to a date for Chariton closer to their time). Where a text offers the right kind of evidence, a survey of the present kind points to more secure conclusions because it utilizes almost all extant Greek texts for comparison.

²⁸Where there are ten or more attestations, I have in general included only words where less than ten per cent of the attestations are earlier than fourth century (for the first catalogue), or are not Jewish or Christian (for the second catalogue).

point to a late date or a familiarity with Christian literature, or both, but less decisively than is the case for the expressions included.

1. Linguistic usages which indicate a date not before the fourth century.

In this section expressions found in Heliodoros which are rarely or never found in texts securely datable before the fourth century are collected. The supporting evidence is in some cases presented as a complete list of those attestations which are found in texts earlier than the fourth century, or where it is not too cumbersome, a complete lists of attestations which includes the fourth, and sometimes later centuries.²⁹ For the sake of completeness these lists include attestations found in texts which cannot be securely dated, or which may have been subject to later revision (in particular, texts of lexicographers and medical writers). When assessing the weight of evidence that a particular expression points to a late date for the text in which it occurs, in order to avoid circularity only those attestations found in securely datable texts should be taken into account.

For a discussions of the implications of the following for the dating of the text the reader should refer to the commentary ad loc.: I 8.4 τὸ κρείττον; two phrases in I 14.1, ἡ ἐνεγκοῦσα, meaning 'mother country'; also in I 14.1 the phrase εἰς τὸ διηνεκές; in I 15.8 the compound ἐναπομείνειεν; I 16.5 σμύχω used of emotion; the phrase at I 17.3, ἐκ γειτόνων; and at I 24.4 the use of ἔνθεσμος in connection with marriage. These are the most compelling linguistic usages in book I which indicate that the text was not composed before the fourth century. Such usages in other books include the following.

✓ ^{Heliodoros II 30.4} ~~ἀνίκανός~~: there are twelve attestations of this word and its cognates (not including one each in Hesychios and the Suda); apart from Heliodoros, only one of these precedes the fourth century.³⁰

βαρύτιμος: only one author other than Heliodoros uses the adjective βαρύτιμος to describe a person who sells goods at a high price: Heliodoros has the phrase μὴ βαρύτιμον εἶναι in this sense at II 30.2; the phrase μὴ βαρύτιμος ἔσο occurs twice, with the same sense, in the writings of Basil of

²⁹The lists of attestations are based mainly on searches of the version of TLG or the TLG index, or both, current in 1995. Although there were still gaps in the TLG's coverage of Greek literature, the coverage up to the end of the fourth century A.D., which is the significant period for present purposes, was largely complete.

³⁰ἀνίκανός is found at Epictetos *Diss. ab Arriano digestae* IV 1.106. The other, later attestations are: in Scholia on Euripides; Scholia on Oppian; A scribal note ad Babrius 92 (recorded in the edition of Crusius); three times in Epiphanius; cognate nouns and an adverb are attested in John Chrysostom; Epiphanius; Sophonias; and the *Concilia Oecumenica*.

Caesarea.³¹ Incidentally, the thirty occurrences of the word, which is normally applied to goods such as precious stones, are all in Christian writers,³² except one occurrence each in Heliodoros, Aischylos and Strabo.

βυθισμός: this noun, derived from βυθίζω, and used by Heliodoros at IX 8.6, is first attested in the fourth century.³³

ἐκτετόρευται: The compound, used by Heliodoros at II 11.4, is otherwise limited to the fourth century.³⁴

μουσουργία: This word, used by Heliodoros at II 24.3, is not otherwise found before the fourth century.³⁵

πυρακτουμένη: Heliodoros applies this to Arsinoe, who is described as ζήλω πυρακτουμένη at II 9.1. The use of the verb, applied to a person undergoing mental suffering, is perhaps transferred from its common application to heated weapons, which inflict suffering. In any case, a search of TLG up to the fifth century yields only two other references where the verb is applied to persons, and they both belong to the fourth century.³⁶

ρύσκομαι: used by Heliodoros at II 19.6, the verb does not seem to be attested before the fourth century.³⁷

³¹Basil PG 32.1168; *Homélies sur la richesse* ed. Y. Courtonne 3.30.

³²The authors in which the word is attested are: Aischylos, a Scholium to Aischylos, Strabo, New Testament, Clement of Rome, Heliodoros, Basil, John Chrysostom, Theodoret, Eusebios, John Damascene, Theophylaktos, The Suda.

³³There are two other attestations before the Byzantine period: Didymos the Blind *Fragmenta in Psalmos* ed. Mühlenberg 746 (ad Ps. 70.21); Gregorios of Nyssea in *Opera* ed. J. McDonough vol. V 143 c9.

³⁴Apart from a Byzantine reference (Anna Coména *Alexias* iii 3.4) the other occurrences found in a search of TLG are John Chrysostom PG 62.228, 578; and Greg. Nyss. *Comment. in cantic. canticorum* in *Opera* ed. H. Langerbeck vol. vi 411.12.

³⁵However, μουσουργίη occurs twice in Lucian. The authors in which μουσουργία occurs (according to search of the TLG index) are Greg. Nyss., Scholia in Theoc., Constantius VII Porphyrogenitus, Vettius Valens, Aristides Quintilianus (date uncertain; 3/4 AD?), Theophylactos Simocatta, Eustathios.

³⁶John Chrysostom PG 60.739; Greg. Nyss. *Comment. in cantic. canticorum* in *Opera* ed. H. Langerbeck vol. VI 287.11.

³⁷The other attestations are: Oribasios *V libri ad Eunapium* IV 6.6; Proklos *In Plat. rem pub.* ed. W. Kroll II 31.27; Simplicios, in *Comm. in Aristot. Gr.* IX 722.30; Euteknios (date unknown) *Paraphrase of Nikander* ed. I. Gualandri 36.29; Sophonias, once; John Philoponus, ten times; Eustathios, seven times.

There are some words and usages attested first in Heliodoros. These never become common in literary Greek, and their value as evidence for a late date is difficult to weigh. This is true of ζωστήρ in the sense of wales of a boat.³⁸ The compound κατερυθρίαω (Heliodoros X 18.3) is not otherwise found before the fifth century.³⁹ βλακεύω usually means ‘to be idle’ or ‘to be stupid’ but in Heliodoros it seems to mean ‘to live in luxury’. This is recognized as a possible meaning in the Suda, but there are only three other attestations of the verb where it fits.⁴⁰

2. Linguistic usages which show that Heliodoros was familiar with Jewish and Christian texts.

There is a significant number of usages and phrases in the Greek of Heliodoros which are common in Jewish and Christian writers, but never, or almost never found in other writers. Once again, no usage on its own is sufficient to allow us to draw any conclusion, but the accumulation of typically Jewish and Christian usages is telling. In some cases the words in question can have a technical or quasi-technical religious or theological sense, but very often they do not, yet their relatively greater frequency in Philo and in Christian writers is statistically significant,⁴¹ and requires explanation. The explanation proposed

³⁸ ζωστήρ is discussed in my commentary on I 1.2 (p82 below).

³⁹ J.R. Morgan (1978) points this out in his commentary ad loc. (and a search of TLG confirms it); Morgan gives the following references: Cyril of Alexandria *Hosea* 164a = Pusey I 236; *Amos* 303d = Pusey I 464.

⁴⁰ Again J.R. Morgan (1978) ad loc. points out that this sense is late. A search of the Duke databank suggests that the verb is never attested in documentary texts. I have examined all the attestations produced by a search of TLG; apart from Heliodoros X 31.4, the only ones which require the sense ‘to live luxuriously’ are Prokopios *De bellis* 8.12.8; *Secret History* 9.15; and probably Damaskios *Life of Isidoros* (ap. Photios) 50.

⁴¹ Statistical note: There are several words and usages noted in this section which are predominantly found in Christian or Jewish writers, or both, whether one compares Christian with pagan writing of the fourth century alone, or whether one compares Jewish and Christian writing with pagan writing for the whole Roman period, or for all Greek literature up to the end of the fourth century. It might be objected that more frequent attestation of a word in Christian writing reflects the greater overall bulk of Christian writing. Therefore it is necessary to quantify the relative bulk of Jewish, Christian and of pagan literature which is recorded on the TLG and from which the lists of attestations are drawn.

The relative bulk of pagan, Jewish and Christian writing has been calculated for the first, second, third and fourth centuries, relying, except where otherwise stated, on the dates and word counts given in the *TLG Canon*. The word counts in the *Canon* are for individual works, rather than the authors’ entire output; to arrive at a figure for an author’s whole output the figures for individual works have been added together, including works listed as doubtful but not those listed as spurious. Obviously the division into centuries is only approximate, and doubts about date and authorship of certain works mean that the figures can only be approximate. In order to make the calculation less cumbersome authors represented on the TLG by a total of less than 1,000 words have been ignored. A further source of inaccuracies is that earlier work sometimes appears quoted in later authors or in

ancient anthologies; and where quotations are from works no longer extant they are often included in one or more modern collections of fragments; therefore some material is recorded on the TLG more than once, sometimes under different dates. It is difficult to assess the extent of this type of inaccuracy, but it does not seem likely to be great enough to distort the figures for the relative bulk of pagan, Jewish and Christian writing by more than about 10%.

Table of word counts

Pagan		Jewish		Christian	
1st Century					
Plutarch	986,999	Josephos	491,291	N.T. (listed here as 1st cent. for convenience)	145,898
Arrian	118,736	Philo (listed in <i>TLG Canon</i> as 1 B.C. -A.D. 1)	460,627	Ep. of Barnabus Ignatius	7,057 28,230
Dio Chrysostom	184,008	Others (mainly apocalyptic)	c.5,000	Clement of Rome	95,214
Chariton (listed in <i>TLG Canon</i> as 2nd Century)	35,523			Others	c.5,000
Xen. of Ephesus (listed in <i>TLG Canon</i> as 2nd. Century)	17,197				
Others	<u>1,121,538</u>				
TOTAL	2,464,001		<u>956,918</u>		<u>281,399</u>
2nd Century					
Galen	2,608,974	Joseph & Asanath	8,641	Origen	1,145,311
Ps-Galen (date?)	178,917	Others	4,195	Clement of Alexandria	275,966
Ptolemy	419,992			Justin Martyr	168,239
Athenaios	288,522			Sibylline Oracles (Judeo-Christian)	29,475
Lucian	286,537			Others	143,849
Ailios Aristides	331,693				
Cassios Dio	451,079				
Pausanias	224,602				
Sextus Empiricus	209,334				
Achilles Tatios	43,440				
Longos	20,929				
Others	<u>2,282,054</u>				
TOTAL	7,345,073		<u>12,836</u>		<u>1,762,840</u>
3rd Century					
Plotinos	216,398	Apocalyptic and Hagiography	c.5,000	Hippolytos	168,329
Porphyry	345,744			Acts of Thomas	36,833
Others	265,452			Other Hagiography & Apocalyptic	c.10,000
				Other Christian	<u>9,302</u>
TOTAL	<u>827,594</u>		<u>c.5,000</u>		<u>224,464</u>

here is that the writers who used them shared a body of texts which they read, but which were little read by other, 'pagan' writers. In most cases the usages in question are first attested in the Greek versions of the Old Testament or in the New Testament, and this is probably how they entered the tradition of Jewish and Christian literature in Greek.

Even where Heliodoros uses a word which could have a technical significance in Christian writing, such as εὐαγγελίζομαι, his use of it does not seem to reflect that technical significance in any way: the impression the reader gets is that he is not selecting 'Christian' vocabulary deliberately, but that for him this vocabulary is an ordinary part of the literary Greek which he writes. We are forced to conclude that Heliodoros had read some Jewish and Christian literature. We are also forced to conclude either that his reading was unusual for a non-Christian writer, and that most other non-Christian writers had not read such literature, or that if other writers had read such literature, Heliodoros differed from them in being less careful than they were to exclude linguistic usages found in such literature from his own Greek. Of course, it could be

4th Century

Oribasios	536,335	Hagiography	24,266	John Chrysostom
Libanios	537,650			Basil
Themistios	355,523			Theodoret
Julian	109,661			Eusebios
Hephaistion Astrol.	163,055			Gregorios Nyssenos
Himerios	43,390			Greg. Nazianzenos
Quintos Smyrnaios	62,202			Athanasios
Theodosios Gramm.	57,533			Didymos the Blind
Mathematicians:				Synesios
Theon (Pagan?)	167,056			Epiphanius
Pappus (Pagan?)	203,422			Martyrology
Serenos (Pagan?)	32,945			Others
Others	<u>260,823</u>			
TOTAL	2,529,595		<u>24,266</u>	

The overall totals for all four centuries are: Pagan 13,166,263; Jewish 999,020; Christian 13,861,030, so about 47% of the literature is pagan. In the most general terms, for a word whose popularity did not change through the centuries, we may assume that where significantly less than 47% of attestations are in pagan writers that word was more favoured by Jewish or Christian writers than by pagan writers; for a word whose popularity varied through the centuries, and for which we must examine the evidence of one century in isolation we may assume that where significantly less than 18% of fourth century attestations are from pagan writers, that word was more favoured by Jewish and Christian writers than by pagan writers of the fourth century. In practice, for present purposes I have adduced only words which are *almost never* found in pagan writers. Many of the words in question appear first in the Septuagint; including the apocryphal books this has a word count of 622,931.

argued that Heliodoros had read only very few Jewish or Christian texts,⁴² and that his reading does not therefore reflect any exceptional interest in such texts for a pagan writer. However, it seems likely that Christian texts had formed a more or less substantial part of the reading of Heliodoros, though at what stage in his education he read them, under what circumstances, and with what objectives and response, we can only guess.

The following usages, discussed in the commentary ad loc., not only point to a fourth century date, also seem to be typically Christian. I 14.4 εἰς τὸ διηνεκές; I 15.8 the compound ἐναπομείνειεν; I 16.5 σμύχω used of emotion; I 24.4 ἐνθεσμος used in connection with marriage. There are many other typically Christian usages in the *Aithiopika*, of which some are listed below.

ἀντίθεος is used by Heliodoros IV 7.13 not in the Homeric sense of ‘godlike’, but to mean ‘a spirit opposed to god’. Used adjectivally in the sense ‘opposed to god’ the word is restricted to Christian authors (some of whom also use it in the Homeric sense). The use of the word as a noun is almost confined to Christian writers. There are at least 80 attestations of the word in the negative sense, although it is not always easy to distinguish the adjectival from the substantive use.⁴³ In the only pagan text in which the word has a negative sense⁴⁴ ἀντίθεος is used much as it is by Heliodoros: Iamblichos *De mysteriis* III 31: πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν εἰσκρίνοντα, οὓς δὲ καὶ καλοῦσιν ἀντιθέους.

βέβηλος Heliodoros II 12.2, V 5.2, VI 14.7; βεβηλώω Heliodoros II 25.3, X 36.3: the adjective is found predominantly in the Septuagint and Christian writers, the verb almost exclusively so.⁴⁵

ἐμπεριπατέω, Heliodoros II 32.1: this verb is found predominantly in Jewish and Christian texts.⁴⁶

⁴² As far as I know, the only Christian or Jewish text for which a verbal echo in the *Aithiopika* provides incontrovertible evidence that Heliodoros was familiar with it is Philo *Life of Moses*: G. Lumbroso *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 4 (1907) 66, draws attention to a close parallel between the statement that the Egyptians regard the Nile as a god in Philo *Life of Moses* II 195 (III 24 in the edition used by Lumbroso) and the same statement in Heliodoros IX 9.3.

⁴³ A search of TLG produced attestations in the sense of ‘opposed to god’ in Athanasios, Athenagoras Apol., Epiphanius, Ignatius, Irenaeus, Romanus Melodus, Didymos the Blind, John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea.

⁴⁴ With the exception of Hesychios s.v. παλαμναῖος (if that is a pagan text).

⁴⁵ Of over 330 attestations of the verb, four are in lexicographers and one in a scholium. There are seventy-seven in the Septuagint and two in Philo. All the rest are in Christian writers apart from Julian *Or.* VII 22; and Julian, after all, had a Christian education, and shows familiarity with Judaeo-Christian scripture in his *Contra Galilaeos*.

ἐνανθρωπέω Heliodoros II 31.1: the verb is otherwise attested about 800 times. It is not found in the New Testament or the Septuagint; nonetheless, the other attestations are without exception in Christian writers, of whom over 30 use the word as a theological term meaning ‘to be incarnate’.⁴⁷

ἐνευφραινέσθαι Heliodoros X 18.3: this compound is otherwise attested only in Jewish and Christian writing.⁴⁸ It occurs once in the Septuagint (*Pr.* 8.31), where, as elsewhere, it means ‘to take pleasure in, to enjoy’. The normal construction, followed by Heliodoros, is with the dative, but in the Septuagint, and occasionally elsewhere⁴⁹ it is constructed with ἐν + dative.

ἐπιφορτίζω: Heliodoros has two of the 35 attestations of the verb ἐπιφορτίζω at II 25.2 and VIII 9.14; all or almost all the rest are in Christian writers.⁵⁰

εὐαγγελίζομαι is used eight times by Heliodoros,⁵¹ and εὐαγγέλιον three times.⁵² The verb in particular is largely restricted to Jewish and Christian writers: the TLG index reports over 1,400 attestations, of which 52 are in the New Testament, and of which only 22 are not certainly Jewish or Christian;⁵³ no other pagan writer uses it as often as Heliodoros does.

⁴⁶ The verb occurs seven times in LXX, fourteen in Philo and once in Josephos. It occurs once in the New Testament; the rest of the 186 attestations are spread throughout over 25 Christian writers, with the exception of Achilles Tatios I 6.6, three occurrences in Plutarch, four in Lucian, one in Galen and one each in Hesychios and the Suda.

⁴⁷ There is one attestation in the Suda. The noun ἐνανθρώπησις is also attested about 800 times, exclusively in Christian texts; many references are given by Lampe.

⁴⁸ Philo, 10 times, including *De vita Mosis* II 211; Gregory of Nyssea TLG ref 032 6.214; Basil, 4 times, including PG 31.928; Origen *Comm. in Ev. Joannis* 1.9.55; Eusebios, 5 times; Didymos the Blind 4 times; and a handful of occurrences in later Christian texts.

⁴⁹ e.g. Eusebios *Comment. in Isiam* ed. J. Ziegler 1.71.59.

⁵⁰ The possible exceptions are, Galen ed. Kühn vol VIII 785.3; Kassios Iatrosophista Med. (date uncertain; 2-3 A.D.?); Xenophon of Ephesos V 2.2. Because the texts of lexicographers and medical writers have been subject to more or less constant revision, it is better to leave their evidence aside from the current study. Until the question of whether the text of Xenophon of Ephesos is an epitome (possibly of late date) has been settled, this too should probably not be regarded as furnishing a certain attestation of the word in a non-Christian author.

⁵¹ II 10.1; II 23.2; IV 15.1; V 22.3; V 30.3; VI 6.3; X 1.3; X 2.1.

⁵² I 14.3; I 14.4; X 3.1.

⁵³ εὐαγγελίζομαι is used by the following Jewish writers: LXX, 20 times; Philo, 12 times; Josephos, 9 times; *Joseph and Asenath*, once. It is used three times by Plutarch and by Lucian; twice each by Polyanos *Strategemata*, Dio Kassios, and Longos (II 33.1; IV 19.2); and once each by the following: The Suda; Iamblichos (*VP* II 12.15); Aristophanes; Menander Comic.; Chariton; Demosthenes; Lycurgos; Theophrastos *Char.*; Soranus med.; Herodian gramm.; Herennius Philo gramm.

εὐχαριστία: the pattern of distribution is similar for εὐχαριστία, used by Heliodoros at II 23.3. Of 997 attestations, 15 are in the New Testament; 77 are Jewish;⁵⁴ only 15 or so are in texts by writers who are not certainly Jewish or Christian.⁵⁵

θαυματουργήμα Heliodoros X 39.3; θαυματουργέω Heliodoros IX 5.5, 21.4; X 16.6: The noun is otherwise found exclusively in Philo and Christian writers.⁵⁶ The verb is attested about 300 times. Of these 300 attestations only three, besides those in Heliodoros are in pagan writers.⁵⁷

κενοδοξοῦντες Heliodoros IX 19.5: the words κenoδοξία and κenoδόξος are found predominantly in Jewish and Christian writers, the verb κenoδοξέω almost exclusively so.⁵⁸

μέρους μόνον ἢ μέλους: καὶ τραῦμα οὐ μέρους μόνον ἢ μέλους ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς αὐτῆς γέγονε Heliodoros VII 10.2 (cf. ὡς μέλους μὲν ὕμῶν τοῦ σώματος ἢ μέρους τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολωλότος Heliodoros X 4.2.) for the apparently pleonastic phrase, referring to parts of the body, A. Wifstrand (*Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1944-1945 69-109 p.102) draws attention to several passages in Philo. The hendiadys, with μέλος and μέρος in the same number and case, and usually joined by a conjunction is almost confined to Jewish and Christian writers: there are forty-three occurrences in Jewish and Christian writers up to the end of fourth century, and

⁵⁴LXX, 4 times; Philo, 68 times; Josephos, 5 times.

⁵⁵Setting aside as of doubtful provenance attestations in Ps-Aristotle *Divisiones*, decree in Demosthenes 18.91, Menander in CAF III 693 (suspect on the grounds of this word and other vocabulary), various versions of the *Hist Alex. Mag.*, Hippokrates *Praeceptiones*, and ps-Andronicus (*Fragmenta Stoicorum Veterorum* III 273), we are left with five attestations in Polybios, one in Plut. *Timoleon*, one in Diodorus Siculus, two in Themistios, four in Libanios, one in Aesop, and five in Philodemos *De ira*.

⁵⁶A search of the TLG index gives the following frequencies: Athanasios 7 times; Asterios 1; John Chrysostom 8; Hippolytos 4; Philo 1 (*De vita Mosis* I 83); Gregorius Monachus Chronog. 1; Photius 2.

⁵⁷The three pagan attestations are: Xen *Symp.* 7.2; Plutarch *Quaestiones Platonicae* 1004 e 6; Plato *Tim.* 80 c 7 (quoted in Stobaeos, and in Galen *Frag. in Plat. Tim.*, CGM Suppl. I).

⁵⁸I list all the references for the verb thrown up by a search of TLG with the exception of those in Scholia, lexicographers and Herodian Grammaticus; of these only the first two in the list are not either Jewish or Christian: Polyb. XII 12c 4.6; Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 38.29; LXX *Macchabees* IV 5.10, 8.19; Martyrium Polycarp (extracted from Eusebius *Eccl. Hist.*) ed. Musurillo 10.1; Martyrium Pionis ed. Musurillo 17.1; Epiphanius *Haer.* I 224, III 182; Greg. Naz. *Or. in laud. Basilii* ed. Boulenger 63.5; Ps-Makarios (quater); Philo *De mutatione nominum* 96, 227; Constantine VII 161.16; Ps-Clement Romanus (4th cent) *Homiliae* 4.9 (Gr. christ. schrifsteller 42); Ps-Justyn Martyr *Ep. ad Zenam* ed. Otto 509 c4; Athanasios PG 28.901; Origen *Contra Celsum* 8.74.3.

four occurrences in other writers.⁵⁹ Even if we were to exclude from the reckoning Philo, with whom the expression seems to have been a particular favourite, the tendency for it to appear in Christian rather than pagan writers would still be statistically significant.

παρθενεύειν: In Christian writers the active is often intransitive, meaning 'to be a virgin, to remain a virgin'; in pagan writers other than Heliodoros, the active is always transitive, meaning 'to keep as a virgin, to bring up as a virgin'.⁶⁰ Heliodoros has the verb in the following places: II 33.4
 α παρθενεύειν; II 37.3 ἐπαρθενεύθη; V 4.5 παρθενεύοντος ἔρωτος (genitive absolute; a transitive construction, supplying a pronoun object, would not be

⁵⁹ A search of TLG for μέλος and μέρος used in parallel in the same number and case shows that they are usually joined by καί, τε καί or ἥ. The references yielded by such a search for writers up to the end of the fourth century are as follows:

a) Jewish and Christian writers: Philo Judaeus *De mutatione nominum* 173.10; *De somnis* II 168 (conjecture); *De Josepho* 27 (οὐ μέρος, οὐ μέλος), 187; *De specialibus legibus* III 182; *Quod omnis probis liber sit* 89; *In Flaccum* 176; *Legatio ad Gaium* 131, 267; *Virt.* 32.5; *De opificio mundi* 67.10 (in a passage which appears also in collections of fragments of Theophrastos and Posidonios: apart from the general doubtfulness of these attributions by the editors, the use of the phrase μέλη καὶ μέρη indicates that the words themselves are probably Philo's own); *De aeternitate mundi* 143; *Quod Deus sit immutabilis* 52.5; *De vita Mosis* I 128, II 106; Eusebius *Prep. evan.* III 13.6; VIII 12.17; *Hist. Eccl.* VIII 12.1; *Demonstr. Evan.* IV 5.10, 4.1, V 1.13; *De Laud. Constant.* 12.11; 12.14; 13.2; *Antiquor. mart.* PG 20.1533, 1583; *Comment. in Psalm.* PG 23.608, 1200; Basil *Regulae morales* PG 31.861; John Chrysostom *In Rom* PG 50.605; *In illud: Domine . . .* PG 56.158; *In Joannem* PG 59.101; Theodoret *Intr. in Psalm* PG 80.1221; Clement *Stromata* I.13.57.4, IV 26.163.1; *Protrepticus* I 8.3; *Paedagogus* III 11.64; Adamantius Judaeus *Physiognomica* II 1; Athanasios *Exp. in Psalm.* PG 27.224; *De sancta trinitate* PG 28.1121, 1165; Ps-Makarios (late 4th / early 5th century) *Semones* 64 XVIII 1.7 ed. H. Berthold; Ps-Clement Romanus (4th cent) *Homiliae* 6.4 (Gr. christ. Schriftsteller 42).

b) Writers not known to be Jewish or Christian: Plato *Leges* 795 e 4 (also in Stobaeus); *Tim.* 77 a 1; Alexander *In Aristot. topicorum comm.* ed. M. Wallies 118.18; Hermogenes *περὶ ἰδέων* 1.12.24; Iamblichos *Theol. Arith.* 36.5; (a fifth century pagan occurrence: Proklos *In Plat. Rempub.* I 6).

c) References ignored in the current calculation because of uncertainty over their dates: [Themistios] (?Sophonias) *In parva nat. comm.* (Comment. in Aristot. Graeca vol. V.6 p21); Ps-Makarios *Homiliae Spirituales* 50 Homily II (bis) ed. Dörrie et al.; Ps-Hippolytos *Fragmenta in Psalm.* 13 (Gr. christ. schrift. I.2); [Dionysios of Halikarnassos] *Ars rhetorica* 10.6 (tentatively assigned to the reign of Diocletian by D.A. Russell & N.G. Wilson (1981) 362).

⁶⁰ I have checked every active attestation of this verb, including participles, in pagan writers: none is intransitive (with the possible exception of Zonaras *Epitome* of Dio Kassios 7.8.11 ed. Boissevain I 21.18, where the accusative relative pronoun could be either the subject or the object of παρθενεύειν). The active used intransitively is frequent in Christian writers, and a few examples will suffice: Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 3.7.60.4; Origen *Hom. in Lucam* 17.108 (Gr. Chr. Schrift. 49 (35)); John Chrysostom *De virginitate* (Sources Chrétiennes 138) 2.1 et passim in this and other works; Palladius *Dialogus de vita Joannis Chrysostomi* ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton 4.13.

impossible); VII 8.3 τὸ παρθενεῖον ('the maidens'); X 8.2 παρθενεύειν; X 22.3 παρθενεύειν; X 33.1 παρθενεύειν; X 36.2 παρθενευομένη. All the actives here are intransitive, in harmony with the normal usage of Christian writers; the passives are probably best translated 'she has been kept as a virgin'.

προετοιμάζω is normally deponent in pagan writers; Christian writers more often than not use the active form, probably because it occurs twice each in the Septuagint and the New Testament. Apart from Heliodoros II 19.3 and II 19.4, only 3 of the 73 attestations of the active form are in pagan writers.⁶¹

ὑποστηρίζω Heliodoros I 2.2: First attested in the Septuagint, of about ninety occurrences only five are in authors which are not Jewish or Christian.⁶²

φόβω τοῦ κρείττονος Heliodoros IV 18.6: The phrase φόβος τοῦ κρείττονος is found also in one other fourth century writer, Eusebios.⁶³ φόβος [τοῦ] κυρίου and φόβος [τοῦ] θεοῦ are common enough in the Septuagint⁶⁴ and the New Testament, and in Christian writers. However, φόβος with a dependent [τοῦ] θεοῦ or a synonym for [τοῦ] θεοῦ seems to be completely unattested in the Greek of non-Christian writers.⁶⁵

φωστήρ Heliodoros II 24.6: Of some 685 attestations seven are in late pagan writers. All the rest are in the Septuagint or in Christian writers.⁶⁶ The distribution is similar for the noun ὑποστήριγμα.

3. Linguistic usages which suggest that Heliodoros knew Latin.

In the commentary there are four usages noted which seem to be unparalleled in Greek, but which are easily explained if we assume that the Greek of Heliodoros was contaminated by a knowledge of Latin: ψυχή = *anima* (as a term of endearment) I 8.4; βακτηρία = *baculum* (as a support) I 13.1; σῶζοιο

⁶¹These are Diogenes Laertius *Life* II 38; Appian *Bell. Civ.* II 8.53; Libanios *Ep.* 65.3.

⁶²LXX Ps. XXXVI 17; CXLIV 14. There are about ninety occurrences on TLG excluding those in Lexicographers, scholia and medical writers. Of these only the following are not in Jewish or Christian writers: Ps-Longinos *De sublimitate* 32.5; Epitome of Aristoph. *Hist. Animal.* Teubner ed. p60 l.3; Lucian *VH* I 32; II 1 *Hist. Conscr.* 3.

⁶³Eusebios *Eccl. Hist.* X 8.14; PG 22.988 l.19; *Vita Constantini* 2.26 l.2, in *Werke* vol. I.1 ed. F. Winkelman; *Prep. Evang.* VII 22.53 (τινος κρείττονος).

⁶⁴Translating תַּיִר.

⁶⁵The search of TLG for φόβος + synonyms of θεός other than κρείττων and κύριος was partial, not exhaustive.

⁶⁶There are four occurrences of the word in 'fragments' of Porphyry, Plutarch, Chrysippus and Pythagoras, all preserved in Christian writers, and three in the Suda. Of the seven 'real' pagan examples, three are in Vettius Valens, one in Themistios, and three in Proklos. There are nine occurrences in the Septuagint; all the rest are in Christian writers, including two in the New Testament.

= *salve* (as a greeting, not, as is usual in Greek, as a 'Farewell') I 14.4; μισθὸς ἐλευθερίας (i.e. μισθός construed like the Latin *praemium*, that is to say, defined by a word in the genitive, rather than by a word in the same case, as is usual) I 16.5. For a fuller discussion of these points the reader is referred to the relevant passages in the commentary.

SOLAR THEOLOGY IN THE *AITHIOPIKA*

I. INTRODUCTION

Rohde⁶⁷ thought that in the *Aithiopika* the god Helios-Apollo occupies a supreme place. He made a strong case, emphasizing how this god motivates the plot, and plays a major rôle in the story. More recent scholars have argued the more extreme views, on the one hand that the novel is primarily a piece of religious literature, on the other, that it contains a confusion of deities and no consistent religious outlook.

Although the author's purposes may be difficult to determine, the *Aithiopika* is undoubtedly informed by a theology in which the sun god is a supreme god, both for the main characters and in the plot, and the moon plays a complementary part. This theology is revealed by a consistent use of terms for divine powers from which neither the narrator nor the main characters (the three priests, Charikles, Kalasiris, Sisimithres; Theagenes and Charikleia; her parents, the king and queen of Ethiopia) ever depart, and by direct divine intervention in oracles and dreams.

J.R. Morgan, in the introduction to his dissertation, in a section entitled 'The religious background of the *Aithiopika*',⁶⁸ reviewed the various arguments which have been advanced that Heliodoros displays a specific religious outlook. One of the reasons he gives for rejecting such arguments is, in his own words, 'Apart from the fact that ὁ δαίμων preponderates in laments, there is no discernible pattern in the author's use of different divine powers, and in several cases the same events are ascribed to differing forces within the one sentence, apparently with no other aim than to vary the vocabulary.'⁶⁹ Partly to answer this objection, and partly because of the need to provide discussions of lexical points to which the reader of the commentary can refer, the method here is to examine some of these names and terms for divine forces in detail.

It is certainly true that several deities and other spirits are mentioned in the *Aithiopika*. Nonetheless, it will be argued that in the direction of the plot, and in the use of language, a consistent divine economy is discernible. Apollo is identified with Helios; when the phrase ὁ θεός is used in a sentence where it is otherwise undefined it always refers to Apollo-Helios, who is the only named god who is significant for the plot. Artemis, Isis, and Selene, who are to be identified with one another, are sometimes referred to simply as ἡ θεός; they constitute the only personal goddess who is significant for the plot. This god

⁶⁷E. Rohde (1914) 465(436)f.

⁶⁸J.R. Morgan (1978) xxxviii-lx.

⁶⁹op. cit. lv.

and goddess direct the fortunes of the main characters in the face of adverse events, which are attributed to ὁ δαίμων, and random chance, which is attributed to ἡ Τύχη.

Although Helios-Apollo is central in the *Aithiopika*, other divine and semi-divine powers are constantly referred to. There are many references in the *Aithiopika* to ‘the gods’, sometimes in expressions such as ‘the local gods’ or ‘the sea gods’. οἱ κρείττονες,⁷⁰ οἱ θεοί (which never refers to named gods, except where it is used of the gods of the Ethiopians), and more specifically, οἱ ἐγχώριοι θεοί, and so on, are part of the mental furniture of the characters, especially Kalasiris, Theagenes and Charikleia.⁷¹ They are not a sign of theological confusion, and they designate powers which are not essential to the development of the plot. The sun is not the only divinity who exists for the characters, any more than he was the only divinity in the solar theology of Julian,⁷² whom I take to be contemporary with Heliodoros. It is not necessary to be able to assign a place in a theological system to every divinity which appears in Heliodoros in order to show that he does present a coherent religious outlook. However, the frequent references to ἡ Τύχη and ὁ δαίμων, powers which, like Helios-Apollo and Artemis-Isis-Selene, are significant for the plot, do have to be taken into account. Therefore, as well as arguing for the central position of Helios-Apollo, I examine the use of these two terms in

⁷⁰For references v. p105 below.

⁷¹The plural of θεός occurs 179 times in the *Aithiopika*. Almost all of these occurrences are in direct speech, and along with the other references to the divine they do reveal some religious attitudes in the characters. When a character says θεοί it does not follow that he or she is referring to gods other than the principal ones in the plot, or that they do not know to which gods they mean: all it means is that the gods are not identified to the reader. It is the purpose of the present chapter to outline those divine powers which direct the plot and are important for the main characters, not to analyse in detail the religious attitudes displayed by the characters. In addition to their explicit statements and actions, one way in which characters reveal such attitudes is by a set of contexts in which the gods in general are typically referred to. For example, Heliodoros sometimes has characters calling οἱ θεοί to witness or swearing by them (I 10.4; I 25.1; II 19.2; IV 19.1; VI 6.2; VIII 5.4; VIII 7.5; VIII 12.1; X 11.3). Salvation (σῶζω / σῶτηρ), which in classical writers and inscriptions tends to be linked with individual named gods, is in Heliodoros often associated with οἱ θεοί; (II 23.3; IV 12.2; V 8.3; V 22.5; VI 5.3; VIII 11.8,11; IX 5.1; IX 6.4; IX 24.2; IX 25.4; X 9.5; X 17.1; X 20.2; cf. IV 7.8; IX 22.7). Sometimes οἱ θεοί are addressed in the vocative (I 8.6; I 12.3; I 15.5; II 5.3; II 23.3: Ἀπολλων . . . καὶ θεοί; IV 7.5; V 1.5; VIII 5.11; VIII 11.1,3; IX 24.2; IX 25.1; X 11.3; X 22.1). The idea that different places have their own gods comes out in phrases like οἱ ἐγχώριοι θεοί (I 28.1; II 23.1: θεοῖς ἐγχωρίοις τε καὶ Ἑλληνίοις καὶ αὐτῷ γε Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ; II 27.3; II 33.7; X 6.3; cf. I 30.5: τοῖς ἐστίοις θεοῖς; III 4.11: τοῖς νυχίοις θεοῖς; III 5.1: gods of the night; IV 19.7: θεῶν τῶν πατρῶων; V 4.6: θεοί Ἑλλήνιοι; V 20.2: ἐναλίους θεούς; IX 25.4: τοῖς κατὰ Μερόην θεοῖς; X 1.2: ἐνορίοις θεοῖς; X 2.2: τοῖς πατρίοις ἡμῶν θεοῖς; X 24.1: πατῶροι καὶ γενεάρχαι θεοί). Assembling and examining such references would be a possible method of proceeding with a detailed enquiry into the religious beliefs displayed by the characters in the *Aithiopika*.

⁷²Julian *Oration* IV(XI) 13-138.

Greek literature before Heliodoros, and demonstrate how Heliodoros has largely followed their conventional uses by quoting all the places in the *Aithiopika* where these terms occur. This point is emphasised because a major objection to the heliocentric reading of the *Aithiopika* has been that a range of divine powers come into the *Aithiopika* without any coherent pattern.

The expressions τὸ κρείττον⁷³ and τὸ θεῖον⁷⁴ are also part of the ‘mental furniture’ of the main characters. They do not refer to separate divinities which influence the plot; when the sense of these terms is understood it is clear why they were appropriate for the context where they are found.⁷⁵ τὸ δαίμονιον (VII 6.4) seems to mean something like ‘fate’, τὸ δαίμόνιον (V 16.4; V 33.5) ‘the heavens,’ and τὸ δαίμόνιον (X 4.2; X 19.2) either of the two; these do not clearly affect the plot. It is possible that δαίμων, when it lacks the article, should be translated simply as ‘spirit,’ as it must be translated when it appears in the plural,⁷⁶ although it is perhaps better to translate δαίμων in the same way in which ὁ δαίμων should be translated.⁷⁷ Apart from these expressions, the idea that some things are fated crops up, and does raise a question about the way in which the will of the gods operates in the novel; however it does not negate the view that the only divine powers who significantly influence the direction of events in the plot are the ones identified above.

The problem of the relationship between ὁ θεός, ὁ δαίμων and ἡ Τύχη in the divine economy of the plot is approached here by using catalogues of references to analyse in detail how Heliodoros distinguishes between these words. The first point to notice is that although Heliodoros makes particularly frequent use of these terms for deities, they are already current in classical Greek. Broadly speaking, ὁ θεός was used to refer to a general, unidentified divine agent. Events which were unpleasant from man’s point of view, however, were rarely attributed to ὁ θεός in classical Greek and never in later Greek. If unpleasant events were attributed to an unidentified, maleficent divine agent ὁ δαίμων was used. Events attributed to ἡ Τύχη were those events characterised by their apparent randomness: by unfathomable, amoral chance. Such events, which intimately affected human lives, could not logically be ascribed to named gods of the Olympian pantheon, whose personal character was not consistent with truly random behaviour; therefore it is perhaps not surprising that ἡ Τύχη, identified as their source, was given her own cult. On the other hand ὁ θεός and ὁ δαίμων had no cult: the way these terms were used in classical Greek was just a lexical habit.

⁷³For references v. p105 below.

⁷⁴I 8.4; I 22.6; II 22.5; II 25.3; III 18.3; IV 16.3; IX 10.2; X 9.6,7; X 16.7; X 17.2; X 39.3.

⁷⁵v. commentary on I 8.4.

⁷⁶I 13.3; II 5.4; II 7.3; III 13.1; VI 1.3; VI 8.5; VIII 9.12.

⁷⁷References for δαίμων are given in the catalogue for ὁ δαίμων below.

The use of δαίμων, θεός and τύχη in Heliodoros is discussed by Rohde.⁷⁸ He recognizes that ὁ θεός in Heliodoros is certainly to be identified with Helios-Apollo. Rohde argues that Heliodoros' use of δαίμων points to a dualistic idea, according to which nothing bad is attributed to the gods but is made the responsibility of δαίμονες who are intermediate between gods and men. (His distinction of the personal from the general δαίμων in Heliodoros is perhaps unnecessarily sharp.) His assumption that what in Tragedy and Oratory is little more than a lexical habit has in Heliodoros hardened into a religious belief is perhaps supported by Plutarch's information in *Isis and Osiris* quoted in section IV below. The problem with his dualistic interpretation, as he says, is the question of where τύχη fits into the scheme. This problem is tackled below.

Full references for the later Greek writers' avoidance of attributing anything bad to an otherwise undefined ὁ θεός would be unwieldy, and this general linguistic habit can be checked by looking into the thesaurus. For our study of Heliodoros the point is not important, except insofar as it is the background for the contrasting use of ὁ θεός and ὁ δαίμων, which Heliodoros has inherited from the classical writers. Heliodoros himself certainly never attributes anything bad to ὁ θεός, but only to ὁ δαίμων. That Heliodoros' use of ὁ δαίμων was found also in classical Greek, albeit much less frequently than in Heliodoros, is supported by references which are given below in section IV.

A close examination of Heliodoros' use of ὁ θεός shows that the identity of the god in question is never, or almost never, undefined. In every case the context shows that when the principal characters say ὁ θεός, he must be Helios or Apollo, although this is not always immediately obvious. Like the use of ὁ δαίμων, this is not a usage invented by Heliodoros, but one which he took over from classical Greek, mainly tragedy, and used much more frequently than any previous writers: in tragedy ὁ θεός is used where the context demands the translation 'the sun'.⁷⁹ When Herodotos⁸⁰ refers to the sun as οὗτος ὁ θεός he may be reflecting the words of an Egyptian source for his information; later, Iamblichos repeatedly refers to the sun as ὁ θεός in *De mysteriis* VII 2.⁸¹

ἡ θεός in Heliodoros refers principally to Isis, (who, like Artemis, was often identified with the moon in the Roman period,⁸²) and Selene in book X. There is a handful of cases where ὁ θεός or ἡ θεός is *explicitly* applied to another god; these cases are all in speeches of minor characters.

⁷⁸E. Rohde (1914) 462(434)-466(438).

⁷⁹Aesch. *Persae* 502, *Orestes* 1025; Sophocles *Supplices* 469, (?)208, *Trach.* 145; Euripides *Alcestis* 722, *Medea* 353, *Rhes.* 331.

⁸⁰Herodotos II 24.

⁸¹Discussed below on p68.

⁸²v. n104 below.

An examination of τύχη in Heliodoros shows that its use is quite distinct from the use of θεός and δαίμων. When it does not mean one's station in life (and perhaps also when it does) τύχη simply means 'chance' in Heliodoros, and, I think, in Greek in general. It is used for the notional agent of events which take place apparently at random, with no detectable sign of guiding intelligence or of deliberate beneficence or maleficence. Actions are attributed to ὁ θεός or ὁ δαίμων when they are perceived as emanating from a reasonable being who acts with some purpose, even where the purpose is not obvious; actions are attributed to τύχη when events seem to occur with an utterly unfathomable randomness.

Before moving on to the detailed discussions and catalogues of references for ὁ θεός, ἡ θεός, ὁ δαίμων, and ἡ Τύχη, I offer a general discussion of the proposition that the Sun and Moon are the principal deities in the *Aithiopika*.

II. THE SUN AND MOON IN THE *AITHIOPIKA*

The argument that the *Aithiopika* is informed by a heliocentric theology does depend on an acceptance that Apollo is a sun god. Apollo's Delphic prophecies are the main evidence of divine involvement in the overall structure of the plot. Theagenes, the hero, is a protégé of Apollo, and Charikleia, the heroine, of Apollo's sister Artemis. The identity of Artemis with the moon is classical and widespread. The extent to which the identity of Apollo with the sun was classical or widespread is a matter of controversy. It is not necessary to revive the debate here, but simply to adduce enough evidence to indicate that an educated person of the time of Heliodoros would have been aware that the identification was sometimes made. That Heliodoros wishes his readers to make the identification is clear enough, since it is to Charikles, who as Apollo's priest at Delphi ought to know, that he gives the words . . . Ἀπόλλωνα, τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ Ἥλιον . . . , “. . . Apollo, who is the same as Helios . . .”(X.36.3.)

Indeed, both T. Szepessy and J.J. Winkler adduce literary arguments for the identity of Apollo and Helios. Szepessy⁸³ argues that the general shift from references to Apollo in the first five books to ὁ θεός, and then explicitly to Helios is part of a process by which Heliodoros emphasizes the identity of Helios with Apollo, universalizing and 'hellenizing' him. He suggests that Charikles, priest of Apollo at Delphi, is brought all the way from Delphi to Meroe in book X, in a way which may seem superfluous to the plot, in order to give at a climactic point an authoritative statement of this identification which

⁸³T. Szepessy (1987) 116-126.

has been slowly revealed in the course of the text. Winkler argues for the identity on the basis of the co-incidence of the commissions entrusted to Kalasiris by the Aithiopian god, Helios, and the Pythian Apollo.⁸⁴

Here then is a selection of evidence for an identification of Apollo with the sun prior to Heliodoros. Cornutus, the Stoic mythographer writing in the middle of the first century A.D., says (§32, ed. Lang p65): ἐχομένως τοίνυν, ὦ τέκνον, Ἀπόλλων ὁ ἥλιος ἐστίν, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ἡ σελήνη· δία τοῦτο γὰρ ἄφεσιν πόρρω τῶν ἀκτίνων αἰνέσσόμενοι. καλονῦται δὲ ὁ μὲν ἥλιος ἑκατος δία τοῦτο, ἡ δὲ ἐκάτη τῷ ἑκαθεν δεῦρο ἀφιέναι καὶ ἀποστέλλειν τὸ φῶς, κτλ. “Next then, child, Apollo is the sun and Artemis is the moon; therefore they suggest the idea of the sending forth of rays. The sun is called ‘Hekatos’ or ‘Far-Shooting’ and the moon is called ‘Hekate’ or ‘Far-Shooting’ because they give out and transmit light to us from far away. etc.”

The earliest evidence for Apollo as a sun god is from the tragedians. For example, Euripides *Phaethon* Fr. 781 (Nauck) 11-12: ὦ καλλιφεγγὲς Ἥλι', ὥς μ' ἀπώλεσας, / καὶ τόνδ'. Ἀπόλλων δ' ἐν βροτοῖς ὀρθῶς καλῇ, “Bright shining Sun, how you destroy me and him! You are rightly called Apollo by mortals.” This line was well enough known in late antiquity for Macrobius, probably writing in the early fifth century A.D., to attempt to quote it from memory (*Saturnalia* 1.17.9-11): . . . ut Euripides in Phaethonte: ὦ χρυσοφειγγὲς Ἥλι' ὥς μ' ἀπώλεσας, / ὅθεν σ' Ἀπόλλων ἐμφανῶς κληῖται βροτός. . . . denique iniustos morbo Ἀπολλωνοβλήτους καὶ ἡλιοβλήτους ἀρξέλλαν, et quia similes sunt solis effectibus effectus lunae in iuvando nocendoque, ideo feminas certis adflictas morbis σεληνοβλήτους et Ἀρτεμιδοβλήτους vocant. “As Euripides says in his *Phaethon*, ‘Golden Sun, how you destroy me! Therefore mankind openly honours you as Apollo.’ So they call men troubled by disease ‘Apollo-struck’ and ‘Sun-struck’; and since the harmful and the beneficial effects of the moon are similar to the effects of the sun, they describe women afflicted by certain diseases as ‘Moon-struck’ and ‘Artemis-struck’.”

⁸⁴ J.J. Winkler *YCS* 27 (1982) p.150: “At this moment [IV 12-13] Kalasiris learns that what had seemed to be two different divine plots were actually *two ways of saying the same thing*. [Winkler’s italics.] His Aithiopian commission was to send back the lost princess, whoever she might turn out to be; his Apolline commission was to guard the young lovers on their way to a dark land, wherever that might be. These are now seen to be two incomplete descriptions of the same plot, though they came from opposite ends of the earth. What was indefinite in the one is definite in the other. This movement of revelation is parallel to the announcement of that Apollo in Delphi and Helios in Aithiopia are the same divine force, which is the penultimate religious theme of the novel (x.36.3).” Winkler’s rather subtle arguments need to be read in the context of his overall thesis in order to be fully understood.

In view of the importance of the solar deity in the *Aithiopika*, it is curious that it is specifically Horos, described as a representation of the Nile, whom the Egyptians are represented as worshipping.⁸⁵ In fact, there is some evidence that by the late fourth century Horos was regarded as a solar deity. In PGM I (dated on palaeographical grounds to late fourth or fifth century) Helios appears to be identified with Horos,⁸⁶ as he does on some (undated) gems.⁸⁷ The identification is also made by Porphyry,⁸⁸ and Macrobius,⁸⁹ where we learn that the identification was made because Horos was thought to represent the seasons (ῥοαί) of the year. Heliodoros seems to have this idea in mind in the statement that Horos represents the Nile, which, he says, marks the seasons of the year. J.R. Morgan (1978, p206), commenting on the identification of Horos and the Nile, draws attention to a passage in Jerome which makes it clear that Horos' link through the letters of Νεῖλος with number 365 indicates a solar character for him.⁹⁰

Horos was identified not only with Helios, but also with Apollo. The identification of Horos with Apollo, found occasionally in epigraphic dedications, is attested first in Herodotos.⁹¹ The identification is also made by Aelian,⁹² where the falcon is said to be sacred to Apollo / Horos because he can look at the sun with impunity. Edfu, sacred to Horos, was called in Greek Apollinopolis. In the comic poet Theophilos⁹³ an athlete exclaims "Ἀπολλων, ὦρε καὶ Σαβάζει. It would be interesting to know whether such an identification lay behind the name of the writer on Egyptian wisdom, Horapollo.

Horos and Apollo are both identified with Mandoulis in a set of inscriptions from the Roman period found on a temple at Talmis in Nubia.⁹⁴ The inscriptions are interesting but incomplete and difficult to translate. However,

⁸⁵ IX 22.

⁸⁶ PGM I.145 (=P.Mag.Berol. 1).

⁸⁷ C. Bonner (1950) pp19 & 151.

⁸⁸ Porphyry, apud Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* III 11.27/8 (= HF 469-470).

⁸⁹ Macrobius *Saturnalia* 21.13 (=HF 598).

⁹⁰ Jerome *Comm. in Amos* 1.3.157 (=PL 25.1018) . . . Basilides, qui omnipotentem Deum portentoso nomine appellat Ἀβράξας, et eundem secundum Graecas litteras, et annui cursus numerum dicit in solis circulo contineri, quem ethnici sub eodem numero aliarum literarum vocant Μείθραβ. Sources and bibliography for the solar god Abraxas, and by extension the significance of the number 365, can be found in LIMC I 2-7. C. Lacombrade *RÉG* 83 (1970) 70-89 quotes this passage of Jerome in his confutation of the view that Neo-Pythagorean elements in the *Aithiopika* point to a third, not a fourth century date.

⁹¹ Hdt. II 144.2.

⁹² Ael. *NA* 12.4.

⁹³ Theophil. apud Ath. X 417b (= CAF II F.8 = HF 53).

⁹⁴ H. Gauthier *Annales du Service d'Antiquité d'Égypte* (1910) 66-90; one of the inscriptions is re-edited and discussed by A.D. Nock *JTS* 1934 53-105.

it is clear that Mandoulis is a sun god, and he appears to be called θεὸς μέγας.⁹⁵ He had a chapel at Philae, and in the Talmis inscriptions he is closely associated with Isis, who seems to be identified with the moon and Artemis in the *Aithiopika*.

The simultaneous identification of Horos and Apollo with the sun is ascribed by Plutarch⁹⁶ to Hermetic writings (although it is not found in the surviving Corpus Hermeticum): ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἑρμοῦ λεγομέναις βίβλοις ἱστοροῦσι γεγράφθαι περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου περιφορᾶς τεταγμένων δύναμιν Ὄρον, Ἕλληνες δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσι· 'In the writings called Hermetic they recount that it is written concerning the divine names, that they call the divine power of thos overseenig the sun's orbit Horos, but that the Greeks call him Apollo.'

It is likely that Heliodoros chose to give Horos a special place among the Egyptians because he regarded him as a sun god, just as he regarded Apollo as the sun god of the Greek world. He identified Horos with the Nile because of the convenient fact that Νεῖλος in numerical terms adds up to 365, a number already regarded as magical because it is the number of days in a solar year. Plutarch does not mention the solar number 365, which Heliodoros presumably knew directly from magical or gnostic teaching, or from the Christian attacks on these teachings which are our main source today.

There are many points which indicate the importance of the sun, and to a lesser extent, the moon, in the *Aithiopika*. The hero and heroine are dedicated to Apollo and Artemis. These gods actually appear to the old priest, Kalasiris and give him charge of them.⁹⁷ The story begins in Delphi, where Charikleia's adoptive father, Charikles, is priest of Apollo, and ends in Ethiopia, which is quite explicitly called the land of the sun by the oracle at Delphi.⁹⁸ The sun, the moon, and Dionysos are mentioned as the ancestral gods of the Ethiopians,⁹⁹ information which is found in Diodoros and Strabo, but Dionysos soon drops out of the story. At the end of the book the hero and heroine, Theagenes and Charikleia, become priest and priestess of the sun and moon.

Charikleia had already dedicated herself to the service of Artemis, a moon goddess,¹⁰⁰ while she was at Delphi as adoptive daughter of Charikles.¹⁰¹ She

⁹⁵H. Gauthier op. cit. 89.

⁹⁶Plu. *Isis & Osiris* 61 / 375F.

⁹⁷III 11.5.

⁹⁸II 35.5.

⁹⁹X 2.2.

¹⁰⁰The widespread identification of Artemis as a moon goddess is discussed conveniently by J. Gwyn Griffiths (1975) 117.

¹⁰¹II 33.4.

emerges from the temple of Artemis at the beginning of the day on which she will first meet Theagenes.¹⁰² This is remarkable. Many gods and goddesses had temples at Delphi but there is no evidence of a temple to Artemis. Unless Heliodoros has been particularly careless, he must have had some specific reason for selecting Artemis as Charikleia's tutelary deity. Since she becomes priestess of the moon in Ethiopia, in the last book, Artemis was probably selected because she was the principal moon goddess in the Greek pantheon.

The association of Charikleia with the moon explains a puzzle. When the book opens¹⁰³ the bandits come upon Charikleia, dressed, as we learn in book V, in the garb of the priestess of Artemis. We are told that they are so impressed by her beauty that they think she is Artemis, or the local goddess, Isis. It seems strange that she could be compared at once with Isis or Artemis, because Isis is almost never identified with Artemis. However, in the Graeco-Roman world Isis is, like Artemis, sometimes identified with the moon. This is because the horns on her head were interpreted as a representation of the moon.¹⁰⁴ If Heliodoros did equate Isis with the moon, this piece of syncretism would be more consistent with the later, fourth century date, but is occasionally found at an earlier date.

This discussion by no means exhausts the subject of the prominence of the sun and moon in Heliodoros. There are three important priests in the book: Charikles, who is priest of Pythian Apollo, Kalasiris, who is priest of Isis, (who, as just noted, may be identified with the moon,) and the gymnosophist Sisimithres, whose name is patently a synthesis of Isis and Mithras, a solar god. There are constant references to both Apollo-Helios, and to the moon goddesses Artemis, Isis and Selene. The sun is rising in the very first sentence of book I. Kalasiris makes a point of mentioning the sanctity of oaths by the

¹⁰² III 4.1.

¹⁰³ I 2.

¹⁰⁴ The horns of Isis were originally conceived of as cow's horns. They are compared to the moon in Ovid *Metamorphoses* IX 723-724 (= HF 152); Apuleius *Met.* 268 (XI init.). Other references for the identification of Isis with the moon are, Diodoros I 25 (= HF 104); Diodoros I 11.1 (= HF 93); Eusebios, *Praeparatio Evangelica* II 2.6 (= HF 477); Diogenes Laertius *Proem.* 10; Hecataeus Abderita, FGrH 2 F7 (= HF 60); Porphyry ~~apud~~ Eusebios, *Praep. Evan.* III 11.49 (= HF 470); John of Lydia IV 45 (= HF 698); the Suda s.v. δογματίζει (= HF 749). A verse inscription to Sarapis and Isis addresses her thus: ὀχοῦσά τε καρτὶ σελήνην ἀμφίκυρτο[ν], Ἰσι, (L. Vidman (1969) no. 320 I.2 = A. Mordtmann *Rev. Arch.* (1879) 258-259.) The connection with the moon is clearly behind the identification of Isis with Diana in a second century AD. inscription from Dacia (L. Widman op. cit. no. 690 = CIL III 7771): 'Sarapidi | Iovi Soli, | Isidi Lunae | Dianae, | dis deabus(que) | conservatorib(us) | L. Aemil(ius) Carus, | Leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) | III Daciarum.'

sun.¹⁰⁵ It is the narrator who describes the sun and moon as the purest and brightest gods.¹⁰⁶ In addition to these points, the importance of the Sun and Moon as deities in the *Aithiopika* is illuminated by the catalogue of references for θεός which follows.

III. THE USE OF ΘΕΟΣ IN THE *AITHIOPIKA*: BACKGROUND, AND A CATALOGUE

In this section all the instances where θεός is used in the singular in the *Aithiopika* are quoted. The principle conclusion is that whenever the main characters say θεός they are referring to Helios or Apollo, or when it is feminine, to Isis or the Moon. The most important fact about Helios-Apollo which emerges from a reading of these quotations is that it is he who is ultimately responsible for the direction of the plot. In the adventures of the hero and heroine his providential guidance finally overcomes the misfortunes they encounter, which are ascribed to ὁ δαίμων, and the vagaries of pure chance, which are ascribed to ἡ Τύχη.

