

The Ancient Novels and the Tragic Tradition

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INTRODUCTION

In 412 BCE Euripides presented the *Helen* at the City Dionysia along with *Andromeda* and two unknown plays.¹ *Helen*'s eponymous protagonist is not a disgraced woman who has left her husband for a barbarian pretty-boy, but a wise, and above all chaste woman who has been spirited out of Greece by Hermes at the request other gods to wait out the war in the safe-keeping of the Egyptian king Proteus. After Proteus' death, trapped on the banks of the Nile by the new king Theoclymenus, who has vowed to kill any Greek who crosses his path, Helen curses her beauty, guards her chastity, and awaits the day when she will be reunited with Menelaus –if she dares to hope he still lives. Meanwhile, Helen's look-alike *eidolon* has gone to Troy with Paris, and after the grueling war, it has been "rescued" by the Greeks, who do not suspect that they hold a substitute for the real Helen. On the way home Menelaus, his crew, and the *eidolon* are shipwrecked in Egypt and reduced to rags. Menelaus and Helen are reunited, the *eidolon* evaporates, and the Greeks narrowly escape doom at the hands of Theoclymenus thanks to Helen's ploy of staging a mock funeral for her "deceased" husband. The Dioscuri arrive *ex machina* to announce the couple's happy ending and the play concludes.

¹ Σ *Frogs* 53, Σ *Thesm.* 1012, 1040.

Though the meter and the conditions of performance clearly mark the *Helen* as a tragedy, the plot shares remarkable similarities with typical Greek novel. Holzberg gives a good summary of the essence of an ancient Greek novel:

The main characters in the story are a young man and a young girl from distinguished families and of incomparable beauty; either as newly-weds or after their betrothal they set out on a long journey to far-off lands and undergo, together or separately, a series of in the main harrowing experiences. The most frequent cause of their tribulations is a mutual pledge of unswerving fidelity. Their strict observance of this puts them in peril when they fall into the hand of pirates or robbers or become slaves in the service of rich masters or mistresses. They are frequently in danger of being murdered or, with their backs to the wall for some other reason, they decide in their desperation to kill themselves, only to be saved at the last minute or die merely an apparent death, which itself leads to further complications. The favoured setting for these adventures is Asia Minor and the Near East, where the couple meet not only with fellow-countrymen, but also with exotic strangers. When they are traveling by sea, the two are usually shipwrecked in a storm. At the end of their ordeals they are reunited and return home to live thereafter in a complete bliss. On occasion there are one or more deities at work; these vent, for example, their wrath—as once in the *Odyssey*—after some misdemeanor on the part of the hero and/or heroine, and thus trigger off a series of adventures.²

The similarities between this description and *Helen* are particularly striking because the plot of the tragedy centers on a married couple who are separated and then reunited after a shipwreck. It is not the only tragedy, however, that shares elements with the novel. *Alcestis*, *Ion*, *Orestes*, *Andromache*, and *Iphigenia among the Taurians* also have significant features found in the Greek novels: exceptionally devoted spouses, rescue

² Holzberg (1995) p.9-10.

from disaster, reunited families, thwarted human sacrifice, exotic locations.³ Had more tragedies survived in fuller form, we likely would have an even greater variety of not only plays that end less “tragically,” but also tragedies that seem to prefigure in some way the novels.⁴

Euripides’ *Andromeda*, which appeared in the same trilogy as the *Helen*, exhibits some of this quality of a novel *in nuce*.⁵ The hero Perseus, arriving on the shore of Ethiopia, falls in love with the princess Andromeda, who has been chained to a rock as an offering to a sea monster. In one of the fragments Perseus addresses the god Eros,

σὺ δ’ ὦ θεῶν τύραννε κἀνθρώπων Ἔρως,
ἢ μὴ δίδασκε τὰ καλὰ φαίνεσθαι καλά,
ἢ τοῖς ἐρῶσιν ὦν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ
μοχθοῦσι μόχθους εὐτυχῶς συνεκπόνει.
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δρῶν τίμιος θνητοῖς ἔση,
μὴ δρῶν δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διδάσκεσθαι φιλεῖν
ἀφαιρεθήσῃ χάριτας αἷς τιμῶσί σε.

³ Here and throughout I treat *Alcestis* as a tragedy, though it originally appeared fourth in the tetralogy, the space reserved for the satyr-play at the Dionysian festival. Its meter and diction are indistinguishable from tragedy (see López-Eire (2003)), and it lacks a chorus of satyrs. Parker (2007) p. xix-xxiv argues that the play would have been received as a tragedy by its original audience in 438 BCE.

⁴ This is, in part, the thesis of an unpublished paper of Winkler titled “Aristotle’s Theory of the Novel and the Best Tragedy,” which was unavailable to me but is cited by both Dunn (1996) p.221n.3 and Griffith (2006) p.64n.43. Griffith summarizes the paper: “In an unpublished paper on Aristotle’s *Poetics* and the origins of the Greek novel, delivered during the early 1980s, John J. Winkler argued that a good number of fifth-century tragedies (now lost) may have followed a trajectory of ‘happy ending’ closer to the model of E. *IT* than the disastrous closure of S. *OT* (whence Aristotle’s discussion in chapters 13 and 14 of the *Poetics*). But Winkler does not explore the likely erotic component of such ‘romantic’ tragedies.” Cicu (1982) also cites the *Poetics* in relation to the structure of the Greek novels, particularly *Chaereas and Callirhoe*.

⁵ The story of Andromeda is particularly relevant to Heliodorus’ *Aithiopika*, as it is directly connected to the explanation of why Charikleia’s appearance is so different from her parents’.

And you, Eros, tyrant over gods and men—either don't teach us to see beauty in what is beautiful, or help those who are in love to succeed in their efforts as they suffer the toils that you yourself have crafted. If you do this, you will be honored by mortals, but if you do not, their learning to love will itself deprive you of the thanks with which they honor you (fr.136)⁶

Perseus's words to the god Eros here seem just as fitting, if not more so, for a love-sick young man in a novel as for a mighty mythic hero in a tragedy.⁷ That the love of Perseus ends in a marriage (fr.137), and one in which there seems to have been at least some possibility of amorous reciprocity (fr. 138), runs contrary to the typical tendency of tragedy, making the *Andromeda*, too, seem like a novelistic tragedy.⁸ When considering the *Helen* (spouses separated by time and distance are reunited against all odds), *Andromeda* (love at first sight overcomes great danger and difficult odds on a strange shore) and other plays like them, it is, indeed, tempting to suggest that tragedies paved the way for writers like Chariton and Heliodorus.⁹

Like a wine whose flavor has been imparted not only by the grapes which constitute its base, but also by the soil, the sun, the rain, and the barrels in different combinations by year and region, the novel without a doubt owes much, but not all, of

⁶ Trans., Collard and Cropp.

⁷ Cf. Habrocomes' address to Eros (*Ephesiaca* 4.1) and Cleitophon's internal conversation with Eros (*Leucippe and Cleitophon* 2.5).

⁸ See Konstan (1994) for the relationship of the central couple in the novel, esp. p.175-184 for love in tragedy. The relationship between Helen and Menelaus depicted in the *Helen* which, even at the moment of reunion, is focused on power, possession, and partnership rather than *eros*, is consistent with the way marital love is portrayed elsewhere in tragedy.