Broadly speaking, in archaic and classical Greek the expression ὁ θεός is used to refer to a previously named god; or it refers to divinities collectively, either divinities in general, or the divinities dominant in the situation under discussion.¹⁰⁷ In tragedy there is a third use: ὁ θεός sometimes refers to the sun even where Helios has not been named, as the context shows.¹⁰⁸ In most cases this is how Heliodoros uses the expression; and perhaps where Helios or Apollo are called ὁ θεός rather than named the dominance of the sun god in the story is thereby underlined.

As noted above¹⁰⁹ writers of Hellenistic Greek avoid attributing anything bad to divinities described as ὁ θεός, or to a named god (although gods of love and war sometimes have negative epithets, at least in verse). The lines at *Iliad* XXIV 527-528,

δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει
δώρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων·

¹⁰⁵ IV 13 (an idea shared by, and probably ultimately borrowed from, Egyptians, for whom Re, the sun god of Heliopolis, as 'Master of Maat' was the avenger of injustice, which meant that oaths taken in his name were especially binding.)

¹⁰⁶ X 4.5 (τοῖς καθαρωτάτοις καὶ φανοτάτοις θεῶν Ἡλίου τε καὶ Σελήνης).

¹⁰⁷ This collective use of ὁ θεός does not necessarily reflect an incipient, still less a developed monotheism, as G. François (1957) showed.

¹⁰⁸ For references, v. n79.

¹⁰⁹ p32.

were criticized by Plato (*Respub.* 379d) for misleadingly attributing bad things to the gods. Plutarch, when he discusses this and other poetic texts where bad things seem to be attributed to the gods, argues that these are places where poets are using the names of gods metaphorically. In this case, he says, Zeus is a metonym for ἡ Τύχη or ἡ εἰμαρμένη (Plutarch *Moralia* 25B). For Plutarch, then, texts where bad events are ascribed to gods are confined not to *early* authors, as I have suggested, but to *poetry*.¹¹⁰ However that may be, the convention found in Greek prose and Hellenistic poetry of not ascribing bad things to ὁ θεός or to named gods is followed by Heliodoros, and provides the context for our understanding of his use of the terms ὁ δαίμων and ἡ Τύχη.

ὁ θεός, 'the god', is the sun at I 18.3, καθ' ὃν γὰρ καιρὸν ἀλεκτρυόνες ἄδουσιν, εἴτε (ὡς λόγος) αἰσθήσει φυσικῇ τῆς ἡλίου καθ' ἡμᾶς περιστροφῆς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσρησιν κινούμενοι, εἴτε . . . "It was the time the cocks crow, whether because, as it is said, they are stirred up by the physical sensation of the sun in his course above us to greet the god, or . . ." and there follows an alternative, purely physical explanation of why cocks crow.

ὁ θεός, 'the god', is clearly the sun at II.1.1: ἡ γὰρ πυρὸς ὄψις ἀμαυροῦται δι' ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων τοῦ θεοῦ καταυγαζομένη. "The appearance of the fire grew dim by day because the rays of the god were shining on it."

In the inscribed band which the Ethiopian queen Persinna leaves with Charikleia when she sends her away as a baby, the word θεός does not explicitly mean any particular god, but the reader is led to think that he is probably Helios: ὡς μὲν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσα, παιδίον, οὕτω σε γενομένην ἐξεθέμην οὐδὲ πατέρα τὸν σὸν Ὑδάσπην τὴν σὴν θεᾶν ἀπεκρυσάμην, ἐπικεκλήσθω μάρτυς ὁ γενεάρχης ἡμῶν Ἥλιος· ἄλλ' ὅμως ἀπολογοῦμαι πρὸς τε σέ ποτε, θύγατερ, εἰ περισωθείης, πρὸς τε τὸν ἀναιρησόμενον, εἴ τινα σοι θεὸς ἐπιστήσειε, πρὸς τε αὐτὸν ὅλον τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον, ἀνακαλύπτουσα τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐκθέσεως. ἡμῖν πρόγονοι θεῶν μὲν Ἥλιος τε καὶ Διόνυσος ἡρώων δὲ Περσεύς τε καὶ Ἀνδρομέδα καὶ Μέμνων ἐπὶ τούτοις. (IV 8.2). "That I did not do wrong, child, when I sent you away after you were born, nor did I hide your sight from your father Hydaspes, let Helios be called to witness. All the same, daughter, I will defend myself before you, if you survive, and before the person who takes you in, if god gives you such a person, and before the world at large, by explaining the reason for sending you away. Of the gods our ancestors are Helios and Dionysos, and of the heroes Perseus and Andromeda, and Memnon in addition to these." (θεός here could be Dionysos, but he plays a much smaller part than

the father of
our race

¹¹⁰Plutarch *Moralia* 22B-24C quotes many verses of this kind, especially from Homer. Others not quoted by Plutarch include Mimnermos I. 10; 2. 15-16; Pindar *P.* III 80-82.

Helios in the Ethiopian scenes in book X, so Helios is the most likely candidate.)

The agent of prophecy at Delphi, who can only be Apollo, is called ὁ θεός at II 27.1 *bis*; 27.2 *bis*: . . . ἀνεφθέγξατο ἡ Πυθία τοιάδε·

ἶχνος ἀειράμενος ἀπ' εὐστάχους παρὰ Νείλου
φεύγεις μοιράων νήματ' ἐρισθενέων.
τέτλαθι, σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ κυανὰ ὑλάκος Αἰγύπτιοιο
αἶψα πέδον δώσω· νῦν δ' ἐμὸς ἔσσο φίλος.

ταῦτα ὡς ἐθέσπισεν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐπιβαλὼν ἴλεων εἶναι τὰ πάντα ἰκέτευον· ὁ δὲ πολὺς τῶν περιεστώτων ὄμιλος ἀνευφήμησαν τὸν θεὸν τῆς ἐπ' ἐμοὶ παρὰ τὴν πρώτην ἔντευξιν προφητείας, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐμακάριζον καὶ περιεῖπον τὸ ἐντεῦθεν παντοίως, φίλον ἦκειν με τῷ θεῷ μετὰ Λυκούργον τινα Σπαρτιάτην λέγοντες καὶ ἐνοικεῖν τε βουλόμενον τῷ τεμένει τοῦ νεῷ συνεχώρουν καὶ σιτηρέσιον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου παρέχειν ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ συνελόντι λέγειν ἀγαθὸν ἀπέλιπεν οὐδέν· ἡ γὰρ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἦν ἡ πρὸς θυσίαις ἐξηταζόμενη, ἃς πολλὰς καὶ παντοίας ἀνὰ πάσαν ἡμέραν ξένος τε καὶ ἐγχώριος λεῶς τῷ θεῷ χαριζόμενοι δρῶσιν, ἡ φιλοσοφοῦσι διελεγόμενη· οὐκ ὀλίγος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος συρρεῖ περὶ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ μουσεῖόν ἐστιν ἀτεχνῶς ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ μουσηγέτῃ θεῷ φοιβαζομένη. (26.5 - 27.2). “The Pythian priestess said the following: ‘You who direct your footsteps away from the fertile Nile are fleeing a destiny spun by mighty Fates; have courage, for I will give you back the land of Egypt with its black soil. Now you will be my friend.’ When she had prophesied this I prostrated myself before the altar and prayed that everything would turn out propitiously. The large crowd of bystanders praised the god for giving a prophecy at my first request. They said I was fortunate, and thereafter gave me every consideration. They said that after a Spartan, Lycurgos, I was the favourite of the god, and voted to give me permission, if I wanted, to live in the temple precinct, and to provide me with a food allowance from public funds. In short I lacked nothing. I was either at the rituals or present at the many and varied sacrifices with which the foreigners and the local people honour the god all day, or I discussed philosophy. Not a few of that type of person gather round the temple of the Pythian Apollo, and the city is simply a museum under the prophetic direction of the god who leads the Muses.”

Clearly ‘the god’ here is the prophetic god of Delphi, Apollo. By the wording of the oracle the god indicates that he is not only foretelling, but bringing about the return of Kalasiris to Egypt, and thus directing a major turn in the plot.

Another Delphic prophecy is given by ὁ θεός, ‘the god’, who again can only be Apollo, at II 35.5-36.1, in which the great journey and happy ending for the

hero and heroine is cryptically predicted: . . . ἀναφθέγγεται ἡ Πυθία τοιάδε·

τὴν χάριν ἐν πρώτοις αὐτὰρ κλέος ὕστατ' ἔχουσιν
φράζεσθ', ὦ Δελφοί, τὸν τε θεᾶς γενέτην·
οἱ νηὸν προλιπόντες ἐμὸν καὶ κῦμα τεμόντες
ἴξοντ' ἡελίου πρὸς χθόνα κυανέην,
τῇ περ ἀριστοβίων μέγ' ἀέθλιον ἐξάψονται
λευκὸν ἐπὶ κροτάφων στέμμα μελαιομένων.

Ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἀνεῖπεν ὁ θεός, ἀμηχανία πλείστη τοὺς περιεστῶτας εἰσεδύετο . . . “ . . . the Pythian priestess uttered the following: ‘Delphians, consider what is graceful at first and receives honour in the end [a pun on Charikleia’s name], and consider the man born of a goddess [a pun on Theagenes’ name]; leaving my temple and crossing the waves they will reach the dark land of the sun, where at last they will gain the great reward of virtuous lives and wear a white crown on a black brow.’ The god said these things, and the bystanders were at a loss . . .”

This last oracle is alluded to at IV 4.5, where Kalasiris is telling his story to Knemon, so here once again ὁ θεός, ‘the god’, who is directing the paths of the main characters, can only be Apollo: ἐγὼ δὲ αὖθις ἄπνους ἦν τὴν τε φυγὴν ὅποι τραπόμενοι λάθοιμεν ἂν ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ πρὸς τίνα χώραν ἄρα παραπέμπει τοὺς νέους ὁ θεός ἐννοῶν. Τὸν μὲν δὴ δρασμὸν μόνον ἔγνω κατὰ θάλατταν εἶναι ποιητέον, ἀπὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τὸ συνοῖσον λαβὼν ἔνθα ἔφασκεν αὐτοὺς

κῦμα τεμόντας

ἴξεσθ' ἡελίου πρὸς χθόνα κυανέην.

“I was sleepless again, wondering which way we might escape without attracting notice, and to what land the god intended to direct the young people [i.e. the hero and heroine]. I only knew that the escape had to be by sea, taking my confidence from the oracle where it said they would ‘cross the waves and reach the dark land of the sun.’”

Kalasiris consults the god of the oracle τὸν ἅμα τοῖς νέοις δρασμὸν ὑφηγήσασθαι χρηστηρίῳ τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύσων. (IV 16.2) “at the same time asking the god to reveal by an oracle the best way for the young people to escape.” (i.e. Theagenes and Charikleia, whom Kalasiris was helping to elope.) He tells us that the Pythian god answered his prayer by the turn of events in which he meets Phoenician merchants. This takes us on to a speech where minor characters use θεός for a god other than Helios-Apollo. As a result of a dream which had foretold a victory in the Pythian games for one of their number, they were going to worship Herakles, . . . τὸν πάτριον ἡμῶν τόνδε θεὸν . . . (IV 16.7) “ . . . our ancestral god . . .” They add, καὶ τήνδε τὴν θυσίαν ἄγει τῷ θεῷ τῷ φήναντι νικητήριόν τε καὶ χαριστήριον, ἅμα δὲ

καὶ ἐμβατήριον· (IV 16.8) “He [the winner at the games] is making a victory sacrifice and thanksgiving sacrifice, and also a sacrifice for safe travel, to the god who appeared to him.”

The special part played in the story by Apollo as the god of the oracle is again emphasized at IV 18.3. Kalasiris expresses optimism for the future of the hero and heroine on the grounds that “the beginning of the journey was undertaken with the god’s help.” (σὺν γὰρ θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικεχειρησθαι.) The phrase σὺν θεῷ was used by Greek writers from Homer onwards to mean ‘with divine assistance’ or ‘with divine assent’. At first sight it seems to be used in that neutral way here, but on reflection the reader will remember that the god which assisted the beginning of the journey was Apollo. Heliodoros sometimes uses a common expression in an unconventional way in order to catch his readers’ attention. Here he uses the common phrase σὺν θεῷ, but he uses it unconventionally, by applying it to a specific god.¹¹¹

Heliodoros again uses periphrases to underline rather than obscure the importance of Apollo at V 5.4. As priestess of Artemis Charikleia has a bow and quiver. She gives them to Theagenes to carry, and they are called φόρτον ἡδιστον ἐκείνῳ καὶ θεοῦ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ὄπλον οἰκειότατον. “a most pleasant burden for him, and the equipment especially associated with the god who is in control.” ‘The god’ here is masculine, so it can only mean Apollo, who shared an association with the bow and arrow with Artemis.

Only in two places is ὁ θεός used with some ambiguity. At V 34.2 Kalasiris finds Charikleia asleep in a temple. Before leading her back to their lodgings he weeps, πρὸς τὰ βελτίονα τρέψαι τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν ἱκετεύσας τὸν θεόν . . . “praying to the god to change her fortune for the better . . .” There is a temple of Hermes in the vicinity,¹¹² but it is not clear whose temple Charikleia is in here.¹¹³ It is probably simplest here to take τὸν θεόν as the god controlling the young couple’s destiny, that is, as Apollo.

ὁ θεός is qualified, but not identified by name, at II 30.4. Charikles is trying to give Kalasiris a bag of jewels, and says “. . . ἐπόμνυμί γε τὸν ἰδρυμένον ἐνθάδε θεὸν ἅπαντα δώσειν . . .” “I swear by the god who resides here that I will give you everything . . .” Charikles has used ὁ θεός, ‘the god’, for Apollo (see below on II.29.3); here he is referring to the god at Katadoupoi, whom he does not name. Heliodoros’ grasp of the topography of the area is shaky, and he seems to mistakenly regard Katadoupoi as a town rather than a Cataract: he

¹¹¹The alternative expression σὺν θεοῖς is used only at V 16.2, by Nausikles, for whom the chief gods of the *Aithiopika* have no special importance.

¹¹²V 13.2.

¹¹³V 15.3.

may be confusing it with Elephantine,¹¹⁴ which was noted for a temple of Khnum.

Charikles prays to ὁ θεός, 'the god' at II 29.3; he sacrifices to him at II 35.2; he prays to him again, in the temple of Apollo, at III 18.1; he recalls receiving a prophecy from him at IV.19.3: ἐμοὶ γήμαντι παιδία οὐκ ἐγίνετο, ὅψε δέ ποτε καὶ βραδὺ τῆς ἡλικίας πολλὰ τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύων θυγατρὶος πατὴρ ἀνηγορεύθην, οὐκ ἐπ' αἰσίοις ἔσεσθαι μοι ταύτην τοῦ θεοῦ προαγορεύσαντος. "I was married and had no child. Entreating the god, I was told, late in life and heavy with age, that I would be the father of a young girl, and the god foretold that she would not be propitious for me." (II 29.3) . . . ὥραν εἶναι τοῦ τὴν θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ προσάγειν ἔλεγεν . . . " . . . he said it was time to offer the sacrifice to the god . . ." (II 35.2). ἔστι δὲ πλησίον ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ ὕμνον ἀποθύει τῷ θεῷ τεταραγμένος τι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. "He [Charikles] is nearby, in the temple of Apollo; he is performing an incantation for the god because he has been disturbed by a dream." (III 18.1). . . ταυτηνὶ τίνω τὴν δίκην, ἣν . . . ὁ θεός μοι προεῖπεν. . . " . . . I am suffering the punishment which the god predicted to me . . ." (IV 19.3) When Charikles prays to ὁ θεός, 'the god', and 'the god' replies, and when he sacrifices to him, we can be confident that the god in question is Apollo, since Charikles is his priest at Delphi.

θεός is the Nile at XI 22.7. The Nile is identified as Horos, who may be regarded a solar deity.¹¹⁵

At X 6.5 τοῦ θεοῦ in the words of the narrator refers back to Dionysos in the previous sentence.

No particular god can be identified when Thyamis, about to fight his brother, says, Ἰκῆσαι δὴ οὖν θεοῦ νεύοντος, οὐκ ἀποκτεῖναι προήρημαι. "I have decided to win, god willing, but not to kill him." (VII 5.4); and says to Theagenes that if he loses, τὸν ληστρικὸν διαθλήσεις βίον ἕως ἄν τι τέλος τῶν κατὰ σε δεξιώτερον ὑποφῆνῃ θεός. "you will suffer the life of a bandit until god reveals some happier conclusion to your circumstances." (VII 5.5).

Sometimes the Persian king, or the old priest, Kalasiris is referred to as θεός (Kalasiris, IV 7.8; Hydaspes, V 9.2, IX 22.7, X 6.1). θεός is just some unidentified god, 'a god' who has no significance for the plot, at II 9.5; V 10.2; VII 11.3; X 9.2. These references are not relevant to our enquiry, but are included for the sake of completeness.

¹¹⁴This is based on the assumption that the mistake arose from a misunderstanding of Hdt. II

17.

¹¹⁵v. Section II above, p33ff.

The two conclusions to be drawn from this catalogue are that where a masculine θεός is important in the plot he is always Apollo or Helios; and that wherever ὁ θεός or τὸν θεόν stands in a sentence in which it is not otherwise identified it clearly refers to Apollo or Helios.

We turn now to θεός in the feminine. The catalogue includes the only goddesses referred to in the novel. These are Artemis, Isis, and Selene, who are important in the novel; and besides, one reference to Athena (I 10.1), in the context of Knemon's story which is set in Athens. If the view that Isis is associated with the moon is accepted, then with this one exception ἡ θεός is in every instance a moon goddess.

In I 2.1 when the bandits see Charikleia they think she is a goddess (καὶ θεὸς εἶναι ἀναπείθουσα). Some of them think she is "the goddess Artemis, or the local Isis" (θεὸν Ἄρτεμιν ἢ τὴν ἐγχώριον Ἴσιν, I 2.6). When they see her concern for the wounded Theagenes, they change their minds, saying, "How could a goddess behave like that?" (ποῦ ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη θεοῦ τὰ ἔργα, I 2.7).

Isis is ἡ θεός at I 18.4. She appears to Thyamis in a dream, and makes an accurate prediction which he, in the grip of desire, misinterprets to mean that he will marry Charikleia. Following negotiations with his men and with Charikleia Thyamis is persuaded to march to Memphis. Therefore, the dream initiates an important turn in the plot, but only because it is misunderstood. In the dream Isis clearly indicates that she is guiding Charikleia's destiny. Thyamis dreams he enters the temple of Isis. The scene is described. The dream continues: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐντὸς ἦκειν τῶν ἀνακτόρων, τὴν θεὸν ὑπαντῶσαν ἐγχειρίζειν τε τὴν Χαρίκλειαν καὶ λέγειν "ὦ Θύαμι, τήνδε σοι τὴν παρθένον ἐγὼ παραδίδωμι, σὺ δὲ ἔχων οὐχ ἔξεις, ἀλλ' ἄδικος ἔση καὶ φονεύσεις τὴν ξένην· ἡ δὲ οὐ φονευθήσεται." "[I dreamt that] then I entered the shrine, and the goddess, meeting me, placed Charikleia in my hands and said, 'Thyamis, I am giving you this maiden. Having her you will not have her, but you will do wrong and kill the foreigner; but she will not be killed.'" Later, when events do not turn out as Thyamis expects, he becomes distressed, "blaming the goddess for being deceitful." (καὶ πολλὰ τὴν θεὸν ὡς δολερὰν ὀνειδίσας . . . , I 30.5).¹¹⁶

Isis is ἡ θεός to whom Rhodopis makes sacrifice at II.25.2. The arrival of Rhodopis at Memphis to tempt Kalasiris is a key element in the plot. However, it is not attributed to Isis but to the evolutions of the heavenly bodies.

¹¹⁶However, it is argued below in the commentary ad loc. that the correct reading here is not τὴν θεόν, but τὴν θέαν, "the vision".

Isis comes into the story when Kalasiris has returned to Memphis, where he was her priest. He enters the shrine to lay aside his priesthood, “making libation and prayer to the goddess” (σπείσας τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ κατευξάμενος, VII 8.7). In VII 9.1 Queen Arsake lingers in the temple, as a pretext “indulging in a lot of worshipping of the goddess (πλείονι θεραπαίᾳ δῆθεν τῇ περὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐναλύουσα πλὴν ἄλλ’ ἀπεχώρει γε . . .). Arsake’s servant arrives at the temple “saying she was going to offer a sacrifice to the goddess” (θυσίαν ἄγειν τῇ θεῷ λέγουσα . . . VII 11.2) and is told that Kalasiris shortly before dying, “made libation and prayed a lot to the goddess” (σπεῖσαί τε καὶ πολλὰ ἐπεύξασθαι τῇ θεῷ, VII 11.3).

In the explanation of the myth of Isis and Osiris, ἡ θεὸς is used of Isis (ποθεῖ γοῶν ἀπόντα ἡ θεός “So the goddess grieves for the absent [Osiris]” IX 9.5).

The sacrifices made to the Sun and Moon in Meroe are described in X.6.5, where ὁ θεός is used to refer back to the Sun (Helios); and ἡ θεὸς refers back to the Moon (Selene), as it does also at X 7.7.

This catalogue of the uses of θεός in the feminine illustrates the importance of Artemis, Isis and Selene in the plot. It also draws attention to the fact that there is no reference to any other goddess mentioned, with the single exception of Athene in Knemon’s story - a point emphasized by the way ἡ θεός is sometimes used without immediate identification, but where a consideration of the context shows that she must be Artemis-Isis-Selene.

IV. Ὁ ΔΑΙΜΩΝ IN THE *AITHIOPIKA*: BACKGROUND, AND A CATALOGUE

The actions attributed to ὁ δαίμων in the *Aithiopika* are invariably to the disadvantage of man, although not always undeserved. δαίμων without the article, too, seems always, or almost always, to be used by Heliodoros for an evil or malevolent spirit. The purpose this section is to establish the precise meaning of the term in Heliodoros; it includes a catalogue of all the occasions on which he uses δαίμων in the singular, first with then without the article.

Before cataloguing the uses of ὁ δαίμων in the *Aithiopika* it will be useful to say something about the background in earlier Greek for the way Heliodoros uses ὁ δαίμων. The nature of ὁ δαίμων and its relationship with ἡ τύχη and ὁ θεός has given historians of religion undue difficulty.¹¹⁷ This survey of the background starts with ὁ δαίμων in classical literature; then a statement of Plutarch is quoted in which he describes a Mithraic belief in which the dualistic

¹¹⁷The problem is discussed at RE VIIA 1654, 1.58ff.

use of ὁ θεός and ὁ δαίμων is particularly close to that of Heliodoros; finally there is a discussion of δαίμων and ὁ δαίμων in Christian literature.

The word δαίμων basically means a supernatural being. It may be applied to gods or to minor spiritual entities. Its semantic field is almost as wide as that of the English word 'spirit', so we should not be too disappointed when a study of its full range of usage does not add up to very much in the way of an identifiable concept in Greek religious thought.¹¹⁸ Plutarch offers an extended metaphysical explanation of what δαίμονες are.¹¹⁹ He says that they are spirits between gods and men, and are a mixture of good and bad. It is doubtful whether many of the authors who used the word could have given so precise a formulation of what δαίμων means.

For the purpose of translation the various uses must be carefully distinguished. Firstly, δαίμων sometimes refers to an explicitly identified god or spirit. This class includes both references to previously named or implicitly identified gods on the one hand, and on the other expressions for lesser spirits, such as ὁ πάρων δαίμων, or Plato's ὁ ἐκάστου δαίμων for a person's peculiar spirit or fate. Heliodoros uses ὁ δαίμων (the best attested reading) as a general term for a previously defined being when Kalasiris refers to Hermes as the real father of Homer, at III 14.2.¹²⁰

Secondly, classical authors use δαίμων for supernatural beings who are not identified; to this class of use belong many of the occurrences of the word in the plural, and phrases like τις δαίμων, ἀγαθὸς δαίμων.

The third use, and the one adopted by Heliodoros, is ὁ δαίμων where it has the article in the singular but does not refer to a particular spirit which is otherwise identified. The key to a proper interpretation is to distinguish the cases where δαίμων is grammatically determined.¹²¹ Only if it is determined are we entitled to assume that the δαίμων in question is a particular, individual entity with individual characteristics which it may be possible to identify. In the case of ὁ δαίμων it is important to remember that, at least for pagan writers, this is apparently a purely literary usage, found mainly in Tragedy. In other words, ὁ δαίμων has no cult, and is unattested in documentary evidence.

¹¹⁸ δαίμων as a general term for supernatural beings is discussed by U.v. Wilamowitz (1931) I 362-370; see also West *Works and Days* (1978) ad 122.

¹¹⁹ Plu. *Isis & Osiris* 25-26. v. also Apul. *Soc.* passim.

¹²⁰ Homer is here claimed to be Egyptian, so this must be the Egyptian Hermes, or Thoth, the putative source of Hermetic teaching: the implication is presumably that Kalasiris regards Homer as a fountain of Hermetic wisdom.

¹²¹ The concept of nominal determination is discussed by Schwyzer-Debrunner II p19-27.

These three uses of δαίμων do overlap. In general what they had in common is that a δαίμων was thought of as a spirit between the gods and men, (sometimes the spirit of a deceased person), as is expounded in detail by Apuleius.¹²² The use of ὁ δαίμων to refer back to a named god (where ὁ θεός would be more usual) is found in Homer, and does not die out in later Greek, but is rare in prose. In prose, particularly in fifth century prose, the pairing θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες is frequent. In this context a δαίμων is an intermediate spirit, between gods and men, as is fairly clear, for instance, from Plato *Apology*.¹²³

ὁ δαίμων, like ὁ θεός when it refers to a general unnamed deity, appears first in the fifth century B.C. It is invariably the agent or foreteller of something undesirable, while ὁ θεός never is. Originally, at any rate, it was presumably used through reluctance to attribute anything bad either to ὁ θεός or to a named god. This use for a malevolent deity does occur without the article; when it does, however, it is frequently unclear whether one should think of ὁ δαίμων in this specific sense, or merely of the neutral τις δαίμων, which can be both malevolent and benevolent.

I have examined all the examples of the simple expression ὁ δαίμων from Herodotos, Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Aeschines, Antiphon, Lysias, Demosthenes, Isokrates, Xenophon of Ephesos and Achilles Tatios, where the reference is not to a particular, previously defined spirit, or to a spirit defined by an adjective or adjectival phrase. In every case these examples seem to conform to the principle that ὁ δαίμων, used alone, refers to the agent of unpleasant events or intelligence.¹²⁴ The use of ὁ δαίμων with no defining antecedent is not found in Pindar, Thucydides, Aristotle, Xenophon, Polybios, Chariton,¹²⁵ Longos, Lucian or Plato.¹²⁶

¹²²Apul. *Soc.* passim.

¹²³Pl. *Ap.* 27c-e (τοὺς δὲ δαίμονας οὐχὶ ἤτοι θεοὺς γε ἡγούμεθα ἢ θεῶν παῖδας;).

¹²⁴Herodotos I 210.1, II 765.4; Aischylos *Persae* 601 (the chorus says that when ὁ δαίμων gives good things one should still expect the worst), *Septem contra Thebas* 813; Sophokles *O.C.* 76, 1370, 1443; Euripides *Medea* 1231, *Supplices* 352, *Helen* 915, *Orestes* 394, 667 (if ὁ δαίμων is interpreted as ironic), *Bacchae* 481, 1374 (τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μὲν χρηστά, τοῦ δὲ δαίμονος / βαρέα.), *Phoenissae* 413, 984 (in these two passages ὁ δαίμων may be used ironically), 1662, (1653 is badly corrupt); fragments 140, 554 (Ναῦκ); Aristophanes *Plutus* 7, 726; Aeschines *Ctesias* 115, 157; Antiphon *Tetr.* 2.3.4, 2.4.10; Lysias II 78, XIII 63, XXIV 22; Demosthenes XVIII (*De corona*) 192, 208; in Demosthenes LX (*Epitaphios*) 19.5, 21.7 (ὁ πάντων κύριος δαίμων), 31.6, and Isokrates *Evag.* 25 D δαίμων acts favourably towards one man but only at the expense of someone else; Xenophon of Ephesos I 5.4; Achilles Tatios I 4.9.7, I 8.4.4. Ailius Aristides *Rhodiakos* (ed. Dindorf I 797-823) uses ὁ δαίμων four times for the power which caused an earthquake and the resulting disaster, and uses ὁ δαίμων in contrast with ὁ θεός at *Embassy to Achilles* 432 (ed. Dindorf II 597-8).

¹²⁵However, a personified δαίμων may appear in Chariton I 16.5 to 16.7; πλὴν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τις εὐρέθη βάσκανος δαίμων, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ φασὶ τὴν Ἑριν. ἐστρατολόγει δὲ

One use of δαίμων in tragedy¹²⁷ is discussed by E. Fraenkel,¹²⁸ who gives references for the interpretation of the word in tragedy in the recent literature. Fraenkel argues that sometimes δαίμων is more or less an equivalent of πότμος. This interpretation does not confirm that δαίμων is used invariably for something bad in tragedy; it is, however, not inconsistent with it, (although it could be argued that it may be only the tragic context which determines that this synonym of πότμος is always the bringer of bad fortune.) Karl Reinhardt makes frequent reference to the concept of Daimon in Sophokles.¹²⁹ However he does not defend or explain his use of the term. The explanation is implicit. As H. Lloyd-Jones writes,¹³⁰ 'Yet Reinhardt himself clearly shows how the action of a Sophoclean play is rapidly swept onwards to its appointed conclusion by the force of what he calls the daimon. In speaking of the daimon the word 'fate' is inappropriate; in Sophokles, the daimon is a god-directed force, and the gods control the action quite as firmly as they do in Homer or in Aeschylus.'

δαίμων is frequently used for death in epitaphs¹³¹ from the middle of the fifth century. This date coincides with the earliest use of ὁ δαίμων as a specifically negative divine power. θεός is not used in this way.

ὁ δαίμων is not found in documents. In deeds of divorce from the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. δαίμων (without the article) is sometimes cited as the grounds for divorce.¹³² In some other papyri it is the cause of sickness.¹³³

αὐτοὺς [the suitors] ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Χαίρεου πόλεμον ὁ Φθόνοϋς. I 2.5 to 2.6 ἐφοπλιῶ γὰρ αὐτῷ [Chaireas] Ζηλοτυπίαν, ἥτις σύμμαχον λαβοῦσα τὸν Ἔρωτα μέγα τι κακὸν διαπράττεται.

¹²⁶There is a possible exception at *Leges* IX 877a, if δαίμων there is taken apart from αὐτοῦ, rather than being translated as the man's individual δαίμων.

¹²⁷There is a general discussion of δαίμων in tragedy in RE, S III 286f, although no attempt is made there to distinguish δαίμων and ὁ δαίμων. The same is true of G. François (1957). Even by conventional standards François understates the bad side of δαίμων, which he treats as almost equivalent to θεός. His main thesis is that for classical writers the use of these terms in the singular does not point to a monotheistic outlook.

¹²⁸E. Fraenkel *Agamemnon* (1950), ad 1341f.

¹²⁹K. Reinhardt (1947, 1979).

¹³⁰H. Lloyd-Jones (1979). The closest K. Reinhardt himself comes to explaining his understanding of 'daimon' is in K. Reinhardt (1949) 14: 'In der Form alten Dämonenglaubens setzt sich der Gedanke fort: Hybris, wenn sie erst einmal in einem Hause eingesessen ist, gebiert, die alte, eine junge, einen Dämon, der ihr gleich ist, während Dike, die so lang als Segengeist darin gewohnt hat, aus dem sündhaft reichen Hause auszieht.'

¹³¹Some references are given in RE IV 2010.

¹³²*P.Cair.Preis.* 2,3, both 362 AD; *P.Grenf.* 76, 305-6 AD; *P.Strass.* 142, 391 AD; and the following all from the sixth century: *P.Cair.Masp.* 67153, 67154, 67121, 67311; *Flor.* 93; *BGU XII* 2203; *P.Lond. V* 1712, 1713; *SB XIV* 12043.

Plutarch, exceptionally, seems to use ὁ δαίμων without a consistently negative sense; however, it is a statement concerning the theological dualism of the Magi in Plutarch *Isis and Osiris*¹³⁴ which gives the clue to why Heliodoros took this fixed but occasional usage of the classical writers and employed it with unprecedented frequency: νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν μὲν φαύλων δημιουργόν· οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμείνονα θεόν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον δαίμονα καλοῦσιν, ὥσπερ Ζοροάστρης ὁ μάγος . . . μέσον δ' ἀμφοῖν Μίθρην εἶναι. “They [the dualists] think that there are two gods like rival craftsmen, one a manufacturer of good things, one of bad; they call the good one *theos* and the bad one *daimon*, as does Zoroaster the Magus, . . . and in between them is Mithras.”¹³⁵

At several points in the commentary it is argued that Heliodoros has some lexical usages which are distinctively Christian. Therefore it is necessary to consider whether Heliodoros' use of δαίμων owes anything to the practice of Christian writers. The strongest argument that it does is that in the *Aithiopika* δαίμων without the article seems always to be bad in its connotations. This agrees with the invariable practice of the Christian writers. In other non-Christian writers ὁ δαίμων is always bad, but δαίμων alone is neutral: it may be good or bad, and no pattern can be discerned; in Christian writers δαίμων is a demon.

Christian writers do not consistently distinguish δαίμων from δαιμόνιον, which also means ‘demon’.¹³⁶ For Christians demons usually cause temptation

¹³³ βασκανία δαίμων is the cause of sickness in a prayer for relief from sickness, *BGU* 954 (sixth century (?), original destroyed; the opening is quoted below in note 142); δαίμων is almost certainly a cause of sickness in *SB* V 8007, (the editor's date is ‘c.300 AD?’; the *editio princeps* lacks photographs), a bill of sale for a slave who is described as πισ[τὴν] καὶ ἄδραστον οὐσαν ἐκτὸς [ἱ]ερᾶς νόσου καὶ ἐπαφῆς [καὶ] ἀνεπίληπτου ἀπὸ δαίμονος . . .; δαίμων may be a cause of sickness but probably refers to more general misfortune in *PSI* 767, 331-2 AD, which is a petition to have a debt extended: συνβέβηκεν γάρ μοι αἰτία τι νι τύχης χρήσασθαι πονηροῦ δαίμονος . . . 1.47-48.

¹³⁴ Plu. *Isis and Osiris* 46 / 369D-E.

¹³⁵ The concept of μέσον, which the dualists applied to the sun according to the statement of Plutarch quoted above, is discussed and assigned to Helios by Julian *Or.* IV(XI) 138c-139d, who connects it with the fact that in astrology the sun is the middle of the seven planets. Our examination of the use in Heliodoros of ὁ θεός leaves no doubt that unless he has an attribute which defines him as something else, he is equivalent to Helios-Apollo. Heliodoros differs from Plutarch's dualists in that for him Helios is the same as ὁ θεός, not an intermediate god between ὁ θεός and ὁ δαίμων. Bad things are never ascribed to Helios-Apollo under his own name, except by Charikleia in her lament at I 8 (for which Theagenes chides her).

¹³⁶ δαιμόνιον is used by Heliodoros for lesser supernatural beings, a meaning which is unremarkable by classical standards; as noted in section I, where the references are given, τὸ δαιμόνιον does not play a major part in the divine economy of the plot, so does not require discussion here.

or wrongdoing. In the *Aithiopika* ὁ δαίμων brings misfortune but not temptation. There are times however when Christian writers refer to δαίμονες as bringers of misfortune.¹³⁷ In Josephos too, at the one place where δαίμων is used it is the bringer of misfortune, in a speech by Herod:¹³⁸ . . . ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δαίμων τις τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον καὶ μοι τοὺς φιλότατους ἐπανίστησιν ἀεὶ . . . , “. . . but when some evil spirit devastates my house and continually causes those closest to me to revolt . . .”

ὁ δαίμων meaning ‘the evil power’ or ‘the Devil’ is found in Christian writing,¹³⁹ but with much less frequency than in the *Aithiopika*. The pagan writer other than Heliodoros who comes closest to using δαίμων in the Christian sense of ‘evil spirit’ is Iamblichos. In the *De mysteriis* δαίμονες, spirits between gods and men, govern the physical side of man’s nature. According to Iamblichan Neo-Platonism the physical side of man’s nature is base, and Iamblichos clearly states that because δαίμονες are associated with it undesirable events are to be associated with them.¹⁴⁰

Heliodoros uses the expression ὁ δαίμων much more frequently than earlier writers, Christian or non-Christian, but his use of it follows the same pattern as theirs. I quote every instance where he uses the term, and in view of the unequivocal statement by Plutarch quoted above, have ventured to translate ὁ δαίμων as ‘the evil power’. After this his uses of the singular δαίμων without the article are quoted.

I 1.6: καὶ μυρίον εἶδος ὁ δαίμων ἐπὶ μικροῦ τοῦ χωρίου διεσκεύαστο, οἶνον αἵματι μιάνας, καὶ συμποσίοις πόλεμον ἐπιστήσας, φόνους καὶ πότους, σπονδὰς καὶ σφαγὰς ἐπισυνάψας, καὶ τοιοῦτον θέατρον λησταῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιδείξας. “The evil power devised a great variety of things in a small space, polluting wine with blood, starting a battle at a party, joining killing with drinking and libations with slaughter, and displayed this scene to the Egyptian bandits.”

I 26.4: θεοῖς τὰ ἐξῆς ἐπιτρέψασα καὶ δαίμονι τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαχόντι τὸν ἡμέτερον ἐπιτροπεύειν ἔρωτα: “. . . entrusting the future to the gods and to the evil power which has been assigned the power to govern the twists and turns of our love.” (This is the only occurrence of ὁ δαίμων where the context would also permit a translation in which he is not represented as malevolent.)

¹³⁷References can be found in Lampe, δαίμων D.2.

¹³⁸ Josephos *Bell. Jud.* I 628. We do not know whether Josephos distinguished δαίμονες from δαιμόνια, defined as hostile spirits of the dead at *Bell. Jud.* VII.185.

¹³⁹e.g. Euseb. *H.E.* VII 31 τοῦ δαίμονος, ἀπὸ τοῦ δὲ τοῦ θεομάχου Σατανά. Other references can be found in E.C.E. Owen *JTS* (1931) p 147.

¹⁴⁰The possibility that Iamblichos was a major influence on the theological and philosophical thought of Heliodoros is discussed below, p65ff.

Π 1.3: ἀλλὰ πυρός, οἶμοι, γέγονας ἀνάλωμα, τοιαύτας ἐπὶ σοι λαμπάδας ἀντὶ τῶν νυμφικῶν τοῦ δαίμονος ἄψαντος· “Alas, you have become the price exacted by the fire, and the evil power has lit these firebrands for you instead of bridal torches.”

Π 4.4: ἔξεσται πάντως ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι μετὰ γούν θάνατον εἰ καὶ ζῶσιν ὁ δαίμων οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε. “At least we will be able to be together after death, even if the evil power does not permit it to us while we are alive.”

Π 17.2: κακῶν μὲν, ὦ Θεάγενες, ἄδηλον ὅστις πλεονεκτεῖ· ἀφθόνως γὰρ κῆμοι τῶν συμφορῶν ὁ δαίμων ἐπήντησεν. “Theagenes, I do not know who has more troubles, for the evil power has unstintingly poured misfortunes over me too.”

Π 25.3: ἀρχὴν δὴ τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ προαγορευθέντων μοι πρὸς τοῦ θείου δυσχερῶν τὴν γυναῖκα φωράσας καὶ συνεῖς ὡς τῶν πεπωμένων ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις καὶ ὡς ὁ τότε εἰληχῶς δαίμων οἶονεῖ προσωπεῖον αὐτὴν ὑπῆλθε, “. . . detecting that the woman was the beginning of the problems which lay in the future and had been predicted to me by the heavens, and understanding . . . that the evil power then in control was possessing her like a mask,”

ἔ

Π 29.4: ~~ἔ~~πετραγῶδει τούτῳ τῷ δράματι καὶ ἕτερον πάθος ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὴν μητέρα μοι τῆς παιδὸς ἀφαιρεῖται μὴ τοῖς θρήνοις ἐγκαρτερήσασαν. “The evil power added a further tragedy to this drama, and took away the mother of my child because she could not cope with the mourning,”

III 14.2: δαίμων is here used of an explicitly identified divinity (if the reading is right) so this example differs from the others, where ὁ δαίμων is otherwise unidentified: πατὴρ δὲ τὸ μὲν δοκεῖν προφήτης τὸ δὲ ἀψευδὲς Ἑρμῆς, οὐπὲρ ἦν ὁ δοκῶν πατὴρ προφήτης· τῇ γὰρ τούτου γαμετῇ τελοῦση τινὰ πάτριον ἀγιστεῖαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν καθευδούση συνῆλθεν ὁ δαίμων καὶ ποιεῖ τὸν Ὅμηρον φέροντά τι τῆς ἀνομοίου μίξεως σύμβολον. “The apparent father was a priest, but the real father was Hermes, of whom the apparent father was priest. When his wife had celebrated a traditional ritual and was sleeping in the temple the god (ὁ δαίμων) came to her and created Homer, who bore a mark of this unequal union.”

Although in this example ὁ δαίμων is not used absolutely, and thus does not properly belong with the other examples listed, it is interesting to ask why Heliodoros makes Kalasiris refer to Hermes as ὁ δαίμων rather than as ὁ θεός.

Perhaps Heliodoros is echoing the Homeric practice of applying δαίμων to the Olympians. Or perhaps in his theological system Hermes had some connection with ὁ δαίμων the malefactor. Most likely, perhaps, he wished to preserve the title ὁ θεός for the supreme god in Kalasiris' speech, and regarded Hermes as an intermediate spirit. It may be objected to this last idea that Heliodoros does not show similar scruple in preserving ἡ θεός for the supreme goddess; he applies it to Athena in the mouth of Knemon at I 10.1. On the other hand it is doubtful whether he would have regarded the alternative ἡ δαίμων as permissible Greek, or considered theologically correct language appropriate to Knemon.

IV 8.8: τὰς ἐμψύχους καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁμιλίας τοῦ δαίμονος στερήσαντος, "the evil power having deprived [me] of live and face to face communication,"

IV 19.8: ὦ τῆς ἀμειλίκτου καθ' ἡμῶν τοῦ δαίμονος φιλονεικίας· "Oh, what unrelenting¹⁴¹ antagonism of the evil power against us!"

V 2.7: νυνὶ δὲ ὁ μηδεπώποτε κεκορεσμένος ἐμὲ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰληχὼς δαίμων μικρὸν τῶν ἡδονῶν ὑποθέμενος εἴτα ἡπάτησε. "But now the ever insatiable evil power which has controlled me from the start has given a little pleasure and then disappointed."

V 6.2: ἄχρι τίνος ἔλεγε φευξόμεθα τὴν πανταχοῦ διώκουσαν εἰμαρμένην; εἴξωμεν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ χωρήσωμεν ὁμόσε τῷ φέροντι· κερδήσωμεν ἄλλην ἀνήνυτον καὶ πλάνητα βίον καὶ τὴν ἐπάλληλον τοῦ δαίμονος καθ' ἡμῶν πομπείαν. "[Theagenes] said, 'How long will we be running away from the fate which pursues us everywhere? We give in to chance and go along with circumstance; we get pointless roaming, a wandering life, and the continuous procession on which the evil power leads us.'"

V 20.1: κῶμα φασὶν ἐπὶ κύματι προσέβαλλεν ὁ δαίμων. "The evil power added, as they say, wave upon wave [of trouble]."

V 29.6: πρὸς τοῦτο μὲν ὁ δαίμων ἀντέπραξεν ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐμβεβήκαμεν, "the evil power opposed this [an easy flight], and we embarked among these difficulties."

¹⁴¹ The precise meaning of ἀμειλικτος is not certain: cf Synesios *Ep.* 79 / 227D (PG 66, 1452B): ἀλλὰ ταύτην γε τὴν φωνὴν ἄξιον εἰπεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ Μαξίμου, καὶ ὑπὲρ Κλεινίου, οὓς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἂν καὶ ὅστις ὠμότατος δαιμόνων ἡλεήσεν. ἐξερήσθων τοῦ λόγου Θόας τε καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος, οἱ μόνοι δαίμονων ἀμειλικοι.

VI 8.3: φέρε ἔφη καὶ ἡμεῖς δαίμονι τῷ εἰληχότι χορεύσωμεν κατὰ τὸν ἐκεῖνου τρόπον· ἄσωμεν αὐτῷ θρήνους καὶ γόους ὑπορχησώμεθα . . .
“‘Come,’ she said, ‘and we will do a dance to the evil power who is in control according to his own style; we will sing laments to him and dance to the sound of wailing . . .’”

VII 14.5, 14.6: ὦ τὸν Καλάσιριν ἀνεκάλει κωκύουσα, τὸ γὰρ χρηστότατον ὄνομα καλεῖν ἀπεστέρημαι πατέρα, τοῦ δαίμονος πανταχόθεν μοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς προσηγορίαν περικόψαι φιλονεικήσαντος. τὸν μὲν φύσει γεννήσαντα οὐκ ἔγνωνκα, τὸν δὲ θέμενον Χαρικλέα, οἷμοι, προδέδωκα, τὸν δὲ διαδεξάμενον καὶ τρέφοντα καὶ περισφύζοντα ἀπολώλεκα, καὶ οὐδὲ θρηνῆσαι τὰ νενομισμένα ἔτι κειμένῳ τῷ πτώματι πρὸς τοῦ προφητικοῦ συγκεχώρημαι. ἀλλ’ ἰδοὺ σοι, τροφεῦ καὶ σῶτερ, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ πάτερ κἂν ὁ δαίμων μὴ βούληται, ἔνθα γοῦν ἔξεστι καὶ ὥς ἔξεστιν ἀποσπένδω τῶν ἐμαυτῆς δακρύων . . .

“‘Oh, Kalasiris,’ she cried, ‘for I cannot use the pleasant name of father, now that the evil power has contrived to exclude that form of address. I did not know my natural father; alas, I betrayed my adoptive father Charikles; and the father who took me in, brought me up and rescued me I have lost, and I am not permitted by the priestly caste to perform the usual laments over the laid out corpse. But look, my protector and my saviour, and, in spite of the evil power, my father, where and as it is possible I pour out my tears . . .’”

VII 21.3: ὦ Θεάγενες ἔλεγεν ἡ Χαρίκλεια ὁ μὲν δαίμων τοιαῦτα ἡμῖν προξενεῖ τὰ εὐτυχήματα ἐν οἷς πλέον ἐστὶ τὸ κακῶς πράττειν τῆς δοκούσης εὐπραγίας· “‘Theagenes,’ said Charikleia, ‘the evil power gives us these blessings in which the difficulties exceed the apparent advantage.’”

IX 24.4: ὧν γὰρ πολυπλόκους τὰς ἀρχὰς ὁ δαίμων καταβέβληται, τούτων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ τέλη διὰ μακροτέρων συμπεραίνεσθαι· “‘Things which the evil power has afflicted with complicated beginnings can only be brought to their conclusion by circuitous means.’”

Without the article δαίμων seems sometimes to be used for ὁ δαίμων. However, since there are some ambiguous cases, it would be dangerous to insist that δαίμων is indistinguishable from ὁ δαίμων in Heliodoros. Nevertheless, the translation ‘an evil spirit’ suits the context consistently enough to require serious consideration, and it is used in this list of references. The translations are therefore *tentative*, and the argument does not rest on them but only on the catalogue for ὁ δαίμων above.

I 2.7: ποῦ ταῦτ' ἄν εἴη θεοῦ τὰ ἔργα, λέγοντες ποῦ δ' ἄν νεκρὸν σῶμα φιλοίη δαίμων οὕτω περιπαθῶς; “. . . saying, ‘How could these be the deeds of a goddess, or how could an evil spirit show such solicitous love for a dead body?’”

II 6.2: (Theagenes realised the corpse he had found was not Charikleia after all), τὴν φιλότατην, λέγων, κομιζώμεθα πρότερον, εἰ μὴ τις ἡμᾶς παίζει καὶ νυνὶ δαίμων· “. . . saying, ‘First let’s find my beloved, unless some evil spirit is still having a joke at our expense.’”

II 33.2: ἔγνων οὖν μὴ ἐνδιατρίβειν τοῖς Καταδούποις μὴ δὴ τις καὶ δαίμονος βασκανία τῆς δευτέρας με θυγατρὸς στερήσκει, “I decided not to delay at Katadoupoi in case the jealousy of some evil spirit took away my second daughter.”¹⁴²

IV 18.5: (Charikleia asks that Theagenes be sworn to refrain from sexual relations with her, and states the terms of the oath like this:) . . . ὥς οὔτε ὁμιλήσει τὰ Ἀφροδίτης πρότερον ἢ γένος τε καὶ οἶκον τὸν ἡμέτερον ἀπολαβεῖν ἢ, εἴπερ τοῦτο κωλύει δαίμων, ἀλλ’ οὖν γε πάντως βουλομένην γυναικὰ ποιῆσθαι ἢ μηδαμῶς. “. . . that he will not make love to me before I reach my family and home, or if an evil spirit prevents this, not, at least, before I become a wife with my full consent, or not at all.”

V 7.1: οὐ γὰρ οὕτω χρηστῷ τῷ δαίμονι προσπαλαίειν ὥς ταχεῖαν τῶν συμφορῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν συγχωρήσαι, “. . . for the evil spirit against which we struggle is not a favourable one, which will permit a quick escape from misfortunes, . . .”

¹⁴²βασκανία is occasionally used of the Devil. It would be interesting to know whether the δαίμονος βασκανία was a specifically Christian concept. The only other two examples of the collocation of these words are worth quoting. One is a Christian prayer, *BUG* 954 (referred to above in note 133; c. sixth century, original destroyed): Δέσποτα θ(ε)ὲ παντοκράτωρ | ὁ πατή[ρ] τοῦ κ(υρί)ου καὶ σ(ωτή)ρο<ς ἡ>μῶν | [Ι(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ κ]αὶ (?) ἅγιε Σερῆνε | εὐχαριστῶ ἐγὼ Σιλουανὸς υἱὸς | Σαραπίωνος καὶ κλίνω τὴν | κεφαλὴν [μο]υ κα<τ>ενώπιόν σου | αἰτῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν, ὅπως διώ- | ξης ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, τοῦ δοῦλού σου τὸν | δαίμονα προβασκανίας καὶ | τὸν κ...ε.πας (?) καὶ τὸν τῆς | ἀηδίας κα[ὶ] (?) πᾶσαν δὲ νόσον | καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἄφελε | ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, κτλ. (1-13). The other is an inscription from the Black Sea region commemorating the premature death of an important citizen. It is not clear whether the context is Christian or pagan. Its last publication seems to be as 2059 of Boeckh’s *CIG* II 126, where dates from the first century BC to the first century AD are suggested. 1.31: ὑπὸ τοῦ βασκαίνου δαίμονος ἀφηρέθη μὴ διατελέσας τὴν ἀρχὴν . . .; To these should perhaps be added Plutarch *Dio* 2.6, τὰ φαῦλα δαιμόνια καὶ βάσκανα.

VI 13.3: καὶ γίνεται τῶν ὀλίγων βαρεῖα βουλήσει δαίμονος καὶ παῖς ὁ ἐμός, βέλει Περσικῶ πρὸς τὰ στέρνα, ὡς ὁράτε, βληθεὶς· “and among those who fell, by the unkind will of an evil spirit, was my son, struck in the chest, as you see, by a Persian spear.”

VII 13.1: πάντων μὲν τῶν ὄντων, πολλὰ δὲ ἦν, ἀποσυληθέντες μόλις δὲ αὐτοὶ περισωθέντες καὶ κατὰ τι δεξιὸν βούλημα δαίμονος τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἥρωα Καλάσιριν συντυχία χρησάμενοι ἀφιγμένοι τε ἐνταῦθα ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου μετ’ αὐτοῦ βιωσόμενοι, νῦν ὡς ὁρᾷς πάντων ἔρημοι καὶ μόνοι περιλελείμεθα, . . . This is the only example of δαίμων without the article where translation such as ‘evil spirit’ or ‘malevolent power’ does not clearly fit. However the blessing referred to here was very much a mixed one, since from the speaker’s (Charikleia’s) current perspective her situation is ultimately worse than if she had never met Kalasiris. In view of this, and in view of the weight of evidence for δαίμων in Heliodoros being hostile, it is translated as ‘evil spirit’ here too. “We were stripped of our possessions, which were great, and scarcely survived, and by some kindness of an evil spirit we met the great man Kalasiris, and arriving here spent the rest of the time with him, and now, as you see, we have been left alone and bereft of everything . . .”

VII 25.7: μὴ γὰρ οὕτως ἡ δαίμονος τοῦ ἡμετέρου βαρύτης ἰσχύσειεν ὥστε με τὸν Χαρικλείας ἀπείρατον ἄλλης ὁμιλίας παρανόμως μιανθῆναι. “May the gravity of our evil genius not be so strong that I, who have not known Charikleia, should be illegitimately polluted by congress with another.”

VIII 10.2: τὸ μὲν γὰρ καινουργὸν ἔφη τῆς σωτηρίας δαιμονία τινὶ καὶ θεία παντάπασιν ἔοικεν εὐεργεσία . . . πλὴν εἰ μὴ θαυματοποιῖα τίς ἐστι δαίμονος εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα μὲν βάλλοντος ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων διασώζοντος. ‘She said, “The novelty of my salvation is like some supernatural or divine beneficence . . . unless it is some miracle of an evil spirit who takes us to the brink of destruction and then saves us from our state of helplessness.”’

X 13.5: Hydaspes, seeing the tokens which prove Charikleia is his daughter, says, [How do we know she is not dead,] τοῖς δὲ γνωρίσμασιν ἐπιτυχὼν τις ἀποκέχρηται τοῖς ἐκ τῆς τύχης; μή τις δαίμων ἡμῖν ἐπιπαίζει καὶ ὥσπερ προσωπεῖον τῇ κόρῃ ταῦτα περιθεὶς ἐντροφᾷ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ περὶ τεκνοποιῖαν ἐπιθυμία . . . “and someone who found the tokens by chance is using them? I hope that it is not an evil spirit playing with us, who, placing these things in the girl’s hands, mocks our desire for offspring.”

like a mask

V. Ἡ ΤΥΧΗ IN THE *AITHIOPIKA*: BACKGROUND, AND A CATALOGUE

Editors of Greek texts have a capricious habit of deciding whether to personify τύχη with an initial capital on impressionistic grounds. There are rare cases where internal evidence confirms that Τύχη is a deity. However, in general where no attribute is stated, and there is room for ambiguity, the decision about whether one is dealing with a particular, individual entity Τύχη, or with one of a number of possible τύχαι, must rest on whether the noun is determined by the presence of the article or of a vocative marker. In cases where Τύχη is a particular entity, the attempt to distinguish between it as an abstract concept and as a personification is misconceived. Where it is not determined, to treat it as a particular entity, in other words, to determine it by giving it a proper name with a capital letter, is to presume to add to the text information not provided by the author.¹⁴³ In simple terms, there is usually no adequate defence for personifying an undetermined τύχη in a text; Τύχη determined by a definite article is a definite concept which was already personified throughout the Greek world, and we are justified in signalling this by printing it with a capital.

In the case of Heliodoros ἡ Τύχη has a prominent rôle in directing events. We cannot really say whether she is to be regarded as a divine power. She was commonly respected as a deity: her cult was certainly widespread throughout the Hellenized world. On the other hand deities in Heliodoros usually receive some cult; there is no sign of a cult for ἡ Τύχη. In any case, we can look at how she behaves in the story, and show that, goddess or not, her presence and activity by no means preclude the idea that Helios-Apollo is supremely important both in motivating the plot and in the beliefs of the protagonists.

A defence of the view that in Heliodoros ἡ Τύχη is random chance devoid of guiding intelligence is perforce negative: it is necessary to show an *absence* of a discernible pattern or motivation in its actions. In order to do this I simply present all the cases where it is used in the singular, determined by an article but with no stated attribute which defines it as some particular Τύχη. The reason for making this distinction in the catalogue is that the key question for the present study is not the meaning of the word τύχη; the question is, if ἡ Τύχη is to be regarded as a deity in the *Aithiopika*, (which is not certain), what is her significance for the theology which informs the work?

¹⁴³ Some will argue that this is precisely what editors do when they add paragraphs and punctuation. However, the decision to personify an abstract concept is potentially a more arbitrary kind of intervention, and should only be taken upon a systematic and unambiguous principle.

I 13.2: ἡ Τύχη ἀπροσδοκίῳ φόβῳ τὸ ξίφος τῶν τούτου χειρῶν ἐκπεσεῖν παρασκευάσασα “By a sudden fright Fate caused the sword to fall from my hand.”

I 15.2: εἰ δέ τι τῶν μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἐκβέβηκεν, ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῇ Τύχῃ λογιστέον· “If something happens not according to plan, put it down to chance.”

I 22.4: τῆς ὀλκάδος ἐκστάντος καὶ τῇ Τύχῃ κυβερνᾶν ἐπιτρέψαντος. “. . . giving up control of the boat and letting chance steer her.”

II 21.4: χαίρειν ἐκέλευε. τοῦ δὲ οὐ δύνασθαι φήσαντος, ἐπειδὴ μὴ οὕτω συμβαίνειν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς Τύχης, “He [Knemon] said, ‘Good day!’ He [Kalasiris] replied that he couldn’t have a good day when he was so out of luck.”

IV 8.6: τὸ ἐκ τῆς Τύχης ἀμφίβολον . . . θανάτου προδήλου . . . προτιμότερον· “The uncertainty of chance is better than a certain death.”

IV 8.8: τὸ γὰρ ἄδηλον τῆς Τύχης ἀνθρώποις ἄγνωστον· “Mankind cannot find out the uncertainties of chance.”

V 6.1: ἀχανεῖς εἰστήκεσαν οἶον ἀπαλγοῦντες πρὸς τὴν Τύχην “They stood and gaped, distressed by their bad luck.”

V 6.2: εἴξωμεν τῇ Τύχῃ καὶ χωρήσωμεν ὁμόσε τῷ φέροντι· “We shall yield to chance and go along with events.”

V 7.1: τὴν μὲν Τύχην ἐν δίκη κακηγορεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ φάσκουσα “. . . accepting that their luck was justly accused by him,”

V 18.2: θαυμάζοντες ὥς παραλόγῳ τῇ Τύχῃ χρησαμένους εὐδιόν τε καὶ ἀπήμονα πλοῦν ἐν χειμερίῳ “. . . astonished that by an exceptional piece of luck the voyage, although made in winter, was calm and trouble-free.”

V 29.2: πλοῦτον ὃν πολλοὶ πόνοι καὶ φειδωλοὶ συνήθροισαν ἀσώτῳ συμποσίῳ τῆς Τύχης ἐνυβρίσαι παραδόσης, “wealth gathered by great labour and parsimony, as luck would have it, was wasted on a ruinous drinking party.”

VI 8.5: καὶ οὐ τῶν ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις ἡμῖν μέμψις, ὦ Τύχη καὶ δαίμονες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πράττοιεν κατὰ γνώμην, τῶν δὲ καθ’ ἡμᾶς . . . “I don’t blame you for their happiness, O Luck and spirits, (I wish them all the best), but for our circumstances, . . .”

VII 21.5: φέρειν τὰ προσπίπτοντα ἤδη με πολλάκις ἢ τε Τύχη καὶ ἡ γνώμη παρεσκεύασε. "My luck and my intelligence have taught me to bear misfortunes."

VII 26.2: νῦν τε ἐπειδὴ με καὶ δοῦλον . . . ἡ Τύχη σὸν ἀπέφηνε, πολὺ πλέον εἰς πάντα ἑτοιμος εἴκειν. "since luck has made me your slave . . . I am all the more ready to accept anything." (ἡ Τύχη is here indistinguishable from the τύχη which is one's lot in life, as it is in the following example.)

VII 27.2: σὲ μὲν γάρ, ὦ βέλτιστε, ἡ Τύχη εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καταναγκάζει, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡ φύσις τὰ πρακτέα καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ὑπαγορεύει. "Friend, your luck has taught you this kind of thing; my innate intelligence and the need of the moment tells me what to do."

VIII 6.4: ὁ δὲ ἦν πλέον ἀνὴρ τότε . . . μεγαλαυχούμενος ἅμα πρὸς τὴν Τύχην . . . "he was then more of a man . . . looking luck boldly in the face."

VIII 9.12: καθαρὰν μὲν εἶναι με τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ὑμεῖς ἐστε μάρτυρες ἐκοῦσαν δὲ ὑπομένουσιν τὸν θάνατον διὰ τὰς ἀφορήτους τῆς Τύχης ἐπηρείας. "[Sun, Moon, and spirits] you are witnesses that I am innocent of the charges, but that I willingly await death because of the insupportable insults of fate."

IX 2.1: καὶ βαβαὶ τῆς λαμπρᾶς ἔφη μεταβολῆς· ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ἡ Τύχη τὰ μεγάλα φιλανθρωπεύεται· χρυσᾶ σιδηρῶν ἀμείβομεν . . . "Hurrah for the amazing change! Luck has been kind to us! We have changed our iron [fettters] for gold ones!" *He said*

IX 5.1: καὶ τὸν Ὀροονδάτην ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ὑδάσπην ἰκέτευον. ὃ δὲ ἐπέθετο μὲν, δοῦλος καὶ ἄκων τῆς Τύχης γινόμενος, "they entreated Oroondates to send emissaries to Hydaspes. He agreed, because he was a slave, even if an unwilling one, to Fate."

IX 6.3: οὐ γὰρ τυραννεῖ τὴν νίκην, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀνεμέσητον διοικεῖ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων Τύχην. "He [King Hydaspes] did not act tyrannically in victory, but governed the fate of men moderately."

IX 11.6: [The Syenian babies crawled on hands and knees towards the Ethiopian army] καθάπερ σχεδιαζούσης ἐν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἱκεσίαν τῆς Τύχης. "as if Chance was improvising an appeal with them."

IX 20.6: τὸν καιρὸν τῆς Τύχης εἰς ἐχθροῦ ἄμυναν, ὡς ἐφκει, θηρώμενος.
“trying, as it seemed, to use the opportunity presented by luck to take revenge
on an enemy.”

IX 26.1: τοὺς μὲν δωρούμενος, οὓς δούλους ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγνώριζεν ἡ Τύχη,
τοὺς δὲ εὖ γεγονότας ἐλευθέρους ἀφιεῖς. “giving away those whom fate
had recognized as slaves from the first, and setting free the well born.”

IX 26.2: οὐδὲ ἐπεξάγω τὴν Τύχην πρὸς πλεονεξίαν οὐδὲ εἰς ἄπειρον
ἐκτείνω τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὴν νίκην, “I will not push my luck excessively, or
use victory to extend my power limitlessly.”

X 2.1: τὴν νίκην ὑμῖν τὴν κατὰ Περσῶν εὐαγγελίζομαι, οὐκ
ἀλαζονεύομενος τὸ κατόρθωμα (τὸ γὰρ ὀξύρροπον τῆς Τύχης
ἰλάσκομαι), “I bring you the good news of victory over the Persians. I am
not boasting of my success, for I do not want to tempt Fate,”

X 7.4: ὥς δὲ καὶ εὐγενῆς τὸ βλέμμα, ὥς δὲ καὶ μεγαλόφρων πρὸς τὴν
Τύχην, “How noble her look! What courage in the face of Fate!”

X 13.5: Hydaspes, seeing the tokens which prove Charikleia is his daughter,
says, [“How do we know she is not dead,”] τοῖς δὲ γνωρίσμασιν ἐπιτυχῶν
τις ἀποκέχρηται τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Τύχης; “. . . and someone is making use of the
tokens which by luck they have happened to find?”

X 16.3: πρὸς τὴν σκηνοποιῖαν τῆς Τύχης ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς τε ἅμα καὶ ἐλέου
δακρύνοντας . . . “weeping with pleasure and pity at the way luck had
arranged things.”

X 34.6: μέμφου δὲ τὴν Τύχην, εἰ τὴν ἐπιζητουμένην οὐχ εὐρίσκεις.
“Blame luck if you do not find what you are looking for.”

In several of these examples it is not clear whether ἡ Τύχη means Luck, or an
individual’s fate or lot in life. In the following cases of ἡ τύχη it is clear that a
pronoun denoting the individual whose personal τύχη is meant has been
elliptically omitted: I 19.5; I 20.1; I 29.4; V 8.5; VII 26.10.

In fact in Heliodoros the personal τύχη, the general Τύχη and the various
undetermined τύχαι all seem to act with precisely the same unmeaning
randomness. However, it has been necessary to distinguish ἡ Τύχη, who could
be regarded as a deity which affects lives, and can play a part in motivating the
plots of novels, and examine her operation in isolation because of the confusion
that has arisen in the scholarly literature about the relationship between θεός,
δαίμων and the deity Τύχη both in Heliodoros and in general.

In Apuleius *Metamorphoses*, by contrast, Fortune is random in the sense that her actions do not seem to be teleologically motivated, but she is also specifically a force for bad, the source of misfortune. Fortune in the Greek and Roman novels is discussed by V. Ciaffi.¹⁴⁴ He argues that Fortune is primarily the adversary of preordained plans, but that she does have an actively hostile quality which is especially characteristic of her in Apuleius. In general the theological system in the *Metamorphoses* is very different from that in the *Aithiopika*. For Lucius, the central character of the *Metamorphoses*, Fortuna invariably brings changes for the worse, and in this respect mirrors ὁ δαίμων in Heliodoros, but her influence is displaced in book XI by the benign Isis-Fortuna.¹⁴⁵

In Chariton τύχη, used in direct speech or by the narrator, is invariably bad except where it means a person's lot or status in life.¹⁴⁶ There are two exceptions to this generalisation: when τύχη is used by the brigands¹⁴⁷ they regard its potential influence as beneficial.

Xenophon of Ephesos does not use the word τύχη, although he has the adjectives δυστυχής and εὐτυχής. Achilles Tatios too has these adjectives, and ἀτυχής, and cognate verbs, but with two exceptions does not use the noun τύχη. The exceptions are αἱ τύχαι at VII 2.1 where the influence of Fortune is bad, and its use in a good sense in the last paragraph, VIII 19.3: παρῆμεν οὖν ὡς καὶ συνθύσοντες αὐτῷ καὶ εὐξόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοὺς τε ἐμοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου γάμους σὺν ἀγαθαῖς φυλαχθῆναι τύχαις. This unique appearance of τύχαι in a good sense may signify that Fortune changes for the better at the end of the novel; or it may reflect formulaic usage in marriage prayers.

VI. SUMMARY

The purpose of this study has been to show that the various names which Heliodoros uses for the divine forces which influence the plot of the *Aithiopika* are not a sign of theological confusion. On the contrary, they are perfectly compatible with a coherent theological outlook. This coherent theological outlook is maintained by consistency in the use of terms for divine powers by the narrator, and in the construction of the plot. The same consistency in the

¹⁴⁴V. Ciaffi (1960).

¹⁴⁵According to the elucidation of Apuleius *Metamorphoses* XI 15 by J. Gwyn-Griffiths (1975) p241ff.

¹⁴⁶τύχη means a person's lot in life at Chariton II 5.9; II 10.7; II 11.5; III 8.1; in the first three of these four cases the status in life is in fact a bad one.

¹⁴⁷Chariton I 10.2; I 13.4.

Gwyn Griffiths

use of divine terms is followed by the main characters: so much of the book is in direct speech that this is almost a prerequisite if a coherent theology is to be conveyed to the reader.

The supreme deity in the novel is the Sun, who is identified with Apollo and referred to as ὁ θεός. The hero is sacred to Apollo, and subsequently to the Sun; and the heroine to Artemis, and subsequently, to the Moon, (probably to be identified with Isis). ὁ δαίμων is another deity, or another aspect of the supreme deity, who is responsible for the misfortunes of the main characters. These misfortunes, however, do not prevent the ultimate realisation of the will of ὁ θεός, and may at times advance it. ἡ Τύχη plays a part in motivating the plot, but does not actively oppose the will of ὁ θεός. She operates as completely random chance; it is not clear whether she is to be seen as a divinity.

This consistency does not demonstrate that the book was written with a religious purpose in mind, but it removes one of the principal objections to that view. A thoroughgoing solar theology in a philosophically developed form (rather than simply a solar cult) is unattested before Iamblichos, in particular in his lost work or works which Julian used for his fourth oration.¹⁴⁸ Thus the combination in Heliodoros of elements of Neo-Platonic or Neo-Pythagorean thought with heliolatry tends to support the fourth century date argued for elsewhere in this thesis.

¹⁴⁸Or. XI in the edition of Bidez. Julian acknowledges his dependence on Iamblichos at 150d and 157cd.

HELIODOROS AND THE CULT OF THE SUN

This chapter is a survey^{of} what we know about the cult of the Sun at Emesa, and ask whether there is any connection between *The Aithiopika* and the cult. First there is an examination of the novel's closing sentence, or *sphragis*, and what it tells us about the author, in its possible historical context. The historical background of the idea of the pagan saint, represented in the novel by Kalasiris, is considered. Then such evidence for the Emesene cult as may be relevant to *The Aithiopika* is collected; this evidence is found mainly in historical accounts of the emperor Elagabalus. In the next section some possible parallels between this cult and the novel are suggested. I conclude that while nothing is proved the possible connection of both the author and his novel with a sun cult need not be entirely dismissed: there are enough possible links to invite an intertextual¹⁴⁹ relationship between our historical knowledge and our reading of the novel.

I. THE *SPHRAGIS* IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

We learn that Heliodoros came from Emesa in his book's final sentence, or *sphragis*: τοιόνδε πέρας ἔσχε τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν περὶ Θεαγένην καὶ Χαρίκλειαν Αἰθιοπικῶν ὃ συνέταξεν ἀνὴρ Φοῖνιξ Ἑμισσηνός, τῶν ἀφ' Ἡλίου γένος, Θεοδοσίου παῖς Ἡλιοδωρος. "This is the way the composition 'The Aithiopika' about Theagenes and Charikleia ends. It was composed by a Phoenician from Emesa, who belongs to the family descended from Helios, Heliodoros son of Theodosios by name."¹⁵⁰ There are a couple of problems with this statement. It is interesting that Heliodoros describes himself as a Phoenician. In 194 Septimius Severus divided Syria into Syria Coele and Syria Phoenice. Emesa was in the latter. Under Theodosius it was included in the new province of Phoenicia Libanensis, where it appears in the geographical writings of Hierocles and Ptolemy. We do not know when Emesenes first began to call themselves Phoenicians (it is not impossible that it was earlier than 194, but the evidence is slight). In the *Epitome de Caesaribus* Elagabalus is said to be Phoenician. According to the dating accepted here Heliodoros was writing at roughly the same time as Ammianus Marcellinus. Ammianus, who came from Antioch, includes in Syria Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea and Seleucia; in Phoenicia he includes Tyre, Sidon, Berytus, Emesa, Damascus.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ I refer to intertextuality to emphasize that my interest is in the readers' response to the text, and not an authorial process. The possible relevance of a knowledge of the historical and intellectual provenance of the text is discussed in the next chapter (p74ff).

¹⁵⁰ Incidentally, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of this sentence. J.R. Morgan (1978) ad loc. insists that stylistically it is entirely typical of the author, particularly the way the structure of the sentence draws attention to the name in the final position. I am sure he is right.

¹⁵¹ The specific phrase used by Heliodoros, ἀνὴρ Φοῖνιξ, is discussed above, p76.

The word γένος also presents a problem. For the omission of the article J.R. Morgan¹⁵² draws attention to parallels at I 19.4 (of ancestry; cf. my commentary ad loc.), II 34.2 (of ancestry), VIII 17.3 (of race); but how should the word be translated here? Morgan, who rejected the view that the religious element in *The Aithiopika* has a consistent character, solar or otherwise, suggested as one possibility that Helios is here a family name. Helios is occasionally attested as a personal name for a gladiator;¹⁵³ it is not attested as a personal name in Syria. When Julian¹⁵⁴ refers to the service of the sun as inherited he is almost certainly referring to his membership of the imperial house, whose solar character is discussed by J. Maurice.¹⁵⁵ Himerios,¹⁵⁶ in an oration probably addressed to Constantine¹⁵⁷ writes: ὦ καὶ τοῦ σαυτοῦ γένους ὄμμα φανότατον, καὶ ταῦτόν τῳ γένει γενόμενος, ὅπερ καὶ σοὶ πολλάκις ὁ προπάτωρ Ἥλιος. “O, brightest luminary of your family line, you have conferred the same advantage on that line as your ancestor the sun has often conferred on you.” Does this mean that Heliodoros is claiming to be a member of the imperial house? We cannot rule it out, but I think there is an easier explanation of his use of the expression τῶν ἀφ’ Ἡλίου γένος. Both γένος and γενεά are used by Christian writers for the ‘family’ of all Christians. In Photios’s Damasios γενεά is similarly used for a pagan priesthood at Heliopolis, who combine cult service with philosophy, just as Heliodoros’ Kalasiris does: ἡ δὲ ἱερὰ γενεὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὴν διέξῃ βίον θεοφιλῇ καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὸν τε φιλοσοφοῦντα καὶ τὸν τὰ θεῖα θεραπεύοντα. ἀνέκακον ὁσίῳ πυρὶ τοὺς βωμούς. “The religious order leads a godly and blessed life among itself, studying philosophy and looking after the cult. They light the altars with sacred fire.” In view of the good press Heliodoros gives to Kalasiris, who is at once a saint, priest and philosopher, it is tempting to think that he himself belonged to such a religious order at Emesa. The existence of such an order is clearly indicated by the lines of Avienus (1083-1090):

Et quae Phoebeam procul incunabula lucem
 Prima foveat, Emesus fastigia celsa renidet.
 Nam diffusa solo latus explicat, ac subit auras
 Turribus in caelum nitentibus: incola claris
 Cor studiis acuit, vitam pius imbuat ordo;
 Denique flammicomo devoti pectora Soli

¹⁵²loc. cit. The omission of the article with γένος is an imitation of Herodotos found only in Philostratos, and here and elsewhere in Heliodoros (cf. note ad I 22.2 in the commentary below), so this stylistic feature strongly supports the view that the sentence is authentic.

¹⁵³For references v. H. Seyrig *Syria* 48 (1971) 373 n1.

¹⁵⁴Jul. *Or.* IV 131d.

¹⁵⁵J. Maurice (1912) II pxx-xlvi.

¹⁵⁶Himerios ed. A. Colonna *Fragment* I 6.

¹⁵⁷v. Himerios ed. A. Colonna p.xvi.

Vitam agitant; Libanus frondosa cacumina turget,
Et tamen his celsi certant fastigia templi.

And the cradle which first nurtured Phoebus' light, the Mount of Emesa, gleams on its heavenly peaks. Its extensive slope spreads out on the ground, and it approaches the upper air with its turrets which stretch towards heaven. The inhabitant refines his heart with distinguished studies and the pious order instructs his life. In short, those who have devoted their heart to the flaming sun lead their lives there. Mount Lebanon swells with its leafy tops; however the peaks of this heavenly temple compete with them.

Avienus' work is broadly based on the geography of Dionysios Periegetes of the time of Hadrian. Dionysios' poem must have contained lines on Emesa but they are unfortunately lost.¹⁵⁸ Therefore we cannot tell how much of this goes back to Dionysios and how much is due to Avienus; in short, we cannot tell whether this attestation for a religio-philosophical order belongs to the third or the late fourth century. The documentary evidence for priestly families and associations at Palmyra, Hatra and Tyre is collected by J.T. Milik (1972). Often the orders are described as clans (φύλαι), but the expression used by Heliodoros can be compared with the phrase οἱ ἐγ γένους Ζαβδιβωλείων which is found in an inscription¹⁵⁹ of 178/9 from a portico in Palmyra. On the basis of appearances of the BNY ZBDBWL in inscriptions¹⁶⁰ and tesserae from Palmyra J.T. Milik¹⁶¹ concludes that this was a family of priests in a temple sacred principally to the sun, in conjunction with Allath and Râhim.

It is disputed whether the name Heliodoros has any religious significance. The name is common throughout the Roman Near East. It is one of the few names attested on the inscriptions by votaries, probably priests, of Bel from the area of the Elagabalium on the Palatine.¹⁶² Many examples of the name Heliodoros were found at Dura-Europos. The name Ιαβσυμσος found on a painting in the temple of the Palmyrene gods at Dura is plausibly identified as a translation of Heliodoros by F. Cumont,¹⁶³ although we have no inscriptions recording an individual who bore both the names Heliodoros and Ιαβσυμσος. However, there is an inscription dated 153 from the temple of Azzanathkona at Dura¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸v. C. Müller GGM II p161.

¹⁵⁹W. Dittenberger (1905) 635.

¹⁶⁰CISem 3950-3955.

¹⁶¹J.T. Milik (1972) p115-116.

¹⁶²IGUR 117,118; cf 119; these inscriptions are discussed by F. Chausson (unpub.) as are possible Semitic equivalents of the name Heliodoros. I am grateful to Dr. Chausson for showing me this article in advance of publication.

¹⁶³F. Cumont (1926) p365-366. The vocalisation is discussed by J.T. Milik (1972) p389.

¹⁶⁴M.I. Rostovteff (1934) p151.

naming a Heliodoros whose father Theodoros also bore a solar Semitic name, Σαμσβανας ('The Sun created'). All in all, in view of the perennial importance of names in non-Christian Semitic cultures it would be rash to assume that the name Heliodoros had nothing to do with the religious affiliations of the writer's family.

II. THE PAGAN SAINT AND THE *AITHIOPIKA*

Kalasiris in *The Aithiopika* presents himself as learned in philosophy: both speculative philosophy, which is broadly derived from the Platonic tradition, and the practical philosophy of pure living which is broadly derived from the Pythagorean tradition, and which, by the fourth century tended to go hand in hand with Platonic thought. He is also a priest, and is, or presents himself as, an assiduous devotee of cult practices. In this combination he belongs to the type of the 'pagan saint' which is readily identifiable in biographical and hagiographic literature at least from the late third century on. Kalasiris also, alone of the characters in the *Aithiopika*, receives the epithet θεῖος,¹⁶⁵ which is typically applied to the holy man, both pagan and Christian, in the third and increasingly in the fourth century.¹⁶⁶

An interesting early indication of the impulse to link religious cult with philosophy can be found in Philostratos *Life of Apollonios of Tyana*. This work, which was written at the behest of Julia Domna, and probably published during the reign of Elagabalus, creates an image of the philosopher Apollonios as a sage and miracle worker. To what extent this portrayal is fictional is disputed. At II 38 we are told that Apollonios is in the habit of praying to the sun. This fact is mentioned only once, and is contextually irrelevant; the simplest explanation for its insertion is that Philostratos added this point at the request of Julia Domna, (who was the daughter of a priest of the Emesene god).¹⁶⁷ Philostratos *Life of Apollonios of Tyana*, presents a 'pagan saint',

¹⁶⁵ Kalasiris as addressed as θεϊότατε (by Knemon) at III 14.1, and as θεῖος (by Nausikles) at V 12.2. Charikleia refers to him as θεϊότατος at VIII 11.2 and 9.

¹⁶⁶ Examples of its application to Iamblichos by Julian, Libanios, and others are given by G. Fowden *JHS* 102 (1982) 36 n18 and E. Zeller & R. Mondolfo 1961 5 n6. When applied to pagan holy men it is usually taken to mean 'divine' (e.g. by G. Fowden, op. cit. 36), and its application to Pythagoras, for example, to whom was attributed divine parentage, seems to support this translation. However, its similar application to Christian saints, whom Christian writers might have called 'holy' but not 'divine', must cast grave doubt on this translation.

¹⁶⁷ Even if one accepts the usual surmise that the work was published only after Julia Domna's death, and during the reign of her great-nephew Elagabalus, there is no reason to assume that Philostratos would have gone through the earlier books deleting material which he had included to please her. It seems to me that the inclusion of this point in the *Life of Apollonios* probably indicates that Julia Domna was interested in the cult of the Sun, but that the small part which Philostratos has given it indicates that, whatever our assessment of the

holy man who is both a philosopher and a miracle worker. Moreover, Heliodoros alludes to the *Life of Apollonios*; he was certainly familiar with the work, and probably aware that it was commissioned by the Emesene Julia Domna.

was from Apamea
Closer to the fourth century date which is the most likely for Heliodoros, Iamblichos (who probably flourished in the second half of the third century) was presented as a 'pagan saint' of this type by his followers. Indeed, Iamblichos, who ~~may have been a product of the house of priestly rulers of Emesa~~, seems to have been a key figure in the integration of cult and philosophy, and the creation of the idea of a sage who combined an interest in both.¹⁶⁸ The bulk of his work has not survived, and it is not possible to prove that he combined an adherence to Emesene ritual with his Neo-Platonic and theurgic speculations, although he does seem to have had an interest in ritual in general. It is certainly notable that he continued to be known by his Semitic name, which had been associated with his family in the past, when it was usual for hellenized easterners to use a Greek name.¹⁶⁹

Iamblichos' own interest in the idea of a holy man who combines philosophy with magical powers is evident in his *De Vita Pythagorica*. This work shares several preoccupations with Philostratos' *Life of Apollonios*. In both we find an emphasis on the virtues of restraint, of purity and of vegetarianism; on the holy man's almost divine status, his magical powers, and his practical, political wisdom as well as his esoteric knowledge. The Pythagorean elements in the *Aithiopika* are closely linked with the biographical tradition of the 'pagan' holy man, simply because it is through the biographical tradition that much Pythagorean thought is mediated. As well as vegetarianism, the Pythagorean biographical tradition implicitly advocates bloodless sacrifice,¹⁷⁰ such as the gymnosophists of Heliodoros X would prefer. If the *Aithiopika* does reflect Neo-Pythagorean thought it is tempting to link the importance of Apollo in the plot with the importance of Apollo for Pythagoreanism.¹⁷¹

scope of Elagabalus' ambitions for religious reform, Julia Domna herself was probably not promulgating a programme to make a Sun cult a *universal* religion.

¹⁶⁸The importance of Iamblichos in the integration of cult and philosophy is discussed by G. Fowden *JHS* 102 (1982) 52-53. The information about Iamblichos' royal descent comes in a statement at the beginning of Photios' summary of Damascios' *Life of Isidoros*, and is discussed by G. Fowden, *op. cit.* 49 n128.

¹⁶⁹I am indebted to Professor Polymnia Athanassiadi for the points in this paragraph.

¹⁷⁰Diogenes Laertius VIII 13; Iamblichos *De Vita Pythagorica* 25.

¹⁷¹In Iamblichos *De Vita Pythagorica* 5 Iamblichos (quoting a 'Samian poet') states that Pythagoras was a son of Apollo, and the importance of Apollo for him is made clear in several other places in that work.

More compellingly, perhaps, the importance of absolute chastity and its link with ritual purity in the *Aithiopika* is sufficiently unusual in non-Christian writing to suggest that it reflects a similar idea in Pythagorean thought, or at least the Iamblichan version of Pythagorean thought.¹⁷² It is observed in the note on I 8.3 below how few pagan writers use the word καθαρός in connection with chastity. In fact Iamblichos seems to be the only pagan writer apart from Heliodoros who uses the word in connection with chastity in a context which makes it clear that chastity has a general religious importance;¹⁷³ (the quotation from Julian in the note on I 8.3 is not a precise parallel because it refers to the chastity specifically of a priestess). Like Heliodoros, Iamblichos' concern is with chastity, not celibacy.

My feeling is that the religious and philosophical world portrayed by Heliodoros is dependent on the ideas of Iamblichos, and that if more of the work of Iamblichos survived it would be evident that Heliodoros was a follower of Iamblichos, but a follower who was more accommodating to Christian thought than was Julian. Iamblichos *De mysteriis* also offers the only theological theorizing in a pagan author which could explain the distinction between a good god and a base *daimon* which was identified in the foregoing chapter.¹⁷⁴ In that work it is explained that *daimones* govern the physical being, and tend to degrade, whereas gods are entirely good. It is also clear that celestial bodies are important manifestations of gods, and the sun is frequently mentioned in the *De mysteriis*. Moreover, an almost technical use of the word ἀντίθεος in Heliodoros is otherwise found (and explained) exclusively in the *De mysteriis*;¹⁷⁵ and in this work too Egyptian προφῆται are presented as a reliable source of information on religio-philosophical matters: indeed *De mysteriis* (which is narrated entirely in the person of a προφήτης) and the

¹⁷²Iamblichos *De Vita Pythagorica* . . . ὡς ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ συννοικοῦντος ἀνδρὸς ὁσιὸν ἔστιν ἀσθμηρὸν προσιέναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ προσήκοντος οὐδέποτε. It is possible that for both Iamblichos and Heliodoros the emphasis on *absolute* chastity had no non-Christian antecedent, but that both were responding to Christian teaching when they expressed such views. M. Foucault (1988 165-175) identifies the Stoic Musonius Rufus as an early, and therefore a key non-Christian thinker who recommended that marriage should be absolutely exclusive; it seems unlikely that Heliodoros was influenced by Musonius except in an indirect way.

¹⁷³Iamblichos *De Mysteriis* IV 11: ἐρωτᾷ δὴ καὶ ἅμα ἀπορεῖς μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς μὴ καθαρῶ μὲν ὄντι ἐξ ἀφροδισίων οὐκ ἂν καλοῦντι ὑπακούσαιεν [*sc. the gods*], αὐτοὶ δὲ ἄγειν εἰς παράνομα ἀφροδίσια τοὺς τυχόντας οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν.

¹⁷⁴v, in particular p50 above.

¹⁷⁵v, p23 above. G.N. Sandy *TAPA* 1982 141-167 draws attention to the fact that when Kalasiris asserts that his work has been hindered by an ἀντίθεος he is using a Iamblichan idea. Sandy, offended by the insider's view of a miracle worker which Heliodoros presents, regards Kalasiris as a charlatan, and as an implausible holy man: this implies that Sandy holds the naive belief that true holy men and effective magicians are never duplicitous, a belief that a study of the anthropological literature on 'witch doctors' and so on should have dispelled.

Aithiopika are the only extant Greek texts where an Egyptian προφήτης dispenses wisdom in the first person. It is clear ^{from} Julian that we have lost important discussions of solar theology by Iamblichos (v. n148), but it is arguable that the supreme god, the θεὸς εἷς described in *De mysteriis* VIII 2, is to be identified with the sun, who is described as ὁ θεός and ὁ εἷς θεός in the *De mysteriis* VII 3, which deals with the sun's supremacy in the zodiac.¹⁷⁶

III. THE SUN CULT AT EMESA

In respect of Syria, there is a little evidence for the dissemination of the Heliodorean notion of a priest who is also a philosopher. Iamblichos ~~seems likely to have been an Emesene,~~ ^{was from Apamea} as already noted. In Damaskios *Life of Isidoros*, the philosopher Isidoros clearly takes a great interest in local cults (although this may merely reflect the interests of the later Syrian, Damaskios himself); in the *Life of Isidoros*¹⁷⁷ we encounter a Eusebius who tends a betyl at Emesa and is usually taken to be the father of the Eusebius who was teacher to the Emperor Julian. The lines of Avienus quoted above, seem to support the statement in Damaskios¹⁷⁸ describing a Heliopolitan priesthood which combines devotion to cult, philosophy and a pious lifestyle.

Archaeological evidence for religious life at Emesa (indeed any archaeological evidence for Emesa) is slight. It is probable that the remains of ancient Emesa are buried beneath the buildings of modern Homs. On the raised part of the town, the most likely spot for an important temple, there is a mosque. In both Palmyrene and Phoenician cults there are solar gods, but not in a supreme position in the pantheon. The question of whether the sun was supreme at Emesa could probably be answered by excavation, but there is little prospect of this. The notion of a supreme rôle for a solar god at Emesa is not supported by the surviving dedications by Emesenes and from the region of Emesa.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶Although there is a good case that Heliodoros was influenced by the thought of Iamblichos, the theology of the *Aithiopika* is not sufficiently developed to allow us to discuss in any detail how it overlaps with the theology of Iamblichos. However, we can say that the theological pattern which can be identified in the *Aithiopika* is at least consistent with what we know of the theology of Iamblichos. The clearest indication of how the sun and moon probably fit into the overall theological system which lies behind the *De mysteriis* is given in VIII 3 (264).

Here Iamblichos is describing several categories [τάξεις] of Egyptian gods. The categories concerned with the created world [γένεσις] are governed by the sun and the moon: ἔστι δὴ οὖν καὶ ἄλλη τις ἡγεμονία παρ' αὐτοῖς [the τάξεις] τῶν περὶ τῶν περὶ γένεσιν ὅλων στοιχείων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς δυνάμεων, τεττάρων μὲν ἀρρενικῶν τεττάρων δὲ θηλυκῶν, ἥντινα ἀπονέμουσιν ἡλίῳ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῆς φύσεως ὅλης τῆς περὶ γένεσιν ἀρχῇ, ἥντινα σελήνῃ διδόασιν.

¹⁷⁷Dam. *Isid.* 348.

¹⁷⁸Dam. *Isid.* 342; also quoted above.

¹⁷⁹The crop of pagan dedications from Emesa recorded in the IGLS is very meagre.

Therefore we must depend mainly on the literary evidence. The earliest literary evidence linking Emesa with a cult of the sun is found in accounts of the emperor Elagabalus, who reigned during the years 218-222. The earliest of these are the near contemporary accounts by Dio Kassios from Nicea in Bithynia, and in the *Lives of the Caesars* written by Herodian. The only substantial later account is the life of Elagabalus in the *Historia Augusta*. The later Epitomators add nothing to our knowledge of the sun cult. It is not surprising that modern accounts of the cult tend to focus on Elagabalus and the cults he founded at Rome. However the cult may have existed long before the emperor Elagabalus and continued long after him. In any case, the attention we pay to him and to the Roman cult must distort our picture of what was going on at Emesa.

The most detailed literary sources to describe the religious practices of the emperor Antoninus, nicknamed Elagabalus after the god he served, are Dio Kassios (LXXIX) LXXX; Herodian *History* V 5-8; and the life of Elagabalus in the *Historia Augusta*, together with a few other references to Elagabalus in that work.

Dio and Herodian are closer in time to the emperor's reign than the *Historia Augusta*, and the most reliable. Herodian's general interest in religious matters has been noted before.¹⁸⁰ In a recent article A. Scheithauer¹⁸¹ attempts to solve the question of whether Herodian's account of Elagabalus is dependent on Dio's by making a detailed examination of the literary construction of the two passages; she concludes that Herodian certainly used Dio, and that he was particularly interested in the information Dio provides about Elagabalus in his rôle as priest of the Emesene sun cult. In fact Herodian's account contains less expression of horror than Dio's, and seems to be better informed in religious matters. It is tempting to see it as selection of material from Dio worked up by someone with a good general knowledge of oriental religion. The tradition that Herodian was Syrian is, of course, conjectural.

When Elagabalus' antics are reported, Herodian (V 5.3-4) goes into more detail than does Dio (LXXX 11). In particular he attempts to be more precise about the appearance of the dress and shows that he (or his source) is capable of making local distinctions concerning its geographical origin. Dio: . . . τὴν ἑθνητικὰ τὴν βαρβαρικὴν, ἣ οἱ τῶν Σύρων ἱερεῖς χρώνται. "[He wore] the barbarian garb which the priests of the Syrians use." Here 'Syrian' is probably a more or less generic term for oriental cults. Herodian: ἦν τε αὐτῷ τὸ σχῆμα μεταξὺ Φοινίσσης ἱερᾶς στολῆς καὶ χλιδῆς Μηδικῆς. "Its pattern

¹⁸⁰ e.g. by W. Widmer (1967) p57ff.

¹⁸¹ A. Scheithauer *Hermes* (1990) 335-356.

was a cross between a Phoenician robe and Persian finery.” H. Seyrig¹⁸² argued that the costume was Parthian, and came to Emesa via Palmyra, with which Emesa, he believed, had close links. Herodian also tells of celebrations and of Phoenician women dancing with cymbals and drums (V 5.9).

Herodian (V 6.2) and Dio (LXXX 9.3-4) both report that the Emperor married a Vestal Virgin. Herodian, but not Dio, says that Vesta is a Roman god and that her servants are bound to remain virgins to the end of their lives; this is information which, for a writer and audience familiar with Roman traditions, it would be redundant to spell out. The explanation which the Emperor offered for his apparent impiety, particularly in Herodian’s version, finds an echo in Heliodoros I 21.1.¹⁸³ Dio says, ἐτόλμησε δὲ καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι “ἵνα δὴ καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς παῖδες ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἔκ τε ταύτης τῆς ἀρχιερείας γεννῶνται, τοῦτ’ ἐποίησα.” “He dared to say, ‘I did it so that from me as high priest and her as high priestess children worthy of the god might be born.’” Herodian, who lacks Dio’s wish to make everything sound as shocking as possible, says simply, ἀρμόζοντά τε καὶ σβάσμιον εἶναι γαμὸν ἱερέως τε καὶ ἱερείας. “[He said] that it was fitting and venerable for there to be a marriage of a priest and a priestess.”

The Emperor also ‘married’ his god to a goddess, with great public festivities.¹⁸⁴ Both this action and his own marriage to a priestess should probably be regarded as ritual ‘sacred marriages’.¹⁸⁵ Dio mentions that the Emperor effected the marriage of the god Elagabalus to the Carthaginian Urania. Herodian adds that the Carthaginian Dea Caelestis, ‘Urania’, was known as Ἀστροόρχη, and also mentions a previous marriage to Athena. Incidentally, the two marriages, first to Athena, and then to Urania, may be explained by the fact that the Emesene god belonged to a triad, at least, it seems, in the minds of the expatriates who erected an inscription to Elagabalus, and the two other members of a triad of θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι at Cordova in the third century A.D..¹⁸⁶

¹⁸²H. Seyrig *Syria* 18 (1937) p7.

¹⁸³Noted by F. Altheim (1952) II 269 n71a.

¹⁸⁴Herodian V 6.3-5; Dio LXXX 9.3-4.

¹⁸⁵This interpretation is discussed in RAC IV 996-997; M. Frey (1989) 87ff.

¹⁸⁶This is the supplemented version of the inscription offered in the article by F.F.H.v.

Gaertringen et al. *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 22 (1923/4) 117-132, in which ‘Nazaia’ is taken to be Urania: Ἐπηκόοις εὐεργέταις Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Φρήν Ἐλαγαβ[ά]λῳ καὶ Κύπ[ρι] Ὑάρι Ναζαία καὶ [Ἀ]θηνᾶ Ἀλλὰθ Λ[αοδι]κεία καὶ ΦΕ[...][ἐπη]κόοις θεοῖς εὐχῆς χάριν

As far as I know the most recent restoration is that by J.T. Milik *Syria* (1967) 301:

[θεοῖς] ἐπ[η]κόοις
[πατρῶις] εὐεργέταις
[θεῶ] Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ φρηνη-
[σίῳ?] Ἐλαγαβάλῳ καὶ Κυπ[ρ]ή-

It would be interesting to know whether there is any substance in the accusations of child sacrifice which are made against the Emperor, and if so, what precedent the practice had in the Emesene cult. The possibility of child sacrifice in the third century has generally been treated with scepticism,¹⁸⁷ but M. Frey¹⁸⁸ has collected texts which show that it can by no means be ruled out.

IV. THE EMESENE CULT AND *THE AITHIOPIKA*

There are two themes in the *Aithiopika* which may recall what we learn about Elagabalus' cult practices from Dio and Herodian. Both come together in the climax of the tale, in the last few pages of the book. One is human sacrifice, or rather its abolition; the other is the concept of sacred marriage which finds its fulfilment when the hero and heroine are crowned priest of the sun and priestess of the moon and are then married in a highly ritualistic way.

I will discuss the question of human sacrifice first. We saw above that Elagabalus was accused of human sacrifice, and that M. Frey (1989) has shown that we are certainly not entitled to assume that the accusation cannot have been true. In Heliodoros X the hero and heroine, having arrived in Ethiopia, are due to be sacrificed, and the abolition of human sacrifice is the key to the happy ending of the story in their marriage. The way Heliodoros presents it is surprising. Human sacrifice is not presented as the ultimate depravity of a barbarous race, but as the wrong but understandable tradition of an otherwise law abiding, almost utopian, people and king.¹⁸⁹ The practice is discontinued when an omen from the gods is interpreted by the wise, ascetic gymnosophist, Sisimithres, who incidentally, speaks Greek, unlike the Ethiopian laity. In Heliodoros the potential victims are prisoners of war who can be sacrificed only if they are virgins; as it happens they are well-born. The alleged victims of Elagabalus were well-born native youths (that is, native Roman, not native Syrian) whose parents were both still living. Imputations of human sacrifice, both in classical writers and among primitive peoples, are usually accompanied by disgust and made to illustrate the barbarity of the 'other' - neighbours,

πη Σα?]χαριναχαία καὶ
[θεᾶ Ἀ]θήνα Ἀλλὰθ Ν[εμανός?]
[θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις θ . . έτους]
[μηνός . . .] . . . []

Both versions convey the basic point that the inscription is addressed to a triad, and that this triad included the sun.

¹⁸⁷ e.g. by T. Optendrenk (1969) 65-70.

¹⁸⁸ M. Frey (1989) 34-42.

¹⁸⁹ References for the utopian image of the Ethiopians are usefully collected by F. Snowden (1970).

enemies or infidels. The great importance of the theme of human sacrifice in the *Aithiopika*, and the unusual way it is handled, is, superficially, utterly bizarre. It could be explained if the story, in which the introduction of a philosophical perspective sanitizes the religious observance and belief of the pious Ethiopian children of the sun, had some contemporary relevance either to the beliefs of the author's fellow Emesenes, or to any unsavoury reputation they may have wished to lose. At the very least an Emesene of Heliodoros' day is likely to have been aware that the famous son of their city, the emperor Elagabalus, had an unsavoury reputation, and if they read Herodian or Dio they knew some of the charges against him.

The second theme which the *Aithiopika* shares with the stories about Elagabalus is that of sacred marriage. When Thyamis, the dispossessed priest turned bandit, wants to marry Charikleia he says that it is particularly appropriate for a priest to marry a priestess (I 21). As we noted above, this is precisely the excuse ascribed by Herodian to Elagabalus when he married the Vestal virgin. We also noted above that Elagabalus' behaviour pointed to a ritual of sacred marriage, a ritual which is otherwise hardly attested for Syria. In particular the marriage of his god to the Carthaginian 'Urania' was regarded as a marriage between the sun and the moon. In fact in Heliodoros a marriage between a priest of the sun and a priestess of the moon is ultimately what happens when the hero and heroine are married.

The hero of the *Aithiopika*, Theagenes, is compared with, and said to be descended from Achilles,¹⁹⁰ himself the offspring of a well known union of a god with a mortal. The reader's attention is drawn to this sacred union by the hymn to Thetis¹⁹¹ which is recited at the festival at which Theagenes and Charikleia first see each other; the sacred marriage is emphasized in the version of the hymn which Heliodoros gives us, whereas it is not emphasised in the hymn in Philostratos *Heroikos*¹⁹² upon which this hymn, assuming it is later, is closely modelled. The semi-divine descent of Theagenes is again pointed up when he is cryptically referred to as "goddess-born" (τόν τε θεᾶς γενέτην) by the oracle.¹⁹³

In the last chapter of the novel¹⁹⁴ Theagenes and Charikleia, having been instated as priest and priestess of the sun and moon at Meroë, sacrifice to their respective gods. They then travel in pomp to the city, accompanied by music and dancing, which was a feature of the rituals of Elagabalus, as it was of other

¹⁹⁰The claim is made explicitly by Charikles, as Kalasiris tells Knemon at II 34.4.

¹⁹¹Heliodoros III 2.

¹⁹²Philostr. *Her.* 741-742.

¹⁹³Heliodoros II 35.

¹⁹⁴Heliodoros X 41.

Syrian rituals. In the city mysterious marriage rites will take place; (τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ μυστικωτέρων κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ φαιδρότερον τελεσθησομένων.) After this hint Heliodoros piously tells no more. The closing *sphragis* follows.

V. CONCLUSION

In Heliodoros we find an interest in cult practices united with a philosophically sophisticated solar theology in which the sun is the supreme god. When was philosophical theology first absorbed by the practitioners of Syrian cults? The general answer must be that Hellenic philosophy began to influence local cults as soon as hellenism reached their practitioners. This is certainly not to say that there was no syncretistic thinking before the arrival of Greek philosophy. The intellectual framework, however, and international outlook of hellenism stimulated syncretism. On the other hand, both Mithraic ideas and the tendency to view the sun as the supreme deity came very late to the orient. If Elagabalus wished to promote the idea that the sun is the supreme god (which I doubt), then the precedent would surely have come primarily not from a Syrian cult, or from Platonic theology, but from the solar dimension of the imperial cult which went back to Augustus. The use of the title Sol Invictus for the imperial cult shows that it had become linked with that great solar cult, Mithraism.¹⁹⁵

In conclusion, then, there are some grounds for thinking that the cult at Emesa has left a mark on Heliodoros. These are, the way he describes himself in his *sphragis*; his interest in the idea of a philosopher priest; his strange handling of the topic of human sacrifice; and the prominent position he gives to the Sun as a deity, along with the hint of a marriage between the Sun and the Moon. At the same time there is a lack evidence about the Emesene cult which could link it with the syncretistic tendency and Platonic views hinted at in the *Aithiopika*, unless Iamblichos, who seems likely to have influenced Heliodoros, was associated with the Emesene cult.

¹⁹⁵The link between the imperial cult and Mithraism has been denied by G.H. Halsberghe ANRW II 17.4 2181-2201. On the positive side see D.W. McDowall (1979) and M. Clauss *Athenaeum* 68 (1990) 432-450.

INTERPRETATIVE ISSUES

whose The present commentary is concerned in the main with philological questions. In other words (to state the obvious) it is concerned in the main with issues at the level of the *word*. It is concerned with the questions, which words should appear in a correct text, and how should a reader interpret them? The philologist who undertakes to endow words with meaning has of course more scope for subjectivity than the palaeographer, whose task is to interpret letters, but his work is less subjective than the task of interpreting texts in their entirety.

Since a critical response is wholly dependent on understanding the words which make up a text it is not surprising that scholars sometimes combine philological enquiry with critical response in a single piece of work.¹⁹⁶ The commentary below where appropriate alerts the reader to critical work on the *Aithiopika*, but by and large is restricted to philological points: even the broader discussions, like the search for the historical people behind οἱ βουκόλοι or the collection of words and usages which point to a fourth century date are discussions about the denotations and connotations of words and phrases. As such they should be useful to the reader and critic who approaches the *Aithiopika* as literary text; they should also be useful to the researcher who treats the text as a document for the history of society, religion, language and so on.¹⁹⁷ In this chapter I suggest some ways in which the philological points raised in the commentary could affect the interpretation of the *Aithiopika* as a literary text.

In the commentary on I 1.1 I discuss how the ‘framing device’ of a picture which the author purports to describe may define the *genre* of the work in hand as fiction. The point is not perhaps simply that the reader is informed that what he is about to read is only the description of a picture (and therefore is not really factual); the device introduces ambiguity into the reader’s perception of the distinction between what is factual and what is not. The reader may wonder, did the picture which Longos, or Achilles Tatios purports to describe

¹⁹⁶ A recent example of such work on the *Aithiopika* comes to mind: E.L. Bowie (1995) makes literary critical points which are almost wholly based on fresh philological enquiry. In the second part of this article, for instance, the identification of a verbal allusion to Longos is within the scope of philological enquiry: allusions to Longos are part of the verbal code of the Greek of Heliodoros, and could connote a comparison of the gem which Heliodoros is describing with the text *Daphnis and Chloe*; the examination of how this interpretation is relevant to the interpretation of the *Aithiopika* as a whole is literary criticism.

¹⁹⁷ The dangers of using an ancient novel as an historical document are made clear, for example, by J.J. Winkler *JHS* 100 (1980) 155-181; however, the problem is surely that novels have often been used uncritically as historical sources, rather than that any use of a novel as an historical source is, as Winkler implies, a kind of misappropriation of the text.

really exist? and does the author accurately retell the tale which he purports to have heard?

Texts which produce uncertainty about their own truth value, and relative truth value, continue to pose for readers the problem of fictionality. Does Proust speak, or his fictional narrator? In either case, are his memories accurate? A variation on the picture as framing device for a narrative is the use of an introduction claiming a documentary source for what is narrated. This is used by Umberto Eco in *The Name of the Rose*. The author (like Nabokov in *Lolita*) balances his quasi-veracious introduction, asserting that the book is based ~~is based~~ on a documentary source, with an afterword which is veracious at least insofar as it is written under the name of the author which appears on the title page of the novel. (Heliodoros too places the only sentence for whose veracity he appears to vouch under his own name *at the end of the novel*.) Eco's afterword is published as *Reflections on the Name of the Rose*. In it Eco remarks (p32-33) 'I knew that *I* was narrating the story with the words of another person . . .'. On the next page Eco compares himself not with another writer, but, teasingly, with a fictional character: '. . . and the whole experience recalled to me (I mean physically, with the clarity of madeleine dipped in limeflower tea) certain childish games . . .' - and even more teasingly, since the action of his novel is filtered through his hero's memory, he mis-remembers Proust's narrator's experience (for whom, precisely, it was the madeleine dipped in *thé*, not *tilleul*, which activated the memory).

The author of *Diktys of Crete* too begins by asserting a documentary source. Apuleius in the first few chapters of *Metamorphoses*, and elsewhere in the text, raises the issue of the fictionality of his material in a way which is appropriately confusing.¹⁹⁸ Ancient authors of narrative fictions seem to have raised the issue of fictionality more often than novelists of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, for whose readers perhaps, the generic conventions of prose fiction are, so to speak, taken more for granted. Antonios Diogenes seems, as far as we can tell from Photios' summary, to have produced, in the *Wonders beyond Thule*, a text in which uncertainty about the relative truthfulness of the material is developed to an extreme degree.¹⁹⁹ Antonios Diogenes, too, used not one, but two introductory epistles to claim (contradictory) documentary sources for his narrative; S.A. Stephens & J.J. Winkler (1995) 103 suggest that one letter was contained within the other. Lucian playfully subverts the practice of producing uncertainty about a text's truthfulness when he explicitly denies the

¹⁹⁸This point is demonstrated by A. Laird (1993) in an article which is in general very germane to the present discussion.

¹⁹⁹J.R. Morgan (1993) thoroughly explores ancient attitudes to fictionality, the techniques of Antonios Diogenes, and the ways in which the issue of fictionality was dealt with in ancient novels.

truth of the *Verae historiae* at the end of the prologue (I 1-4). It is surely this, as much as the outrageous bizarrerie, which interested him in the *Wonders beyond Thule* or some similar work.

There is no such framing device in the *Aithiopika*. However, there are other methods used by authors of prose fiction for creating an ambiguous factuality.²⁰⁰ Related to the technique of using a framing device for the entire narrative is the way Heliodoros conveys much of the plot in words spoken by characters. J.J. Winkler *YCS* 27 (1982) 93-159 has shown how the device of presenting much of the plot of the *Aithiopika* in the words of Kalasiris makes its truthfulness ambiguous within the context of the text, which is, after all fictional: in other words the *relative* truthfulness of what Kalasiris tells is ambiguous. In a fictional text, each time the telling of a story is incorporated within another story adds to the reader's uncertainty about the relative factuality of the material. Moreover, the *Aithiopika* shares with the *Odyssey* not only a narrative structure, but also the detail that Kalasiris' story, like Odysseus' stories told to the Phaiakians, is told because he wants some return (specifically, Knemon has promised to produce Theagenes and Charikleia in exchange for the story). It is not irrelevant that it is to Odysseus that Kalasiris should have sacrificed, as he learns when he dreams of Odysseus: Odysseus is an appropriate patron for Kalasiris, and he should therefore sacrifice to him, just as it is to Hermes, the god of merchants, that Nausikles the merchant sacrifices.

The closest Heliodoros comes to using a framing device for the narrative as a whole is the inclusion of a *sphragis* disclosing his own identity.²⁰¹ Here he describes himself as ἄνθρωπος Φοῖβις: Heliodoros is not given to redundancy of expression, and the preference for the phrase ἄνθρωπος Φοῖβις (rather than simply Φοῖβις) requires explanation. The phrase is not common in Greek literature, but occurs once in Homer, *Od.* XIV 288. Here Odysseus, having arrived in Ithaka, is posing as a Cretan. In the midst of his own deception he refers to a (presumably invented) Φοῖβις ἄνθρωπος who deceived him and stole his possessions. Surely here by his reference to a fictional liar (the Φοῖβις ἄνθρωπος) described by a fictional liar (Odysseus posing as a Cretan) Heliodoros is drawing attention to the ambiguous status (in terms of factuality) of his own narrative, just as the narrative of Kalasiris is ambiguous in terms of factuality.

The reader's uncertainty about the relative factuality of all or parts of the narrative is one dimension of what Genette calls 'mood', because it is a

²⁰⁰Some of these are discussed in an examination of techniques answering to the general description 'realism' by J.R. Morgan (op. cit. 1993).

²⁰¹The authenticity of this *sphragis* is almost certain: v. the general discussion of it on p62ff above.

consequence of the reader's awareness that the story is narrated from a particular perspective. Therefore the narrative is an expression of subjectivity. It is ambiguity about the relative factuality of the narrative and parts of the narrative (rather than the readers' perception that the text is simply not factual) which characterises a text as fictional. The devices which an author uses to maintain that ambiguity, because they undermine an objective reading, compel the reader to read subjectively. The student of theory who attempts to analyse those devices in a scientific spirit will recognize (cf. G. Genette 1980 137-138) that his analysis does not describe the subjective impression which his text makes on the reader (although the analysis may be useful to a critic who discusses the subjective meaning of a particular text). Ambiguity prompts a subjective reading, but it does not follow that the subjective meaning of the text is ambiguous (although it may be). The story of Knemon in the *Aithiopika* has been shown by J.R. Morgan *JHS* CIX (1989) 99-113 to have the potential to contribute significantly and unambiguously to the subjective meaning of the text.

Against this background - the view that a fictional text, because it is fictional, invites a subjective reading - I make some suggestions about how my philological work may affect the interpretation of the *Aithiopika*. The reader of the *Aithiopika* who accepts my conclusions will read the text with the assumptions that it was almost certainly composed in the fourth century, probably in the third quarter of the fourth century; and that its author had a familiarity with Christian texts which was probably quite exceptional for an author of a non-Christian text, a familiarity which a contemporary reader would probably have spotted easily by the use of distinctively Christian vocabulary. I have noted in passing the Platonic and Pythagorean elements which other scholars have found in the text, and remarked that by the fourth century these two varieties of philosophy are by no means incompatible; and more tentatively, that within the Platonic tradition the philosopher to whom Heliodoros seems to have been closest was Iamblichos. A tentative case is made that there was an Emesene priestly tradition which was under the influence of Platonic philosophy, and it is argued that it is plausible that Heliodoros may have belonged to this tradition.

These assumptions about the provenance of the work are likely to affect the way in which a reader interprets the *Aithiopika*. To some extent this is tied up with the way we interpret the themes of the Greek novel in general, and the relation between the *genre* and religion.²⁰² Here my main concern is with ways

²⁰²J.R. Morgan (1995) offers a useful discussion of the relation between the novel and religion. Noting the problems entailed in reading the novels as religious texts, he writes, "To me the undeniable similarities between religion and fiction look like independent responses to the same stimulus."

in which the *Aithiopika* is a distinctive, rather than the ways in which it is a typical Greek novel. An awareness of Heliodoros' apparent familiarity with Christian literature may draw attention to the way Heliodoros emphasizes, more than the other extant Greek novelists, the importance of *absolute* chastity and the sacramental character of marriage,²⁰³ and may prompt the reader to interpret this as a more central, and indeed didactic part of the author's programme than it would otherwise seem. It is difficult to detect a detailed theological system in the *Aithiopika*. However, a reader aware of the signs of Heliodoros' knowledge of Neo-Platonic and theurgic, perhaps specifically Iamblichan, philosophy may be more inclined to recognize in the work an integrated system of values: Hellenic social values and Greek gods are respected; Egyptian thought, however, as represented by Kalasiris, is 'higher', and offers a closer approach to a grasp of the realities of the physical and spiritual world; while there exists a still higher, more perfect system of religious and philosophical thought and life to be found in a mythical (or perhaps real) Ethiopia, and by implication attainable by those with the faithful avoidance of corruption and perhaps the exceptional native qualities of the hero and heroine. If the *Aithiopika* is thought to have its origins in a Julianic time and intellectual environment, then reflection on Julian's theoretical and practical interest in good government and kingship may underline for the reader the importance of the utopian theme in Heliodoros' portrayal of the Ethiopian king and society.²⁰⁴

²⁰³As demonstrated by J.R. Morgan *JHS* CIX (1989a) 99-113 and J.R. Morgan *TAPA* 119 (1989b) 299-320. Compare too the treatment by Morgan (1994b) of the interplay of Eros, Longos himself and the protagonists as authors in *Daphnis and Chloe*, where he comments (p74), 'The conceit we have been examining emphasizes the factual unreality of the story, but at the same time suggests that the fiction is a channel for a non-factual truth of general applicability.'

²⁰⁴Of course, an awareness of the influence of Philostratos *Life of Apollonios* could similarly draw the reader's attention to the use by Heliodoros of the theme of good conduct for a ruler.

COMMENTARY

§1

Bandits arrive at the beach and see a puzzling scene: on the sea, a boat laden with cargo but without crew; on the beach, the aftermath of a party mixed with the aftermath of an impromptu battle; and no victors of the battle in sight.

The opening chapter displays several important elements of Heliodoros' technique. Psellos (*Comparison of Heliodoros with Achilles Tatios*) was the first to point out that he begins "in medias res"; many critics have followed him in praising this opening scene: in recent decades it has been discussed penetratingly by J.J. Winkler (*YCS* 27 (1982) 93-158, esp. 95-114). Some of the information which the reader receives comes through the eyes, in effect, of the characters in the plot, in this case the robbers: (on this point see J.R. Morgan *GCN* 4 (1991) 84-103; in the same article (90) attention is drawn to Heliodoros' deployment of stylistic resources in this chapter.) What the robbers see sets a puzzle for the readers, who wonder, as the robbers do, how the scene is to be explained: this theme is developed by J.R. Morgan (1994a). There is no information for the reader in the opening scene which the robbers could not know, and it is not explicit whether the narrator is describing omnisciently, or whether he is describing what the robbers see. This has the effect of effacing the narrator from the reader's awareness.

The strong visual element in this chapter, which is a constant feature of Heliodoros' style, was highlighted by W. Bühler *WS* (1975) 137-140. He points to the rising sun, the scene which greets the pirates and the rich visual texture. One could also draw attention to the large number of words referring to vision and light, and the use of the words θέατρον and σκηνή: v. J.W.H. Walden *HSCPh* 5 (1894) 1ff.; v. also P. Neimke *Quaestiones Heliodoreae* Halle (1889).