⁹ Wright (2005) p.43-55 posits that *Iphigenia among the Taurians* also belonged to this trilogy. If he is correct, this would be a very novelistic trilogy.

its flavor to the tragic stage. Represented by the so-called “ideal” novels of the type Holzberg describes above, which include Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Xenophon’s *Ephesiaca*, Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*, and Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica* and the similarly structured novel of family reunion, *Apollonius King of Tyre*, and also the picaresque narratives of Petronius’ *Satyricon* and Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* as well as the Lucianic *Onos*, the Alexander Romance, and an assortment of fragments, the genre exhibits a great deal of diversity. What each of its individual members share, aside from the extended prose format, is the polyphony of their generic repertoire. Epic, history, philosophy, tragedy, comedy, elegy –nothing is alien to the Greek or Latin novelist.¹⁰

The extent to which each novelist interacts, or does not interact, with preexisting genres varies widely. Longus’ novel, *Daphnis and Chloe*, for example, has strong overtones of New Comedy and pastoral poetry. Tragedy lurks at the edges and functions only as an example of what their idyllic world is not meant to be.¹¹ In contrast, Heliodorus’ novel relies heavily on tragedy. From the theatrically framed opening to the abolition of human sacrifice at the denouement, every major character takes up one or

¹⁰ I take polyphony in its broadest sense, which includes intertextuality and the interplay between genres, not in the narrowest Bakhtinian sense which would remove genre. See Plaza (2005) and Whitmarsh (2005) p.108. My study makes no account for the Bakhtinian categorization of ancient novels “by analyzing the representation of space-time” (chronotope) by “distinguishing two major ‘stylistic lines of development’ corresponding to the Greek romance and Roman fiction,” and by “constructing ‘the image of man’” as the novels’ interaction with the tragic stage crosses these boundaries. (See Branham (2002) p.164).

¹¹ Bowie (2007b).

more recognizably tragic role, though the *Aethiopica* also engages extensively with epic and historiography. Scholarly interest in the novelists' "dramatic feeling"¹² is evident as early as the nineteenth century, but does not begin in earnest until the second half of the twentieth century. Most scholarship on the novel's relationship to tragedy, often treated in tandem with comedy and/or mime, has come in the form of articles or parts of larger arguments in books, with the notable exceptions of Paulsen's *Inszenierung des Schicksals: Tragödie und Komödie in Roman des Heliodor*, Panyotakis' *Theatrum Arbitri: Theatrical Elements in the Satyrical of Petronius*, and May's *Apuleius and Drama: The Ass on Stage*.¹³ Rarely is more than one ancient author's relationship to tragedy discussed in the same study.¹⁴ It is the aim of this project to examine various ways in which some ancient novelists, Greek and Latin alike, utilized tragedy and the ancient traditions surrounding it in the shaping of their own work. I have not undertaken a systematic examination of every example of the genre but rather two particularly interesting examples from each language: Chariton, Heliodorus, Apuleius, and Petronius.

"Chariton and his Tragic Beginnings" considers the ways in which tragedy informs the structure of Chariton's novel, one of the earliest extant. Though epic and historiography exert a sizeable influence on *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, a sense of performance is omnipresent. Chariton describes his characters as directors or actors, and

¹² Walden (1894) p.1.

¹³ Paulsen (1992), Panayotakis (1995), May (2006).

¹⁴ Bartsch (1989) is the one exception; she discusses both Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus with respect to spectacle and drama in the Chapter 4.

more than once expresses wonder at the theatricality of a scene he has written, placing himself in the role of playwright. What is more, Chariton applies Aristotelian ideas about tragedy to his prose work, declaring that the final book might be regarded as a *katharsion*, a cleansing, of the grim events narrated in the previous books (8.1.4). He also looks to Euripidean tragedy, particularly the *Helen* and *Alcestis*, for plot elements, character types, themes, and motifs, which are recombined and reinvented in this story of the wrongly accused, yet remarkably virtuous, beautiful, and apparently dead Callirhoe, who is reclaimed by her husband after a clash between East and West.

In the second chapter, **“Heliodorus and the Ubiquity of Tragedy,”** I explore the ways in which Heliodorus combines themes, character types, and plot structures from many tragedies at once to structure his complex narrative, the *Aethiopica*. First through Knemon’s tale of woe and then through the experiences of Kalasiris and his ill-starred sons, Heliodorus creates a world in which the major figures in the novel take on roles from Attic tragedy. Hippolytus, Phaedra, Oedipus, Eteocles, Polynices, Antigone, and Orestes all appear in the guise of Knemon, Kalsiris, Demainate, Thyamis, Petosiris, Thisbe, and Theagenes. Charikleia, around whom the novel centers, in addition to moonlighting as Helen and Antigone, takes up notable roles as Ion and Iphigenia as she is exposed as a royal infant, raised in Delphi, nearly sacrificed by her father, and consecrated to a moon goddess by the end of the novel.

“Apuleius and a Novelty Tragic Ending,” demonstrates the ways in which Apuleius communicates with his reader about the generic allegiances of the

Metamorphoses through the manipulation of inset stories and direct instructions to the *lector*. Charite's tale, which initially appears to be cast in the mold of the Greek novel, is nevertheless marked by dramatic language and tragic motifs as the heroine, her husband, and their common enemy all meet grisly ends befitting the tragic stage. Following Charite's death, a direct address to Apuleius' *optimus lector*, who has been groomed since the prologue to be attentive, points directly to a *fabula* that is meant to end as a *tragoedia* and prepares the audience to understand Isis' jarring appearance at the end of the novel as a tragic *dea ex machina*, arriving on the scene to halt the chaos and restore order through ritual.

The final chapter, "**Petronius and the Novel at Play**," considers the fragmentary and enigmatic *Satyricon* against the backdrop of the satyr-play, a genre that is to us equally enigmatic, with only one complete surviving exemplar.¹⁵ Cruder, baser, and more sexually explicit than any other ancient novel, the *Satyricon* follows the story of Encolpius and a series of his male and female lovers and other characters as they travel up and down the coast of Italy. It has been suggested that these off-color qualities stem, at least in part, from a parody of an ideal Greek romance, but I offer a reading that looks instead to tragedy's raunchy twin, the satyr-play—a connection strongly suggested by the name of the novel itself.

¹⁵ For the identification of *Alcestis* as a tragedy and not a satyr-play, see note 3 above.

Chronology of Major Works

Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, all plays	5 th century BCE
Chariton, <i>Chaereas and Callirhoe</i>	second half-first century BCE – mid first century CE
Seneca, all plays	before 65 CE
Petronius, <i>Satyrica</i>	sometime between c.115 CE and c.200 CE
Pseudo-Lucian, <i>Onos</i>	mid-second century CE
Apuleius, <i>Metamorphoses</i>	c. 170-180 CE
Xenophon, <i>Ephesiaca</i>	mid-second century CE
Achilles Tatius, <i>Leucippe and Clitophon</i>	late-second century CE
Longus, <i>Daphnis and Chloe</i>	late second/early third century CE
Heliodorus, <i>Aethiopica</i>	mid to late fourth century CE

Despite the relative uncertainty of the precise dating (i.e. which play was performed in which year) the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides can all be dated to the fifth century BCE. Likewise, Seneca's plays are as a group dateable to before his death in 65 CE. Of the four novels discussed here at length, the date and authorship of the *Metamorphoses* is the most secure, since Apuleius has left us with other works, including *Apology* from which autobiographical details can be gleaned. Apuleius' speeches indicate he was active in Carthage until about 160 CE, and the novel was probably written shortly after that time.¹⁶ The other three novels, however, present greater uncertainty.

¹⁶ Harrison, et al. (2001) p.6-7.

Though Chariton's novel was originally thought by Rohde to be the most recent of the five ideal Greek romances, its use of language and mention of a Chinese arrow (6.4.2) places it sometime between the later part of the first century BCE and the middle of the first century CE.¹⁷ This makes it likely the earliest of the four discussed in this thesis, even if we accept that the *Satyrিকা* is of a Neronian date. That assumption connects the author of the *Satyrিকা*, named by the manuscripts as Petronius, with Nero's courtier of the same name described by Tacitus (*Ann.* 16.17-20), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 37.20), and Plutarch (*Mor.* 60 D-E), though there is confusion over his *praenomen*.¹⁸ Though this dating and identification have been widely supported, a later identification for Petronius and the work have been suggested, most recently by Roth.¹⁹ Her careful and convincing analysis of the staged manumission scenes in the *Cena* demonstrates that Petronius had awareness of a specific letter of Pliny to Trajan (10.104), and therefore the *Satyrিকা* could not have been written before about 115 CE.²⁰ Heliodorus' *Aithiopica* is by far the latest of the four, based on the testimony of Socrates the church historian and the similarities of the novel's siege of Syene to the events of 350 CE as described by Julian (*Orations* 1 and 2).²¹

¹⁷ Papanikolaou (1973), Gould (1995) p.1-2., Bowie (2003) p.47.