The scene described in I 1-2.3 is largely static, and this gives it a painting-like quality which invites comparison with the way paintings are used at the opening of Longos *Daphnis and Chloe* and Achilles Tatios *Leukippe and Kleitophon*. In 'The Lament as a Rhetorical Feature in the Greek Novel' it is suggested (J.W. Birchall *GCN* VII 1996) that these descriptions of paintings, and the painting-like opening of *The Aithiopika* demonstrate the central importance of *phantasia* in the novels, and possibly mark the work as belonging to a fictional genre in which the reader will be invited to 'suspend disbelief'.

The painting-like opening of the *Aithiopika* is regarded as producing an effect of reality by D. Maeder in her conclusion (*GCN* 3) p23. She associates the absence of a person to describe the picture in the *Aithiopika* (by comparison with Achilles Tatios and Longos) with the effacement of the narrator. She regards the opening of Achilles Tatios as containing ‘signaux du genre’ (14-16), and describes ‘un paradoxe qui consiste à la fois à proclamer la fiction et à la déguiser en réalité’. Of Longos she writes, ‘Comme chez Achille Tatius, le tableau est le pivot autour duquel se relaient effets de réel et de création; mais chez Longos, il est surtout un prétexte pour proclamer l’activité créatrice et artistique de l’écrivain’. The paradoxical aims, specific to fiction, which she describes, can with justice be seen in this opening, as elsewhere, in the *Aithiopika*.

For further discussion of the painting at the opening of *Daphnis and Chloe* v. R.L. Hunter (1983) 4-6 with ch.1 n.20; and 38-51, where, among other topics, the importance of ἐνάργεια for ancient narrative is pointed out. To his bibliography in n20 may be added J. Kestner *CW* (1973-4) 166-177; F. Létoublon (1993), 34-36.

R. Merkelbach (1962) p25 points out that ἥλιος, the highest deity in the novel, is mentioned in the first sentence. The reader sympathetic to the possibility of finding cryptic elements in Heliodoros’ text may also note the possible allusion to Athenian titles of Apollo and Artemis in the words ζωστήρ and ἄγρα. For ζωστήρ see Hesychios and Steph. Byz. s.v.; the title was well known in late antiquity because of the importance of Apollo Zoster in Hyperides Δηλιακὸς λόγος (v. A. Boeckh 1871a, esp. 447-452), the only speech of Hyperides which enjoyed continuing fame. For ἄγρα see LSJ s.v.

1. ἡμέρας ἄρτι διαγελώσης καὶ ἡλίου τὰς ἀκρωρείας καταυγάζοντος: The meaning of διαγελώσης is elucidated by M.L. West (1966) ad *Theogony* 40-41: . . . γελαῖ δέ τε δώματα πατρὸς / Ζηνὸς . . . (“the primary metaphorical meaning is ‘shine’ with reflected light . . .”) The metaphor is usually applied to the sea; for a reader aware of that association the reflection of daybreak from the sea may be brought to mind here. Theophrastos frequently uses διαγελάω of ὥρα and ἄηρ, but Heliodoros was the first to apply it to ἡμέρα, in which he is imitated by Procopios *De aed.* 1.41.

1. ἄνδρες ἐν ὄπλοις ληστρικοῖς ὄρους ὑπερκύψαντες: In papyrus documents and in Strabo ὄρος in an Egyptian context indicates land just beyond the cultivated land, the slightly higher land which did not receive the inundation. In documents it often seems to mean simply ‘the desert’, whereas in Herodotos and in Strabo the sense of land at a higher level is always present, (although not, of course, land which is mountainous in our sense). The sense of land at a higher elevation is present here too, as is certainly indicated by ὑπερκύψαντες. We should also bear in mind the metaphorical associations of ὄρος, which in Greek literature was contrasted with the town as a wild and uncivilized place, as R.G.A. Buxton *JHS* 112 (1992) 1-15 demonstrated.

1. στόμα τὸ καλούμενον Ἡρακλεωτικὸν: The westernmost mouth of the Nile, called by Herodotos Kanobic, who says that there was a shrine to Herakles on the shore. Diodoros, then Strabo are the first extant Greek authors to give the name Herakleiotic as an alternative for Kanobic. Ptolemy the Geographer is the first to use Herakleiotic exclusively, and Seneca has Herakleiotic, with Naukratic as an alternative. While much of Heliodoros’ information about Egypt can be found in Herodotos, Diodoros and Strabo, the choice of the name Herakleiotic may indicate that none of these was his *direct* source here. In Pliny the Elder the Herakleiotic or Naukratic mouth is not identical with the Kanobic but next to it (V 64). The location of the outlet is no more than a day’s walk from Alexandria (about twenty miles according to Ptolemy’s co-ordinates): J.R. Morgan (Preface to Heliodoros in CAGN) suggested that Heliodoros expected the reader to notice the absence of Alexandria as an indication of a pre-Ptolemaic date.

1. τῷ πελάγει τὸ πρῶτον τὰς ὄψεις ἐπαφέντες: In Kalasiris’ explanation of the ‘evil eye’, ὄψις (III 7.5) seems to be used of the eyes rather than of the theoretical process of sight. The same is true of τὰς ὄψεις in the similar passage in Plutarch *Quaestiones conviviales* V 7 / 681E, with which Heliodoros was certainly familiar, as W. Capelle *RhM* 96 (1953) 166-180 showed. Heliodoros’ use of ἐπαφίημι in this context is unprecedented: it may be used by analogy with the use of the same verb with words denoting voice or utterance. cf. Synesios *Epistle* 67 (PG p1421): ἐπιβαλὼν τὰς ὄψεις τῷ τόπῳ. ἐπαφίημι

1. ὥς οὐδὲν ἄγρας ληστρικῆς ἐπηγγέλετο μὴ πλεόμενον: Translate “. . . when the sea, since it was not being sailed, (or, except it should be sailed,) offered nothing in the way of booty for bandits . . .” In classical Greek μὴ + participle normally has a conditional sense, and the latter translation, with a conditional sense is attractive here. However, Heliodoros’ use of μὴ is looser: of the 38 instances of μὴ with a participle six are conditional and clearly marked as such by εἰ or ἄν in the protasis, or ἄν in the apodosis; and three are in the quasi-conditional expression ‘you will do such and such καὶ μὴ

βουλόμενος'; none of the others are clearly conditional in sense. Therefore the non-conditional translation 'since it was not being sailed' must be preferred.

1. ἐπὶ τὸν πλησίον αἰγιαλὸν τῇ θεᾷ κατήγοντο: τὸν πλησίον αἰγιαλὸν is 'the shore that was close to them' i.e. the shore of the Herakleiotic mouth of the Nile, not of the sea, which was farther away. The robbers look first at the sea, which is in the distance, then turn their gaze not only to what is closer but also in a different direction. The topography of the scene is discussed in detail in the note on I 5.1 below.

2. ὀλκάς ἀπὸ πρυμνησίων ὥρμει: The boat is at the shore but still afloat (although said to have run aground at V 27.2 and I 22.4). We are not in a harbour, but in an outlet near the sea, so πρυμνησίων are probably anchor cables rather than mooring lines (since a boat moored to shore outside a harbour would be vulnerable to on-shore winds). It was common for ancient merchantmen to carry several anchors. We may surmise that often two (stern and bow), and sometimes more, would be used together, (hence the plural). The history of anchors in antiquity is discussed in L. Casson (1971) 50-58.

2. τὸ γὰρ ἄχθος ἄχρι καὶ ἐπὶ τρίτου ζωστήρος τῆς νεῶς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνέθλιβεν: ζωστήρ is first attested in this sense here. It refers to the wales, or extra thick reinforcing planks attached to the outside of the hull. For technical details see L. Casson (1971). The later history of the word seems to imply that the normal waterline would be at the middle of three ζωστήρες: Anna Comnena Alexiades VI 5: αὐται (αἱ ναῦς) δὲ τῇ κουφότητι ἐπεπόλαζον οἷον ὕδασιν ἀνεξόμεναι, ὥς μὴδ' ἄχρι δευτέρου ζωστήρος τοῦ ὕδατος φθάνοντος, and Du Canges' note ad loc. Theodoros Prodrom. lib. 5. τῶν κατὰ Ῥοδάνθην pag. 225.

ἐκ δευτέρου ζωστήρος ἄχρι καὶ τρίτου

πίλοις κατεσκέψαστο ναστοῖς παξέσιν.

τρίτος ζωστήρ apud Constant. Manassem in Theophilo et Nicetam in Man. lib. 2.N.1. qui ἔσχατος ζωστήρ dicitur Zonarae in Theophilo. (Text in Corp. Script. Hist. Byz. pt 25 vol. I p285, l.7, note in vol II p538; the occurrence noted by Du Cange in Constantinus Manasses, (PG 127.403 l.4876-7) imitates this passage of Heliodoros, so it cannot really be regarded as an independent attestation of ζωστήρ in this sense.)

3. ὁ δὲ αἰγιαλός, μεστὰ πάντα σωμάτων νεοσφαγῶν: As J.R. Morgan (1978) p.xx points out, μεστὰ πάντα is almost a cliché for introducing vivid descriptions; it is frequently followed by φόνων or other words describing a battle scene. Morgan quotes Julian *Or.* I 27c μεστὰ δὲ ἦν ἅπαντα σωμάτων καὶ ναυαγίων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄρτι καταθυομένων, τῶν δὲ . . . κουφιζομένων ὑπο τοῦ κύματος. He regards this passage as the closest verbal similarity between Heliodoros and Julian's account of the siege

of Nisibis in *Or.* 1 & 2. A search of TLG shows that no other author has a phrase as close to the present one as Julian's; that in classical Greek μεστὰ πάντα is used only by Xenophon and Plato; that several of the imperial writers who use the phrase omit the copula; and that where a verb is given it is usually ἦν or εἶναι. Therefore the text here is not to be doubted, and the construction is πάντα ἦν μεστὰ (rather than supplying a verb such as "they saw" with the clause μεστὰ πάντα . . . as its object). Prof. Maehler suggested to me that the apparent 'anacolouthon' is due to the fact that ^X μεστὰ πάντα σωμάτων νεοσφαγῶν is a tragic trimeter, complete but for the first anceps (supply <ἦν>?), with the caesura in the right place; the line is not found in extant tragedy. For the anacolouthon J. Koraes (1804) compares II 34.3 (ἡ δὲ A. θυσία etc.). The traditional explanation of anacolouthon of this kind is that the illogical choice of case reflects the thought: the robbers turned their attention to the sea shore; they see with astonishment that μεστὰ πάντα σωμάτων, and the nominative αἰγιαλός is left hanging. For examples see W. Havers, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 43 (1925) 207-257 where he says: "Die grosse Ausdehnung unseres Nominativgebrauchs in der späteren Gräzität, besonders bei Philostratos und Aelian, ist sehr bemerkenswert."

4. ἦν δὲ οὐ πολέμου καθαροῦ τὰ φαινόμενα σύμβολα: The use of καθαρός for a 'clean fight' seems to be unparalleled.

4. τὸ γὰρ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ κακοῦ τὰς χρείας ἐκαινοτόμει: τὸ αἰφνίδιον is found in Polybios and Dionysios of Halicarnassos and throughout the Roman period, this expression does not seem to occur in earlier Greek, where abstract expressions are generally eschewed, except at Thuc. II 61.3: δουλοῖ γὰρ φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον . . .

καινοτομέω is usually used in a political or religious context, with a bad connotation, so perhaps Heliodoros chose the word to suggest departure from a well ordered world.

5. ὁ δὲ δαλῶ κατάφλεκτος: The meaning of κατάφλεκτος is 'completely burnt'; cf. the Suda, πυρίφλεκτος: . . . ἐφλέγετο γὰρ, οὐ κατεφλέγετο δέ. πυρίφλεκτος is classical and poetic. The analogous formation κατάφλεκτος appears to be a *hapax*.

5. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι βελῶν ἔργον καὶ τοξείας γεγεννημένοι: The expression is well explained in Stephanus *Thesaurus*: 'Wytttenbach Bibl. Inst. vol. 3, part 2, p. 16: "ἔργον γενέσθαι . . . Ab aliquo confici, interfici, eleganter quidem dicitur, sed cura fere, quod quidem sciam, posterioris aetatis scriptorum. Plut. Eumen. ch. 17: κτεινόμενος ὑμέτερον ἔργον εἰμί, si interficiar, vestrum id erit factum. Achill. Tat. 3, 15: ἔργον γέγονε βουκόλων." Quibus exemplis multa Libanii, Synesii, Heliodori et aliorum addidit.'

6. καὶ μυρίον εἶδος ὁ δαίμων ἐπὶ μικροῦ τοῦ χωρίου διεσκέυαστο,.
For the use of ὁ δαίμων by Heliodoros v. above, p29ff.

7. τὰ λάφυρα δὲ ἀσχύλευτα: Heliodoros delays δέ until after an article and substantive when he wants to emphasize a strong contrast with a preceding μέν clause, e.g. I. 19 . . τιμωρίαν μὲν λαβεῖν τὴν τιμὴν δὲ ἀπολαβεῖν.

8. ἑαυτοὺς οὖν νικητὰς ἀποδείξαντες: In classical Greek a direct reflexive with a copulative verb and an adjective or noun predicate is rare. It occurs occasionally with ποιέω “to reckon”. There are no examples with ἀποδείκνυμι before the Roman period. (The classical authors use two nominatives with a passive.) This type of construction, where the predicate is an adjective or a substantive in apposition, often with ἀποδείκνυμι, accounts for many of the occurrences of accusatives of the reflexive pronoun in inscriptions and documentary papyri in the Roman period (e.g. . . . φίλον καὶ ξένον καὶ εὐεργέτην ἑαυτὸν ἀποδε[χ]θ[έ]ν[αι] . . ., *Fouilles de Delphes III*. 1. 480. 1.9-10. c. 480 B.C.) It also appears in some Roman period writers (e.g. πικρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύων ἐχθρόν . . . Polybios VII 14.3.) Sophistic writers largely avoid it; the construction may reflect the influence of Latin on the language. Where reflexives of this kind occur in classical texts they are normally to be taken as reciprocal. In this passage we must choose between seeing it as an example of the apparent latinity in Heliodoros’ style, or assuming, in view of the lack of parallels (the closest parallel in Heliodoros is perhaps . . . Θίσβην ἑαυτὴν ὠμολόγει . . . V 8.4), that the usage is perfectly classical and therefore the pronoun is to be taken as reciprocal: “proclaiming one another victors . . .” On the whole the former seems more Heliodorean.

§2

The bandits see a beautiful girl tending a wounded but beautiful young man. They wonder whether she is a goddess, but decide she cannot be, and find the courage to approach.

1. ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς κεκινήκοσιν ἄποθεν μικρὸν τῆς τε νεῶς καὶ τῶν κειμένων θέαμα προσπίπτει τῶν προτέρων ἀπορώτερον: κεκινήκοσιν is active for middle (cp. note ad I 18.1). κινέω with this meaning, ‘to move oneself’, is rare even in the middle, but is sometimes used in a military context. cf. Xenophon *Historia Graeca* II 1.22: Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, ἐπεὶ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησαμένους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευσάμενος ὥς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παραβάλλον, προεῖπεν ὥς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο.

On **προσπίπτει**, F. Barber (1968) notes the transition from the aorists and imperfects of chapter 1 to the present historic. The tense, and the violent motion which this verb implies give a sense of pace as the description moves from the background of the ‘canvass’, the corpses of the slaughtered combatants, to the still more striking central figures.

1. κόρη καθήστο ἐπὶ πέτρας, ἀμήχανόν τι κάλλος καὶ θεὸς εἶναι ἀναπεύθουσα: Sentence asyndeton (as between this and the preceding sentence) is used freely by such writers as the authors of John’s Gospel (esp. in chapter V) and *The Shepherd of Hermas*, and the ‘inset tales’ in Longos; perhaps it had become feature of simple spoken *koine* under the influence of Latin; it gives a vigorous directness to didactic or narrative passages. Chariton constantly uses asyndeton to achieve an effect of pace (e.g. I 2.2,3), and makes much use of pseudo-asyndeton (where connection is indicated by a retrospective pronoun or participle). In Longos (e.g. I 13.6), Achilles Tatios (e.g. I 1.3-13) and Xenophon of Ephesos (e.g. I 2.6.) the frequent sentence asyndeton is frequently found in descriptive passages, to sketch in, as it were, visual details. Heliodoros uses sentence asyndeton in the same way, as here, but more sparingly than the other novelists. For the classical background to the use of asyndeton as a stylistic device, see chapter vi in J.D. Denniston (1952).

ἀμήχανόν τι κάλλος: Heliodoros uses a similar expression at II 30.6: ἄγει με παρ’ ἐαυτὸν καὶ δεικνύσθαι κόρην ἀμήχανόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον κάλλος. It seems to be imitated from Plato. Compare Plato *Charmides* 155d ἐνέβλεψέν τέ μοι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀμήχανόν τι οἶον καὶ ἀνήγετο ὡς ἐρωτήσαν. At Plato *Symposium* 218e (ἀμήχανόν τοι κάλλος ὁρώης ἂν ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ τῆς παρὰ σοὶ εὐμορφίας πάμπολυ διαφέρον) the MSS are divided between τι, τοι and τε. The editors of *P. Oxy.* 843 (2nd century A.D.) read [τ]οι, which, in fact, gives the best sense. We must assume that the text of Heliodoros is right here; he seems to be imitating Plato in his use of this phrase, so his copy of the *Symposium* probably had the reading τι at this point. Heliodoros elevates Charikleia by alluding to the concept of inner beauty of which Socrates speaks in this passage of the *Symposium*.

2. δάφνη τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔστεπτο: The laurel is associated with Apollo, prophecy and poetry, but, unlike the bow, is nowhere associated with Artemis, whom Charikleia served as a priestess at Delphi. (Achilles Tatios VII 12.2 is not relevant here.) It is at V 31 that we are told that Charikleia has put it on, with her robe which is said to be from Delphi, so by implication the laurel too draws attention to her Delphic background. Charikleia’s office at Delphi seems to have been fictional (v. G. Rougemont, in MRG (1992) 93-99) so we need not enquire too closely into the authenticity of her attire. Perhaps also, Heliodoros knew that for Romans a laurel branch symbolized victory in battle (e.g. Plutarch *Life of Pompeius* 41.3): not only does Charikleia here appear to

be the victor in a battle, but it transpires later that by her use of the bow she did indeed contribute to victory over the pirates.

2. ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ χεὶρ ἀφροντίστως ἀπηώρητο: ἀπαιωρέομαι is used of hands and feet in Hippokrates *De fracturis*. [Hesiod] *Scutum* 243 is the only occurrence of the compound which certainly precedes the 1st century A.D. 234

3. ὥσπερ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου τοῦ παρ' ὀλίγον θανάτου κατεφαίνεται: The combination βαθέος ὕπνου is sufficiently rare (Theocr. VII 65; A.P. VII 197) to recall A.P. VII 170 (= Gow & Page 1. 3174) where a child has been pulled from a well by his mother. She watches to see whether he is alive; line 5 continues:

νόμφας δ' οὐκ ἐμήνηνεν ὁ νήπιος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γούνοις
ματρὸς κοιμαθεὶς τὸν βαθὺν ὕπνον ἔχει.

Unlike Theagenes, the child does not recover.

5. καὶ ἅμα λέγουσα ἡ μὲν τῆς πέτρας ἀνέθορεν: θρόψκω and its compounds are poetic; prose usage is mainly confined to Herodotos and Hippokrates.

5. πρηστήρος: The word is discussed in M. Hofinger (1975-1978) s.v. and West *Theogony* p390. It is often associated with Typhon, and brings wind, thunder, lightning and lightning bolts without rain.

5. τῶν μὲν βελῶν τῇ ἀθρόα κινήσει κλαγξάντων: This recalls the language used of Apollo at Iliad I 45. By associating the young woman, Charikleia, with a god it presses home, so to speak, the message of the foregoing Homeric imagery, for the reversal of rôles in the image from Odyssey VI (here the bandits flee the maiden just as Nausikaa's companions fled Odysseus), as well as being amusing, immediately draws attention to the commanding position of our heroine, whose resourcefulness and leadership will be a key feature of her character.

5. χρυσοῦφοῦς δὲ τῆς ἐσθήτος πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀνταυγαζούσης: Garments called χρυσοῦφής are Babylonian in Chariton VIII 4.7; and barbarian in Herodian V 3.6 (concerning Elagabalus). This is one among several words which denote golden garments in the description of the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos by Callixeinos (in Athenaios). We occasionally read of garments made entirely of gold (Historia Augusta *Elagabalus* 23; Pliny XXXIII 63; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 19), but normally garments with gold thread decoration are meant. Such garments are particularly associated with the Eastern provinces, so we should not be surprised that the Emesene Heliodoros does not apply to them the derogatory epithet 'barbarian', as other writers do, but places them on the supposedly Greek heroine. For the

Eastern associations v. Pliny VI 196: (of *pictae vestes*) “acu facere id Phryges invenerunt, ideoque Phrygioniae appellatae sunt. aurum intexere in eadem Asia Attalus rex, unde nomen Attalicis. colores diversos picturae intexere Babylon maxime celebravit et nomen imponit. plurimis vere liceis Alexandria instituit, scutulis Gallia. Metellus Scipio triclinaria Babylonica sestertium octingentis millibus venisse iam tunc ponit in Catonis criminibus, quae Neroni principi quadragiens sestertio nuper steterē.”

5. καὶ τῆς κόμης ὑπὸ τῷ στεφάνῳ βακχεῖον σοβουμένης: βακχεῖον is never attested as an adverb, but well attested as a substantive. Therefore it must be taken here as a substantive, and this gives a more vivid sense than it would have if it were an adverb. Charikleia’s hair, dressed differently, is described again at III 4.5.

Used of hair, σοβέω is unusual. It occurs at A.P. VI 219 and V 251 (the latter probably post-dates Heliodoros.).

6. ἐδάκρυσεν κτλ.: Lists of words without connectives in Greek are typically found in emotionally charged passages; for parallels, v. J.D. Denniston (1952) chapter vi.

6. Ἄρτεμιν ἢ τὴν ἐγχώριον Ἴσιν: Isis came to be seen, like Artemis, as a moon goddess. See the section in the introduction on the solar theology (p29ff), where it is argued that this explains why the bandits seem to regard her as an alternative to Artemis. It is also argued there that the underlying theology of the *Aithiopika* is solar and lunar. The argument cannot be extended to other Greek novels in which the heroine is associated with Artemis. The association is thought-provoking, but cannot at present be explained with confidence. Perhaps the most that can be said is, in the formulation of F. Létoublon (1993) 39-40, ‘Le costume d’Artémis, revêtu par plusieurs des héroïnes romanesques, suggère que cette relation de la vie et du théâtre a en Grèce ancienne un aspect religieux (sur la figure d’Artémis et ses liens avec le thème du masque, voir J.P. Vernant, *Mythe et Religion en Grèce ancienne* Paris, Seuil, Libraire du XXème siècle, 1990): tout se passe comme si le passage des jeunes filles à l’âge de femme et du mariage impliquait que la jeune fille incarne la déesse, et comme si les épisodes du roman transposaient des rituels initiatiques, ce que les récits mythologiques concernant Artémis ou Pan suggère aussi.’

7. ἀναλαβόντες οὖν ἑαυτούς: 'recovering'. ἀναλαμβάνω means 'to encourage' at Heliodoros V 3.3, and that may be the sense required here, so ἑαυτούς could be taken as reciprocal: 'encouraging one another'. However, the construction with an active verb and a reflexive pronoun (rather than a middle verb) is the normal classical one, used by Thucydides, Demosthenes, Isokrates and others to mean 'to recover', so it is best to translate this phrase as 'recovering'.

7. εἶχον ἑαυτούς οὔτε τι λέγειν οὔτε τι πράττειν ἀποθαρροῦντες: Again ἑαυτούς draws attention to the reciprocal character of the verb. Nonetheless we may note that the expression is suggestive of the Latin reflexive use *se teneo* just as ἑαυτούς . . . ἀποδεξίαντες (I 1.8) and ἀναλαβόντες . . . ἑαυτούς (above) suggest *se ostendo* and *se colligo*.

8. τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν σκιᾶς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς παρεμπεσοῦσης ἀνένευσεν ἡ κόρη καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐθις ἐπένευσε, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄηθες τῆς χροιᾶς: σκιᾶς usually means 'shade' whereas σκίασμα means *shadow*. However, Plato uses σκία for 'shadow'. It is regularly used for shade or shadow in the context of painting, and the present instance probably alludes to this use: by describing an effect of light here, as he does at I 1.1, Heliodoros underlines the painting-like quality of the description. Hesychios: σκιαγραφίαν· τὴν σκηνογραφίαν ^{χρῶμα} λέγουσιν. ἐλέγετο δέ τις καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ζωγράφος σκιᾶγράφος ἀντὶ τοῦ σκηνογράφος κτλ. It shows the refinement of Heliodoros' appeal to the visual sense of the reader that like a skilled painter, he depicts even the light in a scene which he portrays.

τὸ ἄηθες τῆς χροιᾶς: Heliodoros makes us aware of the question of skin colour, which will be an important theme. The bandits in Achilles Tatios are black, and speak a non-Greek language. Heliodoros was influenced by his description of the Boukoloι by Achilles Tatios, and black skin is meant here, as is made explicit at I 3.1; but there is little support in the text for seeing significance in the fact that the bandits are the same colour as Charikleia's parents turn out to be.

9. ^{οὐ-}εὐτὼς ἄρα πόθος ἀκριβῆς καὶ ἔρως ἀκραιφνῆς κτλ.: The major theme of love is introduced in terms of Charikleia's striking demonstration of its power to remove her fear of the bandits. ἀκραιφνῆς delicately suggests virginity (cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1052: ποῦ καὶ τρέφοιτ' ἂν δωμάτων νέα γυνή; / νέα γάρ, ὥς ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ πρέπει. / πότερα κατ' ἀνδρῶν δῆτ' ἐνοικήσει στέγην; / καὶ πῶς ἀκραιφνῆς ἐν νέοις στρωφωμένη / ἔσται; 1049-1053).

§3

The girl sees that the bandits are black. She addresses them, but they do not understand. They start to collect booty, but flee when a larger group of bandits comes on the scene.

1. εἰ μὲν εἶδωλα τῶν κειμένων ἐστέ, φησὶν, οὐκ ἐν δίκη παρενοχλεῖτε ἡμῖν: The scene has been described in chapter 1, and the reader's curiosity has been aroused. Now, through the first piece of direct speech, the brigands, and, indirectly, the reader receives some information about the background to what they have seen. At the same time the sense of wonder is maintained as Charikleia in her turn is uncertain whether the figures she sees belong to this world; and with her choice of words she at once occupies the 'moral high ground'.

2. ἡ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπετραγώδει: The reader has suspended belief just as he would in the theatre: the theatrical vocabulary keeps him in this attitude.

2. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ συνιέναι τῶν λεγομένων: On Heliodoros' interest in linguistic diversity see S. Said (1992) 169-186.

2-3. χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ λίθων πολυτίμων καὶ σθηρικῆς ἐσθῆτος, ὅση δύναμις ἐκάστοις, ἐκφοροῦντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλις ἔχειν ἐδόκει: The language perhaps recalls the gifts which the Phaeacians deposit on the shore with Odysseus. More pointedly, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλις ἔχειν ἐδόκει echoes Herodotos I 119.5: ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐδόκει ἄλις ἔχειν . . . Like Harpagos, who is about to discover that he has just eaten his son, the robbers are unaware that their satisfaction will be short-lived.

Far eastern silk, and the word **σθηρικός**, seem to have entered the Greek world at the time of Alexander. The fabric was usually wool with silk threads woven in. The Historia Augusta *Elagabalus* 26, states that this emperor was the first to wear unmixed silk: this is probably not true, but indicates the rarity of pure silk. For the literary references v. Der Kleine Pauly, "Seide", and for a discussion of the earliest arrival of silk into the Greek and Roman world, and a photograph of reconstituted fabric v. H-J. Hund *JRGZ* 16 (1969) 59-71.

5. οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν κόρην: The girl and the young man with her, whom the reader later learns are Theagenes and Charikleia. Some translators (e.g. Maillon, Bevilacqua) have thought this phrase could mean Charikleia alone, and make the same mistake with τοὺς περὶ τὸν Θεαγένην at VII 9.1, although they translate such phrases correctly elsewhere. LSJ and the Spanish Greek Dictionary are unclear on the point and consequently misleading (LSJ *περί* C.2; SGD ἀμφί III.1). If we read, for instance, that οἱ περὶ Πλατῶνα think

something, that amounts to saying that Plato himself thought it. However, the expression is never used in a context where the idea of a retinue is entirely absent, and there is no case where it unambiguously refers to an individual alone. The evidence is collected in M. Dubuisson (1977). This dissertation deals with the point directly and conclusively, and incidentally gives many examples similar to the present one under the heading of ‘οἱ περί X = X and Y’ and ‘οἱ ἀμφὶ X = X and Y’; this use is common from Polybios onwards.

The young couple in the μέν clause are contrasted with the bandits in the δέ clause, and this curious choice of phrase which gives ἡ κόρη pride of place reflects the fact that the young man is not yet fully functional, either as an heroic figure who might be expected to put up a fight, or as a character who has been properly introduced to the reader.

§4

The bandit chief tries to take the girl, but she insists by gestures that the young man be taken too. The chief dismounts himself and his companion, and places the girl and young man on the horses.

2. τῶν ἵππων: This type of genitive is commented on I 7.1 below.

3. καὶ ἦν δόξης οὐκ ἔκτος: The οὐκ should probably be deleted, following Bekker, so that we can translate “What happened was beyond belief.” The Budé editors say ‘corruptum nisi δόξα = laus’, which would not make good sense: Heliodoros is emphasising the paradoxical nature of what happened. F.T. Richards (1905) proposed to replace οὐκ with γοῦν, but this would be the wrong place in the sentence for γοῦν or οὔν.

§5

The couple reach the marshland home of the Boukoloι, whose manner of life is described.

1. παραμείψαντες οὖν ὅσον δύο στάδια τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐκτραπέντες εὐθὺς τοῦ ὄρους πρὸς τὰ ὄρθια ἐχώρουν τὴν θάλατταν ἐν δεξιᾷ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ ὑπερβάντες χαλεπῶς τὰς ἀκρωρείας ἐπὶ τινὰ λίμνην κατὰ θατέραν τοῦ ὄρους πλευρὰν ὑποτείνουσιν ἠπείγοντο: This statement seems to invite the reader to make a mental map of the area. To do so the information it gives must be harmonized with the description in the first chapter of book I, and with the statement about where the boat landed, V 27.7 ἀκτῇ τινι κατὰ τὸ στόμιον τοῦ Νείλου τὸ Ἡρακλειωτικόν

προσωκείλαμεν. In fact the last statement adds little because ἄκτῃ can be anything from a protruding rock to a promontory, and can be in the sea or in a river; while κατὰ τὸ στόμιον could mean *on* or *near* the outlet. So, when the party turn suddenly they put the sea on their right, and they cross the peak of a mound which, as we learn in I 1.1, lays above the Herakleiotic outlet of the Nile. As explained in the note on I 1.1 the action takes place on the beach of the outlet, which is closer to the mound than the sea. In the approximate, schematic topography which Heliodoros provides παραμείψαντες . . . τὸν αἰγιαλὸν must mean travelling along parallel with the shore of the outlet (whether facing or away from the sea we are not told), and beneath the mound. Since the sea is on their right when they turn away from the outlet it follows that the scene is set on the west of the Herakleiotic mouth.

EXCURSUS ON ΟΙ ΒΟΥΚΟΛΟΙ (THE ‘HERDSMEN’)

2. βουκόλια: The area, located in the region of the western Delta, was probably immediately to the east of Alexandria, but to the west of the Kanobic branch of the Nile, (as it is in Heliodoros: see preceding note). In Heliodoros it is near a Chemmis, in Achilles Tatios near Alexandria, in *BGU* 625 probably near Alexandria, and the entry in Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica*, Ἡρακλειοβουκόλια· Αἰγυπτιακὴ συνοικία (Herakleioboukolia: an Egyptian settlement) suggests that the inhabitants, the Βουκόλοι are found near the Heracleium which Herodotos²⁰⁵ and others mention near the Kanobic mouth. Strabo (XVII 19 / 802) says that the entrance to the harbour at Pharos was guarded by βουκόλων ληστῶν, ‘herdsman’ bandits) who attacked ships trying to anchor.

There is no firm evidence about the location of the Boukolia. There were probably marshes to the west and east of Lake Mareotis (Marea, Maryut), and of Alexandria, which is north of the lake. Around the marshes to the west of the lake now lies the relatively fertile country described in the chapter ‘The Solitary Place’ of E.M. Forster *Pharos and Pharillion*.²⁰⁶ Based on the evidence of Stephanus and Strabo, the region to the north-east and the east of the lake is almost certainly to be identified with the Boukolia. The region to the north-east of the lake is the narrow strip of land east of Alexandria between the lake and the sea. In antiquity this was probably marshland extending eastwards to the Kanobic branch of the Nile.

²⁰⁵Herodotos II 113.

²⁰⁶E.M. Forster *Pharos and Pharillion* London 1923.

The Kanobic branch silted up during the middle-ages, and Lake Mareotis (and surrounding marshes) became virtually dry. The area to the East of lake Mareotis, although probably marshland in antiquity, was also dry until 1778, when Lake Aboukir was formed.²⁰⁷ By breaching the barrier between Lake Aboukir and the bed of Lake Mareotis in 1801 the British army, fighting the French, flooded the latter lake,²⁰⁸ regrettably destroying many more villages. Much of the re-formed Lake Mareotis was drained by the Egyptians during the nineteenth century for agriculture, and Lake Aboukir was drained under British administration at the end of the nineteenth century.

This location for the Boukolia is consistent with the picture in Heliodoros, where too the Boukolia is near, and apparently west of, the Kanobic mouth, where it is subject to the inundation (which did not normally reach as far west as Alexandria), and where it is near Chemmis (the area here proposed for the Boukolia, the eastern-most part of the seventh Nome, borders onto the sixth Nome, called by Herodotos the 'Chemmite' Nome).²⁰⁹

There was a Boukolic gate in Alexandria.²¹⁰ We do not know on which side of the town it was. The earliest attestation of the name 'Boukolic' seems to be Herodotos' βουκολικὸν στόμα (II 17), although this seems to have been further east than the area of the Βουκόλοι. (The Boukolic Branch, found only in Herodotos, is usually identified with the Phatmitic mentioned at Diodoros I 33, Strabo XVII 18 and Pliny the Elder V 14, and called Pathmetic by Pomponius Mela. This was probably in approximately the same place as the modern Damietta branch, according to the conventional view, which was apparently originated by J. Ball (1942). Ball's identification of the Boukolic with the Phatmitic branch is implicitly based on the fact these writers mention seven main branches, of which the other six are identical with the other six Herodotean ones. In view of the constant change in the terrain of the Delta, and of the evidence for an artificial channel apparently unrecorded by the ancient writers,²¹¹ this conventional identification cannot be regarded as more than an intelligent guess.)

²⁰⁷ 'This lake [Aboukir] is of a very modern date, having been formed so late as 1778. A stone dyke, the greater part of which is to this day standing, was the only barrier, which kept out the sea from a plain much below its level. This was broken down by the fury of the waves in a violent gale, and the water, rushing in with impetuosity, destroyed several villages, and formed the present inundation. The kalisch or canal of Alexandria divides it from the site of lake Mareotis, which was almost everywhere dry, having no communication with the sea.' (T. Walsh (1803) 81-82).

²⁰⁸ *ibid.* 114-115.

²⁰⁹ The evidence for the seventh and sixth Nomes of lower Egypt is collected by W. Helck (1974).

²¹⁰ v. Calderini 1, 1 p.105; also, *ibid.* s.v. τὰ βουκόλια, 2, 1 p.62 and οἱ βουκόλοι 2, 1 p.63.

²¹¹ v. A. De Cosson (1935) 84.

In many ways the most useful discussion of the area of the Boukoloι of the *Aithiopika*, though out of date in the light of recent advances in literary theory and Egyptology, is that given by E. Quatremère (1811) I 224-243. There were lakes and marshes in many places along the coast of the delta and western Egypt. Many have now disappeared (v. A. Bernand (1970) 102-116). Butzer, in the article 'Delta' in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, describes the rows of small islands which geological research shows would have lain just above the lakes of the lower Delta in pre-dynastic times. Unfortunately he does not comment on how far such terrain is likely to have survived into the late period, or extended to the region *between* Lakes Mareotis and Edku, which, as proposed above, may have been part of τὰ βουκόλια.

Modern descriptions of the marshes in the western Delta are difficult to find. In the description by J. Lozach (1935) 228, the general type of landscape described by Heliodoros is recognizable, although Heliodoros was writing at a time when Lake Mareotis and the surrounding marshes were fed by the Kanobic branch of the Nile, rather than flooded by the sea as today, and therefore he describes a marshland which is not reedless and saline like that described here, but suffused with fresh water: "... pour peu qu'on se dirige vers les lacs de Basse-Egypte, on a tôt fait d'atteindre des régions où la vie se fait plus rare, disparaît même, terres de solitude et de misère.

Elles forment une large bande qui s'étend au nord et à l'est de la région cultivée, jusqu'aux lacs, presque jusqu'à la mer, dont ne les séparent que quelques kilomètres de dunes. Pendant la crue et durant l'hiver, ces terres se trouvent abondamment baignées par l'eau du Nil; elles constituent même des annexes des lacs, avec lesquels on peut les confondre. Mais dès que l'évaporation a fait disparaître la plus grande partie des eaux, elles ne forment plus que des plaines idéalement plates, sans aucun relief, au sol brun ou blanc, couvert d'une couche de vernis qui craque sous le pas et scintille au soleil. Une végétation saline de petites pousses chétives, d'un gris sale, peuvent seules y subsister; aucun arbre ne rompt le cercle monotone de l'horizon."

Dio Kassios, Achilles Tatios and Heliodoros call the inhabitants of τὰ βουκόλια the βουκόλοι. A variety of evidence links the Western Delta with cattle grazing,²¹² although unlike the fictional bandits of the *Aithiopika*, Egyptian herdsmen tend to be thought of as pallid, with bald or shaven heads, and effeminate (v. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, s.v. "Hirt"). The Boukoloι may or may not be connected with the apparently non-Egyptian herdsmen depicted in some Middle Kingdom tomb paintings of marshes in the Delta.²¹³ The figures in question have generally been lumped together because they are non-

²¹²v. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, s.v. "Delta".

²¹³A.B. Lloyd (1975-88) vol. II p370 provides a starting point for references to such tomb paintings and the speculations of editors about what they represent.

Egyptian in appearance, and always in scenes of marshes. However it should be observed that they include at least two distinct types, one with a mop of fuzzy hair and one with long straight hair with a bald patch at the front, often with a tuft of hair at the front or a goatee beard or both. The suggestion that they are simply Egyptians whose unkempt appearance is intended to represent old age is difficult to accept.

The Egyptian name of the seventh Nome is written with a harpoon sign, and of the neighbouring sixth Nome as a bull combined with a sign which means either 'of the mountain' or 'foreign' (the correct interpretation of the sign in this context is disputed.) We do not really know the extent of the region called τὰ βουκόλια, or whether it extended into the sixth nome, but we may presume that local people would associate the sign of the bull with the name, even if there was no adequate etymological justification for doing so.

In fact βουκόλος here, and in other place names, is not primarily a reference to the bovine element in the Egyptian name for the sixth Nome, or to the tradition of cattle-rearing in the western Delta. It is a translation of the Egyptian word '3m, and probably means 'Semite'. The Demotic word for βουκόλος is '3m, Coptic **AME**. This is guaranteed by the fact that εἰς τὰ βουκόλια in Athanasios *Life of St Antony* §49 (PG 26.913) is rendered in the Coptic version²¹⁴ as **ENAMHYE**. It is likely that the Egyptian version preceded the Greek, because **AME** is not the normal Coptic word for βουκόλος, whereas βουκόλος would be the normal translation of **AME**; because in Egyptian place names containing the article are common, whereas in Greek they are not;²¹⁵ and because in Xenophon of Ephesos (III 12) the inhabitants of the same area are called ποιμένες (presumably an alternative translation of '3m).²¹⁶

Broadly speaking, in Old and Middle Egyptian '3m means Asiatic, Semite or Canaanite, often in their rôle as enemies of Egypt, and is taken to be derived from the Semitic **𐤎𐤅** ('The Nation', 'The People'). In Coptic **AME** means 'herdsman'. It is usually assumed,²¹⁷ though not certain, that '3m and **AME** are the same word whose meaning developed, rather than two similar but distinct words. Indeed, the place names in Greek documents Μάγδωλα τῶν

²¹⁴ed. G. Garitte, Louvain, 1949, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 117, p55, Translation in CSCO 118.

²¹⁵Βουκολία without the article at Heliodoros I 5.1 is exceptional and probably anomalous.

²¹⁶The way Heliodoros introduces the name βουκόλια (I 5.2 βουκόλια μὲν σύμπας κέκληται πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων ὁ τόπος) suggests that he or one of his sources knew that βουκόλια is a translation of an a name in the Egyptian language.

²¹⁷e.g. by A. Sharff, Μανερῶς = **MANEPWOY**, ZAS 72 (1936) 43-44.

βουκόλων (Μάγδωλα is a Semitic name; for other place names showing this form see מָגְדָּל in P. Levy (1876)) and τοῦ ἱερέου τῶν βουκόλων (so these ‘herdsmen’ had their own priest) suggest that βουκόλος as an element in place names derives ultimately from Middle Egyptian (attested up till the eighteenth dynasty) ‘3m = Semite, rather than the Coptic **ⲗⲙⲉ** = herdsman. Many Jews were found, as a matter of fact, also in the probable area of τὰ βουκόλια; elements which are probably Semitic can be detected in the religions of the Delta. It is possible that βουκόλος is a reference to a cattle cult rather than to an agricultural pursuit. Admittedly, however, the normal meaning of ‘3m in Demotic documents is ‘Herdsman’; it is discussed by G.R. Hughes (1952) 46. The identification of the word is established by W. Spiegelberg (1906).

The black skin attributed to the Boukoloi by Achilles Tatios and Heliodoros, if this was a feature of the historical Boukoloi, is a difficulty for the view that they were from groups of Libyan or Semitic origin (unless we believe, as is possible, that at least some Libyans of the early centuries A.D. were, or were regarded as, black). Egypt used mercenaries also from the south of Egypt, ancient Ethiopia, at least some of whom are likely to have been black. There is nothing improbable about Ethiopian mercenaries, once discharged from military service, turning to banditry in the North-West Delta. On the other hand, J.J. Winkler (1992 9-16), arguing that the bandits in Lollianos dressed in white and black to play on their potential victims’ fear of ghosts, shows that bandits and ghosts were often linked as terrors of the night, and that ghosts were sometimes thought of as black in the Greek and Roman world; perhaps this is why Charikleia imagines the bandits may be ghosts when she first sees them.²¹⁸ Therefore, their black skin may be a fictional feature attributed to the Boukoloi to emphasize their fearsomeness, or a disguise used by historical bandits.²¹⁹

It is also possible that the historical βουκόλοι were descendants of the section of the Machimoi who occupied the same region, the Hermotybies of Herodotos II, who, having lost their ‘official’ military employment, had turned to banditry. Part of the problem of the identity of the Machimoi is of course the question of what determined the distinct identities of the Hermotybies and the Kalasireis. W. Struve (1936) presented an attractive case for making an identification between the Hermotybies, the ‘3m.w of the Petubastis story of P. Krall²²⁰ and the βουκόλοι of the Roman period who feature as bandits in the Greek novel.

²¹⁸Heliodoros I 3.1.

²¹⁹The descriptions of the black skin of the Boukoloi in Achilles Tatios III 9 and in Heliodoros certainly suggest that their skin was naturally black; the persistence of Boukoloi in the tradition of the ancient novel leaves open the possibility that the assertion that they were black was first made in a different form, and was re-interpreted to refer to their natural skin colour by Achilles Tatios and Heliodoros.

²²⁰published by W. Spiegelberg (1910).

Indeed if the Hermotybies, traditionally barred from other trades, had lost their military status before or during the Ptolemaic period it is not difficult to believe that they degenerated into banditry.

The military capacity and independent spirit of the historical Boukoloι are attested by the fact that they revolted from the Romans in A.D. 172-173.²²¹ If they can be traced back as far as the Hermotybies, then there is a case for linking them with the revolt which Inaros started against the Persians in the same region in about 460 B.C.²²² On the other hand Inaros and his people are called Libyan by Thucydides. Thucydides makes an observation on the character of the marsh dwellers of the Western Delta at I 110.2: "Egypt again came under the King's rule, apart from Amurtaios, the king in the marshes. This is because they were unable to catch him on account of the size of the marsh, and because the marsh dwellers (οἱ ἔλαιοι) are the most warlike of the Egyptians." The place and its inhabitants were still perceived as rugged in the time of Heliodoros. In the following passage from Jerome *Vita Hilarii* 43 (=PL 23.52-53) the saint retires to a 'secret garden' in the Bucolia, (the work is securely dated to before A.D. 392 by its mention in Jerome *De viribus illustribus* 135): qui cum revertisset, cupienti rursum ad Aegyptum navigare, hoc est, ad ea loca, quae vocantur Bucolia, eo quod nullis ibi Christianorum esset, sed barbara tantum et ferox natio, suasit ut in ipsa magis insula ad secretiorem locum conscenderet.

The earliest mention of bandits in the region is that quoted by Strabo from Eratosthenes.²²³ The mention by Eratosthenes gives an early Ptolemaic date, which is consistent with the view that the bandits were Hermotybies who had lost their military employment under the Ptolemies. Herodotos does not mention bandits in his description of the Delta, and implies (but does not strictly speaking state) that the Hermotybies retained their military employment under the Persians. Robbers in the area are also mentioned in Caesar,²²⁴ and in a fictional context by Xenophon of Ephesos.²²⁵ In view of the association of the Western Delta with cattle rearing, the name βουκόλοι may have been taken to mean 'herdsmen' in the Roman period, and its etymological meaning may have been forgotten.

The βουκόλοι may appear in the Inaros cycle of Demotic tales. In *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*²²⁶ the young priest fighting against the Egyptian army is helped by thirteen '3m who come from 'Pr-dwf', 'land of

²²¹Dio Kassios LXXI 4.

²²²Thucydides I 104ff.

²²³Strabo XVII 19.

²²⁴Caesar *De Bello Gallico* III 122.3.

²²⁵Xenophon of Ephesos III 11.

²²⁶ed. W. Spiegelberg (1910).

reeds' or 'land of papyrus'. The references are given in the vocabulary under '3m and Pr-dwf. Spiegelberg takes '3m to be Arabs and 'Pr-dwf' to be the area to the south of Suez. However, elsewhere in Demotic '3m invariably means 'herdsman'; we simply do not know whether in Demotic it can also mean 'Semite'. In any case it is now clear that it could refer to these βουκόλοι who, unlike ordinary herdsmen, could very well be mercenaries, and who come from a land of reeds in the Western Delta. This provides an alternative explanation to Spiegelberg's which he discusses op. cit. p8-9.

The bandits are called βουκόλοι in Achilles Tatios, as they are in Heliodoros. They figure prominently in Achilles Tatios, and he has a digression on them, written in a style usually associated with the geographical writers (IV 11.2-12), as Heliodoros does here. F. Altheim²²⁷ treats the information about them given in Heliodoros and Achilles Tatios as if it had the same historical value as information given in avowedly historical sources, and tries to link Achilles Tatios' account with the attack on the Romans by the βουκόλοι described by Dio Kassios LXXII 4. A similar procedure is followed by A. Henrichs in his publication of the fragments of Lollianos.²²⁸ J.J. Winkler²²⁹ emphasized how problematic it is to treat fiction in this way; in any case, the attempt by Henrichs to link the characters in Lollianos with the Egyptian Boukoloi, fictional or otherwise, is very speculative. The attempts by F. Altheim and A. Henrichs to use Achilles Tatios and Heliodoros as parallel primary sources for the historical βουκόλοι are incautious, and depend to some extent on the fact that they both place Heliodoros in the mid third century A.D., which date is at best unproven.

On the other hand it seems reasonable to believe Achilles Tatios' claim to come from Alexandria.²³⁰ Therefore it is not likely that he would have needed to depend on a literary source for his information about the βουκόλοι: what he did not invent he could discover from first hand knowledge. One could further argue that if Achilles Tatios were Alexandrian, then his first readers are likely to have been Alexandrian too, and it would have been in his interest to avoid the kind of obvious factual errors which readers of fiction could find disturbing. The importance of avoiding obvious inaccuracies would be all the greater if one accepts A. Billaut's²³¹ argument that geographical digressions, of which this passage is an example, serve the function of adding gravity to the genre of the novel.

²²⁷ F. Altheim (1948) vol. I p121-124.

²²⁸ A. Henrichs (1972) p48-51.

²²⁹ J.J. Winkler *JHS* 100 (1980) 175-181.

²³⁰ V. E. Vilborg (1962) p7-8.

²³¹ A. Billaut (1990) 278-284.

Now, there is much in Heliodoros' account of the βουκόλοι which could have been drawn from Achilles Tatios, and little which could not. In Achilles Tatios they are black, they do not speak Greek, and they call their leader βασιλεύς (III 9). Heliodoros' statement, ἐν δὲ τούτοις ὅσῳ Αἰγυπτίων ληστρικὸν πολιτεύεται, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς ὀλίγης, εἴ ποί τις ὑπερέχει τοῦ ὕδατος, καλύβην πηξάμενος (I 5.3) recalls Achilles Tatios . . . νήσοί τινές εἰσι σποράδην πεποιημένοι . . . εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν νήσων τινὲς καλύβας ἔχουσαι, καὶ αὐτοσχέδιον μεμίμνηται πόλιν, . . . (IV 12.6,7). In Heliodoros I 6 the description and the language echo the description and the language in Achilles Tatios IV 12.6-8.

Achilles Tatios, unlike Heliodoros, does not tell us that the βουκόλοι lived on boats, although he makes much of the juxtaposition of terrestrial and maritime pursuits (IV 12.1) and says, ἐπὶ ταύτας αὐτοὶ καὶ βαδίζουσι καὶ πλέουσι, (12.5). He tells us that fish are used, but does not mention that the fish are sun-dried; and he does not tell us that the βουκόλοι cut paths through the reeds, nor that the women spin and weave.²³² Heliodoros' detail about tying infants by the ankle in order to prevent them from falling into the water can also be found in Herodotos' description of the dwellers round Lake Prasias.²³³ The detail of sun-dried fish comes from Herodotos' description of the marsh dwellers of the Delta.²³⁴ The conclusion is that Heliodoros, when he wrote his account of the βουκόλοι, depended entirely on literary material, chiefly Achilles Tatios (or less probably a source used by Achilles Tatios and now lost), and Herodotos.

Altogether, there seems to have been a people around Lake Mareotis (Marea) in the Roman period called '3m.w in Egyptian, translatable as βουκόλοι in Greek. The name suggests Semites, whereas the historical identity of the dominant people in the Western Delta was Libyan, and the black skin of the Boukoloi of fiction in Achilles Tatios and Heliodoros may suggest Ethiopians. It is possible that peoples of all three origins were present in the region, and any or all of them, mixed or separately, may have been brigands. Therefore the question remains whether the fictional Boukoloi are based on a single group of historical bandits, perhaps with a mixture of ethnic and cultural determinants and origins, or whether they are a fictional collation of distinct groups from the same region.

Incidentally, it is sometimes argued (for instance, by A.M. Scarcella ^{Scarcella} Maia 24 (1972) 8-41) that the *Aithiopika* represents a bipartite society, peopled by

²³² v. note on I 5.3. ἐπιθεύουσιν below.

²³³ Herodotos V 16.3.

²³⁴ Herodotos II 92.2; sun-dried fish also eaten by Egyptians, Herodotos II 77.4, and Babylonians, Herodotos I 200.

privileged aristocrats, on the one hand, and servants or bandits on the other, but without much in the way of a middle class, and that this indicates what kind of society Heliodoros himself knew. However, this kind of cast seems to have been a generic convention in the Greek novel. Moreover, the fallaciousness of the argument is clear when one remembers that nineteenth century novels with this kind of cast (E. Sue *Mystères de Paris* for instance) were produced in a society with a strong middle class, who in fact constituted the main readership for novels.

‘Realist’ movements in modern fiction have not yet, it seems, robbed the public of a taste for representations of ‘low life’ and ‘high life’, and these by and large nourish an appetite for escapism, not realism. In spite of their vein of realism it is surely this escapist impulse which peopled the ancient Greek novels with aristocrats and bandits.

3. ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες ἐριτεύουσιν: They spin and weave, as the translators have seen. LSJ misinterprets this reference and LXX *Tobit* 2.11 as “serve, work for hire.” (For *Tobit* 2.11 cf. the translation of the Vulgate, where this verse is 2.19.) The earlier use of the word was less specific (*Iliad* XVIII 560; Hesiod, *Erga* 602: v. M.L. West’s note ad loc.) The entry in LSJ is probably influenced by the entries in Hesychios and the *Suda* for this word, but these reflect gnomic uses and are not relevant here.

The material spun was certainly linen. In a passage about the manufacture of linen Pliny the Elder says “Aegyptio lino minimum firmitatis, plurimum lucri. quattuor ibi genera: Taniticum, Pelusiaticum, Buticum, Tentyriticum regionum nominibus, in quibus nascentur.” (XIX 1(2)). Incidentally, Herodotos (II 35.2) tells us that in Egypt weaving is men’s work. A.B. Lloyd ad loc. (1975-88) adduces evidence in support of this claim, but points out that it need not have been exclusively men’s work.

4. καλιᾶς: This means equally a ‘hut’ or a ‘nest’. Thus the small children struggling to crawl out of the hut conjure up the image of small birds liable to fall from their nest.

4. καινόν τινα χειραγωγόν αὐτῷ τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ ποδὸς ἐπιστήσας: *χειραγωγόν* is not attested before Plutarch. Eustathios (160.1, ad Il. I 589) uses this passage as an example of the figure of speech which entails using one word when another thing is meant (here ‘hand’ where ‘foot’ is meant).

The marshland home of the Boukoloi is described, and its defensibility emphasized.

1. **καὶ πού τις βουκόλος ἀνὴρ ἐτέχθη τε ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ:** The phrase **βουκόλος ἀνὴρ** is used once in Homer (Il. XXIII 845), where it is a paradigm for great strength. Like ὄρος (cf. note on I 1.1) the word **βουκόλος** frequently connotes the context of wild and remote countryside (e.g. the **βουκόλος** in Herodotos I 110ff).

2. **σκολιάς γάρ τινας ἀτραποὺς τεμόμενοι καὶ πολλοῖς ἐλιγμοῖς πεπλανημένας καὶ σφίσι μὲν διὰ τὴν γνῶσιν ῥάστους τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπόρους τοὺς διέκπλους κατασκευάσαντες:** **σκολιάς** is not in Attic prose. It means 'curved' or 'twisted' or 'confusing', or sometimes, 'deliberately confusing' as here; cf. Pindar *Pythia* I . . . λεύκοιο δίκαν ὑποθέυσομαι, / ἄλλ' ἄλλοτε πατέων ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς. The link with **ἀτραπός** creates oxymoron. Of **ἀτραπός** Hesychius says: ὁδὸς τετιμμένη, μὴ ἔχουσα ἐκτροπὰς, ἀλλ' εὐθεῖα. At Nicander *Theriaka* 478 we read (of fleeing a monstrous snake): φεύγε δ' ἀεὶ σκολίην τε καὶ οὐ μίαν ἀτραπὸν ἕλων. Here, however, the οὐ can be taken with the sense of ἀτραπὸν as well as μίαν: the sense is less contradictory. In our passage, it is clear from **διέκπλους** late in the sentence that these are channels for boats rather than footpaths.

ῥάστους: The Budé editors are right to accept Bekker's emendation here, which makes the adjective agree with **διέκπλους** rather than **σκολιάς**, giving a more elegant and Heliodorean sentence. The hyper-conservative A. Colonna prints the reading of the MSS, **ῥάστας**.

2. **καὶ τὰ μὲν κτλ.:** The **μὲν** is answered by the **δέ** at the beginning of the next section. As T. Hägg (1971) in his discussion *On the μέν / δέ linking phrases* (314-316) notes, **μὲν οὖν** at the beginning of one section picked up by **δέ** at the beginning of the next is frequently used by the novelists to mark a transition from one topic to the next. The transitional use is found equally with **μὲν δὴ** and **μὲν** alone, as here (**μὲν δὴ . . . δέ:** J.D. Denniston (1954) p258; **μὲν οὖν . . . δέ:** p472; **μὲν . . . δέ:** the transitional use is not distinguished by Denniston although the usage is common enough in the classical historians). Of the novelists, only Heliodoros and Xenophon of Ephesos follow the classical historians' practice of using this technique to bridge the break between books (**μὲν δὴ . . . δέ:** in Herodotos bridges the break between IV-V and VII-VIII; **μὲν οὖν . . . δέ** in Xenophon *H.G.* III-IV, *Anabasis* II-III; **μὲν . . . δέ** in Herodotos VIII-IX, Thucydides III-IV, VII-VIII, Xenophon of Ephesos III-IV, Heliodoros V-VI, VI-VII, VIII-IX).

The Boukoloi are impressed by the girl whom their chief has captured. After dinner the captive couple are put in a hut with a young Greek.

1. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν τε ἵππων ἀπεβίβαζον τοὺς νέους: A genitive of movement from a place without a preposition is generally a poetic usage, v. Kühner-Gerth vol. II pt 2, §421. There is, however, one earlier prose example with this verb: Xenophon, *Historia Graeca* I 5.22. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεβίβασε τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας εἰς Γαύρον.

1. καὶ τὸν λῆσταρχον οἶονεὶ βασιλέα τινὰ ἐαυτῶν προσαπαντῶντες ὑπεδέχοντο: The βουκόλοι hail their leader as king at Achilles Tatios III 9, from where Heliodoros probably imitated this detail.

2. ἡ καὶ αὐτὸ ἔμπνουν μετήχθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα διὰ τῆς κόρης ὑπ' ἀγροικίας εἵκαζον: Of the classical prose writers only Plato and Aristotle use the word ἀγροικία. Because of the similarity in the language and the situation, this scene, in which the marsh dwellers are confronted with unfamiliar beauty, may remind the reader of the myth in *Phaedo* 109d, where mankind is said to inhabit τὰ κοῖλα τῆς γῆς and is compared to one who lives beneath the sea: . . . ἐκδὺς καὶ ἀνακύψας ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης εἰς τὸν ἐνθάδε τόπον, ὅσῳ παρὰ σφίσι, μηδὲ ἄλλου ἀκηκοὺς εἶη τοῦ ἐωρακότος.
κεχωρῶτερος καὶ καλλίων τυγχάνει ὢν τοῦ

2. μόνῳ: supply αὐτῷ.

3. καὶ τὴν κόρην ἀνύβριστον ἀπὸ πάντων διαφυλάττειν: That one recently taken prisoner should be given such responsibility is surprising. By this Heliodoros indicates that Knemon's Greekness commands the bandits' respect. On the other hand, as J.R. Morgan has shown (*JHS* 109 1989 99-113) Knemon's story gives a thoroughly disreputable picture of Athens and Athenian social life. We get the sense that for Heliodoros Athens, and Knemon, the native Athenian, fail to display the high ideal of Hellenism which Theagenes displays. Knemon's Greekness nonetheless, not only makes him useful as a Greek speaking guard and interpreter for the prisoners, but also guarantees that he is a far better and more trustworthy character than the barbarian bandits, and that they recognize this.

§8

The captive girl laments; the captive young man remonstrates with her for blaming Apollo for their misfortune; the young Greek in the hut reassures them, and delighted to hear a Greek, they ask him his identity and his story. He is Knemon, an Athenian. We learn incidentally that the captive youths are called Theagenes and Charikleia.

1. οἱ περὶ τὴν κόρην: This means ‘Charikleia and Theagenes’, not Charikleia alone: see the comment on I 3.5. οἱ ἄμφι. At first Charikleia seems to be soliloquizing, but after her speech Theagenes replies.

1. ἀνακινούσης αὐτῆς, οἶμαι, πλέον τὰ πάθη τῆς νυκτός: The correct reading is αὐτοῖς, sc. οἱ περὶ τὴν κόρην. This is one of those places where A. Colonna’s charge against the Budé editors, that they favour C too highly, is justified.

2. ἐπὶ τινος χαμεύνης κατακεκλιμένη: χαμεύνης and its cognates are restricted to verse before Plutarch, with the exception of Plato *Symposium* 220d, χαμευνία.

2. Ὑπολλων κτλ.: The ‘dramatic’ scene and the vocabulary of this speech are reminiscent of tragedy (λίαν, πικρότερον, ἀγχόνῃ, etc.). See further J.W. Birchall *GCN* VII 1996.

3. εἰ δέ με γνώσεται τις αἰσχροῦς, ἦν μηδέπω μηδὲ Θεαγένους, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀγχόνῃ προλήψομαι τὴν ὕβριν, καθαρὰν ἐμαυτὴν ὥσπερ φυλάττω: The use of γινώσκω for sexual intercourse is not a Greek idiom. Its use in LXX (and subsequently some Christian writers) is influenced by Hebrew (גָּנַז). Plutarch (*Pomp.* 36.2; *Alex.* 21.7; *Galba* 9; *Cato Minor* 7; *Praecepta gerundae reipublicae* 24 / 818 b 9) also uses it thus, probably under the influence of Latin (v. *TLL* sv. *cognosco* I.3.a.β). The only earlier Greek example of the usage is a fragment of Menander (Edmonds 449A, CAF 558), which is quoted by Hermogenes, who uses ἔγνω as an example of a euphemism. Since Hermogenes thought it worthy of comment it is probable, though not certain, that he regarded the usage exceptional and peculiar to Menander. Heliodoros had almost certainly read some Plutarch; he also has usages which we must assume he acquired from reading Christian writers (cf. p20); and there is probably some contamination of his Greek by a knowledge of Latin; this usage could have derived from any of these sources.

The name **Θεαγένης** suggests Theagenes' descent, through Achilles, from a goddess (v. p72). The name is well attested in Greek. The most famous man to bear it was Theagenes the tyrant of Megara. The tyrant's political activities, described by Thucydides I 126, have no obvious connection with the character of our hero. However, Pausanias tells us that Theagenes of Megara was good looking, and famous as an Olympic victor in a foot race (Pausanias I 28.1: . . . εἶδος κάλλιστος καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ἐγένετο οὐκ ἄφανής ἀνελόμενος διαύλου νίκην Ὀλυμπικὴν . . .). The Theagenes of the *Aithiopika* is described as good looking at Heliodoros III 3.4-8, and, swift-footed like his ancestor, wins a race at IV 4, so the choice of name does not seem to have been accidental.

καθαρός frequently refers to ritual or moral purity in all periods of Greek, but is not used of sexual purity before the first century A.D. It is common in this sense in Christian writers from Clement onwards (for references v. Lampe s.v.); rare in pagan writers, it occurs at Longos III 11.3, Xenophon of Ephesos V 14.4, Achilles Tatios VIII 8.10 and Julian *De Matre Deorum* 160c (μὴ ἑαυτὴν καθαρὰν φυλάττειν τῇ θεῷ). The eponymous hero of Euripides *Hippolytos* seems to link the idea of purity with chastity, but **καθαρός** is not used in the context of chastity in the play.

4. παῦε λέγων ὦ φιλότῃ καὶ ψυχῇ ἐμῇ Χαρίκλεια: **ψυχῇ** is used as a term of endearment several times by Heliodoros; this use is virtually unparalleled in other Greek writers, notwithstanding LXX *Jer.* 12.7. The vocative is sometimes found where someone addresses their own soul (e.g. A.P. V.131.3).

Anima does however occur occasionally as a term of endearment in a Roman context, and may be included the use of **ψυχῇ** here among the examples of possible contamination of the Greek of Heliodoros by Latin (v. p27). Cicero addresses his wife and daughter as *animae meae* (*Ad familiares* XIV 18; cf. 14). Juvenal (VI 194) mocks Roman ladies who speak Greek in order to be seductive, and puts into their mouth the exclamation **ζωὴ καὶ ψυχῇ** as a form of address. In the same context Martial has **κύριέ μου, μέλι μου, ψυχῇ μου** (X 68.5). Apuleius imitates this line when he makes Psyche say to her mysterious lover "mi mellite, mi marite, tuae Psychae dulcis anima" (V 6.9). *Anima* is probably a term of endearment in two fragmentary poems from *Anthologia Latina: Carmina Epigraphica* (ed. F. Buecheler): 92.11 (of a daughter) and 143.1,3 (relation uncertain). It is used to close two or three of the letters preserved among the Vindolanda tablets, by a woman to her female friend: v. A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas (1994) no.291 l.12 and note ad loc.

The complete lack of real Greek parallels suggests that Heliodoros' contemporary readers would have found the expression surprising, and may have taken it, like, perhaps, the name of Apuleius' Psyche, to indicate that the author subscribed to a belief about love which was broadly in the Platonic tradition. However, we should probably reject a Platonic interpretation because Demainete uses ψυχή as a term of endearment (according to Knemon, I 9.4), and her love is anything but Platonic.

The punning use of the name **Χαρίκλεια** in the oracle at II 35.5 to some extent explains Heliodoros' choice of the name. There is no obvious reason why our heroine should share a name with the only other Charikleia in Greek literature, an immoral woman at Lucian *Toxaris* 13-16. Perhaps Heliodoros had in mind the point made in a testimonium by a Philip of Byzantium, that the name interpreted numerically produces the sacred number 777; the most recent discussion of this testimonium is L. Tarán (1992). Tarán dates the testimonium not later than the fifth century on the grounds that it combines a Christian background with an interest in Neo-Platonism. On this view the intellectual environment in which the testimonium was composed is close to Heliodoros' own, and Heliodoros shows that he was aware of a similar numerical interpretation of the name of the Nile (v. p35 above), so it is credible that he was aware that the name Charikleia represents 777.

4. θρηνεῖς μὲν εἰκότα παροξύνεις δὲ πλέον ἢ δοκεῖς τὸ θεῖον· οὐ γὰρ ὀνειδίζειν, ἀλλὰ παρακαλεῖν χρεών, εὐχαῖς, οὐκ αἰτίαις ἐξιλεοῦται τὸ κρεῖττον: The uses of the more or less synonymous τὸ θεῖον and τὸ κρεῖττον here seems to be motivated by Heliodoros' practice of varying vocabulary where possible. However the use of TLG to examine the other attestations for the terms suggests that they are not quite synonymous, and the variation here is not random. τὸ θεῖον normally has the sense of a provident but potentially irascible deity: Plato *Phaidros* 242c . . . ὥς δὴ τι ἡμαρτηκότα τὸ θεῖον. Herodotos I 32: τὸ θεῖον πᾶν φθονερόν. Clement *Paedagogus* I 8.68.3: . . . οὐκ ὀργίζεται τὸ θεῖον, ἢ τισιν ἔδοξεν . . .

Like τὸ θεῖον, τὸ κρεῖττον and οἱ κρεῖττονες are used of divinity by both pagan and Christian writers (although in the classical period they are hardly attested as substantives: see below). In both pagan and Christian writers τὸ κρεῖττον and οἱ κρεῖττονες are used frequently in connection with God's beneficence, and sometimes neutrally, but in contrast with τὸ θεῖον, never in connection with his anger. (e.g. . . . φιλανθρωπία τοῦ κρεῖττονος . . . Gregory Nazianzenus *Epistle* 87, PG 37.157c; οὗτος ὁ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ τῶν κρειττόνων κινδύνος ἀνελών, οὗτος ὁ μηδαμοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀποστήσας τῆς παρὰ θεῶν εὐνοίας, Libanios *Oratio* XXIV 36; ἀλλὰ σπεύδει ὁ λόγος . . . εἰς εὐφημίαν τοῦ κρεῖττονος . . . περατώσαι τὸν λόγον. (i.e. "the speaker, to conclude the speech, turned his attention to praise

of the highest divinity.”) ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος καὶ τῆς ἄνω δυνάμεως ἠρξάμεθα, οὕτως εἰς αὐτὸ πάλιν τὸ κρείττον ἀντανεκλάσομεν τὸ πέρας. καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, τρόφιμος ὢν πάντων τῶν βλαστημάτων, αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἀνασχὼν τῶν καρπῶν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς καρποῦται, χερσὶ μεγίσταις . . . Corpus Hermeticum XVIII 11, ed. Scott I 81 (cf. XIV 3, ed. Scott I 256.)

Heliodoros uses [τὸ] κρείττον in the sense of ‘the divinity’ at I 8.4; IV 8.6; VIII 9.6; VIII 10.2 (if the addition of the article, conjectured by A. Wifstrand 1944-5 p103, is accepted); X 4.3; X 37.3; [οἱ] κρείττονες in the sense of ‘the divinities’ at II 26.2; III 16.4; IV 6.4; IV 15.2; V 12.1; V 17.2; VII 11.9; VII 26.9; IX 9.3; IX 12.2; IX 22.2; X 9.7. κρείττονες and κρείττων meaning ‘gods’, ‘god’, are rare in classical Greek (Plato and Euripides use κρείττων adjectivally of gods; κρείττονες at *Leges* IV 718a and κρείττων τις at Xenophon *Kyropaideia* VIII 8.2 may be adjectival, so they are not secure attestations of the substantival use of the words). They become much more common in the fourth century A.D. The neuter τὸ κρείττον in this substantival sense is completely unattested before the fourth century A.D.

The distinction in the use of τὸ θεῖον and τὸ κρείττον is easy to demonstrate, but difficult to explain. The fact that it survives in Christian writers strongly suggests that the difference in use outlived any religious concepts in which it had its origins. Therefore it is safe to suppose that Heliodoros was aware of the usual semantic fields of these terms, but that he probably did not know how they arose. We may further state that τὸ κρείττον is not found before the fourth century A.D., and that M.P. Nilsson (1974 p566) was right to include the use of τὸ κρείττον among items of vocabulary pointing to a fourth century rather than an earlier date for Heliodoros.) It is reasonable, but perhaps not safe, to suppose also that τὸ κρείττον was a fourth century coinage, on the analogy of τὸ θεῖον, whose semantic field differed only slightly from that of οἱ κρείττονες. The question of why τὸ θεῖον and οἱ κρείττονες came to have the sense they did in classical Greek, and what value the statement of Hesychios has s.v. κρείττονας (κρείττονας· τοὺς ἥρωας οὕτω λέγουσιν. δοκοῦσι δὲ κακωτικοὶ τινες εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ παριόντες τὰ ἡρώια σιγὴν ἔξουσιν μὴ τι βλαβῶσι. καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δέ. Αἰσχύλος Αἵτναις) must remain open. There is really no evidence to support J.E. Harrison’s view (1903, pp.327,335) that οἱ κρείττονες was applied specifically to the heroized dead.

4. ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας: Bekker is surely right to print Koraes’ emendation, ἀπὸ instead of ὑπὸ (attributed by the Budé editors to unpublished notes by Valckenaer: for their location v. Budé I pLIV). ἀπὸ + the genitive of ἐσπέρα with or without the article, is common enough in Greek but ὑπὸ + ἐσπέρας or another genitive denoting time is almost unknown; (in Lib. *Ep.* 364.3 ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας probably expresses agent, but here a temporal sense is required). ὑπὸ

+ an accusative denoting times occurs, but a corruption from ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας is more probable here on both palaeographical and semantic grounds. Koraes ad loc. asserts that the same error occurs several times in the text. This tends to confirm the view that all our manuscripts depend on an early minuscule archetype where the combination α + π could resemble the combination υ + π: Colonna (1938 XXVIII-XXIX), after presenting a list of the errors found in all manuscripts, argues for an archetype of the ninth to tenth century.

5. τοιαύτην σοι ποριοῦμαι βοτάνην ἥ διὰ τρίτης ἐνώσει τὰς πληγὰς: “On the third day it mends the wounds.” ἐνώω is otherwise completely unattested in this medical sense. There may, however, be a word-play on the more common medical use of ἐνώω for mixing up herbal preparations. Several herbs were used by ancient, as by modern herbalists to accelerate the healing of wounds; for example, Dioskorides *Eup.* 154(162) lists medicines suited to the treatment of fresh wounds. Greek medical writers, unlike Knemon, do not specify how many days a herb takes to heal a wound, but the present writer remembers his astonishment at the rapid healing of a minor wound treated with one of Dioskorides’ remedies (aloes) freshly picked from the roadside.

5. συμβολῆς γενομένης: “when a battle has taken place.” This genitive absolute phrase occurs also at Herodotos I 74.2.

6. Κνήμωνα: Κνήμων is the apparently made up name of the main character in the *Dyscolos* of Menander. It is borrowed also by Lucian (*Dialogi Mortuorum* 8) and Aelian (*Epistulae Rusticae* 13-16). One is reminded of the made up names in modern novelists in which the humour and effect depend in part on half recognizable verbal echoes, in this case, perhaps of κνάω, κνήμη, κνημός and the like. All these associations of the name and the effect they have on the reader’s perception of Knemon are discussed in detail by E.L. Bowie (1995).

7. τί ταῦτα κινεῖς κάναμοχλεύεις; τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν. οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτ’ ἂν ἐπεισόδιον ὑμῖν τῶν ὑμετέρων τὰμὰ ἐπιδείξειν κακά: In Euripides *Medea* when the Chorus tells Jason that Medea has killed his children he calls for the door to be opened. Medea replies τί τάσδε κινεῖς κάναμοχλεύεις πύλας; (1317). Knemon’s allusion to this moment of high tragedy must be rather tongue in cheek; he draws attention to the allusion with τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν, which perhaps also refers to the nature of his story. One cannot imagine Theagenes turning something so solemn into a pleasantry. In this way Knemon is already marked out as an amusing but lightweight character. Moreover, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν is formulaic: when reporting the words of Charias Knemon produces a quote from Homer and follows it with τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ ἔπους (I 14.5); whether the reader

attributes the phrase there to Knemon or to his friend Charias, its repetition shows that this is a formulaic way of marking a quotation which gives Knemon's speech a pedantic edge.

S.A. Naber (*Mnemosyne* N.S. I 1873 145-169) assumes that Heliodoros has used a Latin version of *Medea*, presumably because he thought that ταῦτα is a translation of *haec* (sc. *ostia*; i.e. Heliodoros failed to recognize that *haec* stood for *haec ostia* or some other Latin equivalent of τάσδε πύλας). The idea has the problem that it is unlikely that Heliodoros would have lighted on so unusual a verb as κἀναμοχλεύεις, 'lever open', unless he had the Greek version in mind; the change from the literal to the metaphorical use of the verb is striking and rather strange, but it is probably deliberate, rather than due to a laughable oversight, as Naber thought.

In the surface meaning of the dialogue ἐπεισόδιον must have not its usual sense, 'episode', but the sense which Pollux IV 108 gives it in his discussion of drama: καὶ ἐπεισόδιον δ' ἐν δράμασι πρᾶγμα παρὰ γράμματι συναπτόμενον; Knemon says, 'It would not be a good time to introduce my troubles to you as a supplement of you own.' This interpretation is supported by the apparent allusion which Knemon makes with the words τὰ μὰ ἐπείσφerein κακά (half a iambic trimeter) to E. *Hipp.* 866-867 φεῦ φεῦ, τόδ' αὖ νεοχμὸν ἐκδοχαῖς | ἐπείσφ[ε]ρει θεὸς κακόν. Here the chorus indicate explicitly that a fresh misfortune has been introduced into the story. Nonetheless, by his choice of word Heliodoros warns the reader that a digression, or 'episode', is about to start.

7. διήγημα: First attested in LXX. In Polybios, where the normal word for 'narrative' is διήγησις, διήγημα means 'tale,' implying a lack of veracity. In the fiction of Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesos it is the normal word for 'story'.

7. καὶ ταῦτα: 'and what's more' (LSJ οὕτως C. VIII.2.a), an expression favoured by Heliodoros.

Knemon tells how at Athens his stepmother, Demainete, fell in love with him and attempted to seduce him.

This is the beginning of Knemon's story, which lasts until the end of I 17. Like the *Aithiopika* as a whole, part of the story (I 14.4-I 17.6) is put into the words of an internal narrator, in this case Knemon's friend Charias. The story, set in Athens, has attracted critical attention recently, above all in an article by J.R. Morgan (*JHS* 109 1989 99-113), where it is argued that the story, composed like a miniature novel and set within the *Aithiopika*, provides a picture of the decadent world of Knemon's Athens which throws into higher relief the morally elevated world of the main characters of the *Aithiopika*, and of their behaviour. Most contemporary specialists rightly regard Morgan's thesis as fundamental for our interpretation of this episode, and of the *Aithiopika* as a whole; from time to time in the commentary below supplementary points are made which may corroborate his view. T. Paulsen (1992), whose entire thesis emphasizes the tragic features of the *Aithiopika*, discusses Knemon's story (85-102); in harmony with his general perspective he regards Knemon's character as essentially tragic. The intrigue, however, as well as Knemon's name, seems to owe more to New Comedy than to any other *genre*, although the extent to which Knemon's story is indebted to tragedy is considerable.

1. Ἀρίστιππος: The only historical character Heliodoros may have had in mind was the pupil of Socrates, Aristippos of Cyrene. He was a byword for luxurious living, as E.L. Bowie (1995) points out, so the associations of the name would suit Heliodoros' purpose in portraying Athens as decadent (v. J.R. Morgan *JHS* 1989 99-113). There was a biography of him by Diogenes Laertios (*Lives of the Philosophers* II 8.). At Plato *Phaedo* 59c he is away at Aigina. He also appears in Strabo (XVII 837), Plutarch (*Dion and Brutus* 19, *Moralia* II 330c), Xenophon *Memorabilia* (II i 3.8) and elsewhere.

1. τὸ γένος Ἀθηναῖος: Both A. Colonna and the Budé editors follow CBA in omitting μέν after τό. It is not clear whether μέν is more likely to have been interpolated or omitted in error. Prof. Maehler advises me that he prefers τὸ γένος because Knemon seems to be telling his story in normal, colloquial Attic. On basis of the absence of any significant argument on the other side I would tentatively accept this latter reading.

1. γύναιον ἀστεῖον μὲν ἄλλ’ ἀρχέκακον, ὄνομα Δημινέτην: Homer (Il. V 63) is the only attestation of ἀρχέκακος before the first century A.D. It is applied to the ships which Meriones built for Paris; in being told of Demainete’s arrival we are reminded by this word of Helen’s fateful arrival in Troy. The name Demainete, perhaps borrowed from Lucian *Philopseudes* 27, sounds enough like a cognate of μαίνομαι to seem appropriate for a woman who becomes mad.

2. τῇ τε ὥρᾳ τὸν πρεσβύτεν ἐπαγομένη καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπερθεραπεύουσα: ὥρᾳ, as often in Heliodoros, means ‘youthful beauty’. The only other attestation of ὑπερθεραπέω is a listing in Pollux IV 49 (ed. Bethe I 215), among words which can be used to insult a sophist. It was probably added by a copyist, possibly from this passage. Neologisms with ὑπερ- occur in all stages of the Greek language. Perhaps translate ‘flatter excessively’, or with Morgan, ‘she . . . lavished attentions on him’.

2. τέχνην: The vocabulary highlights Demainetes’ cynical attitude to love as J.R. Morgan (*JHS* 1989 99-113) observes. Thisbe uses the same word of Arsinoe’s trade, which is effectively prostitution, below in I 15.5.

2. σαγηνευθεῖς: ‘ensnared’; a σαγήνη was a dragnet for fishing or hunting, and this is a metaphor from hunting for seduction. The verb σαγηνεύω is principally memorable for its use in Herodotos VI 31 for the Persian tactic of clearing a country of people using a line of soldiers hand in hand, and that is its first attestation. That technical sense is itself metaphorical, as Herodian makes clear by introducing the verb with ὥσπερ when he uses thus. A semitic origin for the word was posited by O. Szereményi *JHS* 94 (1974) 149, but of course this does not imply that Herodotos would have regarded it as a loan word, and beyond suggesting that it was ‘un-literary’ in Classical and Archaic Greek we cannot explain why it appears in our texts in a metaphorical sense long before it appears in its literal sense. However the military sense is not relevant to the interpretation of the present passage. The literal meaning of the word is ‘to catch in a net’ (of fish, first in Philo *Mos.* I 93; of animals, first in Plut. *Mor.* 52C), and its use here implies the metaphor of hunting, which is common enough in an amatory context. The hunting metaphor used of women, and the idea of a woman (or rather, a female vampire) *ensnaring* a man is found in Philostratos *Life of Apollonios* IV 25, and in LXX *Eccl.* VII 26 a woman’s heart is called σαγήνη (καὶ εὐρίσκω ἐγὼ πικρότερον ὑπὲρ θάνατον, σὺν γυναικᾷ, ἥτις ἐστὶν θηρεύματα καὶ σαγήνη καρδία αὐτῆς, δεσμοὶ αὐτῆς.).

4. νῦν μὲν παιδίον νῦν δὲ γλυκύτατον ὀνομάζουσα καὶ αἰθεὶς κληρονόμον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ψυχὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀποκαλοῦσα: Demainete calls Knemon alternately by respectable and disreputable names. By calling her step-son κληρονόμον she not only casts herself in the rôle of parent, but perhaps means to indicate that, assuming Aristippos will leave her his property, she will leave it to him in turn. An alternative explanation is that Heliodoros remembers that under Athenian law a woman could not inherit property; in this case, when she addresses Knemon as 'my heir' she would presumably mean that she hopes that Aristippos' household will continue to support her after his death and when Knemon has become head of the family. However, the first explanation is simpler and more natural, and in view of Heliodoros' lack of interest in law (v. on I 13.2 below) it is probably safe to assume that he had overlooked that Athenian women could not inherit property.

§10

Knemon, returning from the Great Panathenaia, finds his father out. Demainete propositions him and is rebuffed. She accuses Knemon to his father, saying that when she upbraided him for loose living, he, having discovered that she is pregnant, kicked her in the stomach.

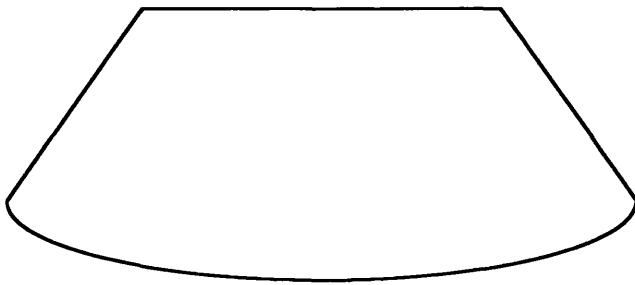
1. Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων, ὅτε τὴν ναῦν Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ γῆς τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ πέμπουσιν, ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἐφηβέων: The convention of lovers making their first contact at a festival is one of the novelistic devices imported by Heliodoros into his description of the morally debased world of Knemon's Athens and contributes to the way Knemon's story resembles a 'novel within a novel'. For an interpretation of Knemon's story as a 'novel within a novel', displaying novelistic conventions like this one in a perverted form, v. J.R. Morgan (*JHS* 1989 99-113). The references for this literary convention are given in Gow *Theocritus* ad II 66; W. Headlam and A.D. Knox *Herodas* (1922) ad I 56 (40-41).

At the Panathenaia the *peplos* which was presented to Athene was attached like a sail to the mast of a boat, which was paraded through the streets. Our rather limited sources for the ceremony are collected and discussed by H.W. Parke (1977 39-40, n19); the only extant source from which Heliodoros could have derived this detail is Pausanias I 29.1.

ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἐφηβέων: Athenian citizens became ἔφηβοι at eighteen years of age. The *locus classicus* for the institution at Athens is Aristotle *Res Publica Atheniensium* 42. Other sources are conveniently collected and discussed in A. Boeckh (1874a).

1. **χλαμύδι**: οἱ μέντοι Ἀττικοὶ τὸ λεπτὸν χλανίδα καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν χλαμύδα ὡς Θετταλῶν. πρῶτον δέ φασι χλαμύδα ὀνομάσαι Σαπφῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος εἰποῦσαν· ἔλθοντ' ἐξ ὀρανῶ πορφυρίαν προΐεμενον χλαμύν. (Pollux X 124. ed. Bethe II p227).

For the form of the chlamys see F.B. Tarbell *CP* 1906 283-289, P.M. Fraser (1972) II 26 n64 and S. Lattimore *AJA* 1975 87-88. The evidence for the shape of this garment is far from conclusive, but Tarbell's interpretation seems reasonable. This is a copy of one of his diagrams.



Whether or not Heliodoros knew what a chlamys looked like, he certainly knew that it was worn by the Athenian Epheboi. See the references under ἐφηβέων (below). An attractive ἔφηβος wears a chlamys at AP XII 78 (= Gow and Page 4442-5):

εἰ χλαμύδ' εἶχεν Ἔρως καὶ μὴ πτερὰ μηδ' ἐπὶ νώτων
τόξα τε καὶ φαρέτραι, ἀλλ' ἐφόρει πέτασον
ναὶ <μὰ> τὸν ἄβρὸν ἔφηβον ἐπόνυμαι, Ἀντίοχος μὲν
ἦν ἄν Ἔρως, ὁ δ' Ἔρως τᾶμπαλιν Ἀντίοχος.

2. **Ἰππόλυτος ὁ Θησεύς**: Read Ἰππόλυτος ὁ Θησεύς. This is Colonna's emendation and few would dissent from it; there is a defence of it in A. Colonna *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 1982 p38. "... il testo tradizionale ὁ νέος Ἰππόλυτος ὁ Θησεύς ὁ ἐμός ἐ servito da palestra di esercitazioni d' ogni tipo, fino alle recenti proposte di R. Merkelbach (*Heliodor I. 10 Seneca und Euripides* in „Rhein. Mus., 100, 1957, 99-100), di W.G. Arnott (*Three Conjectures* in „Philologus., CIX (1965) 308-310), di R. Rocca (*Eliodoro e due „Ippoliti., euripidei*, in „Materiali e contributi per la storia della narrativa greco-latina., I, Perugia 1976, 25-31), e quali hanno mostrato di ignorare che nel 1951 io avevo (La Chronologia dei Romanzi greci. Le Etiopiche di Eliodoro, in „Il Mondo classico., XVIII. 1951, p157, n.28.) mediante un preciso raffronto del luogo eliodoreo con Filostrato, *Vita Apoll.* VI. 3, tratto la conclusione che lo scrittore aveva qui seguito (come molte altre volte), tanto nelle linee dell' episodio, quanto nelle espressioni, l'esempio filostrato, e che pertanto il testo della *Vita Apoll.* ἐστεφανώσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ πρὸ Ἰππολύτου τοῦ Θησεύς rendeva assai plausible in Eliodoro la presenza di una frase, ὁ νέος Ἰππόλυτος ὁ Θησεύς, corotta facilmente nella tradizione in ὁ νέος Ἰππόλυτος ὁ Θησεύς."

Demainete compares her position to that of Phaedra in Euripides *Hippolytos*. The comparison may place Demainete in a more sympathetic light. There are several echoes of Athenian tragedy in Demainete's story, but the general narrative (as distinct from Demainete's own words) gives no reason to suppose that Knemon or the author wish to lend their support to the sympathetic view of Demainete's position which the comparison she makes with Phaidra may imply.

2. εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐσιτεῖτο: εἰσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ [ἡ ἀκρόπολις] καὶ ἐστία τῆς πόλεως, παρ' ἣ ἐσιτοῦντο οἱ τε κατὰ δημοσίαν πρεσβεῖαν ἤκοντες καὶ οἱ διὰ πρᾶξιν τινα σιτησέως ἀξιωθέντες, καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τιμῆς ἀείσιτος ἦν. (Pollux IX 40. ed. Bethe. II 157). In epigraphic decrees concerning personal honours the phrase usually found is εἶναι σίτησιν αὐτῷ, whilst in literature the usual phrases are ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ σιτεῖσθαι and εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον καλέσαι. Most of the references can be found in LSJ under πρυτανεῖον and σίτησις. The use of σιτεῖσθαι followed by εἰς seems to be unparalleled; it looks like a conflation of the two phrases mentioned above. We should probably number this amongst the stylistic oddities and novelties with which Heliodoros is continually surprising his readers, and which make it particularly difficult to decide where the text is corrupt.

4. ὁ θαυμαστός φησι καὶ † εἰς ἐμέ † νεανίας, ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν παῖς ὃν ἐγὼ πλέον καὶ σοῦ πολλάκις ἡγάπησα: εἰς ἐμέ is probably an equivalent for ἐμοί, but even if it is the meaning is still unclear. Perhaps one could translate "to me he is (still) a youth", or, ironically, "the youth, who is marvellous even for me." The Budé editors report εἰς ἐμέ in all their MSS except A, but Rattenbury, feeling, perhaps, that the expression does not make sense, conjectured καὶ εὐσεβῆς. The expression may make sense if εἰς ἐμέ stands for the dative ἐμοί, but makes none with a conventional sense of εἰς + accusative: A. Wifstrand (*Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1944-1945 69-109) p94-96, collects examples which show that εἰς + accusative for dative is common enough by the fourth century A.D., and argues that its use here points to a later date for Heliodoros. Wifstrand does offer some earlier examples of the idiom, including Euripides *Bacch.* 421-423; *Phoen.* 1757; Polybios XXX 20.2. In his review of Wifstrand R.M. Rattenbury (*CR* 60 (1946) 110-111) rather weakly replies that although Wifstrand showed εἰς + accusative for dative to be common, that does not mean that Heliodoros wrote it here. In fact, there is no reason to doubt the transmitted text, and the question mark which Rattenbury placed over this phrase should be removed.

ὃν ἐγὼ πλέον καὶ σοῦ πολλάκις ἠγάπησα: ‘whom I have loved more than I have loved you,’ or ‘whom I have loved more than you have’? Since both subject and object are explicit, and the pronouns expressing them are adjacent and in the only possible order, the word order leaves the choice of interpretation perfectly ambiguous, as does the context. Both possible meanings are truer than Aristippos realizes, and their ambiguity gives Demainete’s words a double irony.

4. παρακελευομένην μηδὲ πρὸς ἑταίραις ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν καὶ μέθαις: Here again the Budé editors have preferred the reading of C. The accusatives ἑταίρας and μέθας of the majority of the MSS are more likely to be right, because the normal construction of τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν is with πρὸς + accusative or with dative with no preposition.

4. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ σέ τε κάμῃ περιύβρισεν αἰσχύνομαι λέγειν: The οὖν of C and A is wrong; the Budé editors (but not A. Colonna) print it because of their over-fondness for C, but it is out of place. Prof. Maehler suggested to me that it was included by someone who thought that τὰ μὲν ἄλλα begins a new sentence.

§11

Knemon's father, Aristippos, has him flogged. Demainete plots, instructing the slave girl Thisbe to have an affair with Knemon. Thisbe persuades Knemon that Demainete is unfaithful to his father, and promises to help Knemon catch her in the act.

1. ταῦτα ὥς ἤκουσεν: ὥς as a temporal conjunction, frequent in Heliodoros, is mainly Homeric and Herodotean. The effect of its use here is well summed up by a comment on it in Schwyzer-Debrunner (II 665-666): “Die Schattierung des unmittelbaren zeitlichen Anschlusses („sobald als,” bes. mit Verben der Wahrnehmung) hängt damit zusammen . . .” The following asyndeton indicates the emotional urgency of Aristippos’ response. The omission of a word for the direct object of ἔπαυε and so on, such as ἐμέ, adds to the compression of the style and the consequent impression of haste. This type of omission does not constitute one of the rhetorical figures recognized by the ancient theorists; some modern theorists (e.g. Kühner-Gerth II §597b) include it in their analysis of Brachylogy, or ‘stylistic brevity’.

2. ὥς: v. note on I 11.1 ταῦτα ὥς ἤκουσεν.

3. Θίσβη παιδισκάριον ἦν: The sentence asyndeton indicates that a new story is beginning; compare the opening of I 10.

3. Θίσβη: Attested first in the Homeric catalogue of ships (Il. II 502) as the name of a town in Boiotia, the use of Θίσβη as a personal name in literature is explained by several later authors: e.g. Pausanias (Teubner text) IX 32.2: *πλέοντι δὲ ἐκ Κρεύσιδος οὐ πελαγίῳ, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Βιοτίαν πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Θίσβη.* There follows a description of the town, then (ib. IX 32.3): *Θίσβην δὲ λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον εἶναι νύμφην, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ πόλις τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν.* Dionysios of Halikarnassos *Comp.* 16.102 explains why the toponym came to be used as a girl's name: *εἰ γάρ τις ἔροιτο ὄντιν' οὖν ἢ ποιητῶν ἢ ῥητόρων, τίνα σεμνότητα ἢ καλλιλογίαν ταῦτ' ἔχει τὰ ὀνόματα ἃ ταῖς Βοιωταῖς κεῖται πόλεσιν Ὑρία καὶ Μυκαλησσὸς καὶ Γραῖα καὶ Ἐτεωνὸς καὶ Σκῶλος καὶ Θίσβη καὶ Ὀγχηστὸς καὶ Εὐτρησις καὶ τᾶλλ' ἐφεξῆς ὧν ὁ ποιητὴς μέμνηται, οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴπειν οὐδ' ἦντιν' οὖν ἔχοι.* However Θίσβη as a personal name is not exclusively a literary fiction. The story of Pyramus and Thisbe is told at Ovid *Metamorphoses* IV 55ff. F Bömer (1976), in his commentary, notes ad loc. that Thisbe became a popular name for slaves after the time of (and so presumably under the influence of) Ovid, as several Latin and Greek inscriptions show. The relevance of the story for the reader's response to the choice of the name Thisbe here is discussed by E.L. Bowie (1995).

3. καὶ ἡ πολλάκις πειρῶντά με ἀπωσαμένη τότε παντοίως ἐφείλκετο βλέμμασι νεύμασι συνθήμασιν: The use of σύνθημα in an amatory context is unusual; the meaning here is 'signals', what we might call 'body-language' rather than 'pre-arranged signs' or 'epistolary codes', as the word means elsewhere. The former meaning is more natural here, and is the meaning the word bears in its other occurrences in Heliodoros (III 5.2; IV 21.2; V 4.7; V 11.1; IX 11.4; IX 18.1; X 15.2.)

4. μὴ γνωσθεῖη παρὰ τῆς δεσποίνης: "lest she be found guilty in the judgement of the mistress."

4. μοιχᾶται: μοιχάομαι is preferred by Christian writers, μοιχεύω by pagan. μοιχάω is found in LXX, and Matthew and Mark, who also use μοιχεύω. It presumably entered the Septuagint and the gospels from the *koine* and passed thence into Christian writers. The only classical occurrence is the present participle in Xenophon *Historia Graeca* I 6.15. The form μοιχάω is probably Doric, and Xenophon puts it into the mouth of Kallikratidas, the Spartan admiral, as J. Wackernagel (1907) 7-9 points out in his detailed discussion of the two forms. Attempts to distinguish their meanings are fruitless. Linguistic usage which is typically Christian is not uncommon in Heliodoros (v. p20).

5. καὶ μὴν . . . καὶ μὴν . . .: This combination of ‘particles’, described by J.D. Denniston (1954) as ‘Progressive’, occurs in the text six other times. The repetition emphasizes how Thisbe moves on from point to point as she draws Knemon into her plot. Kalasiris uses the same καὶ μὴν combination when he is stringing along Peloros, in order to involve him in his plot (V 31.3). In two other places (III 6.3; VII 16.3) the meaning is also, in effect, ‘now the next point in the argument is . . .’, and the combination is used twice (I 14.2; III 1.1) when the speaker says words to the effect ‘please do not stop now, and fail to complete the story which you are telling me.’ (μὴν, like μὲν of which it is a strengthened form, could be described as a conjunction, or ‘particle’, which leads the mind forward to what follows; this is very often a later clause or a reply introduced by δέ or ἀλλά. J.D. Denniston (1954), who regarded the primary function of μὲν and μὴν to be emphatic (p359), tends to obscure their forward looking sense by quoting those clauses where he took μὲν and μὴν as simply ‘emphatic’ without giving their context; however, his choice of the term ‘progressive’ for καὶ μὴν is appropriate.)

5. ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἔση σκέψαι: Read κατάλαβε. The Budé editors are wrong to print the σκέψαι of C rather than κατάλαβε of VMBPA. καταλαμβάνω = ‘understand’, rare in Attic, is fairly common in koine, sometimes in the middle, and becomes καταλαμβάνω = ‘understand’ in modern Demotic. It is probable that the Attic σκέψαι is the gloss on the vernacular κατάλαβε rather than *vice versa*, particularly as interpolations in C tend to the pedantic. ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἔση is a quotation of the words of Odysseus in Euripides *Cyclops* (595) where he is endeavouring to enlist the help of the satyrs against the Cyclops. From this hint the reader may anticipate that Knemon, like the satyrs in the play, will soon appear ridiculous.

§12.

Thisbe advises Knemon that Demainete’s lover is in her room, and Knemon bursts in brandishing a sword, but finds his father there. Aristippos pleads for mercy, Knemon in surprise drops the sword, and Demainete accuses Knemon of trying to attack Aristippos.

2. καὶ εἰσδραμὼν ποῦ ποτε ὁ ἀλιτῆριος ἐβόων ὁ λαμπρὸς τῆς πάντα σωφροσύνης ἐρώμενος: ἐρώμενος can only be taken as passive: ἐρώμενος cannot be the participle of ἔραμαι, which would be ἐράμενος, but only of ἐράω, which is never deponent. The choice of mood emphasizing Demainete’s tendency (in Knemon’s view) to take the initiative in sexual matters; Heliodoros frequently uses the active of women, both in Knemon’s story, and of Charikleia. Sometimes Heliodoros seems to use the ‘wrong’

voice, but ἐρώμενος meaning 'beloved' is so common in Greek literature that we cannot justify giving it an active meaning on these grounds.

2. μὴ γίνου τῆς ὀργῆς ὅλος: 'Do not be full of . . .' γίγνομαι followed by an adverbial expression for a feeling is far from common. With genitive used adverbially: Plutarch *Phokion* 23(752): ὅτε καὶ φασι τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐλπίδος μεγάλης γενομένην ἐορτάζειν εὐαγγέλια συνεχῶς καὶ θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς . . . Plutarch *Timoleon* 3 (237): ζητουμένου δὲ στρατηγοῦ . . . εἰς ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἀναστὰς ὠνόμασε Τιμολέοντα τὸν Τιμοδήμου, μήτε προσιόντα τοῖς κοινοῖς ἔτι μήτ' ἐλπίδος τοιαύτης γενόμενον ἢ προαιρέσεως . . . Dio Cassius LXI 4.4: τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας ἐγένετο . . . With preposition + noun as an adverbial phrase expressing feeling: Plutarch *Flaminius* 16 (378): ἐν ὀργῇ γεγονότων διὰ τὸν γάμον . . . The use of the verb with the reflexive pronoun is not really a parallel (e.g. Sophokles *O.C.* 659-660: ἀλλὰ ὁ νοῦς ὅταν / αὐτοῦ γένηται . . .; Jebb gives other examples ad loc.). We cannot tell whether the present sense developed from it or arose independently.

3. ἐγὼ δέ, ὥσπερ τυφῶνι βληθεῖς, αἶδος ἀπόπληκτος εἰστήκειν: In Roman period Greek, and in Latin, *typhon* can mean simply 'whirlwind' (as occasional appearances of the plural show). Whether it completely lacks the sense of a proper name here (and at Achilles Tatios I 12 ὥσπερ τυφῶνι βεβλημένος) is ambiguous. Although editors of Achilles Tatios and Heliodoros have traditionally printed it with a lower case initial letter, one should not lose sight of its personal connotations. The simile (*similitudo*, παραβολή) is reminiscent of that at II 6: ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πρηστήρος τῆς ὀψεως βληθέντες. The idea of a person being struck by τυφῶν and πρηστήρ is found at Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 974: <μιαρὰ> δῆτ' ὦ Ζεῦ ὦ Ζεῦ· / εἰθ' αὐτὴν ὥσπερ τοὺς θωμοὺς / μεγάλῳ τυφῶ καὶ πρηστήρι / ξυντρέψας καὶ ξυγγογγύλας / οἴχοιο φέρων (972-976). The Egyptian god Seth is identified with τυφῶν, apparently because Seth was a god of the tempest (v. 'Contentions of Horus and Seth' 16.4 in A. Gardiner (1931) p26, where, however, E. Bresciani (1969) p355, and others, are right to prefer the translation 'howls' to Gardiner's 'thunders' for the Egyptian *hrw*). It is likely that Heliodoros, who knew that Typhon was another name for Seth (cf. IX 9.5), would also have been aware of the metaphysical character which Plutarch ascribes to Typhon in Egyptian thought: Τυφῶν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ παθητικὸν καὶ τιτανικὸν καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἔμπληκτον, τοῦ δὲ σωματικοῦ τὸ ἐπίκηρον καὶ νοσῶδες καὶ ταρακτικὸν ἀωρίαις καὶ δυσκρασίας καὶ κρύψεσιν ἡλίου καὶ ἀφανισμοῖς σελήνης, οἶον ἐκδρομαὶ καὶ ἀφηνιασμοὶ [καὶ] τυφῶνος· καὶ τοῦνομα κατηγορεῖ τὸ Σήθ, ᾧ τὸν Τυφῶνα καλοῦσι. (*On Isis* 49 (371B)). J.J. Winkler (1990 p95, n48) notes the appropriateness of the invocation of Typhon in spells designed to bring about discord, and the discord which arises now between Knemon and his father makes Typhon similarly appropriate here.

The form of the simile, using a participle agreeing with the subject of the main clause, is unusual, but does have classical antecedents (e.g. Xenophon *Anabasis* VI v.31: ἐντεῦθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἱππεῖς φεύγουσι κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἱππέων διωκόμενοι).

αἶδος ἀπόπληκτος εἰστήκειν: A touch of characterisation: a similar phrase (τρόμῳ συσχεθεὶς ἀχανῆς εἰστήκει) is used of Knemon by the narrator at II 5.4, when he finds Thisbe dead. Knemon is rendered almost visibly helpless by events. This perhaps supports the characterisation of Knemon as a coward, which is discussed (and questioned) elsewhere (p152).

The adjectives are proleptic. (It would be wrong to say that the verb is effectively the equivalent of the copula εἶναι, since Knemon does literally stand still.) In poetic language two or more adjectives are frequently combined without conjunctions to build up a complete picture, even where the subject is not particularly emotional; here, nonetheless, the asyndeton may mark emotion. J.D. Denniston (1952) chapter vi analyses asyndeton. He says on p100, “In a long list of co-ordinated words . . . copulatives are more frequently omitted than inserted. . . . But in the great majority of cases, the stylistic significance of asyndeton is unmistakable.” (Some students when they look up the treatment of asyndeton between adjectives in Kühner-Gerth may be puzzled by the statement in II p341-342, “Aber nicht gehören hierher die §405, 3 [the discussion of proleptic adjectives] angeführten Beispiele.” What seems to be meant are the couple of examples in §405, 3 where one adjective is proleptic and the other is not.)

Groupings of adjectives in α- privative are particularly frequent, and can be regarded as a distinct stylistic device. It is very likely that Heliodoros meant to use this device here, relying on the false etymology (recorded in the *Etymologicum Magnum*) of αἶδος > ἄ + ἦω. G. Meyer (1923) 104-106 gives many examples from tragedy. His view of the figure is expressed on p5: ‘So macht z.B. die Tragödie besonders häufig Gebrauch vom ἄ- privat. in speziellen Sinne. Es wird nicht einfach der im Simplex enthaltene Begriff negiert wie etwa in einem ἡδύς ~ ἀηδής; sondern das neu gefühlte Synthese.’ The juxtaposition of the adjectives underlines that Knemon was both αἶδος and ἀπόπληκτος *at the same time*, and to this extent the case Meyer makes for seeing a *synthetic* concept is valid here; at any rate the juxtaposition produces an effect of emphasis. The phenomenon is also discussed by N.J. Richardson (1974) ad 1.200; D. Fehling (1969) 235-241; and E. Fraenkel 1950 ad *Agamemnon* 412. Further examples are Bacchylides *Dithyramb* 19.23; Pind. *O.* 2.82; *Il.* I 99, IX 63; *Od.* XV 406; *Soph. Ant.* 339; *Demosth.* IV 36, XXV 52; [Bacchyl.?] *Fr.* 60.10 (restored). (I am grateful to Professor Maehler for drawing my attention to the references given in this paragraph.)

3. τὴν Θίσβην περιέβλεπον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἑαυτὴν ὑποστείλασαν: The connection of this sentence with the preceding and following ones is asyndetic; the three clauses together form a kind of 'rising tricolon', and together with the word asyndeton in the first clause (cf. my note on I 12.3 αἶος ἀπόπληκτος εἰστήκειν) express Knemon's state of shock. The printed (and probably correct) reading of περιέβλεπον is reported by the Budé editors in CPBZ; they favoured the first of these MSS, and A. Colonna the last, so it got into both texts (whose editors relied heavily on stemmatics) in preference to the περιβλέπων which avoids asyndeton.

4. ὥς ἐπιβουλεύσει' ἄν καιροῦ λαβόμενον: Thus the Budé editors emend the correct ἐπιβουλεύσειε / -σειεν (without ἄν) of the MSS; Koraes emends to ἐπιβουλεύσει, which is possible but unnecessary. Prof. Maehler points out to me that the optative ἐπιβουλεύσειε in *oratio obliqua* after προηγόρευον stands for αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαι, ("I warned you: he *was* plotting") whereas the optative + ἄν, giving a potential sense ("he might possibly . . .") is much too weak for Demainete.

§13

Aristippos takes Knemon to court. At the accusation there is such uproar that Knemon has no chance to defend himself.

Courtroom scenes like the one which occupies this chapter, sometimes including speeches, are a feature of the Greek novels (the following survey is intended to be complete; courtroom scenes in the novel are also discussed by M. Fusillo (1991) 76-81). In Chariton in particular the cases involve some legal oddity which makes the speeches more interesting than they would be if they were just miniature versions of private speeches from the Attic orators. We may assume that the speeches would therefore be appreciated best by trained rhetors interested in technical forensic problems. At Chariton I 5 the defendant invites his own condemnation. A speech of this type is referred to but not reported at Achilles Tatios II 34. Full length examples of this type of speech, known as a προσαγγελία, are extant (e.g. Libanios *Or.* XII; XXVI). At Chariton III 4 the trial is investigative rather than adversarial. In V 4-8 the hearing is before the Persian King in Babylon. The king, and not a jury, is to decide the case, as we would expect, but the presence and interest of the public at the case is emphasized. The king must decide to which man Kallirhoe (whom he loves also himself) belongs; the trial is adjourned for her to be produced, although she is neither plaintiff, defendant or witness - she is in effect an exhibit. The legal problem is whether a woman bought with money can be a lawful wife. All three of these cases involve an unexpected revelation,

in the first two in the shape of an intervention from a member of the audience who knows the truth.

There is a rustic equivalent of a courtroom scene at Longos II 15-16. The closest thing to a courtroom scene in Xenophon of Ephesos is the laconic report of a hearing before the prefect (ἄρχων) of Egypt at IV 2.

The courtroom scene at Achilles Tatios VII 7-12, like Chariton I 5, contains both a προσαγγελία and an intervention by someone not directly involved in the case. Achilles Tatios VIII 8-11 includes a point for a decree to be read which is not reproduced in the text, thus giving it the appearance of an authentic forensic speech. J.J. Winkler, in his translation of Achilles Tatios (CAGN 263 n65), suggested that the speeches of Kleinias (VII 9) and that of Sopator (VIII 10) reflect in their styles Atticism on the one hand and Asianism on the other. There is no evidence that rhetorical training covered the composition of speeches in miniature such as we have in the novels, where the speeches are on the whole shorter than those in Thucydides, let alone full length published speeches. (Progymnasmata were exercises for elements in speeches rather than entire speeches in miniature.) Nonetheless the inclusion of speeches in the Greek novels is clearly a product of a tradition of rhetorical training, at least in part.

It is possible, but not demonstrable, that these trial scenes owe their inclusion in the novel in part also to influence of vernacular or popular Hellenistic literature. The courtroom scenes in the *Acts of the Apostles* are not directly comparable, and there are no such scenes in the Apocryphal Acts, or in the Egyptian storytelling tradition. However, the fragmentary *Acta Alexandrinorum* consist largely of trial scenes; their literary and historical status is debated. In his collection of these texts with commentary H.A. Musurillo (1954) discusses the similarities between the *Acta* and the Greek novel (ibid. 252-258, esp. 257). He supposes that the *Acta* were influenced in their tone by largely unrecorded Hellenistic *Kleinliteratur*; he implies that the Greek novel shared this influence, a view which gains support from the thesis of J.N. O'Sullivan (1995) that the novel had its origins in a Hellenistic oral storytelling tradition.

The courtroom scene here in I 13, in this 'novel within a novel' is the only conventional one in the *Aithiopika*. The 'show trial' in Heliodoros VIII 9 contains no speech, and ends with the miraculous survival of the condemned heroine. (In both these points it resembles the much shorter hearing in Xenophon of Ephesos IV 2.) Therefore it should probably be regarded as derived at least in part not from the *motif* of the courtroom scene but from the *motif* of miraculous survival of capital punishment, in this case, of judicial burning. The courtroom scene at X 10-12, with Charikleia's defence (X 12) is

seamlessly woven into the fabric of the narrative, without a clear beginning and end, and to that extent the *motif* is thoroughly reworked.

1. ὥς εἶχον δεσμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἦγε: At Athens the δῆμος met as the popular assembly (ἐκκλησία). The picture Heliodoros gives of Athenian legal process is a compound of fiction and anachronistic detail. Sometimes δῆμος is used metaphorically for the assembly itself, for the first time at Plato *Republic* 565b. At the time of Solon the Athenian court, called the Heliaia, seems likely to have been identical with the popular assembly. However, by the second half of the fifth century (the precise date is not known) jury courts had taken over its function. Although these were regarded as representing the δῆμος it is very doubtful whether the word δῆμος could refer to them, particularly in view of the clear distinction made by Pollux (VIII 63) between the δῆμος (i.e. the Assembly) and the jury (δικαστήριον): ἔφεςις δὲ ἐστὶ, ὅταν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐπὶ δῆμον, ἢ ἀπὸ δικάσιμων ἢ ἀρχόντων ἢ δημοτῶν ἐπὶ δικαστήν, ἢ ἀπὸ δῆμου ἐπὶ δικαστήριον . . . On the other hand the number of voters Heliodoros gives indicates a jury court rather than the whole assembly. We lack evidence for size of jury courts, but an approximate indication is given by Lysias (XIII 35): ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐν δισχιλίοις ἐψήφιστο, and by Plutarch *Perikles* 32: κρίνεσθαι δὲ τὴν δίκην ἔγραψεν ἐν δικασταῖς χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις. The romantic fiction of the plaintiff's direct appeal to the δῆμος on the following day, without committal proceedings or other legal process is all part of Heliodoros' idealised picture of Athenian democracy, which contrasted with the relatively bureaucratic legal system of the Roman provinces. Therefore it belongs to a legendary Greek past which features in several of the Greek novels, and contributed to the creation of a sense of Greek cultural identity in the novels, a theme discussed by S. Swain (1996) 109-113. It is of course possible that Heliodoros set this vignette of 'democratic' legal process in Knemon's tale because he regarded it as a decadent part of that legendary past: by contrast, the crowd in Chariton I 5 and III 4 are on the side of right, although not formally judging the case, but here their credulity leads to a miscarriage of justice.

1. οὐκ ἐπὶ τοιαύταις μὲν ἐλπίσιν ὧς Ἀθηναῖοι τόνδε ἀνέτρεφον ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γήρως τοῦμοῦ βακτηρίαν ἔσεσθαι: The metaphorical use of βακτηρία to mean 'support', also found at VII 14.7, is almost unparalleled in Greek. The Latin *baculum*, which became an equivalent for βακτηρία in Christian writers, is occasionally used in this sense, but not before the fourth century. It occurs in the *Acts of St. Sebastian*, (PL 17.1019-1058, §2.7 p1024) (whose attribution to Ambrose is uncertain, but which can hardly be earlier than the fourth century): *o filii, meae baculus (sic) senectutis*. It occurs also in the vulgate, *Tobit* 10.4: *baculum senectutis nostrae, solatium vitae*, (based on *Tobit* 5.23 in LXX, where the Greek is ῥάβδος), and

Euchenius *Formulae* I ed. C. Wotke p8. Heliodoros had probably encountered this phrase in Christian Latin, or a Greek equivalent using βακτηρία.

1. εἰς τοὺς φράτορας καὶ γεννήτας εἰσαγαγών: φράτωρ is reputed to be the later form of φράτηρ (s.v. LSJ). The editors have decided not to restore the older form here, although they do so frequently with classical authors where the MSS read φράτηρ. It is possible that Heliodoros would have encountered this 'later' orthography in his copies of classical authors, even where it does not appear in our printed editions, and there is no reason to emend it.

γεννήτας: LSJ distinguish γεννητής, 'begetter', and γεννήται, 'at Athens, members of a γένη.' The spelling with -vv- is supported by the inscription they quote (IG II 596). The accentuation is uncertain and the word is not noticed in the surviving works by Herodian. The accentuation given by LSJ has the support of Hesychios, and of Harpokration (now datable to the second century A.D.: see the introduction to the edition by J.J. Keaney, Amsterdam, 1991). Therefore it should probably be accepted.

The notice about γεννήται in Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* (Fr 2(3)) is taken by H.T. Wade-Gery (1958) p89 to refer to the time before Theseus. However the institution was still alive in the fourth century B.C. This is the entry in Harpokration (ed. Keaney):

(Γ5) Γεννήται· οἱ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους κοινωνοῦντες. διηρημένων γὰρ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰ μέρη, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ μέγιστα μέρη ἐκαλοῦντο φυλαί, ἐκάστη δὲ φυλὴ τριχῇ διήρητο, καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἕκαστον μέρος τούτων τριττὺς καὶ φρατρία. πάλιν δὲ τῶν φρατριῶν ἐκάστη διήρητο εἰς γένη λ', ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἱερῶσύναι αἱ ἐκάστοις προσήκουσαι ἐκκληροῦντο. ἔστι δὲ παρὰ πολλοῖς τῶν ῥητόρων τοῦνομα, ὡς καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐβολίδην ἐφέσει (57.23,24 al.). Ἰσαῖος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου κλήρου (7.13) τοὺς συγγενεῖς γεννήτας ὠνόμασεν· οὐχ οἱ συγγενεῖς μέντοι ἀπλῶς καὶ οἱ ἐξ αἵματος γεννήται τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ἐκαλοῦντο, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τὰ καλούμενα γένη κατανεμηθέντες. οὓς νῦν γεννήτας καλοῦσιν.

In fact Harpokration, quoted above, seems to have misunderstood Isaios, (although if τοὺς συγγενεῖς γεννήτας ὠνόμασεν in Harpokration is a corruption of τοὺς γεννήτας συγγενεῖς ὠνόμασεν he could have been referring to 1.1: . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀπέδειξε καὶ εἰς τὰ κοινὰ γραμματεῖα ἐνέγραψεν . . .) This speech by Isaios is the only place among the extant Attic orators that we find a possible source for the phrase in Heliodoros. At 13 Isaios writes . . . καὶ εἰς τοὺς γεννήτας καὶ εἰς τοὺς φράτερας ἐνέγραψε . . ., and at 15 . . . ἤγαγέ με ἐπὶ τοὺς γεννήτας τε καὶ φράτερας. Apart from this, Demosthenes Κατὰ Νεαίρας 63 has the phrase . . . ἐπειδὴ εἰσήγεν [με] εἰς τοὺς γεννήτας . . .