¹⁸ Schmeling (2011) p.xiii-xn, Völker and Rohman (2011).

¹⁹ Roth (2016).

²⁰ Roth (2016) p.629-30.

²¹ Futre Pinheiro (2014) p.76-7.

CHARITON AND HIS TRAGIC BEGINNINGS

As one of the earliest Greek novelists whose work survives fully intact, Chariton's relationship to the many literary genres which preceded him is particularly interesting.¹ Because of his frequent quotation of Homeric verse as a nearly seamless part of the narrative and the decidedly historic setting and characters which he employs to create his love story, epic and historiography have garnered much attention. The debt *Chaereas and Callirhoe* owes to its dramatic predecessors has also been a focus of scholarly discussion and the debt Chariton owes tragedy continues to merit further consideration.

Several structural and lexical elements in Chariton's novel point to his affinity for drama. As early as 1906 Reitzenstein identified within Chariton's work five sections, correlating to acts of a play.² His structural analogy of the novel to the five acts of a drama was accepted and expanded upon by Perry and reproduced by Schmeling.³ Trzaskoma's assessment that this schema is "surely artificial and too simplistic"⁴ is reasonable, but what Reitzenstein saw at the very basic level, that the novel's appeals to drama are everywhere, remains valid.⁵ Chariton surely had drama in mind when writing *Chaereas and Callirhoe*.

¹ Whether Xenophon of Ephesus or Chariton is earlier is still a matter of discussion. See O'Sullivan (2014) for a summary.

² Reitzenstein (1906) p.95-6.

³ Perry (1967) p.141ff, Schmeling (1974) p.49.

⁴ Trzaskoma (2010) p.220n.4.

⁵ "Die Anlehnung an das Drama ist überall offensichtlich" Reitzenstein (1906) p.96.

At multiple points in the novel Chariton makes explicit connections between the business of creating drama and his novel, with both his characters and himself as a director, playwright, or actor. A self-appointed leader among Callirhoe's disgruntled suitors becomes the producer and director of a play, which will end with a separation between Callirhoe and her husband,

ταῦτ' οὖν προκατασκευασάμενος ὁ δημιουργὸς τοῦ δράματος
ὑποκριτὴν ἕτερον ἐξηῦρεν, οὐκέτι ὁμοίως εὐχαριν, ἀλλὰ πανούργον
καὶ ἀξιόπιστον λαλῆσαι. τοῦτον προδιδάξας ἅ χρὴ πράττειν καὶ
λέγειν, ὑπέπεμψεν ἀγνώτα τῷ Χαιρέα.

The producer of the drama recruited another actor, not equally attractive, but cunning and a persuasive talker. When he had coached him in what to do and say, he sent him to waylay Chaereas, who did not know him (1.4.2).⁶

The well-instructed actor then adopts the role of producer/director for himself and sets the stage for Chaereas' downfall, ὁ δὲ κα κοίθης ἐκεῖνος καὶ διάβολος συνέταττε τὴν σκηνήν ("Then the wicked villain set the scene of his drama:" 1.4.8). At the moment in which Chaereas and Callirhoe, long separated by distance and what they perceive to be death, are at last in the same place at the same time, Chariton breaks the narrative with an authorial comment,

ποιὸς ποιητὴς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς παράδοξον μῦθον οὕτως εἰσήγαγεν; ἔδοξας
ἂν ἐν θεάτρῳ παρεῖναι μυρίων παθῶν πλήρει· πάντα ἦν ὁμοῦ,
δάκρυα, χαρὰ, θάμβος, ἔλεος, ἀπιστία, εὐχαί..

⁶ All translations of Chariton are from Goold's Loeb edition unless otherwise noted.

What dramatist ever staged such an extraordinary situation? An observer would have thought himself in a theater filled with every conceivable emotion. All were there at once –tears, joy, astonishment, pity, disbelief, prayer (5.8.2).

Chariton's interjection aligns the action of his novel with a recognition scene on stage, his readers with that performance's audience, himself with a dramatic playwright, and his work with a tragedy.⁷ Laplace sees the scene introduced by this statement, in which Dionysus and Chaereas argue over the legitimacy of their claims to Callirhoe, as particularly reminiscent of a scene from Euripides' *Helen* (1634-6), further connecting the novel to its tragic predecessors.⁸

Near the end of the novel, Chaereas fittingly narrates what amounts to the entirety of the story in the theater of Syracuse. Through his recapitulation, the townspeople act both as an internal audience for his story and a focalizer for the emotions it evokes. They become a *de facto* chorus, a defining structural element of Attic tragedy.⁹ With Chaereas' retelling of the story, Chariton effectually relocates his story from the pages of a novel to the stage. As Schmeling succinctly puts it, "the final impression Chariton wants to leave with his readers is that they have just witnessed a prose narrative which belongs in the theatre."¹⁰

⁷ cf. Schmeling (1974) p.46; Kaimio (1996) p.55-6 stresses the tragic quality as opposed to the comic, and suggests that "Chariton seems to be inviting the audience of his novel to enjoy [the scene], too, and especially to enjoy his skilfull (sic) exchange of retorts" p.59.

⁸ Laplace (1980) p.98; cf. Kaimio (1996) p.59, Hirschberger (2001) p.161.

⁹ cf. Schmeling (1974) p.50, Kaimio (1996) p. 67, Tilg (2010) p. 134.

¹⁰ Schmeling (1974) p. 51.

At the opening of the final book of the novel Chariton promises his readers that they will experience relief from the sad events earlier in the novel and will experience pleasure from its conclusion,

νομίζω δὲ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο σύγγραμμα τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν
ἥδιον γενήσεσθαι· καθάριστον γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις
σκυθρωπῶν

I think that this last book will provide the most enjoyable for my readers,
as a *cleansing* from the grim events in the previous ones (8.1.4).¹¹

Chariton's promise of a *katharsion* evokes Aristotle's famous description of the effects of tragedies in the *Poetics*,

ἔστιν οὖν τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας μέγεθος
ἐχούσης, ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ χωρὶς ἐκάστῳ τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις,
δρῶντων καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν
τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν

Tragedy, then, is mimesis of an action which is elevated, complete, and of magnitude; in language embellished by distinct forms in its sections; employing the mode of enactment, not narrative; and through pity and fear accomplishing the cleansing of such emotions (1449b24-8).¹²

What precisely Aristotle means by a *katharsis* and how Chariton envisions his novel as a *katharsion* remains a topic of interest to scholars. Tilg's recent suggestion is compelling. He argues that Chariton's engagement with Aristotle's theory of *katharsis* appears programmatically as early as 1.1.1 when Chariton describes his novel as πάθος

¹¹ Translation has been adapted.

¹² Translation adapted from Halliwell's Loeb edition.

ἐρωτικόν, precisely what Aristotle suggests tragedy provides a *katharsis* from.¹³ Tilg sees Chariton placing his work in dialogue with Aristotle's concept of tragedy, using internal audiences to replace Aristotle's spectators in the theatre, and aligning his "new" happy ending love story with his readers' pleasure just as Aristotle aligned happy endings in tragedy with the pleasure of the spectators.¹⁴

Chariton peppers quotations from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* throughout the novel that add epic flavor to the events of the plot and the emotions of the characters, but his poetic borrowings are not limited to Homer. Chariton also alludes to and borrows from the tragedians, Sophocles and Euripides in particular. Trzaskoma has convincingly demonstrated how three allusions to tragedy placed throughout Callirhoe's struggle with the fate of her unborn child help to characterize her as a tragic hero(ine) with the potential to be as heartless as Medea (2.9.3 to *Medea* generally), as self-loathing as Ajax (3.8.8 to *Ajax* 550-1), and yet still redeemed like Heracles (3.10.6 to *Heracles* 1307-8).¹⁵ Other verbal allusions to the tragedians and quotations have also been demonstrated at 2.9.4 and 5.10.3 (to *Ajax* 550-3), at 8.4.6 (to *Ajax* 567-70), and at 1.5.4-5 (to *OT* 1410ff).¹⁶

Overarching affinities with particular tragedies that go beyond verbal allusions are also present in Chariton's narrative. Scourfield argues for a relationship between Chariton's novel and Euripides' *Hippolytus* based on "verbal, situational, and other

¹³ Tilg (2010) p. 131.

¹⁴ Tilg (2010) p. 130-40.

¹⁵ Trzaskoma (2010), see also Kaimio (1996) p. 56.

¹⁶ Scourfield (2010) p.292n.10; see also Hirschberger (2001) p.178-9.

connections.”¹⁷ Scourfield sees *Hippolytus* as a tragedy arising from a perceived, though not realized love triangle and parallels Theseus’ misdirected anger toward his son with Chaereas’ anger toward Callirhoe.¹⁸ He also sees parallels with the Euripidean tragedy in Chaereas’ silence,¹⁹ the prominence of Aphrodite as the cause of the hero’s plight,²⁰ and the eunuch Artaxates’ nurse-like intervention on behalf of his master.²¹ Scourfield concludes that readers of the novel should be alert “to the possibility that other tragic intertexts lurk beneath the surface of Chariton’s romance,”²² and indeed, relationships with other plays of Euripides are also apparent in the novel.

Callirhoe and the Redeemed Helen

Callirhoe owes much of her characterization and her situation to Helen, particularly but not exclusively to the version of the heroine presented in Euripides’ *Helen*. Helen and Callirhoe both share an ill-fated beauty, which the women see as the cause of their problems.²³ Helen laments,

ἐς γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἤλθομεν βάθος κακῶν·
αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι διὰ τὸ κάλλος εὐτυχεῖς
γυναῖκες, ἡμᾶς δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ ἀπώλεσεν

¹⁷ Scourfield (2010) p.293; see also Kaimio (1996) p.56-7. *Hippolytus* was a popular tragedy from which ancient novelists drew. See also Chapter 2 and 3 for its uses by Heliodorus and Apuleius.

¹⁸ Scourfield (2010) p.294-6.

¹⁹ Scourfield (2010) p.296.

²⁰ Scourfield (2010) p.298ff.

²¹ Scourfield (2010) p.302.

²² Scourfield (2010) p.309.

²³ cf. Laplace (1980) p.84, Marini (1993) p. 208.

That is the depth of misery to which I have sunk: while other women are made happy by their beauty, mine is the very thing that has destroyed me (303-5).²⁴

And Callirhoe echoes her sentiment, ὦ κάλλος ἐπίβουλον, σύ μοι πάντων κακῶν αἴτιον (Oh treacherous beauty, you are the cause of all my woes! 6.6.3).

Both women are justified in their opinions. In the novel and the myth the removal of a beautiful woman from the West to the East because she is the object of sexual desire precipitates an expedition across the sea aimed at retrieving an important man's wife at public expense. Once in Asia, the struggle to possess Callirhoe is ongoing and undertaken by a variety of men, including both her husbands, Chaereas and Dionysius, and notably powerful figures from Persia, satraps Mithridates and Pharnaces and the Great King. Laplace points out that when Dionysius is summoned to the Great King to deal with the dispute over Callirhoe, Chariton frames it in the language of an expedition sent by Eros, ἕνα μὲν οὖν στόλον τοῦτον ἐκ Καρίας ἔστελλεν ὁ Ἔρως, ἐξ Ἰωνίας δὲ ἐνδοξότερον ἄλλον (In addition to this expedition from Caria, Love was dispatching another, a more celebrated one 4.7.5). The attribution of the expedition to Eros, Laplace suggests, is evocative of Aeschylus' description of the effort to regain Helen, στέλλων στρατιὰν Ἑλένης ἕνεκ' (sending an army for the sake of Helen, *Agamemnon* 799-800).²⁵ Men's reactions to both women's beauty eventually spurs a

²⁴ All translations from *Helen* and *Alcestis* are taken from Kovacs' Loeb edition unless otherwise noted.

²⁵ Laplace (1980) p.96. Her discussion is not focused on Helen and tragedy as much as it is on the whole scope of the Trojan War.

deadly east-west conflict, in Helen's case the Trojan War and in Callirhoe's the raid orchestrated by Phocas on the Syracusan ship (3.7.2).²⁶

The conflicts caused by the women's beauty contribute to a false perception of each woman's infidelity. The world perceives that Helen has willingly left her husband and accompanied Paris to Troy (*Helen* 38-48). Helen's falsely proclaimed bad behavior, prompted by Paris' desire to possess Helen's beauty (23-30), earns her much notoriety and the curses of the Greeks (53-5). Callirhoe's beauty itself also generates a great deal of fame. Before she is married to Chaereas the reputation of her beauty draws many noble and wealthy suitors to seek her hand (1.1.2), much as Helen had many suitors before she married Menelaus (99). When Callirhoe's suitors are unsuccessful, they hatch a plot to against their more successful rival. Chariton prefaces the disgruntled suitors' actions with an allusion to mythical events, which preceded and caused Helen's abduction by Paris,

τοιοῦτον ὕμνουσι ποιηταὶ τὸν Θέτιδος γάμον ἐν Πηλίῳ γεγονέναι.
πλὴν καὶ ἐνταῦθά τις εὐρέθη βάσκανος δαίμων, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ φασὶ
τὴν Ἑρην.

Even such was the wedding of Thetis on Pelion as described by the poets.
Yet just as there, they say, was the goddess Discord, so here likewise was
found an envious demon (1.1.16)

Just as the apple of Eris led to Helen's ill-fame, the presence of the βάσκανος δαίμων will lead to Callirhoe's, equally undeserved appearance of infidelity.

²⁶ cf. Laplace (1980) p.93, Marini (1993) p. 208.

In Euripides' tragedy, Helen has not accompanied Paris to Troy but has instead been spirited away to Egypt by Hermes at Hera's request, sending the *eidolon* to Troy in her place (31-48). Callirhoe, too, is spirited away from her home by the pirate-robber Theron, whose very profession aligns him with the god of thieves.²⁷ Theron finds the living Callirhoe as he is robbing her tomb, an equally fitting location in which to find Hermes in his traditional role of psychopomp.²⁸ Callirhoe herself seems to think that a deity has come to claim her before she realizes that tomb robbers are a more likely option,

πόθεν ὁ ψόφος; ἄρά τις δαίμων κατὰ νόμον κοινὸν τῶν
ἀποθνησκόντων ἐπ' ἐμὲ παραγίνεται τὴν ἀθλίαν; ἢ ψόφος οὐκ ἔστιν,
ἀλλὰ φωνὴ καλούντων με τῶν ὑποχθονίων πρὸς αὐτούς;
τυμβωρύχους μᾶλλον εἰκὸς εἶναι

What does this noise mean? Has some deity come for me, poor soul, as happens to all at death? Or is this not mere noise, but the voice of the powers below calling me to them? More likely it is tomb robbers (1.9.3).²⁹

When Theron takes Callirhoe to Ionia and is on the verge of selling her to Dionysius, he tells her that he will be leaving her with friends temporarily until he can return,

καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, καθαρὰν ἐτηρήσαμεν· ἀνύβριστον ἀπολήψεται σε
Χαιρέας, ὡς ἐκ θαλάμου τοῦ τάφου σωθεῖσαν δι' ἡμᾶς. νῦν μὲν οὖν
ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν μέχρι Λυκίας διαδραμεῖν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ
σὲ μάτην ταλαιπωρεῖν καὶ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ναυτιῶσαν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ
παραθήσομαί σε φίλοις πιστοῖς, ἐπανιών δὲ παραλήψομαι καὶ μετὰ
πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἄξω λοιπὸν εἰς Συρακούσας.

²⁷ Laplace (1980) p.91.

²⁸ Laplace (1980) p.91.

²⁹ Laplace (1980) p.91.