1. πολίτην . . . ἀποφήνας: Read καὶ τοῖς νόμοις. The classical expression is invariably πολίτην ποιέω. The Budé editors are certainly wrong to accept the emendation κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. The manuscript reading καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, unlike the emendation, is an expression which has some support in the orators. (Isokrates *Panegyricos* 105: . . . πολίτας ὄντας νόμῳ . . .; *Evagoras* 54: τὸν δὲ διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας νόμῳ πολίτην ἐπεποίητο.)

2. πατραλοίας: v. following note.

2. προσαγγέλλω τοῦτον, αὐτόχειρ μὲν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐξόν: It is not clear with what Knemon is charged: assault? attempted murder? The prosecution is brought privately by Aristippos although it is for a capital offence, as becomes clear, and this suggests that Heliodoros had in mind classical Athenian rather than Roman law. If Knemon was guilty of assault then it is unlikely that under Athenian law Aristippos had the right to kill him. Perhaps the scope of the right, attested in our sources, of an Athenian householder to kill thieves or adulterers caught in the act could extend to a case of the present kind; the right is discussed by S.C. Todd (1993) 244. If the case was one of attempted murder then as far we know jurisdiction belonged exclusively to the courts, and could not be undertaken by the householder. Nor do we have any evidence that a man who was attacked had the right to kill in self-defence; it is logical that suppose that he had, but whether Aristippos could have argued that he had such a right before Knemon struck, or after he was disarmed is a matter for speculation. Aristippos accuses Knemon of being close to πατραλοία. The use of this word in Plato and Aristophanes (especially *Av.* 1337ff) suggests that it was in classical Athens a common term of abuse, but not a legal term describing a specific crime. Here, however, ‘parricide’ does seem to be the most natural translation, as it does at Philostratos *Life of Apollonios* IV 26; if it means ‘parricide’ Aristippos says that Knemon would have committed parricide had he not dropped the sword, implying that the charge was attempted parricide.

It is possible that behind Aristippos’ assertion of his right to kill Knemon lies the idea of *patria potestas*, which gave a father *ius vitae necisque* under Roman law. This was almost unique to Roman law, as Gaius (*Institutes* I 55) noted, and is so striking that it would not be surprising to find a novelist alluding to it. However, the *ius vitae necisque* was certainly not part of the Roman law of Heliodoros’ time. The latest evidence which we have for it being in force is the statement of Dio Kassios (XXXVII 36.4) that some fathers killed sons who had been involved in the Catilinarian conspiracy. Several statements in Justinian *Digest* XLVIII indicate that the right was suppressed

during the principate. Neither would Knemon have been guilty of attempted murder under the Roman law of Heliodoros' day: Roman lawyers were concerned to determine the intention of a defendant, and the opinion at Justinian *Digest* ed. Mommsen II 819 l.5-11 holds that if an armed man strikes no blow then an intention to kill cannot be established, so on this view Knemon would not be guilty of attempted murder, even if his mistake in taking Aristippos for an adulterer were overlooked. We know as little about the right to kill in self-defence under Roman law as under Athenian, but it seems most unlikely that Aristippos could have argued that he had the right to kill Knemon in self-defence after Knemon had dropped his weapon.

In short, Aristippos' claim, like the legal procedure (v. note on I 13.1 ὡς εἶχον . . .), seems to be part of an impressionistic picture of a legal system of the legendary past, perhaps incorporating the concept of *patria potestas* as well as adapted details culled from the Attic orators. The lack of legal clarity suggests that Heliodoros had little interest in legal matters. This contrasts with Chariton (v. p118 above), and it is likely that for Chariton rhetorical education included the study of forensic oratory and how to argue points of law, whereas for Heliodoros, working at a time when Roman law was dominant, and ~~the~~ when the study of law had become divorced from the study of Greek rhetoric, legal issues were neglected in a rhetorical education.

4. ὁ γραμματεὺς προσελθὼν ἡρώτα στενὸν ἐρώτημα: Harpokration says that the functions of the γραμματεὺς are described by Aristotle in the *Ath. Pol.* In that work γραμματεῖς are referred to in the *prytaneion*, the *boule* and the courts. There is a passage of several chapters describing the courts which begins as follows (§63): τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια [π]ληρ[οῦ]σ[ιν] οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες κατὰ φυλάς, ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς τῶν θεσμω[θετῶν τῆς] δεκάτης φυλῆς. The passage describing the activities of the γραμματεὺς is lacunose, but it is clear from it and from the statement of Harpokration that he had custody of all written documents, and would read them out when required. It is very unlikely that he had the prerogative to question the defendant which Heliodoros ascribes to him here. On γραμματεῖς v. RE VII 1710.

4. τὸ βάραθρον: v. below on I 14.1.

5. διεχειροτόνου: Harpokration: (Δ 45) Διαχειροτονία· διάκρισις τῆς χειροτονίας ἐν πλήθει γινομένης· Δημοσθένης ἐν τε τῷ Κατὰ Τιμοκράτους (59.5) καὶ <ἐν τῷ> Κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος (22.9).

§14

There is a divided vote and Knemon is condemned to exile, and he goes to Aigina. After three weeks his friend Charias arrives with news of Demainete's death. He tells how after Knemon's departure Demainete became still more lovesick.

1. Τῶν δὲ ψήφων διακρινομένων οἱ μὲν τὸν θάνατον καταχειροτονήσαντες ἦσαν εἰς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, οἱ μὲν καταλεῖσαι οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ βάραθρον πέμψαι κρίναντες, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ εἰς χιλίους, ὅσοι τι καὶ τῇ ὑπονοίᾳ τῇ κατὰ τῆς μητρυιᾶς δόντες φυγῇ με εἰς τὸ διηνεκές ἐζημίωσαν:

καταχειροτονήσαντες is explained by Harpokration (K28): καταχειροτονία· ἔθος ἦν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ κατὰ τῶν συκοφαντῶν προβολὰς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τίθεσθαι· εἰ δέ τις καταχειροτονηθεῖη, οὗτος εἰσῆγέτο εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. ἔστι δὲ πολλάκις τοῦνομα παρὰ τε Δημοσθένει ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Μειδίου (21.8 / 991) καὶ Ὑπερίδου ἐν τῷ Ὑπὲρ Χαιρεφίλου περὶ τοῦ ταρίχους (F187J). διεξῆλθε δὲ περὶ τῆς χειροτονίας καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν δ' τῶν Νόμων.

ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους . . . χιλίους: On the numbers in the jury, v. above on I 13.1 τὸν δῆμον.

τὸ βάραθρον . . . φυγῇ: The Suda: βάραθρον· χάσμα τι φρεατῶδες καὶ σκοτεινὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς κακούργους ἔβαλλον· cp. RE II 2853. The details are not historically accurate: for the classical age there is little evidence for the means of execution at Athens, and none that it was by throwing the condemned person into the *barathron*. Exile seems not to have been an alternative penalty, but an option open to the accused before the verdict was passed. Both of these points are discussed by D.M. MacDowell (1963) 110-129.

εἰς τὸ διηνεκές: The usage is almost exclusively of the fourth century and later, and almost exclusively Christian. It is found in literature, in papyri and in inscriptions. In literature it is common in Eusebios, Athanasios, Basil, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa and Epiphanius. Documentary references can be found in F. Preisigke (1925-1931) (but not in the revision of this work by E. Kiessling and H.A. Rupprecht, from which Byzantine references have been silently dropped) e.g. *P.Oxy. LV* 3803 l.10, (411 A.D.) *SB XVI* 12946,16 (474 A.D.). Inscriptions containing the expression can be difficult to date but none can be firmly dated before the fourth century. Examples of the expression in datable inscriptions are found in H. Gregoire (1922) no.322,51 (459 A.D.); 220(2) l.9 (c.536 A.D.). The expression is never found in documents or in

inscriptions where the context is clearly not Christian. In papyri, but not inscriptions or literature, ἐπὶ τὸ διηνεκέες occurs with the same meaning: e.g. *P. Lond. V* 1735.9 (6th century).

There follows a complete survey of the ten occurrences of the expression which do or may precede the fourth century. Ignatius *Ep. to Philipians* 9.4 (but the authenticity of the work is seriously in doubt.) N.T. *Heb.* 7.3; 10.1,12; This is probably the earliest appearance of the phrase, and perhaps its source for later writers. Translation of the O.T. by Symmachos (late 2nd century) *Psalms* 47.15; 88.30 (where the other translators have εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα). *P.Ryl. II* 427 fr.24 (restored); fr. 27 (a fragmentary carbonized roll; for the late 2nd-early 3rd century date v. *P.Ryl. II* 427 in the index of G.M. Parassoglou (1978)). Appian *Bell. Civ.* I 4.15 (ἐς, not εἰς). Aretaios, *De cur. acut. morb.* II (Corp. Med. Gr. vol. II liber VI) 2.15. (ἐς, not εἰς; for the late 2nd century date v. Aretaios in RE).

1. ἐξηλαυνόμην ἐστίας τε πατρώας καὶ τῆς ἐνεγκούσης: The Suda defines ἡ ἐνεγκοῦσα as πατρίς· ἢ μήτηρ. (Hesychios has the same definition in the accusative.) Of course the word order here shows that the expression is substantival, and the first meaning, (where πατρίς or πόλις is implicit, and must be supplied), is the one we have; Heliodoros used it frequently in the context of exile. The use of the word to mean 'homeland' is almost exclusively a fourth century one. There are two occurrences before the fourth century, in both of which the reference to a place of birth is made explicit: Plutarch *Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander* 854C; Ailios Aristides *On Demosthenes* 10. The other occurrences, in many of which, like the present instance, the reader is expected to understand that the reference is to a place of birth, without this meaning being made explicit, are almost all fourth or early fifth century, with a few later and none earlier. Therefore the idiom is not attested before the fourth century. The following list of attestations of this idiom is complete to end of sixth century: Heliodoros I 14.1; II 4.1; 23.3; 25.4; 29.5; 30.1; III 11.5; 14.4; 15.3; 16.5 bis; IV 9.2; 12.3; 19.7; 19.8; VI 2.3; VII 14.7; VIII 3.7; 7.8; 16.4; 16.6; 16.9. Libanios *Ep.* 282; 472; 534; 733; 872; 947; 950; 1229. *Or.* 2.66; 11.1; 11.50; 11.272; 35.8; 38.20; 49.17,18. Himerios 27.33. Themistios *περὶ φιλίας* 292d 7. Sopater *διαίρεσις ζητημάτων*. Asterios *Homily* 6.1. Synesios *Ep.* 32; 58; 73 bis; 94; 103. *Catastases* 2.3. Gregory Naz. *Ep.* 65.3. Basil *Ep.* 75; 96; 165; 166; 320. John Chrysostom PG 49.35,214; 50.691; 51.270; 52.644; 53.371; 63.616. Theodoret *passim*. John Lydus *De magistratibus* 172,244; *De ostentis* 57.

2. τὸν δὲ τρόπον εἰσαῦθις ἀκούεσθε: The device of the story teller declaring that he must stop because his listeners need sleep, and being persuaded to continue, is of course imitated from Od. XI 330-384. Heliodoros uses a more sophisticated variation of this device in V 1-2. There Kalasiris tells

Knemon that he must break off the story for sleep; perhaps the reader expects him to be prevailed upon to continue, but in fact almost immediately, while it is still night, the events of the plot overtake Knemon, the 'internal audience', and take the reader back to the direct narration (rather than Kalasiris' story). This seamless transition maintains the reader's interest during the switch from the indirect to the direct narrative.

2. καὶ μὴν προσεπιτρίψεις γε ἡμᾶς: Translate 'so now, you too are going to add to our afflictions'. Where γε does not go with another connective it is to be taken with a noun, adjective or pronoun, and in the rare cases where it follows a verb it does so because that verb has no explicit subject, and is to be taken with the implicit subject (rather than the action of the verb). Since it is an enclitic conjunction the key to understanding it is to ask, to what does it relate the word it follows, and what is the character of the relationship? (The importance of the first part of the question is underestimated by some modern writers, perhaps because they have dropped the classical term *coniunctio* in favour of 'particle'.) The general sense of the present phrase is: καὶ μὴν = 'so now, (here comes something new)' (v. on I 11.5 καὶ μὴν); προσεπιτρίψεις γε ἡμᾶς = 'you too, (quite apart from all the others who have caused us problems), are going to add to our afflictions'.

2. ἐγὼ μὲν ὥς εἶχον εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν κρίσιν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέβην: Perhaps the familiarity of the opening of Plato *Republic* led Heliodoros to suppose that the choice of this verb for going to Piraeus had a colloquial ring in an Athenian context, although there is no other evidence that it did. Like the characters in the *Republic* Knemon is taking the first step on a great adventure.

The εὐθύς in C but not the other MSS is pleonastic with ὥς εἶχον, and must be a gloss; the Budé editors mistakenly print it because of their excessive love of C. In the phrase εὐθὺς ὥς εἶχε at I 9.1 εἶχε makes best sense if it is taken with περιτυχών (the periphrastic construction consisting of ἔχω + an aorist participle). Therefore it is a false parallel which gives no support to εὐθύς here, but which may have suggested it to the 'corrector' of C.

4. ἀλλὰ σῶζοιο μὲν ἔφην ᾧ Χαρία: Translators have understood this as a greeting: if they are right we may be almost certain that Heliodoros knew Latin. σῶζοιο / σῶζου are found in Kallimachos and occasionally throughout the imperial period as a valedictory expression, 'Farewell', and the optative is used in the same way, although less often. However, in the extant Greek literature the verb is *never* used in a greeting, at the beginning rather than at the end of an encounter, unless that is how it should be interpreted here. The definition of σῶζου is given in a scholium to *Odyssey* XIII 39: χαίρετε δ' αὐτοὶ ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀφίστασθαι τὸ χαῖρε ἔλεγον, ὥσπερ νῦν τὸ σῶζου φαμέν. B. M. (i.e. Ambrosianus B99; Venetus 613. Quoted from *Scholια*

Veteras in *Hom. Od.*, ed. Dindorf.) The use of σῶζου to mean 'Farewell' is not found in published documentary papyri.

There are three possible interpretations here: 1) σῶζοιο is not strictly speaking a greeting or a 'Farewell'; after hearing what Charias says about Knemon's affairs, Knemon should out of politeness ask his friend about his own affairs, but in his impatience passes over this expectation with a cursory σῶζοιο, 'I hope you are well,' and asks to hear more about Demainete. 2) Knemon when he says σῶζοιο does mean 'Farewell', but goes on to say in effect, 'but wait a minute, tell me more.' 3) σῶζοιο here means 'greetings' or something like that, and either Heliodoros departs from normal Greek usage, whether through ignorance or otherwise, or our evidence gives too incomplete a picture of normal Greek usage. If this third option is right then the probable explanation is that the Greek of Heliodoros here has been 'contaminated' by familiarity with the Latin *salve*. There are several other instances in Heliodoros of apparent contamination by Latin: cf. p27. σῶζοιο is used by Heliodoros also at V 22.5 for 'may you be safe' and at V 2.10 where the meaning could equally be 'may you be safe' or 'farewell.' There is no certain support in Heliodoros for σῶζοιο as a greeting or a 'Farewell', but there are other examples of usages which appear to be influenced by a knowledge of Latin, and the translation of σῶζοιο as *salve*, 'greetings', is probably right.

The references for σῶζου / σῶζοιο meaning 'Farewell' are as follows (in this list, which is complete up to the sixth century for the forms included, the presence or absence of iota subscript with the omega is ignored). σῶξεο: Kallimachos *Hymn* IV 150-151. Nonnos IV 182,186; XLVI 199,200,346. Anthol. Graec. V 241.1 (Paulos Silentarios, 6th century A.D.); IX 372.6 (Anon.). σῶζου: LXX *Gen.* 19.17 (occasionally quoted by Christian writers; these quotations are not listed here). Lucian *Peregr.* 32.9. Josephos *Bell. Jud.* I 391. *Der Gr. Alexanderroman rec.* γ III ed. F. Parthe, Book III 20; Clement *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (Fourth century) 1.2. Joannes Cameniates (9th - 10th Century) *De expugnatione Thessalonicae* 35.13.2. σῶξεσθε: Barnabas *Ep.* (ed. R.A. Kraft) 20 (end). Athanasios *Doct. ad Antioch. duc.* (ed. Dindorf) 972. Nonnos XV 413. σῶζοιο: Achilles Tatios VI 1.3. Julian *Ep.* XI 12. σῶζοισθε: Anthol. Graec. IX 171.3 (Palladas, early 5th century).

4. οὐ παντάπασιν . . . ἐκλέλοιπεν ἡμᾶς ἡ δίκη καθ' Ἡσίοδον: Koraes and others quote Hesiod *Works* 175-264, where Aidos and Nemesis depart. It is just possible that in the fourth century there were extant works of Hesiod which are now lost, and a closer parallel for these words may have been found in one of them. However, it is more likely that Hesiod is here used mistakenly for Aratos. Aratos 133-134, δὴ τότε μισήσασα Δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν / ἔπταθ' ὑπουρανίη, follow in 132 a verbal allusion to Hesiod *Works* 405, and by a lapse of memory could easily have been attributed to Hesiod. Ammianus

Res gestae twice tells us that Julian was fond of repeating this idea, so the emperor perhaps gave it some currency with his contemporaries, among whom we should probably count Heliodoros: XXII 10.6, et aestimabitur, . . . ut ipse [Julianus] dicebat assidue, vetus illa Iustitia, quam offensam vitiis hominum, Aratus extollit in caelum, imperante eo reversa ad terras . . . ; XXV 4.19. The same idea is found in Hyginus *De astronomia* II 25 and Ovid *Fasti* I 249.

5. εἰς ἀγρόν τινα καὶ ἐσχατιὰν ἑαυτὸν ἀπόκισε: This comparison of Aristippos with Laertes (whose retirement is described at Od. I 188-193), and by implication, of Knemon with Odysseus, impart a mock-grandeur to the situation, just as the echoes of tragedy give the story of Demainete a mock-tragic tone. ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων is quoted from Il. VI 202.

6. τὴν δὲ εὐθὺς Ἑρινύες ἤλυνον: It is the impious whom the Furies pursue, and the reminder of their pursuit of Orestes, murderer of his mother, in the *Eumenides*, would hardly be lost on Heliodoros' first readers. ἐλάυνω is used of the Erinyes at Aischylos *Eumenides* 210, 421, 604.

6. ἐβόα νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν: νύκτωρ is the usual alternative to μεθ' ἡμέραν in Greek (e.g. Euripides *Bacchae* 485), so it is probable that the Budé editors are right to prefer it to the variant νύκτα which A. Colonna prints.

6. παιδίον γλυκύτατον, ψυχὴν ἑαυτῆς ὀνομάζουσα: It would be better to punctuate, if at all, with a comma also after παιδίον (although no editors punctuate thus), as is clear when we compare the phrase with I 9.4 νῦν μὲν παιδίον νῦν δὲ γλυκύτατον ὀνομάζουσα καὶ αὖθις κληρονόμον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ψυχὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀποκαλοῦσα. Demainete, omitting κληρονόμον which is not relevant in the current situation, moves from the more or less respectable appellation παιδίον to the risqué γλυκύτατον and then to the frankly outrageous ψυχὴν ἑαυτῆς, a term used to express Theagenes' feelings for Charikleia at I 8.4 (there is a discussion of ψυχή as a term of endearment in the commentary ad loc.).

6. παραμυθεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπιρρωνύναι: The Budé editors are wrong to emend the τε of the MSS to δέ, since the μὲν of αἱ γινώριμαι . . . μὲν ἐθαύμαζον is answered by ἡ δὲ . . . ἔλεγεν. Prof. Maehler pointed out to me that the three verbs ἐθαύμαζον . . . ἐπῆγον . . . ἐπειρῶντο form a tricolon.

6. καὶ οἷον ἐγκεῖσθαι τῇ καρδίᾳ κέντρον ἀγνοεῖν τὰς ἄλλας ἔλεγεν: The Budé note reads, "ἐγκεῖσθαι codd. : expectis ἔγκειται (Salmasius)." This is clearly right, but since ἐγκεῖσθαι is in all the MSS, the editors are right to consign the correction to a note, rather than to print it in the text and lay

themselves open to the charge that they are correcting a mistake which could go back to the author's autograph (if there was one).

§15

Charias tells how Demainete blamed Thisbe because Knemon's exile, which she had helped to procure, only made her plight worse. Thisbe, hoping to save her skin, pretends that Knemon is in hiding near Athens with the flute girl Arsinoe. Thisbe proposes to persuade Arsinoe to let her, Thisbe, take Arsinoe's place in bed with Knemon, but in fact to send Demainete, whose passion would thus be satisfied.

2. βαρυμηνιώσαν: *Hapax legomenon* formed from the adjective βαρύμηνις.

2. περιμανής: The adjective is completely unknown, except in Plutarch, who has it nine times, and περιμανῶς once. This is good evidence, if it were needed, that Heliodoros knew Plutarch, and that his use of Greek was influenced by that of Plutarch. There is a verb περιμαίνομαι which occurs only at Hesiod *Scutum* 99.

4. συντεύξεσθαί ποτε ὑπελθόντι: A. Colonna is right to print the δ' after ποτε which is omitted from one MS (P) according the Budé apparatus, and, surprisingly, from the Budé text.

5. ἄλλοτρίαν μὲν ἄλλ' οὖν γε πατρώαν εὐνήν ἡσχύνετο: The μὲν is picked up by the ἄλλ' which begins the next sentence. This is not syntactically parallel, and is only loosely adversative; the general sense of the μὲν . . . ἄλλὰ here is 'This, on the one hand is true . . . but (let us not forget) this further point is also true.' J.D. Denniston (1954 21-22) finds this 'progressive' ἄλλὰ particularly common in Hippocrates; he treats an example preceded by a clause with μὲν (p6, Hp. *Gland.* 8) as if it were unique, but in fact there are further examples among the references he gives for the places where he saw μὲν as merely emphatic (with no relation with what follows). For instance, if one continues the quotation he gives (p361) from Od. VII 259 this turns out to be a μὲν . . . ἄλλὰ combination with a similar sense:

ἔνθα μὲν ἐπτάετες μένον ἔμπεδον, εἵματα δ' αἰεὶ
δάκρυσι δεύεσκον, τά μοι ἄμβροτα δῶκε Καλυψώ·
ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὄγδοόν μοι ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος ἦλθε,
καὶ τότε δὴ μ' ἐκέλευσεν ἐποτρύνουσα νέεσθαι
Ζηνὸς ὑπ' ἄγγελίης, ἣ καὶ νόος ἐτράπετ' αὐτῆς.

Denniston's treatment of ἄλλ' οὖν γε is good: 'In ἄλλ' οὖν (not found before Aeschylus) ἄλλὰ bears one or other of the ^{shades} of meaning expressed by the simple ἄλλὰ: while οὖν adds the notion of essentiality or importance. Very frequently γε follows at a short interval, denoting that the idea is to be

emphatically accepted in a limited ^{sphere} sphere.' (p441-442); he ^{regards} regards the direct juxtaposition of γε to ἀλλ' οὖν as post-classical.

6. «. . . ἀλλ' ὦ γλυκεῖα Θίσβε τίνα λύσιν ὠνόμαζεις;» «ῥᾷδίαν ὦ δέσποινα» ἔφη. . . . This is the punctuation of the Budé. A. Colonna and earlier editors place ῥᾷδίαν in Demainete's question, not Thisbe's answer. The Budé punctuation has Thisbe giving, in effect, a one word reply, as she does at I 15.7 below where she replies with the single word μεγάλη. The latter answer seems rather odd Greek, and no parallel in drama can be found for μεγάλη as the answer to a question (although μέγα, and *multum* / *multa* as one word answers are occasionally found in Greek and Latin New Comedy). However, since there are no grounds for doubting the reading it can be used as a parallel to support the punctuation which gives her a one word answer, ῥᾷδίαν, in the present instance too.

6. Ἀρσινόην: The name, like that of Thisbe, is the name of a town, or rather of several towns as well as of several historical and mythical persons (v. RE s.v.), and of a girl celebrated in epigram (*Anthologia Graeca* VI 174). There is no obvious reason why Heliodoros chose the name, although a potentially significant association of the name with a story in Antonios Liberalis 39 is discussed by E.L. Bowie (1995) 276-277. Like Teledemos (v. on I 16.1 below) Arsinoe is also a name of a minor character in the House of Atreus (in one version it is the name of the nurse who saved Orestes, Pindar *Pythian* XI 17), so perhaps the name was chosen to help to create the tragic or mock-tragic atmosphere of the episode of Demainete.

7. μεγάλη: sc. ταῦτα.

7. γνωρίμην: The Budé apparatus reports "γνωρίμην mT : -ον ZA." The Budé prints the former, A. Colonna the latter. Colonna is right: a corruption from a two to a three termination declension for an adjective is in harmony with the development of spoken, and some written Greek, and therefore is a more likely copyist's error than a corruption in the reverse direction. Besides, Heliodoros is normally conservative in this matter, and in fact has αἱ γνώριμοι at I 14.6.

8. δεύτερος . . . πλοῦς: This metaphor for a second attempt using alternative means is rather common in classical Greek, as the examples in LSJ s.v. πλόος 3 show.

8. εἰ δὲ τύχοις ὧν βούλει, μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς σχολάσαι τὸν ἔρωτα: τὸν ἔρωτα, which is certainly the subject of σχολάζω, is a personification, and should be printed with a capital letter, since the subject of this verb is always a person (or, rarely, a place), and never an emotion.

8. κόρος γὰρ Ἔρωτος τῶν ἔργων τὸ τέλος: It is safest to take Ἔρωτος as a personification, since it must be taken thus in the previous clause (v. the preceding note).

8. ἐναπομείνειεν: The compound is common in the writers of the fourth century, and later; it is extremely rare earlier, and rare in non-Christian writers. Particularly common in John Chrysostom and Basil, it is also found in Oribasios, Nemesios, Eusebios, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzenos, Athanasios, Didymus Caecus, Theodoret and pseudo-Macrinus. Before the fourth century it is attested only in the following places: it is in the printed texts of Ailian *Nat. Anim.* XIV 23 (end), but appears in Hercher's 1864 Teubner in the list of *mutationes*, so is presumably a conjecture found in none of the MSS; it appears also twice in Clement; once each in two works doubtfully attributed to Origen (*Selecta in Psalmos* PG 12.1536; *Fr. in Psalm.* 1-150 ed. Pitra 125,4,5.7); in *Acta Joannis* 71.2 (2nd century); and once in Soranos (Corp. Med. Graec. IV) *Gynaecorum* 1.61.3 (The Trajanic date is based mainly on the entry for Soranos in the Suda.)

§16

Demainete agrees to Thisbe's plan. Thisbe then clandestinely tells Aristippos that Demainete is having an affair, and promises to help Aristippos catch her in the act.

1. Τελέδημον: Heliodoros may have chosen this name to add to the tragic atmosphere of the story of Demainete generated by the implicit comparison with Phaedra in Euripides *Hippolytos* and the allusion to Orestes in Aischylos *Eumenides* (v. on I 14.6 Ἐρινύες above): Teledamos was a son of Agamemnon and Klytaemnestra; Pausanias mentions that he had a grave at Mycenae (II 16.6). The only other literary antecedent of the name is the Argive Teledamos listed by Demosthenes (*De cor.* 295) among those who betrayed their fellow citizens to Philip for profit.

5. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐπιδείξειας φησὶν ὁ Ἀρίστιππος· σοὶ μὲν ἐλευθερίας μισθὸς ἀποκείσεται: The emendation of Koraes (1804), ἐλευθερία, is attractive, but the manuscript reading ἐλευθερίας does not really need to be emended. This emendation was printed by Bekker, but not by Colonna or the editors of the Budé. The latter omit it from their apparatus. Normal Greek usage is for the word defining μισθός to be in the same case as (i.e. in apposition to) μισθός. The defining genitive of the MSS reading seems unparalleled in Greek. Heliodoros follows conventional usage at III 18.1 (quoted by Koraes (1804)) and IV 8.6; also, a nominative is used in reply to the

question, ‘what will be the μισθός?’ at II 23.3 and VII 23.4. Heliodoros seems to have known Latin (v. p27), so it is possible that the construction here is modelled on a common construction of the Latin word *praemium* (TLL x p.720, sv. *praemium* appendix); the closest Latin parallels give enough support to the MSS reading to justify an editor in printing it, and placing the emendation in the apparatus, not the text: Sisenna Fr. 43, in T. Peter (1916) p282, “seruulum eius praemio libertatis inductum magno cum tumultu conventum in populum produxit armatum.”; Justinian *Digest* ed. Mommsen II 469 1.27, “Macrinus libro tertio ad Sabinum. qui ob necem detectam domini praemium libertatis consequitur, fit orcinus libertus.”

5. ὥς πάλαι γε σμύχομαι ἐν ἑμαυτῷ: σμύχω is an Homeric word which means “to burn, to smoulder”. (The definition of σμύχοιτο by Apollonios and Hesychios as ἀφανίζοιτο is presumably based on an erroneous gloss on II. XXII 411.) The verb is used metaphorically of love by Moschos (II 4) and Theocritos (κατασμύχω III 18), but the extension of the metaphorical use of words denoting heat or fire to emotions other than love seems to have been predominantly a Christian phenomenon (cf. πυρακτουμένη at II 9.1, discussed above, p18). The use of σμύχω and its compounds for emotions is, with the exceptions of the examples already given, restricted to Christian writers of the fourth century or later (although medical writers use them for fever). ὑποσμύχω, διασμύχω and σμύχω are used of emotion by Gregory Nyssenus, Gregory Nazianzenus, Athanasios and Basil (always in the active where the subject is personal).

§17

Thisbe led Demainete to Arsinoe’s bed, as planned, then led Aristippos into the bedroom, shouting that Demainete’s lover had escaped. Aristippos led away Demainete, who preempted punishment by jumping to her death. Aristippos, realizing Knemon is innocent, was trying to get him recalled from exile at the time Charias left Athens, and Charias knows no more.

Demainete, who effected Knemon’s conviction by deceit, becomes herself the victim of deceit. On this morally satisfying note the story set in Knemon’s Athens ends, and the reader is returned to the situation of the main characters of the *Aithiopika*.

1. ἤδη δὲ ἐσπέρας οὔσης ἀναλαβοῦσα ἤγεν οὐ συνετέτακτο: Although both A. Colonna and the Budé print this, which is the reading of all the MSS reported, Rattenbury wanted to emend to ἡ δὲ or ἡ δὲ ἤδη. The change of subject really does need to be indicated, and one of Rattenbury’s suggestions

should have been adopted: perhaps the second could have been corrupted more easily than the first, and is thus slightly preferable.

2. τῶν Ἀφροδίτης: The only occurrence of this rare expression which certainly precedes the fourth century is Achilles Tatios VIII 16.1. It is argued that Heliodoros was familiar with Achilles Tatios (in the excursus on the Boukoloι, p97f) so he may owe this phrase to him. The following list of the other attestations is complete: Heliodoros IV 18.5; Xenophon of Ephesos I 9.9 (a conjectural reading without manuscript authority); Diogenes Laertios *Vitae* VI 69 (the third century date is far from certain). Scholia in Lucian ed. H. Rabe 35.2 p164; Libanios *Or.* XVIII 179; V 29; Themistios *Or.* XIII (Ἐρωτικός) 177a 7.

Ellipse of a noun, where an article is followed directly by a dependent genitive, is not common. Schwyzer-Debrunner II 117, list it under 'Adnominalen Pertinentiv'; examples may be found in Kühner-Gerth I §403 p269f.

2. τοῦ μὴ γνωρισθῆναι αὐτὴν: There is another example of a final clause of this type without ἔνεκα at I 24.2: v. note ad loc.

3. πίνει δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐν γειτόνων: Read ἐκ γειτόνων. Here (and at V 22.2) the MSS have ἐκ γειτόνων, and the Budé editors have adopted this unnecessary emendation of S.A. Naber *Mnemosyne* N.S. I (1873) 145-169; 313-353. ἐν γειτόνων is attested in Lucian, Athanasios (once), Themistios (once), and Synesios (once). ἐκ γειτόνων, used adverbially with οἰκέω and similar verbs, is attested in several times in John Chrysostom, Eutropios, Theodoret, Sozomenos. In addition, the phrase οἱ ἐκ γειτόνων and similar phrases is attested in some of these, and in Basil, Athanasios, Eusebios, Synesios, Palladios, and Libanios. Neither ἐκ γειτόνων nor ἐν γειτόνων are ever used adverbially in the context of hospitality except here and Heliodoros V 22.2. Therefore the MSS ἐκ γειτόνων is at least as likely as Naber's emendation, and is among the lexical usages which support a fourth century date for the *Aithiopika*.

5. ἔνθα τοῖς ἥρωσιν οἱ πολέμαρχοι τὸ πάτριον ἐναγίζουσιν: ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος θύει μὲν θυσίας τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ ἀγροτέραι καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ, διατίθῃσι δ' ἄγωνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον (καὶ) τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἀρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ἐναγίσματα ποιεῖ. Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 58.1 ed. M. Chambers (1986). The sacrifice to Artemis was to celebrate the victory at Marathon. v. P.J. Rhodes (1993) ad loc., and Rhodes' Addenda ad loc. in the 2nd ed.

§18

Thyamis, the bandit chief, has a dream about Isis which he interprets to mean that he will marry Charikleia.

1. καὶ ἄμα ἐδάκρυεν κτλ.: For the idea of crying for one's own grief when hearing of another's, cf. Il. XIX 301-2, and C.W. Macleod (1982) 4-5; 5 n1.

1. ἐπιπτάς: In classical writers the aorist of ἐπιπέτομαι is ἐπεπτόμην. The disappearance of the middle voice from the living language led to progressively more inconsistency in the use of voices in Hellenistic Greek literature, particularly in the future and aorist tenses, with middle forms used where one would expect active and *vice versa*; v. A.N. Jhannaris 1897 §§1478-1486. The many places where Heliodoros has apparently used the wrong voice are listed by F. Barber (1968).

2. Θύαμις: This is the name of a river: Thucydides I 46.4-5, ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις ποταμός, ὀρίζων τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην, ὧν ἐντὸς ἡ ἄκρα ἀνέχει τὸ Χειμέρινον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοι τῆς ἡπείρου ἐνταῦθα ὀρμίζονταί τε καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο. It is difficult to explain why Heliodoros named the leader of the bandits after a river, apart from the name's martial association from Thucydides. As a personal name it is found nowhere except here, and Nonnos XXVI 181, where it is the name of the leader of the Kuraco tribe (who have something in common with the Boukoloι in that they fight from small boats), and Nonnos XXXII 186, where Thyamis is a warrior.

2-5. The Dream of Thyamis: Many dreams are reported in Heliodoros (I 18.4; II 16.1-2; II 20.4; IV 14.2; IV 16.7; V 22.1-3; VII 11.2 (a pretended dream); VIII 11.2-3; IX 25.1; X 3.1;) and in the other Greek novelists (Chariton I 12.5; II 1.2; II 3.5; II 9.6; III 7.4; IV 1.1; V 5.5; VI 2.2 (a pretended dream); VI 7.1 (perhaps the king's imagination rather than a dream); Xenophon I 12.4; II 8.2; V 8.5-6; Achilles Tatios I 13.4; I 6.5-6; II 11.1; II 13.2 (perhaps imagination rather than dreaming); II 23.5; IV 1.6; IV 15.3, referred to at IV 17.3; VII 14.5; Longos I 7.2; II 10.1; II 23.1-5, referred to at II 30.4; III 17.1-2; III 27.1-5; IV 34.1; IV 35.5.)

A few of the dreams are not significant for predicting the future or directing action; these might be described as 'wish-fulfilment' or 'fear-fulfilment' dreams. Artemidoros discusses such dreams at I 4; in IV *prooemium* he calls such dreams ἐνύπνια to distinguish them from significant dreams, ὄνειροι. Macrobius (*Comm.* I 3.2) preserves the distinction (the Latin equivalent of ἐνύπνια is *insomnia* pl.), but the words for dreams seem to be used indiscriminately by the novelists, and by Synesios *De insomniis*. An example of a 'fear-fulfilment' dream is perhaps the dream that Knemon has of being

pursued by the bandit Thermouthis (Heliodoros II 20.4). A 'wish-fulfilment' dream is Longos II 10.1, ἐπὶ τούτοις λογισμοῖς οἷον εἰκὸς καὶ ὀνείρατα ἐώρων ἐρωτικά, τὰ φιλήματα τὰς περιβολάς· καὶ ὅσα δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν οὐκ ἔπραξαν, ταῦτα ὄναρ ἔπραξαν. These dreams are a way in which the novelist can communicate the state of mind of the dreamer. They are rare in the novels.

The majority of dreams in the novels are significant ones. Dreams which predict the future, or guide the dreamer (rather than reflecting the dreamer's current thoughts) are described by Artemidoros as ὄνειροι. All of the dreams in Longos apart from the one quoted above are explicitly communications from the Nymphs. The divine origin of significant dreams is probably behind the description of the dream in the present passage as ὄναρ . . . θεῖον (I 18.3); (Heliodoros is telling his readers that the dream is significant - to describe it as θεῖον simply because Isis appears in it would be uncharacteristically redundant for our author.)

Many dreams in the novels have meanings which are transparent. Either the dreamer sees a person or god who gives a message, as when Odysseus, unmistakably identified by the context and his appearance, upbraids Kalasiris for failing to sacrifice to him (Heliodoros V 22.1-3); or the meaning, though visual, is explicit. For example, at Longos I 7.2 the symbolism of the Nymphs handing Daphnis and Chloe to a boy who is obviously Cupid, and who touches them both with the same arrow, is clear enough.

G.W. Bowersock (1994) in the chapter 'The Reality of Dreams' (77-98) complains (90-91) "Although Artemidoros devotes considerable attention to the appearance of deities in dreams he has no interest at all in the advice that they may give." This is because such advice does not need interpretation. If the advice is couched in oracular language then it must be interpreted as would any other oracle, and the interpretation is outside the scope of oneirocriticism. Artemidoros says that when a medical treatment is communicated in a dream it is to be interpreted literally (IV 22). He also says that gods always tell the truth, but that they speak in riddles more often than they speak plainly (IV 71).

In the novels the gods speak plainly in dreams more often than they speak in riddles. In Heliodoros there is one other dream (besides the present one) which contains a riddling communication. This is where Kalasiris appears independently to Theagenes and Charikleia on the same night (VIII 11.2-3). S. Bartsch (1989) in her chapter 'Dreams and Oracles' (80-108), discussing Achilles Tatios and Heliodoros, emphasizes that "... it is the very incorrect interpretation that sets in motion the events in the narrative that will eventually lead to the fulfilment of the dream or oracle's deeper meaning, or that of an

earlier dream or oracle.” (85); her approach is anticipated in the concise note of J.R. Morgan (1978) ad. IX 25.1.

There are three dreams in Heliodoros with allegorical symbolism. When Charikles dreams that an eagle from Apollo snatches away Charikleia (IV 14.2) Kalasiris understands the dream, but Charikles misunderstands it, particularly after Kalasiris’ deliberately misleading interpretation. Charikleia dreams that her eye is put out (II 16.1-2). Her initial interpretation is contradicted by Knemon who offers the interpretation of this symbol which is found in Artemidoros (I 26), that is, that it indicates the death of a parent. This is the only one of the interpretations suggested in the text which could be regarded as being fulfilled in the narrative, in that the death of Kalasiris is the death of a surrogate father, as J.J. Winkler (YCS 1982 114-117) argues.

The dream of Thyamis in the present passage (also discussed in detail by J.J. Winkler YCS 27 1982 117-118) contains both a direct communication from the goddess and a symbolic element. The description of the temple and its furniture, if it is not ‘background colour’ otherwise foreign to dreams in the novels, is symbolic. We cannot be certain that interpretation of the details which Artemidoros gives is the one Heliodoros had in mind, but it does fit the situation perfectly. The relevant passage in Artemidoros is II 39 (ed. Pack 175, 8-16): Σάραπις καὶ Ἴσις καὶ Ἄνουβις καὶ Ἀρποκράτης αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ μυστήρια καὶ πᾶς ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγος καὶ τῶν τούτοις συννάων τε καὶ συμβῶμων θεῶν ταραχὰς καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἀπειλὰς καὶ περιστάσεις σημαίνουσιν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ παρὰ προσδοκίαν καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας σώζουσιν· ἀεὶ γὰρ σωτῆρες <εἶναι> νενοήσμενοι εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν εἰς πάντα ἀφιγμένοι καὶ <εἰς> ἔσχατον ἐλθόντων κίνδυνον, τοὺς δὲ ἤδη ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὄντας αὐτίκα μάλα σώζουσιν. In the narrative, after great difficulties and mortal danger Thyamis eventually regains his rightful priesthood.

It was argued by S. MacAlister in a seminar at the Institute of Classical Studies, London (8 Feb. 1996) that many dreams in Greek novels, this one included, are interpreted by the characters as allegorical, but subsequently turn out to have represented the future in a direct, non-allegorical way (in other words, they turn out to be dreams of the type that Artemidoros called *theorematic*). The dream of Persinna that she has a daughter is a particularly clear example of this device (Heliodoros X 3.1). It was argued that the present dream turns out to be *theorematic* when Thyamis is inducted as priest of Isis in Memphis (VII 8.7-9.1). No induction ceremony is described, but since MacAlister demonstrated that other dreams are used in this way in the Greek novel the argument is credible.

The dream of Thyamis is among the many dreams in the novels which occur after a night of sleeplessness (Heliodoros I 18.4; II 16.1 II 20.4; Chariton II 9.6; IV 1.1; VI 7.1; Achilles Tatios I 6.5-6.). The sleeplessness indicates the dreamers' agitation. We cannot tell what significance, if any, it has for the interpretation of the dream. Artemidoros appears to promise a discussion of sleeplessness (I 10, ed. Pack 19, 19), but none is preserved.

2. ὑπό τινων ὄνειράτων πεπλανημένων τεταραγμένος: The same verb, and the genitive form ὄνειράτων (rather than the more usual ὄνειροι) are used by Herodotos, VII 16.2, for dreams: ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτά ἐστι οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἔτεσι σεῦ πολλοῖσι πρεσβύτερος ἔων· πεπλανῆσθαι αὐταὶ μάλιστα ἐώθασι [αἱ] ὄψεις [τῶν] ὄνειράτων, τὰ τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει. Here Artabanos is telling Xerxes that his dream discouraging the expedition to Greece is misleading; perhaps this influenced Herodotos when he chose to use πλανάω (which in the active means 'to lead astray'), although the general point is a distinction between dreams which are sent by a god and those which are merely wandering around. In the wider context the dream warned Xerxes of the misfortune which awaited his expedition, but he could not fully understand or heed it (as Artabanos' dream makes clear, VII 17.2). By this allusion Heliodoros hints more about the future of the plot than Thyamis and the other characters can know.

Heliodoros refers to the same dream as ὄνειρατα (here), τὸ ὄναρ (I 19.1, I 30.4), and τὸ ἐνύπνιον (I 23.2): although he knew something about the system of dream interpretation described by Artemidoros, there is no indication that he was familiar with Artemidoros' technical vocabulary. Here, as often, Heliodoros varies his vocabulary apparently for no other reason than that he regarded variation as stylistically desirable.

3. καθ' ὃν γὰρ καιρὸν ἀλεκτρυόνες ᾄδουσιν, εἴτε (ὡς λόγος) κτλ.: In spite of the ὡς λόγος the explanations for the crowing of the cocks are not among those found elsewhere in Greek and Roman literature, which are collected under ἀλεκτρυόν in D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (1936). The closest parallel with the present passage is Sophokles *Electra* 17-18: ὡς ἡμῖν ἤδη λαμπρὸν ἡλίου σέλας / ἐφ' ἃ κινεῖ φθέγματ' ὄρνιθων σαφῆ . . .

The alternative natural and divine explanations for the crowing of cocks is an expression of uncertainty of a kind common in Heliodoros. J.J. Winkler (YCS 1982 121-129) catalogues such 'amphibolies', discussing this one in detail; he regards amphibolies as of key importance in Heliodoros' narrative strategy: his argument is too subtle to summarize here. J.R. Morgan (1978 lxi-lxxix, and 1982) suggests that expressions of uncertainty in Heliodoros contribute to 'realism' in as much as uncertainty is appropriate to the narrator of real historical events, but not to the presumably 'omnipotent' novelist.

'omniscient'

§19

Thyamis calls a meeting of his bandits, and tells Knemon to bring Theagenes and Charikleia. He announces that he would like to marry Charikleia, but will ask her permission first.

1. **λάφυρα τὰ σκῦλα σεμνότερον ὀνομάζων:** ‘Calling the σκῦλα “λάφυρα”’ (The note in the Budé seems to get it the other way round, which cannot be right, as the article with σκῦλα shows.) Hesychios: λάφυρα· τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ζώντων λαμβανόμενα. τὰ δὲ τεθνεώτων αὐτῶν, σκῦλα. (The definition is repeated in the *Etymologicum Magnum*.) This distinction, which is probably the result of a desire for tidiness on the part of the lexicographers, is not generally observed at any period, but a lexicon like Hesychios is probably the source of the statement in the present passage. Before the imperial period both words are found exclusively in tragedy. It is true that σκῦλα primarily means ‘arms taken from the corpse of a defeated enemy’, but an examination of the occurrences of λάφυρα in tragedy (Aischylos *Ag.* 578; *Septem* 277, 479; Sophokles *Ajax* 93; *Trachiniai* 646; Euripides *HF* 417; *Troades* 1124; *Rhesos* 179) reveals only one where the spoil is evidently taken from the living (Aischylos *Septem* 479).

2. **εἴ τι δύναιτο αὐτοῖς συμπράττειν:** Once again the Budé editors have slipped up by relying too much on the readings of C. The correct reading, preserved in VMZAT, is δύναιτο. For a condition expressing a wish (Theagenes and Charikleia *hope* he may be able to help them, but cannot be sure) optative is normal even in direct discourse (Kühner-Gerth II p477-480); the present clause is in virtual indirect discourse, and only the optative is possible (W.W. Goodwin (1889) §694-5).

2. **οὐ παντάπασι βάρβαρον εἶναι τὰ ἦθη τὸν λήσταρχον ἐγγυώμενος:** The character of Thyamis does in fact turn out to be partly but not wholly barbarous, as Knemon says. Several points about the respective natures of Greeks and barbarians are made or are implied in the *Aithiopika*. One of the statements about the nature of the barbarian is made in the context of the attempt by Thyamis to kill Charikleia (I 30.6). On the other hand, since the term ‘barbarian’ is always pejorative in the *Aithiopika* and the other Greek novels the good features of Thyamis, such as his piety (cf. I 28.1 and note ad loc.) and his bravery in battle (cf. I 32.1-2) are perhaps to be seen as appropriate behaviour for a Greek. Furthermore it is argued at J.W. Birchall (GCN VII 1996) that his eloquence indicates that he is cultured. Moreover, he is the only character in the *Aithiopika* who is implied to know some Greek without being good at it (I 5.2, I 19.3); this too shows that he is on a borderline between barbarians and Greeks.

3. **συνίη γὰρ ἤδη τῶν Αἰγυπτίων**: This is Bekker's emendation for the **συνίησι** (**συνίει** T) of the MSS. **συνίησι** does not really make sense, and it seems right to emend. Koraes emends **συνίη τι**, presumably preferring it to **συνίη** alone on the grounds it is palaeographically easier (although he does not say this.) Prof. Maehler suggested to me that **συνίησι** may have arisen as a result of a superscript variant: **συνίη**^{ει} copied as **συνίησι**.

4. **ἐγὼ γάρ, ὥς ἴστε, παῖς μὲν προφήτου τοῦ ἐν Μέμφει γεγονώς**: **προφήτης** is used throughout the *Aithiopika* ^{δε} describe Kalasiris (who turns out to be the father of Thyamis). It was used in Greek literature, and in Greek documents from Egypt, for the highest ranking priests in Egypt.

The basic discussion of the ranks of priest in Ptolemaic Egypt and the Greek names for them is W. Otto (1905, 1908) I 75ff. **προφήτης** was a Greek equivalent for the Egyptian word *hm-ntr*. We have no pre-Ptolemaic examples of **προφήτης** used to mean an Egyptian priest, but it does not follow that a Greek writer who uses **προφήτης** of a pre-Ptolemaic priest is guilty of anachronism. On the equivalence the current state of knowledge is summed up by F. Daumas (1952), 181 n1: "Cf. copte **ONT**. Les «prophètes» (**προφήται**) ont existé, semble-t-il, en Grèce bien avant qu'on ait cherché à désigner certains prêtres égyptiens. C'étaient «les interprètes» de la volonté des dieux. Par la suite, ils semblaient, à l'époque hellénistique, avoir surtout désigné des membres assez élevés des clergés orientaux. L'équivalence avec le *hm-ntr* égyptien vient peut-être seulement de ce que le mot avait perdu son sens trop précis d'«interprète», car il ne semble pas que le *hm-ntr* ait eu spécialement ce rôle. Mais ce n'est qu'une hypothèse.

"Sur les «prophètes», c'est Clément d'Alexandrie (*Stromates* I.VI.ch. iv, 35-37. Cf. A. Deiber (1904) p.109 et sq.) qui nous donne les renseignements les plus circonstanciés. C'étaient eux en particulier les théologiens des temples. Ils jouaient également un grand rôle dans le culte (sacrifices et processions); cf. W. Otto (1905, 1908) op. cit. 77 et sq. Le sens ancien de *hm-ntr* pourrait bien être celui qu'indique M. Drioton (1942): «l'esclave du dieu», c'est-à-dire celui qui rend au dieu les devoirs que les esclaves rendent à leur maître dans l'intimité de sa maison. Ces seraient donc ceux qui s'avance dans le sanctuaire pour les liturgies du culte divin journalier ou solennel." A general picture of the structure and activities of the Egyptian priesthood is given by S. Sauneron (1988), where **προφήτης** is discussed on 63-65.

προφήτης for an Egyptian priest is found fairly frequently in documents (and is discussed in the Introduction to *P. Tebt* 291), but the literary attestations are few. There is a passing reference in Synesios *De providentia* 94D-95A. Porphyry *De abstinencia* IV 5-8 holds up Egyptian priests as models of abstinence; their devotion, self control and love of learning are praised. At the

end of the passage he identifies the προφήται among the higher ranking priests who alone practice philosophy. The virtues recommended in the *De abstinencia* are sufficiently close to those of Kalasiris to make it the most likely of the extant sources mentioning προφήται to have prompted Heliodoros to describe Kalasiris as προφήτης. Besides this there are three places where Clement of Alexandria mentions προφήται: μόνος οὗτος [Thales] δοκεῖ τοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων προφήταις συμβεβληκέναι, διδάσκαλος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲς ^{εἰς} ἀναγράφεται, . . . (*Stromata* I 14, ed. Stählin 39.23ff). φιλοσοφία τοίνυν πολυωφελές τι χρῆμα πάλαι μὲν ἤκμασε παρὰ βαρβάροις κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη διαλάμπασα. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἑλλήνας κατήλθεν. προέστησαν δ' αὐτῆς Αἰγυπτίων τε οἱ προφήται καὶ Ἀσσυρίων οἱ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Γαλατῶν οἱ Δρυῖδαι κτλ. (*Stromata* I 15, 45.21ff). ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ προφήτης ἔξεισι, προφανὲς τὸ ὑδρεῖον ἐγκεκολισμένος ᾧ ἔπονται οἱ τὴν ἔκπεμψιν τῶν ἄρτων βαστάζοντες οὗτος, ὡς ἂν προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τὰ ἱερατικὰ καλούμενα δέκα βιβλία ἐκμανθάνει (περιέχει δὲ περί τε νόμων καὶ θεῶν καὶ τῆς ὅλης παιδείας τῶν ἱερέων)· ὁ γάρ τοι προφήτης παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ τῆς διανομῆς τῶν προσόδων ἐπιστάτης ἐστίν. (*Stromata* VI 37.1-2, 449.21ff).

4. ἀδελφοῦ . . . παρανομήσαντος: The holder of office of προφήτης, which was normally passed from father to son, could enjoy considerable political power and remuneration, and competition for the office did arise. One of the Demotic stories in the so-called Inaros cycle concerns a dispute over the benefice of Amun at Thebes (for text and translation v. W. Spiegelberg 1910 8ff.).

5. τὰς μὲν εὖ γεγονυίας ἢ χρημάτων ἀφίεις ἢ . . . θεραπαίνας διανέμων: Read ἀφίεις not ἀφίεις. The Budé editors probably read the ἀφίεις of C here rather than the ἀφίεις of the other MSS partly because of their liking for C, and partly because they wanted the tense to be the same as that of the parallel διανέμων at the end of the sentence. Their preference for C can be set aside. Moreover, a difference of tenses can be defended on the grounds that διανέμων describes a continuous relationship with the captives, whereas the action of ἀφίεις, 'sending away', is clearly a simple and completed one. On balance ἀφίεις should be preferred. A similar case, a variant in C to harmonize the tense of two parallel participles is rightly rejected by the Budé editors at I 21.3 (ἐπισείουσα); there they have presumably noticed that the difference of tense gives greater semantic precision.

7. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν πάνδημον Ἀφροδίτην τὸ προφητικὸν ἀτιμάζει γένος: Πάνδημος should be printed with a capital to signal that it is not simply the adjective meaning 'vulgar'. The reference here is probably not primarily to Pandemos as a cult title (attested in *Inscripfen Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* Erythrai 201, 3rd century B.C.; 32.5; Mylasa I 593.2,

1st century A.D.; and elsewhere). The reference here is probably to the distinction made between the good (Οὐράνιος) and the bad (Πάνδημος) love in the speech of Pausanias, Plato *Symposium* 180c-185c: ὁ μὲν οὖν [sc. Ἔρως] τῆς Πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης ὡς ἀληθῶς πάνδημός ἐστι καὶ ἐξεργάζεται ὅτι ἂν τύχη· καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν οἱ φαῦλοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐρῶσιν (181a7-b1). For the mythological background to the title 'Pandemos' v. *Symposium* 180d and K.J. Dover (1980) ad 180d6.

Nonetheless, there were cults which maintained the distinction elaborated in the *Symposium*, where three distinct forms of Aphrodite were honoured simultaneously, according to Pausanias the Geographer: (of Megalopolis in Arcadia) ἐρείπια δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἦν τὸ ἱερόν, πλὴν ὅσον πρόναός τε ἐλείπετο ἔτι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀριθμὸν τρία, ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ Οὐρανία, τῇ δ' ἐστὶ Πάνδημος, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐτίθεντο· (VIII 32.2); (of Thebes in Boeotia) Ἀφροδίτης δὲ Θηβαίοις ξόανά ἐστιν οὕτω δὴ ἀρχαῖα ὥστε καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἀρμονίας εἶναί φασιν, ἐργασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκροστολίων ἃ ταῖς Κάδμου ναυσὶν ἦν ξύλου πεποιημένα. καλοῦσι δὲ Οὐρανίαν, τὴν δὲ αὐτῶν Πάνδημον καὶ Ἀποστροφίαν τὴν τρίτην· ἔθετο δὲ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἡ Ἀρμονία, τὴν μὲν Οὐρανίαν ἐπὶ ἔρωτι καθαρῷ καὶ ἀπαλλαγμένῳ πόθου σωμάτων, Πάνδημον ἐπὶ ταῖς μίξεσι, τρίτῃ δὲ Ἀποστροφίαν, ἵνα ἐπιθυμίας τε ἀνόμου καὶ ἔργων ἀνοσίων ἀποτρέφῃ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐν βαρβάροις ἠπίστατο ἡ Ἀρμονία, τὰ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἤδη τετολμημένα, ὅποια καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀδωνίδος μητρὶ καὶ ἐς Φαίδραν τε τὴν Μίνω καὶ ἐς τὸν Θρᾶκα Τηρέα ἄδετα.. (IX 16.3-4).

In the second passage quoted above, and at I 22.3, Pausanias appears to imply that it was Aphrodite Pandemos who led astray Phaidra in the story of Hippolytos. For the reader aware of this idea, the juxtaposition of the story of the Phaidra-like Demainete with Thyamis' rejection of Aphrodite Pandemos is striking.

Apuleius (*Apol.* 12) refers to the twin Venuses as a Platonic concept, and calls them *vulgaria* and *caelites*. The latter, he says, is restricted to a small number of people. C. Schlam *TAPhA* 101 (1970) 477-487, sees a reference to Venus *vulgaria* in the lovemaking at *Met.* II 15-17 (with Fotis) and 40-19-22 (with the *matrona*). He writes, "In the interim, the male partner has been transformed. The form of an ass is, however, the perfect expression of Lucius' sexuality." (481). Apuleius does not follow Plato in restricting *caelites* to homosexual love, and the absence of an evidently homosexual meaning to Thyamis' words here does not preclude Pandemos from being a Platonic reference.

It seems likely that Heliodoros' treatment of the science of love is influenced by the way similar ideas are presented by Achilles Tatios (v. below on I 26.3).

Achilles Tatios introduces the contrast between κάλλος οὐράνιον and κάλλος πάνδημον (II 36) specifically in a *controversia* about the merits of homosexual and heterosexual love. When a reader compares this with the words of Thyamis where Urania too is heterosexual, Heliodoros' silence about homosexuality, the exclusion of any mention of it from the *Aithiopika*, seems all the more pointed.