Most of all, we have kept your person inviolate. Chaereas will receive you back from the tomb unmolested as if you had just left your own bedroom –thanks to us. Now we must continue our course to Lycia, but there is no need to put you to needless discomfort, especially as you suffer from seasickness. So I am going to leave you with trusted friends here and on my return I will pick you up and take great care to bring you back to Syracuse (1.13.8).

His claim, though immediately recognized as untrue by Callirhoe (1.13.10), is strikingly similar to Helen’s description of Hermes’ motives,

λαβὼν δέ μ' Ἑρμῆς ἐν πτυχαῖσιν αἰθέρος
νεφέλῃ καλύψας—οὐ γὰρ ἡμέλησέ μου
Ζεὺς—τόνδ' ἐς οἶκον Πρωτέως ἰδρύσατο,
πάντων προκρίνας σωφρονέστατον βροτῶν,
ἀκέραιον ὥς σώσαιμι Μενέλεω λέχος.

So Hermes took me up within the recess of the sky, hiding me in a cloud (for Zeus had not forgotten me), and put me down at this house of Proteus, whom he judged the most virtuous man on earth, so that I might keep my bed unsullied for Menelaus (44-7).

Hermes’ removal of Helen to Egypt and her *eidolon*’s journey to Troy split the narrative surrounding the world’s most beautiful woman into two mutually exclusive experiences, which are reintegrated in the person of Callirhoe. Helen’s *eidolon*, and Helen herself in most versions of the myth (including tragedies other than *Helen*), embarks upon a second marriage to Paris in Asia. In her new eastern home the wicked Helen/*eidolon* lives like a queen in the lap of luxury (*Trojan Women* 990-7) while the Greeks suffer on her account. In Egypt, the real and chaste Helen, believing that Menelaus has been killed and learning that her family has been shamed, considers

marrying her captor/protector Theoclymenus but decides that suicide is preferable (294-305). The portion of Callirhoe's story which begins with her removal from the tomb by the Hermes-like Theron is roughly analogous to the *eidolon*'s life at Troy.³⁰ Callirhoe, realizing that she is pregnant and cannot safely raise Chaereas' child as a slave or concubine, chooses a second marriage to her Ionian captor/master Dionysius as an expedient to save her child's life (2.11.5). Following in the footsteps of the *eidolon*, Callirhoe lives in luxury with a second husband while her first husband still lives (3.7.5). But unlike the *eidolon*, Callirhoe is also the unblemished Helen, who makes every effort within reason to preserve herself for her husband. It is only the discovery of her pregnancy and the realization that Chaereas would wish her to live for the sake of the baby that compromises Callirhoe's resolve. Her acquiescence to Dionysius provides safety for herself and the child of the man she loves. The real Helen, too, finds that the promise of a second marriage is a useful tool in securing safety for herself and Menelaus after he has washed ashore in Egypt (1232ff).³¹

Marini outlines the similar scenarios in which the real Helen and Callirhoe find themselves: trapped in a foreign land against their will, held by a powerful man, wishing to rejoin a different man, who is presumed dead or missing.³² Helen is held in Egypt by Theoclymenus, Callirhoe in Ionia by Dionysius, and both Menelaus and Chaereas are presumed lost at sea. It is in the ways the characters in the tragedy and the

³⁰ Laplace (1980) p.95.

³¹ cf. Hirschberger (2001) p.166.

³² Marini (1993) p.209.

novel react to these “deaths” that Marini sees “*quasi un rapporto imitativo*” between Chariton and Euripides.³³ When Callirhoe is told that Chaereas’ ship and crew have been destroyed, she tears her hair, beats her face, seeks solitude, sprinkles dirt in her hair, and laments her husband’s loss (3.10). Helen stages her own mourning with sheared hair and lamentations (1053-4). Marini highlights the way in which Theoclymenus and Dionysius, neither a preferred or rightful husband and both seeking the love of their beautiful captives, are particularly distressed to see the women’s beauty marred by their mourning.³⁴ Theoclymenus tells Helen to not to waste her complexion with excessive crying for Menelaus (1419), and in addition to his general concern for her well-being, Dionysius fears that Callirhoe’s beauty might be destroyed by her grief (4.1.2).

For Marini, the key difference between Helen and Callirhoe and Theoclymenus and Dionysius is deception.³⁵ Both heroines go about commemorating their lost-at-sea spouses, according to Greek custom (4.1.3, 1241): a cenotaph for Chaereas and a sea burial for Menelaus.³⁶ Helen is fully aware that Menelaus is alive and is using his burial as an opportunity to escape her captor with her husband; Helen is doing the deceiving. In contrast, Callirhoe has been informed that her husband’s ship was destroyed, but she is not told that some of its crew were sold as slaves and Chaereas might be alive;

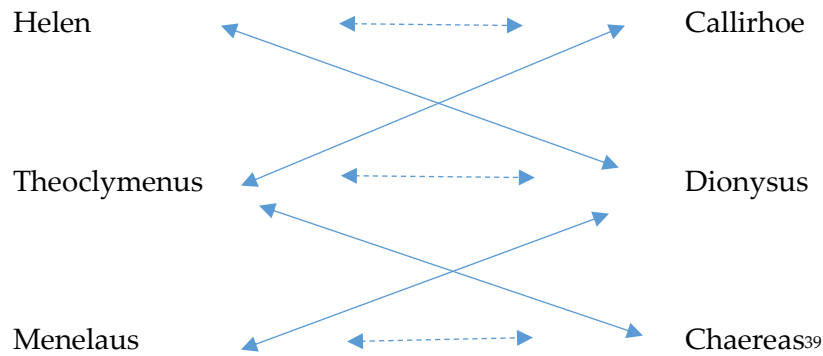
³³ Marini (1993) p.209.

³⁴ Marini (1993) p.210.

³⁵ Marini (1993) p.211; cf. Hirschberger (2001) p.175-6.

³⁶ Marini (1993) p.211.

Callirhoe is being deceived. Marini sees the correlation between Callirhoe and Helen, Dionysius and Theoclymenus, and Chaereas and Menelaus upset by the varied use of deception in both the novel and the tragedy, distributing the functions of the tragic characters onto different novel characters.³⁷ In addition to Helen, Callirhoe takes on the role of Theoclymenus because she is deceived about Chaereas' death. Dionysius is Theoclymenus because he pursues Callirhoe and he is Helen because he deceives Callirhoe. He also functions as a Menelaus-figure in the face of Mithridates' pursuit of Callirhoe.³⁸ Marini represents the variation graphically:



While Marini's observations about the similarities between Euripides' *Helen* and this portion of Chariton's plot are apt, if sometimes convoluted, they are limited in scope to the events surrounding the false funerals for Menelaus and Chaereas, and she fails to

³⁷ Marini (1993) p.212.

³⁸ Hirschberger (2001) p.166 compares *Helen* not with this episode but with Callirhoe's time at the Persian court, with Chaereas as an *eidolon* and Statira as a Theonoe, a connection which I find less compelling.

³⁹ Marini (1993) p.212.

note broader points of comparison. Menelaus and Chaereas, the rightful and first husbands, also share many similarities. They have both won the hands of their wives in the face of many suitors. Both assemble men and undertake an expedition to reclaim their stolen wives (393-6, 3.5). On his return from Troy Menelaus goes missing at sea and is thought to be dead (127-32). Chaereas' ship is attacked off the coast of Ionia and he is also presumed dead (3.9.11). When Menelaus washes up on the Egyptian shore he famously appears in rags⁴⁰ and has lost his former station in life (415ff). After the destruction of his ship Chaereas is reduced to hard labor and slavery (4.2.1). Both are far from home and surrounded by potential enemies, who are also competitors for their wives' affections.