7. οὐ τῆς καθ' ἡδονὴν χρείας: The apparatus in the Budé show that Rattenbury supported the conjectural addition of χάριν proposed by H. Richards *CR* 20 (1906) 109-113. χάριν seems to be required, and its visual similarity with χρείας makes it credible that a copyist omitted it. However, there are no MS variants reported at this point, and it is best to keep the suggestion of χάριν in the apparatus rather than run the risk of restoring what *should* have been in Heliodoros' autograph.

§20

Thyamis explains why he regards Charikleia as a suitable wife for him.

1. πρῶτον μὲν εὐγενὴς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ: The sense of εὐγενής here cannot be determined precisely. Heliodoros, like Chariton (but not the other extant Greek novelists) is fond of describing his hero and heroine as εὐγενής. The words εὐγενής and εὐγενεία are favoured by Euripides (but are not common in the other dramatists); rare in Plato, they are much used by Aristotle, who offers a definition at *Rhet.* I 5.5 based on the wealth, fame and virtue of the ancestors; (for other contemporary definitions, which are similar, v. E.M. Cope (1877) ad loc.) Dio Chrysostom in his *Περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας* distinguishes εὐγενής as of birth, and γενναῖος as of quality of character (*Orat.* XV 243B, ed. de Budé II 301 l.25ff). However, in Plutarch and in some of Heliodoros' fourth century Christian contemporaries (e.g. John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzos, Gregory of Nyssea, Theodoret) who use the word a great deal, εὐγενής is not so clearly defined. More often than not it does entail the idea of good character, as it does here; but it frequently entails also, or only, the idea of good birth, or Greekness, or both.

2. πῶς οὐ τὴν βελτίονα περὶ αὐτῆς εἰκότως παρίστησι φαντασίαν: τὴν βελτίονα . . . φαντασίαν in this context can only mean something like 'a picture of her in happier circumstances.' It is tempting to translate φαντασία as 'judgement' or 'opinion' or 'assumption', as some modern translators have. However, the word usually has some connotation of the visual, or at least of perception, and the reader naturally wonders why it has been chosen rather than a more usual word for judgement (such as δόξα); besides, if it meant 'opinion' it would be hard to explain why the comparative βελτίονα was

preferred (better than what?). Whatever translation is adopted the turn of phrase is an odd one. The psychological realism with which Heliodoros depicts Thyamis' passion perhaps justifies the reader to think that by using the phrase Thyamis, unintentionally and in contradiction to his professed purity, reveals that he feels the image of Charikleia in his amorous imagination is better than the modest image she presents to the world.

§21

The bandits agree to the marriage. When Charikleia is asked about it modesty makes her reluctant to reply. She refers to Theagenes as her brother.

3. ἐπισείουσα: on the choice of reading v. the note on I 19.5.

§22

Charikleia tells that she and Theagenes are priest and priestess of Artemis and Apollo, and were blown off course on the way to Delos. She agrees to marry Thyamis but asks for the wedding to be delayed until she can go to a shrine of Apollo and lay aside her priesthood.

2. γένος μὲν ἔσμεν Ἴωνες: The quasi-adverbial γένος lacks the article also at Heliodoros II 34.2; VIII 17.3; Philostratos *Life of Apollonios* III 20; and Herodotos I 6, Κροῖστος ἠΰλυδός μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἑθνέων κτλ. Heliodoros was almost certainly aware that the latter passage was famous for this feature and for its compressed style (some ancient discussions are quoted in B. Rosen *Herodotos* I Teubner, 1987, ad loc.)

2. οὐμός: Read ὁ ἐμός. οὐμός is the reading of CBT, ὁ ἐμός of VMZA. Elsewhere the MSS have only ὁ ἐμός (I 10.2; VI 13.3; IX 21.2). οὐμός has crept in here because here alone the phrase is preceded by a vowel, and δὲ ὁ ἐμός could be regarded as an unacceptable case of hiatus. It is almost impossible to decide which reading is best. Perhaps ὁ ἐμός is to be preferred on the grounds that the phrase does not offend a conventional definition of hiatus; that a similar sequence of vowels is produced by ὁ ἥλιος preceded by καὶ at Heliodoros III 4.8 and by οὐδ' at VII 21.2; and, for what it is worth, that the MSS with ὁ ἐμός tend to be more reliable than those with οὐμός. Other attestations for the phrase ὁ ἐμός ἀδελφός: Dem. XLVIII 10, 20; Plat. *Euthyd.* 297 e 2; Philostratos *Life of Apollonios* I 31; only the first of these is preceded by a vowel. Other attestations for οὐμός ἀδελφός: Plut. *Per.* 28.6; Greg. Naz. *De vita sua* ed. C. Jungck 368; Libanios *Decl.* XLVII 1.11 (only the first of these is not preceded by a vowel).

4. κλυδώνιον ἄθρόον ἐμπεσὼν καὶ ἄνεμος ἐξώστης καὶ λαίλαπες συμμιγείς καὶ πρηστήρες τὴν θάλατταν καταιγίζοντες τὴν ναῦν τοῦ εὐθέως παραφέρουσι: Read ἄθρόωξ (v. below). Hesychios, κλυδώνιον· πέλαγος, χεῖμων, καὶ θόρυβος πραγμάτων. This diminutive is popular with certain fourth century A.D. prose writers, several of whom admitted verse words, but rare in earlier Greek. There are only four attestations before the imperial period: Aischylos *Th.* 795; *Ch.* 183; Euripides *Hecuba* 48; *Helen* 1209. It is probable that the diminutive was used in tragedy *metri grata* for κλύδων, and imported into prose by writers who perceived it as part of tragic vocabulary.

The Budé editors' preference for ἄθρόον over ἄθρόως is probably right. The comparison they make with IV 7.7, where the same pair of variants is found, and they choose ἄθρόον, shows that they take ἄθρόον as an adverb, not an adjective used adverbially (which would be meaningless at IV 7.7). It is possible that a scribe changed ἄθρόως to ἄθρόον at IV 7.7 thinking that an adjective is required, because the word is juxtaposed to ὄγκον, which is parallel with a noun which *does* have a qualifying adjective: καὶ ἀπροφάσιστον ἀγρυπνίαν ὑφίσταται καὶ τὸν ὄγκον ἄθρόον καθήρηται. The same explanation would work for the present passage: κλυδώνιον at first appears to be parallel with ἄνεμος and λαίλαπες, although when the reader reaches παραφέρουσι it is clear that they are subjects of that verb. On the other hand, there are many places in Heliodoros where no MSS dissent from the form ἄθρόον for the adverb (references can be found s.v. in LRG), whereas ἄθρόως is never the reading of all the MSS, and on the whole it is easier to assume that Heliodoros utilized only one adverbial form of the word, so ἄθρόον is correct here and at IV 7.7.

καταιγίζοντες is the reading of C: most of the other MSS read καταιγίζουσαι, (-ουσι καὶ T), which was probably in the archetype. πρηστήρ otherwise seems only to be masculine. Since C is clearly interpolated to some extent, if not as much as A. Colonna supposes, it is tempting to take καταγίζοντες as a correction. Now if there is an apparent mistake of gender in the archetype, is an editor justified in correcting it? πρηστήρ is a rare word, and it perhaps as likely that Heliodoros got its gender wrong as it is that a copyist made a faulty 'correction'. Therefore it is perhaps better to follow A. Colonna and print καταιγίζουσαι, noting the variant of C in the apparatus.

4. ἡγόμεθα οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀήτου, πνέοντος ἡμέρας μὲν ἐπὶ νύκτας δὲ ἴσας: Here again the Budé editors follow C, and A. Colonna follows the other MSS with . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀεὶ πνέοντος . . . (with no comma). Prof. Maehler suggests to me that ἀεὶ (= "whichever way it was blowing", not "continually", συνεχῶς) might illustrate the previous sentence - the ship has been abandoned

to ἡ Τύχη. This would make better sense of the choice of connective, οὖν; on the whole αἰεῖ seems the preferable reading.

5. ὄφελον: ὄφελον CB / ὄφελον VMZAT. The former is classical, and survives into fourth century Christian writing. The latter is comparatively rare in classical Greek, but is the only form used in the Septuagint and the New Testament, and of the two forms, predominates in Christian writing by a factor of almost three to one. In view of the tendency for C to introduce uncalled for 'corrections', and of the other evidence for typically Christian usages in Heliodoros (v. p20) ὄφελον should probably be preferred.

§23

The crowd approve of Charikleia's speech, and Thyamis accepts the condition she makes.

2. τό ἐνύπνιον: On the dream, and the terms used for it cf. the notes ad I 18.2-5 and I 18.2 above.

2. ἐκοντί: Although adverbs in -τί are not peculiar to late Greek, ἐκοντί does seem to be. There are of course many texts where one could read ἐκόντι or ἐκοντί equally well. The list of texts where ἐκόντι is impossible, and ἐκοντί must be read is dominated by Christian writers of the fourth century (undoubted attestations of ἀκοντί are fewer than half a dozen). ἐκοντί occurs twenty-five times in the following fourth century Christian authors: Amphilochios, Theodoret, Didymos, John Chrysostom, Marcellos, Gregory of Nyssea, Basil, Orac. Sib. II 66 (?3rd-4th cent.). The earlier places where we must almost certainly read ἐκοντι as an adverb are Plut. *Mor.* 223 D 3; *Fab.* 5.2; Ps-Lucian *Charid.* 27; Josephos *A.J.* three times; Clement *Paed.* I 80.70; Dio Chrysostom *Or.* XLVIII 11.

§24

Thyamis orders his men to prepare to march to Memphis, and sends the captives back to their hut. Knemon leaves the hut to seek a herb.

2. καὶ τὸν Θεαγένην εἰς αἰδῶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὁμοδίαιτον ἐποιεῖτο: The meaning must be, '... he made Theagenes share his table out of respect for his sister.' ἐξ αἰδοῦς would be more natural, and it is difficult to see why Heliodoros preferred εἰς αἰδῶ. At Achilles Tatios I 10.3 (and nowhere else in Greek) the latter has a comparable, though not identical meaning: there it must mean 'in respect of a sense of shame'. Heliodoros seems to have had Achilles

Tatios in mind when he wrote about Thyamis' love for Charikleia (v. below on I 26.3), and this may explain the choice of phrase here.

In view of the way Heliodoros alludes to Xenophon *Kyropaideia* and *Anabasis* when he writes about Thyamis and his men (v. below on I 27), it is tempting to read ὁμοδίαιτον as an allusion to the Persian term ὁμοτράπεζος which Xenophon uses.

2. αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Χαρίκλειαν οὐδὲ ὁρᾶν τὰ πολλὰ διεγνώκει τοῦ μὴ ὑπέκκαυμα γίνεσθαι τοῦ ἐγκειμένου πόθου: A genitive articular infinitive used in a final sense without ἔνεκα is classical, chiefly Thucydidean, but becomes much commoner in Christian writers of the fourth century and later. For bibliography v. Schwyzer-Debrunner II p372 n8, to which may be added W.W. Goodwin (1889) §798. The most detailed discussion of the construction is in A.N. Jannaris (1897) pp483f., 578f.

§25

Theagenes laments Charikleia's speech to Thyamis, but she reassures him that she still prefers him. It becomes clear that what she told Thyamis was made up.

2. ἢ τί δέ: This is what A. Colonna prints, but it seems pleonastic. Read ἢ τί. The Budé editors report that MZT omit the δέ, but they keep it in the text, probably because they favour the MSS in which it appears (VCBA), especially C. If they were unhappy about the expression ἢ τί δέ, it would have been better to keep the ἢ of the MSS and print the variant which omits δέ. The phrase ἢ τί δέ is unattested in Greek (although reported in D-K II 414 as a conjecture), except at Dexippos (Comm. in Aristot. Graec. 4.2) 13.18, where it is less pleonastic.

3. τοσαύτην ἔχων ἐκ τῶν παρελθόντων τὴν κατ' ἐμοῦ διὰ τῶν ἔργων δοκιμασίαν: The choice of preposition is surprising: κατὰ + genitive of a person tends to mean 'against', and the object of δοκιμασία is usually a genitive with περί, or more often without a preposition. Nonetheless, κατὰ + genitive with virtually the same sense as περί + genitive, although not found elsewhere in Heliodoros, is classical (LSJ κατὰ A II 7), so the text need not be suspected.

3. <ἐμε> μεταβαλλομένην εὐρήσεις: The addition of the pronoun by the editors of the Budé is pedantic, and the style is more Heliodorean without it. The same idiom, a direct object expressed by a participle alone where ἐμε is implied, is used again by Charikleia a few lines below (πολλάκις μὲν

ἐπιχειροῦντα διωσαμένη); and is put into Knemon's mouth in I 11.1: οὐδὲν εἰδότα πύξ τε ἔπαιε καὶ παῖδας προσκαλεσάμενος μάστιξιν ἠκίζετο, μηδὲ τὸ κοινὸν δὴ τοῦτο διότι ξαινοίμην γινώσκοντα.

4. οὐδὲν οὕτω βίαιον: supply ἔστιν; or perhaps εἶναι, but if the clause is in indirect speech we have to assume that it depends on a verb meaning 'I say', not on ἀρνοῦμαι (because strictly speaking to get the required sense of 'I deny that there is anything so forceful' after ἀρνοῦμαι we would need something like μᾶλλον οὕτω βίαιον or τι οὕτω βίαιον).

4. γάμον ἔνθεσμον εἶ πη γένοιτο περισκοποῦσα: θεσμόν is used of marriage at Od. 23 296. However, the use of ἔνθεσμος in connection with marriage is, with the exception of this passage, confined to Christian writers of the fourth century and later (e.g. Asterius *Homilies* VI 4.2 = PG 40.245A; John Chrysostom *In illud*, 'Vidi Dominum' ed. J. Dumatier 3.3.24; Amphilochios *In mulierem peccatricem* 109 = PG 39.72C; Cyril of Jerusalem *Catecheses* IV 25 = PG 33.488A; Isidoros *Epistles* I 413 = PG 78.412C; John of Damascus *De haeresibus* 80 = PG 94.733C; Ps-Athenagoras the Apologist *On the Resurrection of the Dead* 23 = PG 6.1019A [on authenticity, and the late third / early fourth century date v. R.M. Grant *HTS* (1954) 121-129]). In fact the word ἔνθεσμος, although used occasionally in documents, is very little used at all in non-Christian writers (besides the present passage, the only such occurrences are, Hesychios s.v.; Hesychios s.v. νόμιμος; The Suda s.v.; LXX III *Ma.* 2.21; Ailian *NA* 13.4; Plutarch *Nicias* 6.6.4; Galen *De theriaca* ed. Kühn XIV 216, ἐνθέσμως).

6. ζηλοτυπίας τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀπάγον: The Budé apparatus reads "ζηλοτυπίας CBZT : post ἡμῖν VMA". The former gets into the Budé text, and more surprisingly into A. Colonna (1987). The latter is clearer, particularly when we bear in mind that the earliest readers probably had no punctuation, and obviates the danger of a reader taking ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀπάγον together.

§26

Charikleia assures Theagenes that she has no intention of marrying Thyamis, but that she made her promise to him only to buy time. She counsels caution.

The reaction of Theagenes to Charikleia's words, and her elucidation for him of her subterfuge, provide the first indication of their characters. Theagenes' jealous reaction does not turn out to be typical of him; what does turn out to be typical is his impulsiveness, whereas Charikleia consistently shows caution and foresight. The intensity of their passion for each other is another

characteristic which is sustained throughout the novel, and in the case of Theagenes this sometimes causes his impulsive reactions. Events show that in most instances Charikleia's caution and forethought have been wise, and Theagenes' impulsiveness foolish, especially when, as here, it leads to premature despair. These characteristics are reinforced, if not developed, at several points in the novel. Theagenes' passion and hasty despair come out particularly strongly when he enters the cave and jumps to the conclusion that Charikleia is dead (twice), II 1-4; and still in the cave, he behaves impulsively when he reacts aggressively to the appearance of Thermouthis, while the cautious Charikleia hides (II 13). Kalasiris restrains him from acting on impulse and rushing off to Charikleia as soon as he learns that she loves him (IV 6). She with her foresight overrules Theagenes' frankly suicidal impulsiveness when they are faced with fresh capture (V 6-7). The same impulsiveness is manifest when he behaves proudly towards Arsake (especially at VII 19); but Charikleia's good sense is displayed when, overruling Theagenes, she delays revealing that Hydaspes is her father (IX 24). Theagenes uses intelligent subterfuge when he tells Kybele that he and Charikleia are siblings - and his story is only a modified imitation of the fictions he has heard Charikleia tell Thyamis at I 22. Theagenes' unpremeditated and potentially dangerous action has beneficial consequences when he brings the runaway bull under control (X 28-29): to that extent this incident is exceptional. Related to his impulsiveness, perhaps, is the way he is easily impressed by Kalasiris' mantic shenanigans when he divines he is in love with Charikleia (III 17): Charikleia is much less impressed by such trickery (IV 5), and Kalasiris does not trouble with theatrical magic when he diagnoses *her* love (IV 10). Theagenes' impulsiveness is in harmony with his descent from Achilles (stated at II 34.4), whose impulsiveness was of course legendary. Kalasiris, with his cunning, and his propensity for storytelling, has an affinity with Odysseus, and it is natural for the reader to cast about for an Homeric character with whom to associate Charikleia: because of her fidelity and her subterfuge Penelope most obviously presents herself, but Heliodoros never underlines this association as he does for the link between Theagenes and Achilles.

2. περιβαλοῦσα: This is the reading of VMA, and is right; A. Colonna prints the reading of CBZT, περιλαβοῦσα, which *can* mean 'embrace', but is not otherwise found in Heliodoros, and is less good.

3. ὀρμὴν γὰρ, ὡς οἶσθα, κρατούσης ἐπιθυμίας μάχη μὲν ἀντίτυπος ἐπιτείνει, λόγος δὲ εἰκὼν καὶ πρὸς τὸ βούλημα συντρέχων τὴν πρώτην καὶ ζέουσιν φορὰν ἔστειλε καὶ τὸ κάτοξυ τῆς ὀρέξεως τῷ ἡδεῖ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας κατεύνασε: The same idea - that intense desire becomes more bearable when its satisfaction is promised - is expressed by Menelaos at Achilles Tatios IV, in a similar context: Leukippe has asked the

general Charmides for a few days' delay before she satisfies his desire when they reach Alexandria. Heliodoros seems to have depended on Achilles Tatios not only for his description of the Boukoloi (v. p97 above) but also for several of the quasi-scientific ideas about love which he uses, especially in his description of the feelings of Thyamis for Charikleia. H.G.T. Maehler GCN III 1990 10-11 cites this passage as an example of how Heliodoros, although he follows conventions in his description of the symptoms of love, writes far more convincingly, psychologically, than even his closest forerunner, Achilles Tatios.

6. καλὸν γάρ ποτε καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος, ὅταν ὠφελοῦν τοὺς λέγοντος μηδὲν καταβλάπτῃ τοὺς ἀκούοντας: Charikleia refers again to a lie which she says is justified by necessity at X 18. The issue of whether lies are ever justified interested the Church Fathers, although there is little discussion of it in non-Christian Greek authors. Charikleia's reference to it, which looks less out of place in the *Aithiopika* than it might in another of the extant Greek novels, should probably be linked with Heliodoros' evident familiarity with Christian texts (v. p20).

W.S. Mackowiak (1933) points out that there is really no Greek equivalent for the word 'lie' (Lüge), quoting (p48) Leopold Schmidt *Die Ethik der alten Griechen* II 411, "die berechnete Unwahrheit, den bewussten Irrtum und die von der Wirklichkeit sich entfernende poetische Ausschmückung mit demselben Ausdruck bezeichnet, ohne den darin liegenden Tadel zu nüanzieren." This is perhaps not surprising if one accepts, as J.J. Winkler (1990 107-112; 133-137) alleges, that social relations in Mediterranean countries were (and are) shot through with guardedness and deceit. (Insofar as Winkler has in mind specifically Greece he belongs to the same tradition of ethnographic comment as Heliodoros, for whom Knemon's Athens provided a paradigm for a society of dissemblers.) Mackowiak collects references to passages where lies are interdicted or sanctioned by pagan and Christian Greek writers. Conditional sanctions for lies in patristic writing are few: Mackowiak quotes John Chrysostom PG 48.629-630 and 49.330-331. Origen, and Clement *Stromata* I 7.8 use the example of a doctor dealing with patients for a situation where lies may be justified, so they seem to have arrived at this position under the influence of Plato (defence of necessary lies, *Respub.* 382 c 6-10; doctors need to lie, *Respub.* 389 b 2-9). Christian writers who interdict lies outnumber those who allow them; the issue is dealt with in particular by St. Augustine in *De mendacio*, *Contra mendacium* and *Encheiridion* 18-22 (all in PL 40).

§27

Knemon runs back with the herb, rushes Theagenes and Charikleia to Thyamis, and announces that he has seen the approach of a horde of enemies.

The battle is marked by a series of allusions to Xenophon *Kyropaideia* and *Anabasis*. Their overall effect is to link Thyamis and his men with Xenophon's barbarians. The log canoes (I 31.2, v. note ad loc.), the παλτός (I 27.3, v. note ad loc.), and the phrase ἐπ' ἑσπέρας ἤδη προσιούσης marking the end of the battle (cp. X. Cyr. III 2.25, ἐπεὶ δ' ἑσπέρα προσήει) recall the *Kyropaideia* and *Anabasis*. Heliodoros recalls Xenophon's Kyros also with the sacrifice Thyamis makes before battle (I 28.1; cf. e.g. X. Cyr. I 5.6) and the speech he makes to the troops (I 29.5-6; c.f. e.g. X. Cyr. I 5.7-14). If Heliodoros regarded Xenophon's Kyros as a barbarian general who nonetheless had admirable qualities, then this reminder of him is consistent with, and supports, the characterisation of Thyamis.

3. καὶ κράνος τι διασμώντα καὶ παλτόν θήγοντα: Although διασμάω is *hapax legomenon*, διασμώντα is to be preferred to the reading of T (διασμήχοντα).

The παλτός was a light spear used by the Persians, and frequently mentioned in Xenophon *Kyropaideia* and *Anabasis*. The word παλτός remained in use during the imperial period, and in most (but not all) cases it evidently refers to a Persian weapon.

§28

Thyamis tells Knemon to hide Charikleia in a cave, then orders a sacrificial victim. It was a man-made cave for storing booty.

1. τὸν δὲ ὑπασπιστὴν ἱερεῖον ἄγειν προσέταττεν: The detail of the sacrifice before battle underlines the piety of Thyamis: Heliodoros must sustain this side of his character, although he is the chief of a band of barbarian brigands, if his ultimate installation as high priest of Isis at Memphis is to seem a 'happy ending' in the context of the pious values which set the tone of the *Aithiopika*.

The order for a sacrificial victim would probably be out of place in a description of Egyptian cult practice at the dramatic date of the *Aithiopika*, and presumably reflects Greek practice. There is no clear evidence that animal sacrifice took place in Late Period Egypt. Heliodoros leaves the details of the sacrifice vague: to which god was it, and was it to be made in a shrine or

temple? Thyamis is son of Kalasiris, an Isiac priest, so perhaps he is most likely to sacrifice to Isis. It is likely that the historical Boukoloï or other outlaws in the North-West Delta were on the whole not ethnically Egyptian, and they may well have practised non-Egyptian cults, but if they did there is no indication that Heliodoros knew about it. By the historical period in Egypt the sacrifice of a victim (rather than the more usual offering of food) represented the destruction of one's enemies, and to this extent Thyamis' action in sacrificing before battle is in harmony with Egyptian thought. However, it is likely that by the time of the New Kingdom, and presumably still in the Persian period when the *Äthiopika* is set, an offering of roast meat would have been used as a substitute for the sacrifice of a whole animal. The symbolism, and the use of substitute offerings, is discussed by H. Kees *NAWG* 1942 71-88.

§29

The cave is described. Knemon places Charikleia in the cave, closes it and leaves. He finds Thyamis addressing his men to stir them up for battle.

In some ways the description of the cave is not very realistic. An opening which connected the deep chamber with the edge of the lagoon and admitted light would in reality probably have exposed the cave to flooding; and the complex of passages which all start at the opening and all terminate at the same inner chamber, and which are, it is implied, confusing for those who do not know them, is perhaps difficult to visualize. However, one does get the impression that the caves and tombs, where people tend to be buried alive, which we find in the Greek novels, have some symbolic value. G.W. Bowersock (1994) posited a link between the idea of a *Scheintod* in a tomb or cave with the gospel story of the entombment and resurrection of Jesus, which, he pointed out, seems to have arisen at about the same time as the genesis of the Greek novel. R. Merkelbach (1962) linked the theme of caves and tombs, and the *Scheintod*, with initiation into mystery cults. When Heliodoros' ancient readers read the description of this cave, associations with the rites of Mithras and with the Platonic myth at *Republic* VII cannot have been far from their minds, but if Heliodoros was thinking of a specific allegorical or symbolic meaning for the cave, our evidence about his beliefs and those of his contemporaries is not adequate to allow us to identify it. It is however worth noting that Heliodoros has developed the theme further than the earlier Greek novelists by prefacing his cave with a maze, which may well have contributed to its magical or religious symbolism.

2. οἱ . . . πόροι . . . πρὸς μίαν εὐχωρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυθμένος συρρέοντες ἀνεστομοῦντο: τοῦ πυθμένος is the reading of C; the reading of the other MSS, τὸν πυθμένα makes much better sense. The Budé editors have been misled by their love of C.

3. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτῷ συμπλακῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀλλὰ διαδράσεσθαι τὴν μάχην: Read διαδρᾶσαι (see below). If we suppose that Knemon is characterized as a coward, his words here may reinforce that characterisation. When he thinks Charikleia is dead he drops the torch (II 3) - perhaps his fright is a sign of cowardice. At his reluctance to travel with Thermouthis (II.18) Theagenes charges Knemon with cowardice; so does Kalasiris when Knemon is frightened by a crocodile (VI 1).

On the other hand a reader who espouses ‘close reading’ may point out that in what we are told of the battle Knemon neither shows cowardice, nor does he counsel Theagenes to run away. The charges of cowardice made by Theagenes and Kalasiris are not really supported by the narrative at these points, or anywhere else. His concern about travelling with Thermouthis (who, as we learn, does mean to harm or kill Knemon), and his alarm at seeing a crocodile for the first time can be regarded as no more than sensible caution; and his words in the present passage may be seen as a deceit to calm Charikleia which springs from the same good sense.

διαδράσεσθαι is the conjecture of the editors of the Budé. It is probably wrong, because it would mean that Knemon says that he is himself going to run away. The required meaning is that he promises not to let Theagenes engage in battle, but to let him run away - in other words, since διδράσκω and its compounds mean ‘run away’, not ‘cause to run away’, we need an infinitive of διαδιδράσκω which will be taken in parallel with συμπλακῆναι, not with ἐπιτρέψειν. Therefore we can reject the conjecture and choose between the MSS readings, which are (according to the Budé): διαδρᾶσαι C (add. σοι VMBP) διαδρᾶναι οἱ Z (σοι AT). σοι is well attested, and makes good sense, so should probably be kept. The usual aorist is strong, and the weak form διαδρᾶσαι (otherwise attested in the printed texts of Socrates the church historian, and John Chrysostom, but not in documents, where the verb is very rare), which has good manuscript authority, is probably the reading of the archetype, and διαδρᾶναι is probably a scribal correction.

5. ὧν γὰρ ἐν ἔργοις οἱ πολέμιοι, τούτους μὴ διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων σὺν τάχει τὴν ἄμυναν ἐπάγειν πάνταπασὶν ἐστὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ὑστερούντων: Literally, ‘[those] in whose property are their enemies, for them not to bring up a defence quickly using similar forces is entirely [the act] of men who come later than is required’ (or, ‘. . . who fail in their duty’). J.R. Morgan in his translation in CAGN seems to take διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων as ‘at a

similar speed', which is possible; 'using similar forces' seems preferable because it is less pleonastic.

Thyamis has already shown himself an orator when he addressed his men at I 19.3 - I 21.1; nonetheless, it seems odd that this speech, made to brigands facing attack, contains some of the most complex and difficult Greek in the *Aithiopika*, and it is tempting to see a touch of comedy in its inappropriately high style.

6. τοσαῦτα ἔχειν ἔξεσται ὅσα καὶ νικᾶν περιγίνεται: Read ὁσάκις for ὅσα καὶ. Unless it can be shown that νικᾶν can be translated like κρατέω with an accusative object denoting goods seized in battle, it is not possible to make sense of the text as it stands. The emendation ὁσάκις, proposed by J.R. Morgan (CAGN 376 n30), is the simplest and most elegant to have been suggested and should probably be accepted.

6. οὐδὲ ἐν σπονδαῖς ἔσχε τὴν τελευτήν: ἐν σπονδαῖς is the reading of VMBP, and is followed by the Budé; A. Colonna reads ἐνσπονδον with CZAT. There is no other evidence that ἐνσπονδος can be used of things, rather than persons or animals, (with the possible exception of the Suda s.v.), so ἐν σπονδαῖς should probably be preferred.

§30

Thyamis calls his shield-bearer, Thermouthis, who is not to be found, then goes into the battle. The fierce battle is described. Worried that he will be deprived of Charikleia by the battle, Thyamis goes to the cave and kills a Greek speaking woman he finds there whom he takes to be Charikleia.

1. Θέρμουθις: (The Suda, followed by papyrologists, accents Θερμοῦθις.) The name is a transcription of the Egyptian *T3-rmn-wt.t*, Demotic *T-rmwte*, a harvest goddess with the form of a serpent. The goddess had a long history in Egypt, and is particularly well attested in lower Egypt in the Greco-Roman period, when she was at least partially assimilated with Isis. From her is derived the Coptic month name ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ / ΦΑΡΜΟΥΘΙ. For an overview and bibliography of this goddess v. Lexicon der Ägyptologie s.v. 'Renenutet'; monuments are assembled and studied in J. Broekhuis (1971). She is beneficent, so it is most unlikely that Heliodoros knew anything about her when he gave her name to the unsympathetic character which is introduced here.

As a personal name Θερμοῦθις is well attested in Greek documents from Roman Egypt. As far as one can tell, it is always a woman's name. Names beginning with the letter *T* are in effect morphologically feminine, and feminine names so often begin with *T* that anyone with even a slight familiarity with Egyptian names would recognize the name as feminine. It is possible that Heliodoros had come across Θερμοῦθις as a personal name but had not realized that it is feminine; however, it does not seem very probable.

Therefore we must assume either that Heliodoros knew that the name is recognizably feminine, and is playing a game with his readers when he applies it to Thyamis' shield bearer; or that he simply did not know that Θέρμουθις had already been used as personal name, but meant to name the shield bearer after the serpent Θερμοῦθις just as he named Thyamis after a river.

For readers familiar with Ailian *De natura animalium* (10.31) the name would recall the description of Thermouthis as a variety of asp in Egypt, associated with Isis, which kills only evil-doers. The literary significance of the name and its associations is discussed by E.L. Bowie (1995).

3. τῶν δὲ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ: This is the reading of CBPA, and is printed in the Budé; A. Colonna follows VMT, which insert a τε after the first τῷ. The latter gives a use of τε . . . καὶ frequent in Heliodoros; moreover, as J.R. Morgan (1978), *passim*, noted, Heliodoros liked to create 'jingles'. The balance of evidence favours the inclusion of the τε.

3. ἦρετο: A. Colonna, in his 1938 edition (but not in his 1987 edition), prints the η with iota subscript, which is probably just a typographical error.

5. καὶ πολλὰ τὴν θεὸν ὡς δολερὰν ὄνειδίσας: Read not τὴν θεόν or τὴν θεάν but τὴν θέαν. The reading of the manuscripts reported by the editors of the Budé is θεάν (P θέαν). The editors emend to θεόν because everywhere else in Heliodoros ἡ θεός is the feminine form of ὁ θεός, with the editors reporting no variants (I 2.6; I 2.7; I 18.4; II 25.2; VII 9.1; X 6.5; X 9.3). Since ὄνειδιζω is normally construed with accusative of thing and dative of person, it is surprising that the editors have not seen that P is right (or rather that all the MSS are right about the text, and only P is right about the accentuation); i.e. Thyamis objurgates as deceitful not τὴν θεάν or τὴν θεόν, "the goddess", but τὴν θέαν, "the vision" (i.e. the apparition of Isis in the dream). That what is called τὸ ὄναρ and τὴν ὄψιν in the previous section is now referred to as τὴν θέαν can be explained by Heliodoros' habit of varying vocabulary simply to avoid repetition of the same word.

5. κλοπεύοντας: This is the reading which the Budé editors report from VMCBPZ and print; otherwise it is found only at Arrian *Illyria* 15, and once in Eustathios, and if it should be treated as a different word from κλωπεύω (= 'steal') it seems to mean 'plunder'. A. Colonna prints the reading of A, κλωπεύοντας. Neither makes good sense, and it would be better to accept the conjecture of Koraes: κλοτοπεύοντας, otherwise found in Il. XIX, Lexicographers, Scholia, Eustathios (meaning uncertain, LSJ s.v. 'deal subtly, spin out time by false pretences').

5. αὐτός, δῆθεν ὥς τὸν Θέρμουθιν ἐπιζητήσων: The comma before δῆθεν in the printed editions should be removed. δῆθεν seems ~~always~~ ^{usually} to be post-positive, and to be taken closely with what precedes it. The irony which it expresses here is produced not by the contrast between Thyamis' pretended and actual actions (as the editors' punctuation implies) but by the equally striking contrast between what he does and what tells his men to do.

§31

Thyamis finds Thermouthis, and with Theagenes and Knemon and his other men they face the enemy, but all give back again except Thyamis.

2. σκάφη ἀπὸ μόνου ξύλου καὶ πρέμνου παχέος ἐνὸς ἀγροικότερον κοιλαινόμενα: The shortage of wood in the Delta makes the use of canoes hollowed out from single logs historically unlikely. Such boats are mentioned in other geographical areas several times in Greek literature; if Heliodoros had any one passage in mind when he wrote this, perhaps it is most likely to have been Xenophon *Anabasis* V 4.11: καὶ ἦκον [the Mossynoikians, a Black Sea tribe] τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα μονόξυλα καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ μὲν δύο ἐκβάντες εἰς τάξιν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, ὁ δὲ εἷς ἐνέμε. Such boats are normally called μονόξυλα and the reading μονοξύλου found in C is presumably an attempt to replace Heliodoros' unusual expression with a conventional one. The attempt is not wholly successful, and the printed text, a kind of Heliodorean pun on μονόξυλος, is probably right.

4. ἐνέβαλλεν: This is the reading of the Budé, following VCB. A. Colonna follows MPZAT and prints ἐνέβαλεν. There is little to choose between the two, but the latter is perhaps slightly more appropriate to the action.

§32

Thyamis is taken alive, for which a reward has been offered, but his shield-bearer gets away.

1. **εἰς χειῖρας ἰόντων**: ἰόντων, printed by the Budé, is Bekker's unnecessary emendation of the ὄντων of the MSS. εἶμι (= *sum*) can be followed by εἰς (v. LSJ s.v. εἰς I.2), and ὄντων is more vivid.

1. **εἷς γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἔβαλλεν οὔτε ἐπέφερεν**: The ἔφερεν of the MSS is impossible to translate convincingly, and this emendation offered by the editors of the Budé should be accepted.

2. **βολῆς ἐκτὸς ἐμπειρία τοῦ νεῖν ἀναδύντα**: “emerging out of range of missiles, using his skill in swimming (underwater)”

§33

We are told that the brigands who took Thyamis were those who had fled from him at the beginning of the story, and that the reward had been offered by his brother Petosiris, who had got by trickery a priesthood which belonged to Thyamis. Some of the bandits guard Thyamis while others search his island for booty, with little success.

2. **προφητείας**: The meaning of προφήτης in an Egyptian context is discussed in the comment on I 19.4.

2. **δεδιὼς μὴ καιροῦ λαβόμενος ἐπέλθοι ποτὲ ἢ καὶ χρόνος τὴν ἐπιβουλήν φωράσειεν**: The allusion is apt. Demosthenes in *Olynthiakos* II 10 predicts that the power of Philip will be short-lived because it was obtained by wrongdoing: καὶ σφόδρα γε ἦνθησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἂν τύχη, τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ φωρᾶται καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ. Thus Heliodoros compares Petosiris with the usurper Philip. It is bold touch to turn the phrase of Demosthenes into the active since the active form of φωράω almost always has a personal subject.

3. **αὐτῶν**: Read αὐτῷ. The MSS which the Budé editors report have αὐτῶν, apart from A which omits the word. The reflexive form is Koraes' emendation. The Budé and A. Colonna (1987) both accept it. A. Colonna (1938) prints αὐτῶν; he does not report Koraes' emendation, but notes Hirschigs's αὐτῷ and attributes it to 'mx. nonn.', perhaps because he noticed that it is not in Hirschig's list of variants. Bekker prints αὐτῶν but confusingly omits it from his list of conjectures (*mutationes*). An alternative to the MSS αὐτῶν is clearly

required, but it is difficult to decide between αὐτῷ and αὐτῶν. There are twelve other occurrences of ἀποκληρώω in Heliodoros, seven of which are followed by a dative, so the dative is quite possible; on the other hand Heliodoros IX 1.5 μοῖραν αὐτάρκη τῶν ὁμογλώσσων εἰς τὴν φρουράν ἀποκληρώσας seems to give some support to Koraes' emendation. In my view the dative gives a more natural expression, and is more likely from a palaeographical point of view, since an iota adscript copied as such in a minuscule hand could more easily have been misread as ν, particularly by a scribe expecting only iota subscript, than could the breathing have been mistaken.

3. οἱ δὲ ὑπόλοιποι πρὸς τὴν νῆσον ἐτράπησαν ὥς τὰ ἐπιζητούμενα κειμήλια καὶ σκῦλα κατ' αὐτὴν εὐρήσοντες: τὴν νῆσον is probably the best reading. Here the Budé editors print the reading of Z. A. Colonna, who preferred wherever possible to follow the reading with best MS authority rather than to risk editing out an idiosyncrasy from the Greek of Heliodoros, followed VMCBPA with τὸ νησίον in his 1938 edition. In his 1987 edition Colonna prints τὴν νῆσον. τὴν νῆσον perhaps receives some additional support from the fact that CBPZAT have the pronoun referring to the island in the feminine, αὐτήν, although in this context the gender change may be possible as *constructio ad sententiam*; VM have αὐτόν. This island is qualified by πᾶσαν at the beginning of the following sentence (I 33.4), and book II begins ἡ μὲν δὴ νῆσος. Unless it can be shown that Heliodoros wrote τὸ νησίον in imitation of some passage in another author, the balance of evidence seems to favour τὴν νῆσον.

4. εἴ τινα καὶ περιελέλειπτο κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον ὑπὸ γῆ μὴ κρυπτόμενα: Read εἴ τι καὶ περιελέλειπτο κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ κρυπτόμενον (v. below).

Editors have treated this passage as a crux, unnecessarily. The reading of the MSS is ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ κρυπτόμενα / κρυπτόμενον. The context is that the attackers who have burnt the island of Thyamis' robber band are looking for the booty. The beginning of the present sentence may be translated, "Thus running across the entire island and leaving no part unexamined, they came upon nothing of what they hoped to find, or little; . . ." and then the clause quoted in the lemma above, which editors want to mean something like "if there was anything left over, which was not hidden in the cave underground, [that was all they found,]". Therefore editors (Hirshig, Rattenbury and Lumb, Colonna) insert a μὴ somewhere in the clause. If the insertion of μὴ is the right solution, then the position for it suggested by the Budé seems to be a good one, although the assumption that μὴ has been omitted by scribal error need not imply that the τῇ of the MSS should be removed from the text. A. Colonna inserted μὴ in his 1938 edition (before the ὑπό, which is an unlikely place, if a

μή *should* be inserted, because it gives hiatus); but, ever anxious to justify rather than emend a manuscript reading, Colonna omitted the μή in his 1987 edition, explaining that the bandits did not penetrate to the innermost part of the cave where Charikleia was hidden: in other words he wants this clause to mean something like “if there was something left over [from the fire because it was] hidden in the cave underground [that was all they found, but not the more valuable things which were in the inner part of the cave, which they did not reach],”. The Budé editors report that Amyot added μή before κρυπτόμενον (Budé vol.I pLXIX; they use this example to argue that the marginalia in printed copies belonging to Scaliger and Falkenburg depend on marginalia in Amyot’s copy), but subsequently suppressed it “en l’exponctuant par dessous.”

The modern editors have exacerbated the difficulty by preferring τινὰ and κρυπτόμενα to the better attested τι and κρυπτόμενον, which allowed older translators to take κρυπτόμενον with σπήλαιον, so the whole clause reads εἴ τι καὶ περιελέλειπτο κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ κρυπτόμενον, and means something like, “if there was something left out around the cave which was hidden underground [that was all they found],”. This is the version of the text which has the greatest manuscript authority, and is printed by most editors up to and including Bekker. This version also has the advantage that while κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον can mean “around the cave”, it is doubtful whether Heliodoros would have used it to mean “in the cave”, (although “hidden down into the cave” *may* be just possible for κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον . . . κρυπτόμενα); in general it is really no more tortuous than the versions of recent editors, and it should be accepted.

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CONCORDANCE

In the following places readings are recommended in the commentary (and followed in the translation) which differ from the readings of the Budé.

Reference	Budé	Birchall
I 4.3	δόξης οὐκ ἐκτὸς	delevi οὐκ
I 8.1	ἀνακινούσης αὐτῆς	ἀνακινούσης αὐτοῖς
I 8.4	ὑπὸ	ἀπὸ
I 9.1	τὸ γένος	τὸ μὲν γένος
I 10.2	ὁ Θησεὺς	ὁ Θησέως
I 10.4	ἐταίραις, μέθαις	ἐταίρας, μέθας
I 10.4	τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα	delevi-ἄλλα οὖν
I 11.5	σκέψαι	κατάλαβε
I 12.4	ἐπιβουλεύσι ἄν	ἐπιβουλευσειε
I 13.1	κατὰ τοὺς νόμους	καὶ τοῖς νόμοις
I 14.2	ὥς εἶχον εὐθὺς	delevi εὐθὺς
I 14.6	παραμυθεῖσθαι δὲ	παραμυθεῖσθαί τε
I 15.4	ποτε ὑπελθόντι	ποτε δ' ὑπελθόντι
I 15.7	γνωρίμην	γνωρίμον
I 17.1	ἦδε δὲ	ἡ δὲ ἦδη
I 17.3	ἐν γειτόνων	ἐκ γειτόνων
I 19.2	δύνατο	δύναιτο
I 19.5	ἄφεις	ἄφεις
I 22.2	οὐμὸς	ὁ ἐμὸς
I 22.4	καταιγίζοντες	καταιγίζουσai
I 22.4	ἄητου	ἄει
I 22.5	ᾧφελον	ᾧφελον
I 25.2	ἢ τί δέ	delevi δέ
I 25.3	<ἐμε> μεταβαλλομένων	delevi <ἐμε>
I 25.6	ζηλοτυπίας τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῖν	τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ζηλοτυπίας
I 29.2	τοῦ πυθμένος	τὸν πυθμένα
I 29.3	διαδράσασθαι	διαδράσαι
I 29.6	ὅσα καὶ	ὅσάκις
I 30.3	τῷ πλήθει	τῷ τε πλήθει
I 30.5	τὴν θεὸν	τὴν θέαν
I 30.5	κλοπεύοντας	κλοτοπεύοντας
I 31.4	ἐνέβαλλεν	ἐνέβαλεν
I 32.1	ἱόντων	ὄντων
I 33.3	αὐτῶν	αὐτῷ
I 33.4	εἴ τινα καὶ περιελέλειπτο κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον ὑπὸ γῆ μὴ κρυπτόμενα	εἴ τι καὶ περιελέλειπτο κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ κρυπτόμενον

INDEX

Index of Greek words and phrases (listed under the key word) discussed; numbers refer to pages.

ἄγρα, 80
ἀγροικία, 101
ἀγχόνη, 102
ἀδιάφθορος, 16
ἄθροον, 144
αἰκανός, 18
τὸ αἰφνίδιον, 83
ἀκήρατος, 16
ἀκραιφνής, 88
ἄλις ἔχειν, 89
ἀμήχανόν τι κάλλος, 85
οἱ ἀμφί, 89
ἀναλαμβάνω, 88
ἀναμοχλεύω, 106
ἀντίθεος, 23, 67
ἀπαιωρέομαι, 86
ἀπεφίημι, 81
Ἄριστιππος, 108
Ἄρσινὴ, 130
ἀρχέκακος, 109
αὖτος, 117
Ἄφροδίτης, 133
ἄχραντος, 16

βαθὺς ὕπνος, 86
βακτηρία, 120
βακχεῖον, 87
βάραθρον, 124
βαρυμηνῶσαν, 129
βαρύτιμος, 18
βέβηλος, 23
βεβηλόω, 23
βλακεύω, 20
Βουκόλια, 91
Βουκόλοι, 91
βυθισμός, 19

γε, 126
γειτόνων, 133
γεννῆται, 121
γένος, 63, 143

γίγνομαι followed by an adverbial
expression for a feeling, 116
γιγνώσκω, 102
γραμματεὺς, 123

δαίμων, 45
δεύτερος . . . πλοῦς, 130
δῆθεν, 155
δῆμος, 120
διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων, 152
διαγελάω, 80
διασμάω, 150
διέκπλους, 100
διεχειροτόνεω, 123
διήγημα, 107
διηνεκές, 124

δέ, 84

ἐαυτούς, 88
ἐκ γειτόνων, 133
ἐκοντί, 145
ἐκτετόρευται, 19
οὐμός / ὁ ἐμός, 143
ἐμπεριπατέω, 23
ἐνανθρωπέω, 24
ἐναπομένω, 131
ἐνάργεια, 80
ἐνεγκοῦσα, 125
ἐνευφραινέσθαι, 24
ἐνθεσμος, 147
ἐνόω, 106
ἐνσπονδος, 153
ἐπεισόδιον, 107
ἐπιπέτομαι, 134
ἐπιφορτίζω, 24
ἔργον γενέσθαι, 83
ἐριθεύω, 99
ἐρώμενος, 115
Ἔρω, 131
εὐαγγελίζομαι, 22, 24

εὐαγγέλιον, 24
εὐγενής, 142
εὐχαριστία, 25
ἔφηβοι, 110

ζωστήρ, 80, 82

θαυματουργέω, 25
θαυματουργήμα, 25
Θεαγένης, 103
θεοί, 30
θεοί ἐπήκοοι, 70
τὸ θεῖον, 31, 104
θεῖος, 65
θεός, 38
Θέρμουθις, 153
Θίσβη, 114
θρόσκω, 86
Θύαμις, 134

καθαρός, 83, 103
καὶ μὴν, 115, 126
καινοτομέω, 83
καὶ ταῦτα, 107
καλιά, 99
καταλαμβάνω, 115
κατάφλεκτος, 83
καταχειροτόνεω, 124
κατερυθριάω, 20
κενοδοξέω, 25
κληρονόμος, 110
κλοπεύω, 155
κλοτοπεύω, 155
κλυδώνιον, 144
Κνήμων, 106
κρείττονες, 30, 105
τὸ κρείττον, 31, 104

λάφυρα, 138
λίαν, 102

μέν, 100
μέν . . . ἀλλά, 129
μέν . . . δέ, 100
μέν δὴ, 100
μέν οὖν, 100

μέρους μόνον ἢ μέλους, 25
μεστὰ πάντα, 82
μή + participle, 81
μισθός, 131
μοιχάομαι, 114
μοιχεύω, 114
μουσουργία, 19

ὁμοδίαιτος, 146
ὄρος, 81
ὄψις, 81

παλτός, 150
Πάνδημος, 140
παρθενεύειν, 26
πατραλοία, 122
οἱ περί, 89
περιμανής, 129
πικρότερον, 102
πολίτην . . . ἀποφήνας, 122
πρηστήρ, 86, 116
προετοιμάζω, 27
προσαγγελία, 118
προφήτης, 67, 139
πρυμνήσιοι, 82
πυρακτουμένη, 19

ρύσκομαι, 19

σαγηνεύω, 109
σαγήνη, 109
σηρικός, 89
σιτεῖσθαι, 112
σκιά, 88
σκολιός, 100
σκῦλα, 138
σμύχω, 132
σοβέω, 87
συμβολῆς γενομένης, 106
σύνθημα, 114
σῶζοιο, 126

Τελέδημος, 131
τυφῶν, 116
Τύχη, 56

ὑπερθεραπεύω, 109

ὑποστηρίζω, 27

φαντασία, 142

φόβος τοῦ κρείττονος, 27

Φοῖνιξ, 76

φράτωρ, 121

φύντες, 9

φωστήρ, 27

χαμεύνηξ, 102

Χαρίκλεια, 104

χειραγωγόν, 99

χλαμύς, 111

χρυσοῦφης, 86

ψυχή, 103

ὥς as a temporal conjunction, 104, 113

ὄφελον / ὄφελον, 133, 145

TRANSLATION

The translation is intended to be literal, not elegant, and to contribute to the elucidation of the text. The translation is based on the Budé, except that when the reading of the Budé is rejected in the commentary and an alternative reading is recommended that alternative reading has been translated. Since punctuation in printed Greek texts is on the whole for guidance only, the translation does not necessarily follow the punctuation of the Budé.

I 1 When the day was just beginning to shine and the sun was casting his rays across the mountain ridges, men armed as bandits peering over the desert mound which extends along the outlet of the Nile which is also called the Herakleiotic mouth, and standing there for a little while, let their eyes begin at the sea which lay beneath; and having directed their gaze first to the ocean, when it offered nothing in the way of booty for bandits since it was not being sailed, they were led by the view to the neighbouring shore. 2 On it there were the following things: a ship was moored by its warps, devoid of its crew but full of cargo; and this was detectable even for those at a distance, because the weight forced the water right up to the third wale of the hull. 3 But the shore - everything was full of newly slaughtered bodies, some completely destroyed, others half dead and still quivering in parts of their bodies, indicating that the battle had just finished. 4 The visible signs were not of a clean fight, but mixed up too were the pitiful remains of a banquet which was not auspicious but ended like this; tables still full of comestibles, and others on the ground in the hands of the fallen had become substitutes for arms for some of them (for the battle had happened unexpectedly), and others concealed other men, as they thought, from attackers; wine bowls were overturned, and some were slipping from the hands of those who held them to drink or to use instead of stones, (for the suddenness of the evil had created new uses, and taught them to use cups as missiles). 5 One lay wounded by an axe, another struck by a stone which had been carried there from the water's edge, another one injured by a log, one burnt up by a torch, and each was differently injured; the majority were victims of arrows and archery. 6 The evil power had laid out many images in the small area, polluting wine with blood, setting a battle among the guests, joining killings and drinking, libations and slaughter, and revealing this kind of spectacle to the Egyptian bandits. 7 They themselves stood on the desert mound as observers of these things but were unable to understand the scene because they had [in view] the defeated but saw the victors nowhere; and [they had in view] the glorious victory, but the booty unlotted; and [they had in view] the ship alone, devoid of crew but otherwise intact as if defended by many men and as if rocking in peace. 8 But although at a loss about what had happened they looked to gain and to plunder; so declaring themselves victors they went forward.

II 1 When they had already moved a little away from the ship and from the fallen men a sight struck them which was more confusing than the previous things: a maiden was seated on a rock, an incredible beauty, who convinced one that she was even a goddess, very distressed for those around her but still redolent of a noble disposition. 2 She was garlanded on her head with bay and a quiver was slung from her shoulders and her bow was supported by her left upper arm; the remainder of her arm hung down carelessly. Resting the elbow of her other arm on her right thigh and placing her cheek on her fingers, looking down and watching a youth lying before her, she held her head motionless. 3 He was disfigured with wounds, and seemed to be recovering a little from near death as from a deep sleep, but even in these circumstances he glowed with manly beauty and his cheek, reddening with the blood that was running down it, shone the more by its whiteness. The troubles had drawn down his eyes but the sight of the maiden raised them again to her, and what compelled them to see was the fact that they saw her. 4 When he had caught his breath and gasped rather deeply he spoke softly and said, "O sweetness, have you really survived for me, or are you too a victim of the battle and no more able to keep away from us after death [than in life], but your image and spirit pays attention to my fortunes?" "My salvation" said the maiden "depends on you. Do you see this?" [she said] pointing at a sword on her lap; "It has lain idle so far, kept in check by your revival." 5 And as she spoke she sprang up from the rock, but those on the desert mound, struck by the marvel and shock of the sight as if by a bolt from the blue, plunged each into a different bush; for when she stood up she seemed bigger and more god-like to them, with the sudden movement of her clanging weapons, her raiment interwoven with gold glinting in the sun, her hair shaking in a Bacchic dance under the chaplet and running down her back to the fullest extent. 6 These things scared them, and ignorance of what had happened scared them more than what they saw; for some of them said she was some goddess, even the goddess Artemis, or the local Isis; others, that she was a priestess inspired by the gods, who had made the great slaughter which could be seen. This is what they perceived, but they did not perceive the truth. She suddenly threw herself on the young man and, draped all over him, she cried, kissed, wiped [the blood], wailed and doubted that she held him. 7 When they saw this the Egyptians changed their mind to other ideas, and said, "How can these be the actions of a goddess, and how could a spirit kiss a dead body so pathetically." They encouraged one another to be bold and to walk forward to get a clear grasp of the truth. Recovering, then, they ran down to the maiden who was still concerned with the wounds of the youth; and standing there they stayed behind her having neither the courage to say or do anything. 8 With the sound of their step, and the shadow they made falling across her eyes, the maiden looked up again and saw them. She was not a little frightened by the unfamiliarity of their skin colour and of their appearance, which showed by their weapons their character as bandits, but she applied herself entirely to the care of the man who lay there.

9 This is how real desire and untainted love disdain all sorrows and pleasures which strike from without, and oblige the mind to look towards and incline towards the beloved thing alone.

III 1 When the brigands had moved round and stood facing her and seemed to be about to try something the girl looked up again, and seeing that their skin colour was black and their visage rough she said, "If you are the ghosts of the dead you are not right to haunt us, for most of you died at one another's hands, and as many as were killed by us suffered by the law of self defence and of vengeance for the assault on chastity. If you are of the living your way of life, it seems, is banditry, but you have come at a good time: release us from the encompassing troubles by the murder with which you are going to completely change the drama concerning us." 2 She made this tragic speech, but they, able to understand nothing of what was said, left them there, and placing their weakness as a strong guard over them, and they set off to the ship and unloaded its cargo, ignoring the other things (which were many and varied), but carrying off, insofar as each had strength, gold and silver and precious stones and silk raiment. 3 When they thought they had enough (and there was so much as to satisfy even a bandit's greed), they put the plunder on the beach and began to divide it into bundles and allocations, making the division not according to the value of the things each one took but according to equal weight. They were going to take action about the maiden and the youth later. 4 At the same time another robber band arrived with two horsemen leading the unit. When the former [bandits] saw this they neither raised their hands [to fight] nor took any of the booty, so as not to be pursued, but fled as fast as they could run, since there were ten of them and they saw three times as many approaching. 5 And the girl and her companion were already captured a second time although they had never been seized. The bandits, although eager for pillage, nonetheless hesitated because of their lack of understanding of, and astonishment at what they saw. 6 For they supposed that the many killings were the work of the previous bandits, and when they saw the maiden in strange and magnificent garb and overlooking the fearful circumstances as if they did not exist, but wholly concerned with the young man's wounds and feeling pain at his suffering as if it were her own, they marvelled at her for her beauty and her [noble] disposition, and they were also amazed at the wounded man. He lay, so fine in physique and so large, having a little earlier recovered himself somewhat and been restored to his usual facial expression.

IV 1 So then, after some time the bandit chief approached and put his hand on the maiden and instructed her to arise and follow him. She, understanding nothing of what was said but inferring what he commanded, dragged the young man to herself and would not release him, and bringing up the sword to her breast she threatened to kill herself unless he would take them both. 2 So when the bandit chief understood something by what she said, and understood more

by her gestures, and moreover anticipated that he would have the young man as an excellent assistant if he survived, he dismounted both himself and his shield-bearer from the horses and he put the prisoners in their place, and instructing the others to pack up the spoils and follow, he himself ran along on foot and held up [the prisoners] in case one of them should slip at all. 3 And what happened was beyond belief: the leader seemed to serve and the conqueror chose to be subservient to the captives. Thus does the impression created by nobility and the sight of beauty have the power to subordinate even the bandit's nature and to govern the roughest of men.

V 1 Going past the shore for about two stades they turned suddenly so the sea was on their right and went towards the slopes of the mound; and crossing the ridge with difficulty they hurried to a lagoon which lay beneath the other side of the mound. 2 It was something like this. The whole place is called Herds (*Boukolia*) by the Egyptians. There is a hollow in the land there which receives some overflows from the Nile and forms a lagoon; the depth in the middle is immeasurable, but at the edge it tapers off into a marsh. What shores are to seas, so are marshes to lagoons. 3 Among these any robber element of the Egyptians conducts its civic life, one building a hut on a little land if some should emerge anywhere from the water, while another lives on a boat and has the same thing as a ferry and a dwelling. On it the women spin and weave for them, and on it they bear children. 4 If there is a young child, one rears it first with mother's milk and after that with the fish from the lagoon baked in the sun. If one notices that it is trying to crawl, by fixing a thong to its ankles one permits it to go as far as the edge of the boat or hut, making the leash on the foot a novel kind of guide for it.

VI 1 And whenever a Herdsman (*Boukolos anêr*) is born and receives his nurture in the lagoon he considers that lagoon also as his native country. It is suited to be a strong fortification for bandits. Therefore that type of person migrates to it, everyone using the water as if it were a defensive wall and placing the mass of reeds in the marsh in front of them instead of a palisade. 2 For by cutting some winding paths which wander with many turns they also make the passages easy for themselves because they know them but impossible for others, and they have devised a great stronghold so that they might not suffer attack. And this is more or less how the situation at the lagoon maintains the herdsman who dwell in it.