Marini's distribution model (shown above), in which one character in the novel may at different times assume the role of different characters in the tragedy is a useful way of considering similarities, but it is unnecessarily limited in scope to those characters present on stage in Euripides' *Helen*. Laplace's reading is far more flexible and considers a broader range of figures associated with the Trojan War, including Paris and Aphrodite.⁴¹ Laplace even goes so far as to figure Callirhoe herself as the apple of Discord, Dionysius and Chaereas as the disputing goddesses, and Artaxerxes as Paris.⁴² While this pushes the comparison, I think, a bit too far, her willingness to think outside

⁴⁰*Acharnians* 412ff.

⁴¹ Laplace (1980).

⁴² Laplace (1980) p.86.

the Theoclymenus episode prompts a different set of correlating figures.⁴³ Callirhoe plays a consistent Helen, the beautiful woman constantly besieged by men wishing to woo her and struggling to maintain her faithfulness to her first husband. The men in her life rotate their roles. Chaereas, as her first husband, the man from whom she is stolen and whose child she bears, first acts as Menelaus. Theron acts as a partial Paris figure, stealing Callirhoe away from her Greek home. Once Callirhoe has been sold in Ionia, Dionysius becomes a new Paris figure, trying to win her affections from her husband, but he transitions into a new Menelaus figure once she has consented to marry him for the sake of her child.

Dionysius' twofold existence as both a Menelaus and a Paris is represented in his own words before he has made Callirhoe his bride,

φεύγει δὲ ἡ νεώνητος, ἣν ἤλπιζον ἔξ Ἀφροδίτης εἶναί μοι το
δῶρον, καὶ ἀνέπλαττον ἑμαυτῷ βίον μακάριον ὑπὲρ Μενέλεων
τὸν τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας γυναικός· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένην εὖμορφον
οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνω γεγονέναι

[T]he new slave spurns me. I had hoped that she was Aphrodite's gift to me, and was dreaming that I should be happier than Menelaus with his Spartan wife, for I cannot believe that even Helen was as beautiful (2.6.1).⁴⁴

⁴³ Scourfield (2010) p.305-6 allows a similar fluidity of character roles in his reading of Euripides *Hippolytus* on the novel.

⁴⁴ Dionysius overlooks the fact that Menelaus' own marriage to Helen was itself quite unlucky. Cf. Hirschberger (2001) p.174.

Callirhoe, like Helen to Paris, may be his gift from the goddess, but he also envisions himself as Menelaus, her rightful husband. When Callirhoe consents to the marriage in order to save her child, Dionysius takes a step toward becoming her legitimate husband, and when Chaereas' death seems to have occurred Dionysius fully transitions to a Menelaus figure. His position as Menelaus, however, is fraught with risk. While Callirhoe is his wife, she is coveted by powerful, even royal men who live to his east – Mithridates, Pharnaces, and the Great King. Once a Paris figure himself, he now fears new Paris figures who might attempt to steal his wife. Dionysius again envisions himself to be Menelaus, warding off, however unsuccessfully, his wife's admirers,

Μενέλαος ἐν τῇ σώφρονι Σπάρτῃ τὴν Ἑλένην οὐκ ἐτήρησεν, ἀλλὰ
παρευδοκίμησε καὶ βασιλέα βάρβαρος ποιμήν· πολλοὶ Πάριδες ἐν
Πέρσῃς

Menelaus could not keep Helen safe in respectable Sparta, but an oriental shepherd boy outwitted him, king though he was. There is many a man like Paris in Persia (5.2.8).⁴⁵

Chaereas plays both Paris and Menelaus when he disputes Dionysius' claim to Callirhoe. He is both the legitimate first husband to whom Callirhoe's father gave her and the man whose intention is to take her from a lawful husband (5.7.5-6).⁴⁶ Chaereas recognizes the precariousness of his situation in relation to Dionysius, κινδυνεύσω τάχα καὶ ὡς μοιχὸς τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς ἀπολέσθαι (Perhaps I shall even risk being killed as a seducer of my own wife! 3.6.8). In Euripides' *Helen* Menelaus faces a similar difficulty in

⁴⁵ cf. Hirschberger (2001) p.176.

⁴⁶ cf. Hirschberger (2001) p.176.

light of of Theoclymenus' edict that all Greeks in his kingdom be killed (437-40) for fear that someone would come to claim Helen.

Aphrodite's influence on the events in the novel is profound. It is the goddess who lays the groundwork for the marriage of Chaereas and Callirhoe (1.1.5-6) and who plans the second marriage of Callirhoe (2.2.8). Aphrodite is particularly partial to Callirhoe's second husband, Dionysius (2.2.5), and he attributes the joys in his life to the goddess (3.7.3). Callirhoe attributes the negative aspects of her life not only to her beauty, but also to the goddess (7.5.3). Aphrodite's motivation is revealed at the opening of the last book and she is eventually responsible for reuniting the couple,

ἀλλ' ἔδοξε τόδε δεινὸν Ἀφροδίτῃ· ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ διηλλάττετο,
πρότερον ὀργισθεῖσα χαλεπῶς διὰ τὴν ἄκαιρον ζηλοτυπίαν, ὅτι δῶρον
παρ' αὐτῆς λαβὼν τὸ κάλλιστον, οἷον οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πάρις,
ὔβρισεν εἰς τὴν χάριν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ἀπελογήσατο τῷ Ἑρωτι Χαιρέας
ἀπὸ δύσεως εἰς ἀνατολὰς διὰ μυρίων παθῶν πλανηθεὶς, ἠλέησεν
αὐσεως εἰς ἀνατολὰς διὰ μυρίων παθῶν πλανηθεὶς, ἠλέησεν αὐτὸν
Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, πάλιν ἠθέλησεν
ἀποδοῦναι

[B]y now [Aphrodite] was becoming reconciled to Chaereas, though earlier she had been intensely angered at his intemperate jealousy; for, having received from her the fairest of gifts, surpassing even that given to Alexander surnamed Paris, he had repaid her favor with an insult. Since Chaereas had now made full amends to Love by his wanderings from west to east amid countless tribulations, Aphrodite took pity on him, and, as she had originally brought together this handsome pair, son now, having harassed them over land and sea, she resolved to unite them (8.1.3).⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Here, too, Chaereas can be seen as a Paris figure, who receives Aphrodite's gift of a beautiful woman.

Aphrodite's involvement in Helen's story is similar. It is her gift to Paris that allows Helen/the *eidolon* to be taken to Troy (1111-1121). Aphrodite's pride also prompts her to continue to let Helen suffer in Egypt as Callirhoe will suffer in Asia. Theonoe the local prophetess tells Helen and Menelaus,

Κύπρις δὲ νόστον σὸν διαφθεῖραι θέλει,
ὥς μὴ ἔξελεγχθῇ μηδὲ πριαμένη φανῇ
τὸ κάλλος Ἑλένης οὐκ ἀνυστοῖσιν γάμοις.

Cypris wants to prevent your coming home. She does not want to be disgraced when it is known that she has bought the beauty prize with false coin, a marriage to Helen that could not be fulfilled (884-6).

Recognizing the power of Aphrodite on her circumstances, Helen begs the goddess to send her home,

σύ θ', ἢ πὶ τῶμῳ κάλλος ἐκτήσω γάμῳ,
κόρη Διώνης Κύπρι, μή μ' ἐξεργάσῃ.
ἄλις δὲ λύμης ἦν μ' ἐλυμήνῳ πάρος
τοῦνομα παρασχοῦς, οὐ τὸ σῶμ', ἐν βαρβάροις.
θανεῖν δ' ἔασόν μ', εἰ κατακτεῖναι θέλεις,
ἐν γῇ πατρώᾳ. τί ποτ' ἄπληστος εἶ κακῶν,
ἔρωτας ἀπάτας δόλια τ' ἐξευρήματα
ἀσκοῦσα φίλτρα θ' αἵματηρά δωμάτων;
εἰ δ' ἦσθα μετρία, τᾶλλα γ' ἡδίστη θεῶν
πέφυκας ἀνθρώποισιν· οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω.

And you, Cypris, daughter of Dione, who won the prize of beauty by the bribe of marriage with me, do not destroy me! You have already treated me spitefully enough when you gave my name, though not my person, to the barbarians. But if you mean to kill me, at least let me die in my own country! Why is your appetite for mischief so insatiable? Why bring about passions, deceits, treacherous devices, and loves that bring blood

upon houses? If you were moderate, you would otherwise be –I admit it—the pleasantest of gods for mortals (1097-1106).

Helen's wish for deliverance is, in the end, granted, and fulfilled by the arrival of her divine brothers the Dioscouri.

The conditions under which both Helen and Callirhoe are recovered by their husbands share many points of tangency. Both are overseen by benevolent deities, the Dioscouri and Aphrodite, respectively, who wish the couples to be reunited. When the two parties find each other again, they are both on enemy soil. Menelaus is at risk of being killed for being Greek, and Chaereas is at risk of being killed by the Persians against whom he sided (8.2.11). Both husbands secure the safety of their wives in a struggle at sea. Menelaus and his shipwrecked companions overthrow the Egyptians on the funeral ship (1589ff) and Chaereas and his comrades soundly capture Aradus in a naval battle, gaining Callirhoe as a captive (7.6.1). Like Helen before her, Callirhoe has suffered the incorrect assumption that she has been unfaithful to her husband, spawned armed conflict because of her beauty, and at last been reunited with her husband under conditions of captivity.

Callirhoe and the resurrected Alcestis

In addition to Euripides' *Helen*, Chariton's Callirhoe finds another model in the same tragedian's *Alcestis*. The circumstances surrounding the deaths (perceived or actual) of Callirhoe and Alcestis are on the surface quite different. Faced with the impending death of her husband Alcestis nobly volunteers to take his place, and

Callirhoe appears to die suddenly after being kicked by her husband in a brief fit of rage. Alcestis' death is a glorious moment of self-sacrifice; Callirhoe's is a horrible accident. The root cause of both of the women's deaths, however, is their husbands and the meddling of a deity.⁴⁸ Alcestis' husband Admetus is destined to die, but Apollo gives him the opportunity to continue to live if he can find someone to die in his place (*Alcestis* 12-4). When no one else, not even Admetus' parents, comes forward, Alcestis becomes the epitome of a devoted wife and offers up her own life (15-18). Although as her death approaches Admetus begs his wife not to leave him (248-9) and says that he will be lost without her (272-9), the blame for the loss of such an extraordinary wife is squarely placed on Admetus (694-8). Callirhoe's "death" is more explicitly caused by her husband. Falling straight into the trap set by the disgruntled suitors spurred on by Eris (1.1.4), Chaereas wrongly assumes that Callirhoe has been unfaithful to him and in a moment of rage kicks her in the abdomen. Though in reality she is still alive, the kick causes Callirhoe to appear dead to her husband, her family, and her community. Chaereas is brought to trial for Callirhoe's death, and though he is acquitted because of its accidental nature, he vociferously blames himself for her death (1.5.5).

Both Admetus and Chaereas, bereft of their beloved wives by their own doing, ponder suicide to ease their suffering. Even before Alcestis has died, the Chorus

⁴⁸ The ways in which *Chaereas and Callirhoe* resonates with *Alcestis* seem to have gone largely unnoticed by scholars, with the exception of some brief mentions of parallels by Hirschberger (2001) p.168-9, 172 and Alvares (2002) p.113-4 who notes similar patterns of mourning spouses but fails to draw broader connections.

suggests that Admetus may find his own death to be a fitting accompaniment to that of his wife,

—αἰαῖ· ἄξια καὶ σφαγᾶς
τάδε, καὶ πλέον ἢ βρόχῳ δέραν
οὐρανίῳ πελάσσαι

Oh, this calls for death by the sword and is more than enough to put one's neck in a noose hung height (227-9).

After Alcestis has gone below, Admetus envies the dead and wishes for death himself (860-7), but the Chorus prevents him from following through with his dire plans (897-9). Chaereas attempts to kill himself after Callirhoe's apparent death, only to be stopped by his friend Polycharmus, and when the public trial arrives he accuses himself and begs to be put to death,

δημοσίᾳ με καταλεύσατε· ἀπεστεφάνωσα τὸν δῆμον. φιλάνθρωπόν
ἐστὶν ἂν παραδῶτέ με δημίῳ. τοῦτο ὥφειλον παθεῖν, εἰ καὶ
θεραπαινίδα Ἑρμοκράτους ἀπέκτεινα. τρόπον ζητήσατε κολάσεως
ἀπόρρητον. χεῖρονα δέδρακα ἱεροσύλων καὶ πατροκτόνων. μὴ θάψητέ
με, μὴ μιάνητε τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀσεβὲς καταποντώσατε σῶμα

Stone me to death in public. I have robbed the people of its chief distinction. It would be merciful to hand me over to the executioner. I should have deserved this, had I only killed Hermocrates' maidservant. Look for some condign form of punishment. I have committed a crime worse than temple-robbing or parricide. Do not bury me. Do not pollute the earth but plunge my wicked body to the bottom of the sea! (1.5.5).

Echoing the role of the Chorus, the community saves Chaereas, though he continues to wish for death and is only brought back from the brink by some reverse psychology on the part of Polycharmus (1.6.1). Still unbearably unhappy, Chaereas arrives at

Callirhoe's tomb in order to try and kill himself yet again (3.3.1), only to discover that the tomb has been disturbed, the grave goods stolen, and Callirhoe's body vanished. The exasperated Chaereas laments, τί πάθω; τί γένωμαι, δυστυχής; ἐμαυτὸν ἀνέλω; (What is my fate? What will become of me, poor wretch? Shall I kill myself? 3.3.6).

Suicide is also considered by Callirhoe's other husband Dionysius when he fears that he will be separated from Callirhoe through means other than death. Dionysius, convinced that Callirhoe is Aphrodite's gift to him (2.6.1), fears that she will leave him and return home to Syracuse and sees that event as his own undoing, βεβίωταί μοι. τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀπαλλαγήσεται Καλλιρόη μὲν ἐντεῦθεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ ζῆν (Life is over for me. The same day which sees Callirhoe depart from here will also see me depart from life 2.6.2). Dionysius also attempts to take his own life by starvation after he has secured Callirhoe's continued presence in Ionia, but not her love (3.1.1). Chaereas reacts similarly after he has found his lost wife and discovered that she is now the wife of another, deciding to end his life by hanging (5.10.8-9). Polycharmus again intervenes and saves Chaereas from the noose (5.10.9), as he will from self-imposed starvation (6.2.8) and then from death by a sword (7.1.7), the two methods of suicide that the Chorus fears Admetus may attempt after the loss of Alcestis (227-9).⁴⁹

As a mark of both their families' affection and their communities' esteem, both Callirhoe and Alcestis receive lavish burials and monuments. Burial goods have been prepared for Alcestis by her husband (149) and by her father-in-law (611-3), and the

⁴⁹ Cf. Hirschberger (2001) p.172.

entire community participates in mourning her loss (425-34). Alcestis' tomb is also to be a point of reverence for travelers. The Chorus tells Admetus,

μηδὲ νεκρῶν ὡς φθιμένων χῶμα νομιζέσθω
τύμβος σᾶς ἀλόχου, θεοῖσι δ' ὁμοίως
τιμάσθω, σέβας ἐμπόρων.
1000καὶ τις δοχμίαν κέλευθον
ἐμβαίνων τόδ' ἐρεῖ·
Αὐτὰ ποτὲ προύθαν' ἀνδρός,
νῦν δ' ἔστι μάκαιρα daίμων·
χαῖρ', ὦ πότνι, εὖ δὲ δοίης.

Let not the grave of your wife be regarded as the funeral mound of the dead departed but let her be honored as are the gods, an object of reverence to the wayfarer. Someone walking a winding path past her tomb shall say, "This woman died in the stead of her husband, and now she is a blessed divinity. Hail, Lady, and grant us your blessing!" (995-1004).