VII 1 When the sun was already setting the bandit chief and his companions arrived there. They dismounted the young people from the horses and put the plunder in the boats while the great crowd of bandits who had remained on the spot gathered, as each appeared emerging from a different part of the marsh, and received the bandit chief, greeting him as if he were some kind of king over them. 2 When they saw the mass of booty and examined the beauty of the

maiden - something phenomenal - they assumed that some shrines or rich temples had been robbed by their colleagues, and that even the priestess herself had been taken away too; or they even supposed in their rustic ignorance that the statue, itself alive, had been brought in the shape of the maiden. Highly praising the chief for his manly courage they conveyed him to his abode; it was a little island separated some way from the others as a residence for him alone and a few of his companions. **3** When he had been brought there he instructed the majority of them to go home, arranging for them all to come to him on the next day. He himself, left alone with his few usual companions, briefly giving the others dinner and partaking himself, handed over the young people to a certain Greek youth who had become a prisoner with them shortly before so that they could converse. He allocated them a hut close to his own; and he instructed the young man to look after them and to guard the maiden against any kind of assault. He himself, weighed down by exhaustion from the journey and occupied by thinking about the current situation, had turned to sleep.

VIII 1 When silence enveloped the marsh and night advanced to the first watch the maiden and her companion found the absence of people crowding in on them opened the way for lamentation; the night stimulated their sufferings more, I think, because when no sound or sight distracts attention to itself, ~~but~~ it allows an opportunity for one to grieve alone. **2** So wailing a lot to herself the maiden (who lay on a mattress separated, as ordered, from the others) and weeping to the utmost extent, said "Apollo, you avenge yourself too much for our sins and too severely, and our transgression is not equal to your punishment: loss of our families and capture by pirates and the myriad dangers of the seas, and on land already a second kidnap by brigands, and the anticipated troubles are even worse than those we have experienced. **3** When will you put an end to these things? If I reach death unviolated the end is a good one, but if anyone shall know me in a debased way, whom even Theagenes has not yet known, I shall preempt the assault with a noose, keeping myself pure to the point of death, and bringing my chastity as a beautiful funeral offering. No one will be a harsher judge than you." **4** While she was still speaking Theagenes stopped her, saying, "Stop, my dearest, my soul, Charikleia! You lament reasonably, but you are inciting the divinity more than you think. For it is necessary not to vituperate it but to beseech it, and the supreme power will be appeased by prayers, not accusations." "You are right; but how are you?" she asked. "More comfortable," he said, "and better since the evening as a result of the lad's treatment, which lessened the burning pain of my wounds." **5** "And by dawn you will have more relief," said the one entrusted with guarding them; "I will bring you a herb which will heal the wounds in three days. I have acquired experience of its effectiveness; for since they brought me here as a prisoner, if ever one of the subjects of this leader has come in wounded when there has been a battle, he has not taken many days to be cured when using this herb of which I speak. **6** There is no reason for you

to be surprised if I am interested in your problems, because you seem to share the same fate as me, and moreover I pity you as you are Greeks, since I too am a Greek." "A Greek! O gods!" the strangers shouted together with joy. "A true Greek by race and language; perhaps there will be some relief from our troubles." "But what must we call you?" Theagenes said. He said, "Knemon." "Would you tell us where you are from?" "Athenian." "What is your situation?" 7 "Enough!" he said; "Why are you stirring up and forcibly opening these matters? In fact, this is from the tragedies. It would not be a good time to introduce to you my troubles as an episode in your own. Besides, the rest of the night would not be long enough for telling the story to you, who, what is more, need sleep and a rest from your many hardships."

IX 1 When they would not leave him alone but pleaded with him in every way to speak, thinking that hearing about circumstances like their own would be a great solace, Knemon began thus: "My father was Aristippos, an Athenian by birth, belonging to the Areopagos, and to the middle class in terms of wealth. When it happened that my mother died he was inclined to marry again, complaining that he was dependent on his son, me, alone, and brought into the home an urbane but pernicious young woman whose name was Demainete. 2 As soon as she arrived she won him over entirely and persuaded him to do what she wanted, leading on the old man by her youthful beauty and in other ways flattering him excessively. She was skilled, if ever a woman was, at making someone mad about her, and was extraordinarily expert at the art of seduction, groaning at my father going out and running up to him when he came in; she complained to him for taking his time, saying she would have died if he had stayed away a little longer, embracing him with every word and crying as she kissed him. My father was ensnared by all these things, and had breath and eyes only for her. 3 At first she pretended to see me as if I were her child, and in this pretence she convinced Aristippos and would sometimes come up and kiss me and constantly desired to have the pleasure of my company. I went, suspecting nothing of what was really happening, but surprised that she had a maternal attitude towards me. When she began to come more eagerly and the kisses got hotter than was proper, and the look, going beyond what was temperate, led me to suspicion, I was already trying to evade her much of the time and was pushing her away when she approached. 4 Why should I bore you by describing the other things at length? the attempts she made, the promises she declared, naming me now 'little child', now 'dearest', and again calling me 'heir' then a little later 'her soul', and in short, mingling the finest names with seductive ones and watching to see which ones I responded to most. Thus with the most honourable appellations she pretended that she was a mother while revealing by the more unsuitable ones, and that most clearly, that she was a lover.

X 1 In the event something like this happened. The Great Panathenaia was being held, when the Athenians send the ship overland to Athene. I happened to be an ephebe, and having sung the usual Paian to the goddess and performed the established rites I went to my own home in the costume I had on including the chlamys and the garlands. 2 As soon as she saw me she was beside herself and no longer disguised her love but from naked desire ran up to me and embraced me and said, 'My young Hippolytos son of Theseus.' What do you imagine happened to me, who even now am blushing as I recount it? But it was evening, and my father was dining in the city hall, and so would be going to spend the whole night in this kind of feasting and general carousing, and she came to me at night and tried to obtain something impious. 3 When I resisted in every way, and fought back against every flattery and promise and threat she went, sighing rather heavily and deeply as she left. The wicked woman, waiting only for the night to pass, started on a plot against me. At first she did not get up that day, but when my father came and asked what was the matter she pretended to him to be ill and did not answer the first enquiry. 4 When he persisted, and asked many times what was troubling her she said, 'The youth who is marvellous even for me, the child we share, whom I have often loved more than you (and the gods are my witnesses), perceiving from certain indications that I am pregnant (which I was hiding from you until I should know for sure), watched for your absence. When I gave him the usual advice and urged him to be temperate and not to concentrate on loose women and drinking (and it did not escape my notice that he was so inclined, but I did not tell you in case I should come under some suspicion of being a typical step-mother); when I said these things one to one so he would not be embarrassed, I am ashamed to tell all the other insults he used about you and me, but he kicked me in the stomach with his foot and put me in the state in which you see me.'

XI 1 When he heard this he did not speak, he did not question me and he did not give an opportunity for me to defend myself, but believing that one who was so disposed to me would not lie, as soon as he had located me in some part of the house he struck me with his fist without me knowing why, and calling up the slaves he maltreated me with whips. I did not even have the usual privilege of knowing why I was being tortured. 2 When he had his fill of fury I said, 'But now at least, father, if not before, I should have the right to know the reason for the blows.' Becoming angrier he said, 'Oh, what irony! He wants to learn about his foul deeds from me!' and turning away he hurried to Demainete. She was not yet sated, and started this second plot against me. 3 Thisbe was her maid. She knew how to play the lyre, and was not unattractive. She sent her to me instructing her to love me, would you believe it, and straight away Thisbe loved me. She who had often pushed me away when I tried something began to lead me on in every way with looks, gestures and signals. I foolishly believed that I had suddenly become good-looking, and finally

received her into my bedroom when she came at night. She came again and yet again and after that visited me constantly. 4 Once when I urged her strongly not to get caught by her mistress she said, 'Knemon, you seem to me to be far too simple a soul. If you think it is a problem for me, a servant and a slave, if I am caught going with you, what punishment would you say she deserves who, claiming to be well born and having a lawful husband and knowing that death is the consequence of the transgression, commits adultery?' 5 'Stop!' I said, 'I cannot believe you.' 'Well now, if you think it is a good idea I will deliver the adulterer to you red-handed.' 'If only you would!' I said. 'Well now, I for one want to,' she replied, 'both for you, who have been so wronged by her, and not less for myself, who suffer the most dreadful things every day while she exercises her foolish jealousy against me. But be sure you know how to be a true man.'

XII 1 When I promised to behave thus, then she left. Three nights later she woke me as I slept and informed me that the adulterer was inside, saying that my father, called by some sudden necessity, had gone away to the country, but that he, according to an arrangement he had with Demainete, had just slipped in. She said that it was appropriate both to be prepared for vengeance and to make my entry armed with a sword so that the miscreant might not run away.

lighting lamps
complete chastity
2 I did as she said, and taking a dagger, with Thisbe leading and ~~clutching a torch~~, I went to the bedroom. When I got there a beam of light fell from a lamp inside, and bursting in in my fury I opened the closed doors, ran in and shouted, 'Where is the villain, the excellent beloved of the ~~completely chaste woman~~?' As I spoke I went forward expecting to lay hands on them both. 3 My father, oh gods, tumbling out of the bed, fell at my knees and said, 'O child, wait a moment, pity your parent, spare the grey hairs which raised you. I have wronged you, but I should not be punished with death. Do not be overcome by anger, and do not pollute your hands with a father's murder.' He pleaded piteously with these words and others in addition; but I stood helpless and shocked as if struck by a whirlwind. I was looking around for Thisbe and I do not know how she got herself away. I looked around in a circle at the bed and the bedroom, at a loss for what to say and powerless to act. 4 The sword fell from my hands, and Demainete ran up and eagerly snatched it away, while my father, being now out of danger, laid hands on me and gave orders to tie me up, with Demainete strongly egging him on and shouting, 'Is this not what I foretold, that it was sensible for the lad to be watched, that when he got an opportunity he would hatch a plot? I saw his look, I understood his intention.' He said, 'You foretold it, but I did not believe you.' Then he put me in chains, not permitting me when I wanted to say something of what really happened and to speak.

XIII 1 In the morning, taking me just as I was, in chains, he led me to the people, and pouring dust on his head he said, 'Athenians, it was not with these kinds of hopes that I reared this individual, but expecting that he would be a support for my old age as soon as it came to me. I gave him a liberal education and taught him the basics of writing, introduced him to the phratries and tribes, registered him among the ephebes, declaring him your fellow citizen in accordance with the laws, and rested all of my fortunes upon him. 2 He then became forgetful of all this, and first abused me with insults, and abused this, my lawful wife, with blows. He finally came at night with a sword, and was very close to parricide, to the extent that Fate prevented him by arranging for the sword to fall from his hand with an unexpected fright. I escaped, and accuse him before you, not wishing, although it is possible under the law, to kill him with my own hands, but leaving everything to you because I think that it is better to exact justice from a son by law than by murder.' 3 And he cried as he spoke. Demainete too wailed and made it seem that she suffered pain on my account, ironically, calling me the wretch who was going to die justly but before my time, set against my parents by the spirits of vengeance. She was not lamenting, but rather bore witness by her laments and in truth reinforced the accusation by her cries. 4 When I thought a chance to speak would be given to me the clerk stepped forward and asked a specific question: whether I approached my father with a sword. When I said, "I approached, but listen to why I did," everyone shouted out, and deciding not to allow me a defence, some argued it was best to stone me, others, to hand me over to the public executioner to be pushed into the pit. 5 Amid all the din, and during the time time that they were voting about the punishment, I shouted, "Oh step-mother, I am destroyed through a step-mother, a step-mother is killing me without a trial!" What I said reached many men, and a suspicion of the truth came to them, but at that time I was not listened to, for the people were distracted by an unstoppable din.

XIV 1 When the votes were counted those voting for death came up to one thousand seven hundred, some judging it right to stone me, others to send me to the pit. The remainder came up to a thousand - as many who, with some suspicion about my step-mother, would punish me by allowing me to go into exile in perpetuity. Nonetheless this vote prevailed, although it was less than the others all together, because, with them having made a divided vote, the thousand made the largest single section. Thus I was driven from my hearth and my country of birth. Still, Demainete, the enemy of the gods, was not left unpunished. 2 How, you shall hear another time. The present must be taken up with sleep, for much of the night has passed, and you need a lot of rest." "And so you too will add to our troubles if you leave the wicked Demainete unpunished in the story." "Well, you may hear," Knemon said, " since it is so important to you. Directly after the judgement I went down to Piraeus, and finding a ship being put out to sea I made the voyage to Aegina, having found

out that there were cousins of my mother there. I reached port and found the people I sought, and I was living not unhappily at first. 3 Twenty days later, wandering about as usual, I went to the harbour and a small boat had just come in. Standing there for a little while I watched to see where it was from and who it would bring. Before the boarding plank was properly in place someone leapt out, ran up and embraced me. Who should it be but Charias, one of my fellow epebes. He said, 'Knemon, I bring you good news. You have revenge on your enemy: Demainete is dead.' 4 'Well, greetings, Charias,' I said, 'but why do you rush past the good tidings as if they were a piece of bad news? Tell me how she died, as I fear very much that she had an ordinary death and escaped the one that she deserved.' Charias said, 'Justice has not entirely deserted us, as Hesiod says. She may seem to have her eyes closed for a little while, delaying vengeance, but she casts her fierce eye on those who are so evil, just as in fact she also pursued the wicked Demainete. 5 I missed nothing of what happened or what was said, since Thisbe, as you know, being a regular companion of mine, told me everything. When the unjust exile was imposed on you your poor father, regretting what had been done, betook himself to a rural and distant place and spent his time there 'eating his heart out' (this is from epic). 6 The Erinyes pursued her straight away and she loved you more madly in your absence and did not stop lamenting, apparently on account of your situation, but in reality on account of her own. She shouted "Knemon" night and day, calling you little child, dearest, her own soul, so that even her women friends who visited her were very astonished and praised her for being a step-mother who showed the feelings of a mother, and tried to comfort and restore her. She said that there was no comfort for her trouble, and that the other women did not know what kind of pang was in her heart.

XV 1 If ever she was alone she blamed Thisbe very much for not having served her well, saying, "Eager for tricks, she has not assisted my love, but has appointed herself to deprive me, quicker than words, of the one most dear, and gives me no chance to change my mind." And it became perfectly clear that she was going to make some trouble for Thisbe. 2 Seeing she was profoundly angry and in her general grief was ready to hatch a plot and not least that she had become crazy with passion and love, she decided to catch her out first and to get in first with a plot against *her*, while looking after her own safety. Going up to her she said, "What is it, mistress? Why do you wrongly hold you servant girl to blame? I always have been, and even now am obedient to your will; but if things have not gone according to plan that must be attributed to Fate. I am ready, if you instruct me, to work out some solution to the present situation." 3 "And what solution could be found, dearest," she said, "with the one who could resolve the present problems out of the way, and the un-hoped for kindness of the judges destroying me? If only he had been stoned, if he had been killed, the causes of my suffering would have died completely at the same time, for the thing of which one despairs is removed from the heart once and

for all, and no longer anticipating something causes sufferers to forget their sorrow. 4 Now I imagine that I see him, I deceive myself into hearing him nearby, I am ashamed when he expresses scorn for the unjust plot; sometimes I seem to meet him stealing up and to have pleasure with him, or even to visit him myself, wherever he is on earth. This sets me on fire, this drives me mad! 5 I suffer justly, oh gods! Why was it I did not treat him well but plotted against him? Why was it I did not plead with him but chased him? He rejected the first attempt but that was natural. He felt a sense of shame about another's bed, or definitely, at least, that of his father; it is possible that with time he would have been persuaded to change to our point of view, having his attitude altered by persuasion. But I have been savage and wild, not as if I loved someone but ruled them, and I have been angry that he did not follow an order and that he contemned Demainete when he is far superior to her in youthful beauty. 6 But, dear Thisbe, what is the solution you mention?" "Easy, mistress," she said, "to most people Knemon departed the city and went out of Attica in obedience to the judgement, but it did not escape my notice, scheming to arrange things for you, that he is hiding here outside the city. You must have heard of Arsinoe the flute-player: he fancied her; after his misfortune the girl took him in, and announcing that she is going away with him she is keeping him hidden with her until she has prepared to travel." 7 Demainete said, "Arsinoe is lucky, with her previous relationship with Knemon and with the trip abroad with him which she now expects; but how does this affect us?" "Very much, mistress," she said. "I will pretend to love Knemon, and I will ask Arsinoe (who is an old friend of mine from our common profession) to take me to him at night instead of her. If this should happen it would then be your place to pretend to be Arsinoe and to visit him as if you were her. 8 I shall make sure that I arrange that he also goes to bed drunk. If you get what you want it is likely that your love will subside, since for many women the passionate impulses are quenched the first time they are tried out; for satiety is the outcome of acts of love; if they remain (and may that not happen!) there will be an alternative route and other counsels. Meanwhile, let us look after the present."

XVI 1 Demainete agreed, and pleaded with her to add speed to the plans. Asking her mistress for one day to be given to her to work things out she went to Arsinoe and said, "Do you know Teledemos?" When she said she did, she [Thisbe] said, "Will you let us in today? I have promised to sleep with him. He will come first, and I when I have put my mistress to bed." 2 Running to Aristippos in the countryside, she said, "Master, I have come to you as my own accuser: do what you want with me. You have lost your son partly through me, who, although I was unwilling, nonetheless share the blame. When I realized that the mistress was not living properly, but was defiling your bed, I was both fearful for myself that something bad might happen to me

sometime if her behaviour was detected through someone else, and I was sad for you, that when you treat your wife the way you do you should in exchange suffer this kind of thing. I shrank from informing you myself, but I spoke to the young master, going to him at night, so that no one would know, and I told him that an adulterer was sleeping with the mistress. **3** He, who as you know had suffered previously at her hands, thought that I meant that the adulterer was then inside. He was filled with uncontrollable anger, and picking up the dagger, and ignoring me when I tried hard to restrain him and to tell him that nothing of the kind was happening at that moment, or supposing that I had changed my mind, went into the bedroom in a frenzy; you know the rest. **4** It is now possible, if you want, for you to defend yourself before your son, even if he is currently in exile, and to punish the one who wronged you both. Today I will show you Demainete lying with the adulterer, and what's more, in someone else's house outside the city." **5** "If only you would show me this, as you say," said Aristippos, "you shall have the prize of freedom; but having revenge, I shall perhaps outlive the hateful woman. For a long time I have been smouldering inside, and having a suspicion of the fact I have kept quiet for lack of proof. But what must I do?" She said, "You know the garden where the monument of the Epicureans is: go there by this evening and wait."

XVII 1 As she spoke she ran off, and going to Demainete, she said, "Adorn yourself; you should come more gracefully turned out. I have organized everything for you which I promised." She embraced her and did what she told her. When it was evening she [Thisbe] picked her up and took her to the appointed place. **2** When they got close she told her to stand there for a little while, and she went first and asked Arsinoe to move to another room and to leave her alone, because she said the lad was embarrassed, having just found his strength in Aphrodite's arts. When she [Arsinoe] had done what she was asked, she [Thisbe] went back, brought Demainete and taking her in she put her to bed and took away the lamp so that she would not be recognized by you, who, ironically, were living in Aegina. **3** And instructing her to fulfil her passion in silence, she said, "I will go away to the youth, and will come and bring him to you. He is drinking with neighbours hereabouts." Going out, she found Aristippos in the agreed place, and hurried him to tie up the adulterer who was at hand. He followed her, and coming up suddenly he rushed into the room, and finding the bed with difficulty by a little beam of moonlight, he said, "I've got you, you abomination to the gods!" **4** As he spoke, Thisbe suddenly slammed the doors as loudly as possible and shouted, "How dreadful, the adulterer has eluded us;" and, "Watch, master, that you do not make another mistake too!" He said, "Do not worry! I have got the wicked woman, whom I wanted most;" and taking her, he led her towards the city. **5** She, when she understood, ^{and} so it seems, her current circumstances - the loss of what she was hoping for, the dishonour in what was going to happen, distressed at those by

whom she had been caught and furious at those by whom she had been tricked, when she was at the pit in the Academy (you know it well, where the polemarchs offer the ancestral sacrifice to the heroes), then suddenly tearing herself from the hands of the old man she threw herself on her head. 6 So the dreadful woman lay [having died] dreadfully; but Aristippos, saying, "I have a punishment from you even in advance of the legal process," on the next day imparted everything to the citizen body, and obtaining a pardon with difficulty he went round his friends and acquaintances to see whether by lobbying he could possibly get your return. Whether any of this was achieved I cannot say, for I came here first, as you see, sailing here on some personal business of my own. However, you should expect the people to agree to your return and your father to come looking for you, for this was announced by him.'

XVIII 1 Charias told me this. The sequel, and how I came here or what fortunes I have at times experienced, would need a longer talk and time" At the same time he wept. The strangers wept too, ostensibly at his troubles, but each remembering his own. They would not have ceased lamenting unless some sleep, favouring them as a result of the pleasure of lamentations, had stopped them weeping. 2 And so they slept; but Thyamis (for this was the name of the bandit chief) having lain at rest for most of the night, was disturbed by some stray dreams and was suddenly robbed of sleep and stayed awake, puzzling in his thoughts about the solution. 3 At the time when the cocks crow, whether, as they say, stimulated by the physical sensation of the sun as it revolves above us to address the god, or whether rather, awaking his companions with his own call because of the heat and of the desire to move and to feed, a divine dream something like this came to him. 4 Coming to Memphis, his own city, to the temple of Isis, the whole place seemed to be illuminated by the fire of a torch. The altars and hearths, running with blood, were full of all kinds of animals, and the propylaea and peridromos with men who filled everything with a confused din and hubbub. When he dreamed he came inside the actual sanctuary the goddess met him and entrusted Charikleia to him and said, "Thyamis, I hand over this maiden to you; having her you shall not have her, but you shall be unjust and shall kill the stranger; but she shall not be killed." 5 When he saw this he was confused, turning over in his mind this way and that what the meaning could be. Once he had given up, he adapted the solution to his own desire. He supposed that the "You shall have and you shall not have" was "as a wife and no longer as virgin;" he imagined the "you shall kill" as "you shall break the maidenhead," whereby Charikleia would not die.

XIX 1 This is how he understood the dream, with his impulses guiding him thus. At dawn he instructed the most senior of those under him to come, and told them to bring the booty, which he called by the more respectable name of 'spoils', into their midst; and he sent for Knemon, instructing him also to bring

him those under guard. **2** When they were being brought they shouted, "So what fate awaits us?" and strongly implored Knemon to assist them if he could at all. He reassured them, and urged them to be optimistic, advising that the bandit leader was not entirely barbarous in his character, but was rather gentle, since his descent was from illustrious men and he had taken up his present life out of necessity. **3** When they had been brought, the rest of the crowd gathered. Thyamis, seating himself on an elevated spot declared the island a parliament, and instructing Knemon to tell the prisoners too what was said (for he already understood Egyptian, but Thyamis did not have an accurate knowledge of Greek), said, "Men and fellow soldiers, you know the attitude I have always adopted towards you. **4** As you know, I was born the son of the high priest at Memphis, and lost the priesthood after the departure of my father when my younger brother, acting illegally, took it away. I fled to you to get vengeance on him and to get back honour, and being considered worthy by you to lead you I have continued until now apportioning nothing more to myself than to the others. If there was a division of goods I preferred an equal portion, or if there was a capture of prisoners I allocated them to the common kitty. I think it is fitting for one who leads you well like this to have the largest share of work but an equal share of the profits. **5** Of the captives, I have selected for us ourselves those men who are going to be most useful by their strength of body, and sold off the weaker ones; of the women, without trying rape, I have released the well born for money, or simply out of pity for their fate, while the inferior ones, whom not only captivity but also habit has obliged to be slaves, I have shared out to each of you as servants. **6** Now I request from you one thing from the booty: this foreign maiden whom, although it is possible for me to give her to myself, I think it is better to receive by common consent; for it would be stupid for me if, forcing the captive to do my will, I seemed to be acting in my own interests while my friends were rather unwilling. **7** But I ask her from you not as a free gift, but offering in return to take nothing myself from the other parts of the booty. Since the priestly caste rejects the common Aphrodite I thought she should be mine not on account of a need for pleasure but of the production of heirs.

XX **1** I want to explain the reasons to you. First, she seems to me to be well born. I use as evidence the wealth that was found with her, and the fact that she has not sunk down in the face of her present circumstances, but derives her attitude from her original lot in life. **2** Then, I assess that her mind is good and prudent; for if, when she conquers everyone with her fine looks, she still disposes those who see her to a respectful attitude of mind with the modesty of her gaze, does she not naturally induce a better assumption about herself? The most important of the points is that she seems to me to be the priestess of one of the gods: and so even in misfortune she thinks it would be terrible and irreligious to put off her priestly garb and chaplets.

XXI 1 So, friends, what marriage could be more fitting than the priestly man taking the consecrated woman?" They all assented, and wished him an auspicious marriage. He resumed the speech and said, "I am grateful to you; but we would be acting properly if we were to enquire what is the opinion of the maiden about this. 2 If it was necessary to make use of the rights of leadership my wishes would be perfectly sufficient for me; for those who can use force consultation is superfluous; but if marriage is what is happening it is necessary for the will of both parties to be in agreement." And redirecting his speech he asked, "So how do you feel, maiden, about being my wife?" and at the same time he told her to say who they were, and from what families. 3 She, for a long time casting her gaze on the ground and frequently shaking her head, seemed to be forming some speech to express her thought. And eventually, looking straight towards Thyamis, and upsetting him more than before by her beauty (for she had grown more red in the cheek than usual, affected by her thoughts, and her expression had changed to a more animated one) she said, with Knemon translating, "It would be more fitting for Theagenes here, my brother, to speak; for I think that in the company of men, silence becomes a woman and to reply becomes a man."

XXII 1 But since you have turned over the discussion to me and have offered this first indication of kindness by trying to obtain your rights by persuasion rather than by force, and moreover because the whole issue relates to me, I am obliged to depart from my own and from maidens' rules and to answer the question of my conqueror about marriage, and what's more, in the company of so many men. 2 Now this is our situation. By race we are Ionians, being originally Ephesian and having both parents alive; since the law requires people of such a sort to serve as priests, I was chosen priestess of Artemis and my brother here was chosen priest of Apollo. Since the honour is an annual one and the time had come round we made a religious embassy to Delos where we were going to put on musical and athletic contests and to lay aside the priesthood according to our ancestral tradition. 3 So a ship was filled with gold and silver and garments and the other things which would be sufficient for the contests and the general feast; and we went, while our fathers were advanced in age and stayed at home from fear of the voyage and the sea; but a crowd of other citizens came, some in the same ship and others using their own boats. 4 When most of the voyage had been accomplished a wave which suddenly fell on us and a violent wind and confused hurricanes and lightening bolts which whipped up the sea drove the ship from its course, while the helmsman succumbed to the excessive difficulty and gave up the ship to the force of the weather and allowed fate to steer. For seven days and as many nights we were driven by the wind which blew from all directions, and finally we ran aground on the rock where we were captured by you, 5 where you also saw much carnage: at the feast we held to celebrate our salvation the sailors attacked us, and plotted to kill us for the money, until we beat them with great

trouble and destruction also of our people, while they themselves were both killing and being killed. From all these things we were saved as a pitiful remnant - I wish it had not been so - being lucky among our misfortunes in one thing only, that one of the gods brought us into your hands, and we who feared for our lives have been diverted into considering marriage, which I do not want by any means to reject. 6 For someone who is a prisoner to be thought worthy of the bed of her conqueror exceeds all good fortune; and for one who is dedicated to the gods to dwell with the son of a high priest, soon, god willing, with a high priest, does not seem at all to be devoid of the providence of heaven. I ask one thing, grant it, Thyamis: allow me first to go to a city where there is an altar or shrine assigned to Apollo to lay aside my priesthood and its tokens. 7 It is better to go to Memphis where you can regain the honour of your high priesthood. In this way the marriage would be held more happily because it was joined with victory and would be consecrated in circumstances of success. But if it should be before that, I leave to your judgement; only let my ancestral rites be performed first. I know that you will agree, having been associated with religious observance since childhood, as you say, and respecting our pious duty concerning the gods."

XXIII 1 Then she stopped speaking and started crying. All the others who were present were in favour and told him to act in this way and shouted that they were ready; Thyamis expressed assent partly willingly and partly unwillingly. 2 Because of his passion for Charikleia he thought that even the present moment was an enormous length of time to delay, but he was charmed by her words as if by a siren, and was compelled to obey; at the same time he made some connection with the dream, and was confident the marriage would take place at Memphis. He terminated the discussion, first dividing up the booty, himself taking many of the best things which the others yielded willingly.

XXIV 1 He ordered them to be ready in ten days time to make the expedition against Memphis. To the Greeks he assigned their former tent. Knemon again shared a tent with them by order, being appointed henceforth no longer as guard but as a companion. 2 And Thyamis provided some more luxurious fare than they had, and Thyamis sometimes also made Theagenes a guest at his table out of respect for his sister. Charikleia herself he decided not to see much, so that the sight of her might not inflame the desire he had and he would be forced to do something different from what had been decided and declared. 3 And Thyamis therefore avoided seeing the maiden, thinking that he would not be able to look at her and remain chaste. Knemon, as soon as they were all out of the way, each one disappearing into a different part of the lagoon, after a short search brought back to Theagenes from the lagoon the herb which he had promised on the previous day.

XXV 1 Meanwhile Theagenes, having some leisure, wept and groaned for Charikleia, not talking to her at all but constantly calling the gods as witnesses. 2 When she asked whether he was lamenting the usual and shared problems or whether he was not suffering some more novel trouble Theagenes said, "What could be more novel or what could be more impious than oaths and treaties being broken while Charikleia becomes forgetful of me and promises her hand to others?" 3 "Be quiet," said the maiden, "and do not be more grievous to me than my misfortunes; and do not, when you have from past events such a great testing of me through my actions, behave suspiciously because of words which were expedient and spoken for a specific need. Otherwise the opposite has happened, and you yourself seem to have changed rather than finding that I have changed. 4 I admit that it is unfortunate, but nothing is so forceful as to persuade me to change and not be chaste. There is one thing alone, I know, in which I am not chaste: the desire I have had from the start for you. But this is not irregular; for I first gave myself then not as one submitting to a lover but as one being joined to a husband, and I have come this far keeping myself pure and away from intercourse with you, often pushing you away when you have tried something, waiting expectantly for the lawful marriage, if it might happen, which we agreed upon from the beginning and swore on by all the gods. 5 Would you be so foolish as to believe that a barbarian could receive me in marriage before a Greek, a bandit before my beloved?" "So why did you want to make that fine address?" said Theagenes. 6 "Pretending I am your ~~sister~~ ^{brother} was very wise, and further, a distraction for Thyamis from jealousy against us and a way of arranging for us to be with one another without fear. I understood that Ionia and the wandering about Delos would be cover for the facts and the truth, and would cause a wandering in actuality in the hearers."

^{But being} XXVI 1 ^{ed} "Being so ready to agree to the marriage and to make an arrangement explicitly and to set a time, this I ~~am~~ not able to understand nor ~~do~~ ^{was} I want to. I pray that I shall sink away rather than see this conclusion to my labours and hopes concerning you." 2 Charikleia, embracing Theagenes and kissing him a thousand times and wetting him with tears said, "How happily I accept from you the fears about me. From this it is evident that you are not diminishing in desire for me as a result of our misfortunes. But understand, Theagenes, we would not be talking to each other now unless these things had been promised in that way. 3 For as you know, a battle of resistance intensifies the urge of a conquering passion, but a yielding word which fits in with the will checks the first boiling impetus and lulls the sharpness of the appetite by the sweetness of the promise. For, I believe, those who love more crudely regard the promise as the first experience, and supposing from the verbal undertaking that they have conquered they behave more tamely as they depend on their hopes. 4 Now foreseeing this myself I gave myself in word, entrusting the future to the gods and to the spirit which received the task of governing our love. Often one or two days have given much of what provides salvation, and fates provide things

which men did not discover in a thousand counsels. I too am putting off *this* present moment with schemes, displacing foreseen things with unforeseen. **5** So one must be careful, dearest, as if the invention were a wrestler's feint, and one must be silent not only to the others but also to Knemon himself. He is kind to us, and a Greek, but a prisoner is going to do a favour more to his captor, if that kind of situation arises. **6** For neither does the length of our friendship nor the bond of kinship give us a secure pledge of his good faith towards us. Therefore if from some suspicion he should ever poke his nose into our affairs, a denial must be made at the first enquiry. Sometimes a lie is a good thing, when it brings advantage to those who speak it and does not harm the hearers.

XXVII 1 While Charikleia was advising these and similar things for the best outcome, Knemon ran up in an enormous hurry and, based on what he seen, announced that there was a great tumult, and said, "Theagenes, I have come bringing you the herb: put it on and treat your wounds. We must get ready for more injuries and equal carnage." **2** When he pleaded with him to explain more clearly what he meant, he said, "The present is not a time for listening; there is a danger that words will be cut short by actions; but follow with utmost speed, and let Charikleia follow too." And taking them both along he led them to Thyamis. **3** Finding him wiping out a helmet and sharpening a light spear he said, "You are attending to your armour at a good time; but put it on yourself, and tell the others to. I have seen a host of enemies of a size that I have never seen around us before, and they were ^{at} such a distance as to be coming into view over the neighbouring ridge. I have come at a run to give advance warning of the approach, not slacking my speed at all but telling as many men as I could on the route here to get ready."

XXVIII 1 At this Thyamis got up and asked, "Where is Charikleia?" as if he feared more for her than for himself. When Knemon pointed her out staying back by the nearby doorpost, he said to him alone, "Taking her yourself lead her to the cave where also our goods are stored in safety. When you have put her there, friend, and put the cover on the entrance as usual, come to us as quickly as possible. The battle will be our concern." He instructed his shield-bearer to bring a sacrificial victim so that they could sacrifice to the local gods and in this way would begin the battle. **2** Knemon followed the instruction, and brought Charikleia, who was lamenting a lot and frequently turning towards Theagenes, and placed her in the cave. It was not a work of nature like many places around and under the earth which are hollow of their own accord: the bandit's craft had mimicked nature, and it was an excavation laboriously hollowed out by Egyptian hands for storing booty.

XXIX 1 This is how it was made. It had a narrow and dark mouth which lay beneath the doors of a concealed chamber so that the threshold was itself a

second door to the way down when it should be needed. It [the threshold which was a second door] dropped onto it [the way down] and opened easily. From there it divided into curved tunnels with no pattern. **2** The paths and tunnels to the inner parts sometimes wandered artfully each in its own way and sometimes met one another, intertwining like roots, and running down to the lowest level they opened up into one large area where a dim light penetrated from an opening by the edges of the lake. **3** It was there that Knemon took Charikleia down and leading her with his knowledge of the route he brought her to the end of the cave, strongly reassuring her and promising to visit her by evening with Theagenes, and that he would not let him engage with the enemy but would make him run away. She said nothing but was smitten by her trouble as if by death, and was deprived of Theagenes as if of her soul; leaving her fainting and silent he went out of the cave. **4** Putting on the threshold [which served as a trap-door], and weeping a little for himself because of what he was forced to do and for her because of her fate, that he was almost burying her alive and that he was giving over Charikleia, the brightest thing among men, to night and darkness, he ran off to Thyamis and found him hot for the fight, himself armed magnificently along with Theagenes, and stimulating those gathered around him to a frenzy with a speech. **5** Standing in their midst he said, "Fellow soldiers, I know that it is not necessary to exhort you at length, and that you need no reminder but consider life is always a battle, and besides the unexpected approach of our opponents cuts off any prolixity of speech. Those whose enemies are in their property, if they do not to bring up a defence quickly using similar forces, that is entirely the behaviour of men who come later than they are needed. **6** So knowing that the speech is not about women and children, which alone is sufficient to stir up many men to fight, (for these things are of less account to us and we can get just as many every time we win) but about existence itself and our souls (for a bandit war never ended in dialogue and never had its conclusion in treaties, but the winners must survive and the losers die), so, honing our spirits and bodies let us engage the enemy."

XXX **1** Saying this he looked around for his shield-bearer and repeatedly called him by name, Thermouthis. When he was nowhere around, he uttered many threats and hurried to the boat at a run. The war had already broken out, and it was possible to see at a distance that those who lived in the outermost parts near the inlet of the lagoon had been taken. **2** The attackers had burnt the boats and huts of those who had fallen or fled. When the fire spread from them to the neighbouring marsh and consumed in great clumps the abundance of reeds there, a fiery glow, indescribable and unbearable, came to the eyes, and a roaring noise came to the ear. **3** Every image of war was vividly seen and heard; the local people engaged in the fight with all their energy and strength, but the others very much had the advantage by their number and by the unexpectedness of the attack, killing some on land and submerging others in the lagoon together with their boats and together with their dwellings. From all

this there rose to the sky a confused din of men fighting by land and in boats, of men killing and being killed, reddening the lagoon with blood and mixing together fire and water. **4** When Thyamis saw and heard this the dream came to his mind in which he saw Isis, and the whole temple filled with torches and sacrifices, and he thought that those things were what was happening now. He interpreted the dream in the opposite way to before: that 'having he will not have her' [would be fulfilled] with her being taken away by the battle, and that 'he will kill and will not wound' [would be fulfilled] by a sword and not in Aphrodite's way. **5** He severely criticized the vision as deceitful, and thought it a terrible thing if another man should become master of Charikleia. He told those with him to wait a little, saying that staying on the spot and hiding around the island they should do battle when necessary and conceal the entrances through the surrounding marshes, for it would be desirable to resist the host of the enemy this way; while he, going as if to seek ~~Thyamis~~ *Thermouthis* and to pray to his patron gods, and permitting none to follow, went in a frenzy to the room. **6** The barbarian character is difficult to restrain where it has an urge. If one despairs of his own salvation he is likely to destroy first everything he holds dear, whether in the foolish belief that they will be with him after death or whether to remove them from the grasp and insults of the enemy. **7** As a result Thyamis, forgetting everything he had in hand and moreover surrounded by enemies as if by nets, in the grip of love and jealousy and rage went to the cave as quickly as he could run and jumping down shouted long and loud in Egyptian and encountering there somewhere near the mouth a woman addressing him in Greek he went to her, guided by her voice, put his left hand on her head and drove the sword through her chest beside her breast.

XXXI **1** She lay in a sad state, shrieking pitifully as she died. He ran back and replacing the threshold [which served as a trap-door] and gathering on it a little mound of dust said with tears, "This is my bridal gift to you." When he reached the boats he found the others already planning to flee because they saw the enemy were at hand, and Thermouthis who had come and was dealing with the sacrificial victim. **2** Upbraiding him and saying that he had already performed the best of the sacrifices, he and Thermouthis got into the boat with the rower as a third person; the lagoon boats which are crudely hollowed out of a single log, of one thick tree trunk, cannot carry more. Theagenes went away in another boat with Knemon, and they all did likewise, each in a different boat. **3** When they had gained a little distance from the island, sailing around more than sailing away, they stopped rowing and turned the boats sideways on so as to receive the enemy face to face; only coming close, and not withstanding the tumult all the others fled as soon as they saw it; and some could not cope with the war-like din. **4** Theagenes and Knemon withdrew, although for the most part they did not give in to fear. Only Thyamis, partly because he was perhaps ashamed of running away, and perhaps unable to bear to outlive Charikleia, threw himself among the enemy.

XXXII 1 When they were already hand to hand someone shouted, "Here is that Thyamis! Everyone guard him!" And suddenly the boats came round to a circle and held him in the middle. He resisted, wounding some with his spear and killing others, and it was more than marvellous what happened: not one of them attacked or struck him with a sword, but each devoted his whole energy to taking him alive. 2 He resisted with the utmost vigour until he was deprived of his spear when many attacked at once; he also lost his shield-bearer, who had fought by him with distinction and, as it seems, was wounded at the right moment and giving in to despair threw himself into the lagoon, and using his skill at swimming emerged out of reach of missiles and with difficulty he swam towards the marsh. What's more, no one thought about pursuing him, 3 for they had already taken Thyamis, regarding the capture of one man as a complete victory. Although they were diminished by losing so many friends they rejoiced more at honouring the living killer than they grieved at losing their own men. 4 And this is how gain is more important to robbers than their own lives, and the name of friendship and kinship has its limit set at one thing, profit. That is how it was for these robbers.

XXXIII 1 They happened to belong to those who ran away from Thyamis and his companions at the Herakleiotic outlet. Angry at the loss of other people's possessions and feeling distress at the removal of the booty as if it were their own, they collected together the rest of their own men at home, and similarly summoned the surrounding villages on the basis of a promise of a similar and equal share of what they looted, the leaders decided on an attack, and were attempting to take Thyamis alive for the following reason. 2 He had a brother Petosiris at Memphis. He had taken the benefice of the high priest, by a plot, from Thyamis, against the ancestral custom, since he was younger. When he learned that his elder brother was leader of a robber band he feared that he might find an opportunity and attack sometime, or even that time would find out his plot; at the same time he realized that he was under a suspicion with the populace that he had killed Thyamis, who had vanished, and sending word to the bandit villages he proclaimed a great quantity of money and pasturage for those who should bring him alive. 3 Captivated by this the robbers, who even in the heat of battle did not let profit escape their minds, when someone recognized him, took him alive with many deaths. They conducted the prisoner by land, choosing half of them to guard him, although he severely castigated their apparent kindness and railed at captivity more than death. The rest of them turned to the island, hoping to find in it the goods and booty they sought. 4 When they had run all through it and left no part unsearched they found nothing of what they hoped, or a little, if there was something left out around the cave which was hidden underground. Setting fire to the tents, when evening was already coming on and making them frightened to stay on the island, (because of a fear of ambush by men who had escaped [them in the battle]), they went away to their own people.

Corrigenda

reference:	printed text:	correct to:
<i>passim</i>	Gregory of Nyssea	Gregory of Nyssa
p8 n8	(PG 91, 721-1018)	(PG 91.721-1018)
p10 l.21	D. Koraes	A. Koraes
p16 l.3	D. Koraes	A. Koraes
p18 l.23	include	include
p18 l.24	ἀνικανός:	ἀνικανός Heliodoros II 30.4:
p19 n34	Anna Comena	Anna Comnena
p19 n35	μυσουργίη	μυσουργίη
p20 l.3 & n38	ζωστήρ	ζωστήρ
p21	Cassios Dio	Cassius Dio
p22 n41	isolationwe	isolation we
p24 n53	and once each but	and once each by
p26 l.9	παρθενεύοντος	παρθενεύοντος
p26 n59 l.8	Posidonnios	Posidonios
p27 l.5	προετοιμάζω	προετοιμάζω
p27 l.18-19 <i>move</i>	The distribution is similar for the noun ὑποστήριγμα.	to l.10-11
p30 l.9 & p30 n71 l.18	ἐγχώριοι	ἐγχώριοι
p33 l.28	(X.36.3.)	(X 36.3).
p34 l.5	stoic	Stoic
p34 l.8	αἰνοπτόμενοι	αἰνιπτόμενοι
p34 l.23	apellant	appellant
p34 n84 l.4	turn	turn
p34 n84 l.10	understood	understood
p35 l.9	ᾠραι	ᾠραι
p35 l.18	Ailian	Aelian
p35 n90 l.7	forth	fourth
p35 n92	Ael	Ael.
p36 l.11	power of thos overseenig	power of those overseeing
p36 n100	Artmeis	Artemis
p37 n104	Eusebios, Praeparatio Evangelica	Eusebios <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>
p37 n104	Porphry apud Eusebios	Porphry in Eusebios
p39 l.18	II.1.1	II 1.1
p39 l.33	let Helios be called	let Helios, the father of our race, be called
p40 l.3	ὁ θεός	ὁ θεός
p40 l.5	εὐστάχυος	ἐυσταχυος
p43 l.26	says, Νικῆσαι	says, νικῆσαι
p44 l.16	Isis is ἡ θεός	Isis is ἡ θεός
p44 l.33	II.25.2	II 25.2
p45 l.14	and ἡ θεός refers back	and ἡ θεός refers back

p47 n124	Nauk	Nauck
p47 n125 1.1	I 16.5 to 16.7: πλὴν καὶ	I 1.16: πλὴν καὶ
p48 1.13	in Sophokles,	in Sophocles,
p48 n125	διαπράχεται	διαπράζεται
p48 n132	ἐπεὶ ἐκ τινὸς	ἐπεὶ ἐκ τινος
p49 n135 1.2	139d.),	139d,
p50 n139	<i>JTS</i> (1931)	<i>JTS</i> 32 (1931)
p51 ad II 29.4	ἔπετραγώδει	ἔπετραγώδει
p52 n141	(PG 66, 1452B)	(PG 66.1452B)
p55 1.36 ad X 13.5	in the girl's hands,	in the girl's hands like a mask,
p58 1.6 ad VII 26.2	(ἡ Τύχη is here	(ἡ Τύχη is here
p58 1.20 ad IX 2.1	... "Hurrah	... He said, "Hurrah
p58 1.24 ad IX 5.1	ἰκέτευον. ὁ δὲ ἐπείθετο	ἰκέτευον. ὁ δὲ ἐπείθετο
p60 n145	J. Gwyn-Griffiths	J. Gwyn Griffiths
p62 1.2	a survey what	a survey of what
p62 1.3	ask whether	asks whether
p63 1.12	καὶ ταυτὸν	καὶ ταὐτὸν
p63 1.19	Damascios	Damaskios
p64 1.32	temple Azzanathkona	temple of Azzanathkona
p65 n167 1.2	Elalgabalus	Elagabalus
p66 1.8-9	who may have been a product of the house of priestly rulers of Emesa specifically of priestess).	who was from Apamea specifically of a priestess).
p67 1.10	προφήται	προφήται
p67 1.24	ἄνδρος ὅσιον ἐστίν	ἄνδρὸς ὀσιόν ἐστιν
p67 n172	It is clear from Julian	It is clear from Julian
p68 1.2	Iamblichos seems likely to	Iamblichos was from
p68 1.9-10	have been an Emesene	Apamea
p68 n176 1.9	[the τάξεις]	[the ranks of gods]
p68 n176 1.12	σεληνη	σελήνη
p69 1.34	ἐσθήτα τὴν βαρβαρικὴν	ἐσθήτα τὴν βαρβαρικὴν
p70 1.16	σαβάσιμον	σεβάσιμον
p70 1.28	θεοὶ	θεοὶ
p70 1.29	century A.D..	century A.D.
p70 n186 1.7	ἐπεκόοις	ἐπηκόοις
p73 1.2	μυστικώτερον	μυστικώτερον
p74 1.7	who's	whose
p75 1.10	based is based on a	based on a
p76 1.25,26,27,30,31	Φοῖνιξ	Φοῖνιξ
p81 ad 1. τῷ ... 1.6	ἀπεφίημι	ἐπαφίημι
p81 ad 1. ὥς ... 1.1	ἐπηγγέλετο	ἐπηγγέλλετο
p81 ad 1. ὥς ... 1.7	protasis	protasis
p82 ad 2. τὸ γὰρ 1.2,12,13,17	ζωστήρ	ζωστήρ
p83 1.11	D. Koraes	A. Koraes

p83 ad 4. τὸ γὰρ . . . 1.2	Dionysios of Halicarnassos	Dionysios of Halikarnassos
p84 ad 8. 1.1	ἀποδείξαντες	ἀποδείξαντες
p84 ad 8. 1.9	ζένον καὶ εὐεργέτην	ζένον καὶ εὐεργέτην
p84 ad 8. 1.19	Heliodorean,	Heliodorean.
p85 ad 1 1.16,17,19,20	ἀμήχανον	ἀμήχανόν
p85 ad 1. 1.19	ἐρωτήσαν, ὁρώης	ἐρωτήσων, ὁρώης
p86 ad 2. 1.2	Hesiod <i>Scutum</i> 243	[Hesiod] <i>Scutum</i> 234
p86 ad 3. 1.2	Theocr. VII 65	Theocr. VIII 65
p88 ad 7. εἶχον 1.4	ἀποδεξίαντες	ἀποδείξαντες
p88 ad 8. 1.8	οὕτω	οὕτω
p88 ad 8. 1.9	σκιουγράφος	σκιαγράφος
p88 ad 9. 1.1	οὕτως	οὕτως
p90 ad §5 1. 1.8	ακτῇ	ἀκτῇ
p91 ad 2. 1.3	preceeding	preceding
p93 1.22	jusqu'à	jusqu'à
p97 1.33, n231	A. Billaut	A. Billaut
p98 1.35	A.M. Saracella	A.M. Scarcella
p100 ad 2. σκολιὰς 1.9	φεύγε	φεύγε
p101 ad 1. καὶ οἱ μὲν 1.5	χώρας	χώρας
p101 ad 2. ἢ καὶ 1. 8	ὅσῳ παρὰ σφίσι,	ὅσῳ καθαρώτερος καὶ καλλίων τυγχάνει ὢν τοῦ παρὰ σφίσι
p102 ad 2. ἐπι . . .	χαμεύνης	χαμεύνη
p103 ad 4. 1.12	κυριέ μου	κύριέ μου
p104 ad 4. 1.9	τό θεῖον.	τὸ θεῖον.
p104 ad 4. 1.16	φιλανθρωπία	φιλανθρωπία
p105 1.2	δυνάμεως	δυνάμεως
p105 1.16	τὸ κρεῖττον	τὸ κρεῖττον
p105 ad 4. ὑπὸ 1.3	genitive	genitive
p106 ad 6. 1.3	Ailion	Aelian
p107 1.15	παράγματι	πράγματι
p107 1.19	trimiter	trimeter
p107 ad 7. διήγημα 1.2	διηγήσις	διήγησις
p109 ad 2. σαγηνευθεὶς 1.18	σαγήναι	σαγήναι
p111 ad 2. 1.4	Θησεὺς	Θησεὺς
p111 ad 2. 1.8	Materiale	Materiali
p111 ad 2. 1.9	e quali	i quali
p111 ad 2. 1.16	Ἰππόλυτου	Ἰππολύτου
p111 ad 2. 1.17	di una frase. ὁ νέος	di una frase, ὁ νέος
p112 ad 2 1.1	αὕτη	αὕτῃ
p114 ad 3. Θίσβη 1.11	Ὀγχηστὸς	Ὀγχηστὸς
p115 ad 2. 1.2	σωφροσυνούσης	σωφροσύνης
p115 ad 2. 1.4	mood emphasizing	mood emphasizes
p116 ad 2. 1.8	Dio Kassios	Dio Cassius
p116 ad 2 1.13	developped or arose from it independntly	developed or arose from it independently

p116 ad 3. 1.23	ὥ	ὦ
p117 1.3	ἐντεῦθεν	ἐντεῦθεν
p117 1.29	häufig	häufig
p117 1.33	ἀπόπληκτος	ἀπόπληκτος
p120 ad 1. ὥς . . . 1.11	ἔφεςις δε ἐστι,	ἔφεςις δέ ἐστι,
p120 ad 1. ὥς . . . 1.12	ἀποδιαιτησῶν	ἀπὸ διαιτησῶν
p120 ad 1. ὥς . . . 1.13	δήμου	δήμου
p121 ad 1. εἰς 1.18	Γεννῆται	Γεννῆται
p121 ad 1. εἰς 1.22	ἱεροσύναι	ἱερωσύναι
p121 ad 1. εἰς 1.23	ἐκκλητοῦντο. ἔστι	ἐκκληροῦντο. ἔστι
p121 ad 1. εἰς 1.31	γεννήτας	γεννήτας
p122 ad 1. 1.5	<i>Panegyricos</i>	<i>Panegyrikos</i>
p122 ad 2. προσαγγέλω 1.30	Catalinarian	Catilinarian
p123 1.4	Mommsen	Mommsen
p123 1.18	dominant, and the when	dominant, and when
p123 ad 5. 1.3	Τιμουράτους	Τιμοκράτους
p125 1.5	Philippians	Philippians
p125 1.12	Aretaios, <i>De cur. acut.</i>	Aretaios <i>De cur. acut.</i>
p126 ad 4. 1.9	χαίρε	χαίρε
p127 1.1	<i>Veteras</i>	<i>Vetera</i>
p128 ad 6. καὶ . . . 1.2	exspectis	exspectes
p129 ad 5. 1.1	πατρῶαν	πατρῶαν
p129 ad 5. 1.18	of the shades of meaning	of the shades of meaning
p130 1.1	shpere, reagrd	sphere, regards
p130 ad 6. « . . ὅλλ' 1.1,3,10	ῥάδιαν	ῥάδιαν
p130 ad 7. γνωρίμην 1.5	copyists	copyist's
p131 ad 8. ἐνοπομείνειεν 1.4	Gregory of Nazianzenos	Gregory Nazianzenos
p133 ad 3. 1.4	Themisios	Themistios
p133 ad 5. 1.6	Rohdes	Rhodes
p134 ad 1. ἐπιπτάς 1.5	Jnnaris	Jannaris
p134 ad 2-5 1.13, p135 1.8	ὄνειροι	ὄνειροι
p135 1.3	τῶς	τῶς
p136 1.9	Artemidoros (I 26), that is that	Artemidoros (I 26), that is, that
p136 1.23	ἐξ ὧν	ἐξ ὧν
p136 1.24	νενομισμένοι	νενομισμένοι
p136 1.25	εἰσιν	εἰσιν
p137 ad 2. 1.2	genetive, ὄνειροι	genitive, ὄνειροι
p137 ad 2. 1.5	πεπλανήσθαι	πεπλανήσθαι
p137 ad 3. 1.8	J.J. Winkler (YCS	J.J. Winkler (YCS
p137 ad 3. 1.14	'omnipotent'	'omniscient'
p138 ad 1. 1.4	λαμβομένα	λαμβανομένα
p138 ad 2. εἴ . . . 1.2	to much	too much
p138 ad 2 οὐ . . . 1.10	Greek. Firthermore	Greek. Furthermore
p139 ad 4. 1.2	<i>Aithiopika</i> do describe	<i>Aithiopika</i> to describe
p139 ad 4. 1.13	prêtres égyptiens. C'étaient	prêtres égyptiens. C'étaient
p140 1.1,4,6,11	προφήται	προφήται

p140 l.7	οὐδες	οὐδεις
p140 l.11	Χαλδαῖοι	Χαλδαῖοι
p140 l.13	ὕδρεϊον	ὕδρεϊον
p141 l.5	τύχη, ἀνθρωπων	τύχη, ἀνθρώπων
p141 l.14	οὕτω	οὕτω
p141 l.24	Θρᾶκα Τηρέα ᾔδεται..	Θρᾶκα Τηρέα ᾔδεται.
p141 l.33	and 10.19-22	and X 19-22
p143 ad 2. γένος l.3	Κροῖσος ἦ Λυδὸς	Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς
p144 l.1	ἐμπεσόν	ἐμπεσόν
p144 l.3	Read ἀθρόως	Read ἀθρόον
p144 l.31	καταγίζοντες	καταιγίζοντες
[p145 ad 2. ἔκοντι l.9	the accent has been omitted	from ἔκοντι deliberately]
p146 ad 3. τοσαύτην l.4	περί, or ore often	περί, or more often
p146 ad 3. τοσαύτην l.2,4,5 bis	genitive	genitive
p146 ad 3. <ἐμε> l.1	ἐμε	ἐμέ
p147 ad 4. οὐδέν l.5	μήδεν	μηδέν
p147 ad 4. γάμον l.7	Isidoros	Isidoros
p148 l.4	when, as here it leads to	when, as here, it leads to
p148 l.16	Theaganes	Theagenes
p149 l.5	H.G.T. Maehler GCN III	H.G.T. Maehler GCN III
p150 l.6	ἐσπέρας	ἐσπέρας
p151 l.10	<i>Aithiopika</i>	<i>Aithiopika</i>
p153 ad 6. οὐδὲ . . . l.5	ἐν σπονδαῖς	ἐν σπονδαῖς
p155 ad 5. αὐτός l.1	τὸν	τὸν
p155 ad 5. αὐτός l.2	δῆθεν seems always	δῆθεν seems usually
p157 ad 4. l.12	editors (Hirshig,	editors (Hirschig,
p159 l.19	D. Koraes	A. Koraes
p159 A. Billaut	A. Billaut	A. Billaut
p160 W. Bühler	Aithiopika	Aithiopika
p162 Massimo Fusillo	<i>Polifonia ad Eros</i>	<i>Polifonia ed Eros</i>
p166 P.J. Rohdes	P.J. Rohdes	P.J. Rhodes [and move into new alphabetical order]
p166 G. Rougemont	Delphs	Delphes
p166 A.M. Saracella	A.M. Saracella	A.M. Scarcella [and move into new alphabetical order]
p169 ad I 10.4	delevi ἄλλα	delevi οὔν
p169 ad I 14.2	εὐθύς <i>bis</i>	εὐθύς <i>bis</i>
p170 move δέ, 84 from	after διηνεκές to	after δαίμων
p171	προετοιμάζω	προετοιμάζω
p172 χαμεύνης	χαμεύνης	χαμεύνη
p175 ad III 1	drama concerning us. 2	drama concerning us.” 2
p177 ad VIII 1	to itself, but it	to itself, it
p178 ad IX 1	circumstance	circumstances
p180 ad XII 2	clutching a torch	lighting lamps
p180 ad XII 2	the completely chaste woman?	complete chastity?

p184 ad XVII 5
p187 ad XXI 2
p189 ad XXV 6
p189 ad XXVI 1
p189 ad XXVI 1

p190 ad XXVII 3
p192 ad XXX 5
p193 ad XXXIII 4

understood, so it seems,
do you feel, maiden about
I am your sister
Being so ready
I am not able to understand
nor do I want to. I pray that
they were such a distance
if to seek Thyamis
battle)) they went

understanding, so it seems,
do you feel, maiden, about
I am your brother
But being so ready
I was not able to understand
nor did I want to. I prayed that
they were at such a distance
if to seek Thermouthis
battle)), they went