Chariton vividly describes Callirhoe's burial,

κατέκειτο μὲν Καλλιρρόη νυμφικὴν ἐσθῆτα περικειμένη καὶ ἐπὶ χρυσηλάτου κλίνης μείζων τε καὶ κρείττων, ὥστε πάντες εἵκαζον σηλάτου κλίνης μείζων τε καὶ κρείττων, ὥστε πάντες εἵκαζον αὐτὴν Ἀριάδνη καθευδούση. προήεσαν δὲ τῆς κλίνης πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Συρακοσίων ἵππεῖς αὐτοῖς ἵπποις κεκοσμημένοι· μετὰ τούτους ὀπλίται φέροντες σημεῖα τῶν Ἑρμοκράτους τροπαίων· εἶτα ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ δήμῳ πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες Ἑρμοκράτην δορυφοροῦντες. ἐφέρετο δὲ καὶ Ἀρίστων ἔτι νοσῶν, θυγατέρα καὶ κυρίαν Καλλιρρόην ἀποκαλῶν... ἣν δὲ τάφος μεγαλοπρεπὴς Ἑρμοκράτους πλησίον τῆς θαλάσσης, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς πόρρωθεν πλέουσι περιβλεπτός εἶναι

Callirhoe, clothed in her bridal dress, lay upon a golden bier, more stately and beautiful than ever, so that all compared her to the sleeping Ariadne. It was preceded first by the Syracusan cavalry, themselves and their horses in full regalia; after them the infantry carrying the standards of

Hermocrates' triumphs; then the council and, surrounded by the people, all the magistrates serving as a bodyguard for Hermocrates. Ariston, too, still ill, was carried in a litter, calling Callirhoe his daughter and his lady...Hermocrates has a magnificent tomb by the shore, visible to people far out at sea (1.6.2-5)

Many elements are the same: the public participation in mourning, the focus on a mourning father-in-law, and the monument's prominent location for travelers. The tombs of both Alcestis and Callirhoe are also imagined as the final resting place for their as yet living husbands, so that the two may not be parted even by death. Admetus tells Alcestis,

ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γάρ μ' ἐπισκήψω κέδροις
σοὶ τούσδε θεῖναι πλευρά τ' ἐκτεῖναι πέλας
πλευροῖσι τοῖς σοῖς· μηδὲ γὰρ θανών ποτε
σοῦ χωρὶς εἶην τῆς μόνης πιστῆς ἐμοί.

For I shall command my children here to bury me in the same coffin with you and to lay out my body next to yours. Never, even in death, may I be parted from you, the woman who alone has been faithful to me (365-8).

Callirhoe anticipates that were she actually dead, she would have shared a tomb with Chaereas. Distraught at the prospect of becoming a slave, she laments to herself,

πόσῳ μοι κρεῖττον ἦν ἐν τάφῳ κεῖσθαι νεκράν· πάντως ἂν μετ' ἐμοῦ
Χαιρέας ἐκηδεύθη· νῦν δὲ καὶ ζῶντες καὶ ἀποθανόντες διεζεύχθημεν

How much better it would be for me to lie dead in the tomb! Then, at all events, Chaereas would have been buried with me. But now we have been parted both in life and death (1.11.3).

Chaereas seems to have shared the notion, and after he has discovered that Callirhoe has been taken from her tomb he wonders aloud,

ταύτην γὰρ εἶχον ἐλπίδα τῆς συμφορᾶς, εἰ θάλαμον μετὰ
Καλλιρόης κοινὸν οὐκ ἐτήρησα, τάφον αὐτῇ κοινὸν εὕρήσω.

For this was my hope in my misfortune, that if I could no longer share my bed with Callirhoe, at least I would share her grave (3.3.6).

In addition to providing Alcestis with a proper burial, Admetus promises to remember his soon-to-be dead wife in many ways. Prompted by his dying wife's request, Admetus promises that he will not remarry and give their children a step-mother,

ἔσται τάδ', ἔσται, μὴ τρέσης· ἐπεὶ σ' ἐγὼ
καὶ ζῶσαν εἶχον καὶ θανοῦσ' ἐμὴ γυνή
330μόνη κεκλήση, κοῦτις ἀντὶ σοῦ ποτε
τόνδ' ἄνδρα νύμφη Θεσσαλὶς προσφθέγξεται.

What you wish shall be so, fear not, it shall be so. While you lived you were my wife, and in death you alone will bear that title. No Thessalian bride will ever speak to me in place of you (328-31).⁵⁰

He also promises to leave behind all forms of revelry,

παύσω δὲ κώμους συμποτῶν θ' ὁμιλίας
στεφάνους τε μοῦσάν θ' ἣ κατεῖχ' ἐμοὺς δόμους.

I shall put an end to revels and the company of banqueters and to the garlands and music which once filled my halls (343-4).

⁵⁰ slightly adapted

And in a disconcerting, yet touching, gesture he plans to have an Alcestis-doll created,
whom he can hold in place of his wife,

σοφῇ δὲ χειρὶ τεκτόνων δέμας τὸ σὸν
εἰκασθὲν ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκταθήσεται,
ᾧ προσπесоῦμαι καὶ περιπτύσσων χέρας
ὄνομα καλῶν σὸν τὴν φίλην ἐν ἀγκάλαις
δόξω γυναιῖκα καίπερ οὐκ ἔχων ἔχειν·
ψυχρὰν μὲν, οἶμαι, τέρεψιν, ἀλλ' ὅμως βάρος
ψυχῆς ἀπαντλοίην ἄν

An image of you shaped by the hand of skilled craftsmen shall be laid out
in my bed. I shall fall into its arms, and as I embrace it and call your
name I shall imagine, though I have her not, that I hold my dear wife in
my arms, a cold pleasure, to be sure, but thus I shall lighten my soul's
heaviness (348-54).⁵¹

Throughout the novel, Callirhoe, Dionysius, and Chaereas all adopt modes of mourning,
either because of death or because of separation, similar to those of Admetus.

When Callirhoe discovers that she is pregnant and essentially held captive in
Ionia, albeit in the kind household of Dionysius, she faces the possibility of raising
Chaereas' child as a slave, or at best, the step-child of another man. Plangon, Dionysius'
slave, offers her opinion about the feelings someone other than the child's father might
have toward the baby,

ἀδύνατόν ἐστί... ὦ γύναι, τέκνον θρέψαι παρ' ἡμῖν· ὁ
γὰρ δεσπότης ἡμῶν ἐρωτικῶς σου διακείμενος ἄκουσαν μὲν οὐ
βιάσεται δι' αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην, θρέψαι δὲ παιδίον οὐκ ἐπιτρέψει

⁵¹ For more on this motif of a doll in lieu of a deceased lover, see Bettini (1999) and further discussion in Chapter 3.

διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν, ὑβρίζεσθαι δοκῶν εἰ τὸν μὲν ἀπόντα
περισπούδαστον ὑπολαμβάνεις, ὑπεροῤῃς δὲ παρόντος αὐτοῦ.
κρεῖττον οὖν μοι δοκεῖ πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι τὸ παιδίον ἢ γεννηθὲν ἀπο
λέσθαι

It is quite impossible to bring up a baby here with us. Our master is in love with you, and while his respect for you and his own good sense will prevent him from forcing you against your will, still his jealousy will not permit you to rear a child: he would consider it an insult that you hold so dear the father who is not present and disregard himself who is. It seems much better to me for the child to die before its birth rather than after (2.10.1).

After wrestling with how to preserve her own chastity and the life of the child, Callirhoe, at the cunning advice of the slave (2.10.5-7), sacrifices her loyalty to Chaereas so that the baby might be raised by a man who is convinced that he is the father. Even when Callirhoe has returned to Chaereas and is speeding back to Syracuse, she continues her deception, calling Dionysius the boy's father. And, like Alcestis, knowing that she will no longer be present for her child, she asks Dionysius not to give the boy a stepmother,

εἰμὶ γὰρ τῇ ψυχῇ μετὰ σοῦ διὰ τὸν κοινὸν υἱόν, ὃν παρακατατίθημί
σοι ἐκτρέφειν τε καὶ παιδεύειν ἀξίως ἡμῶν μὴ λάβῃ δὲ πεῖραν
μητρειᾶς

Indeed I am with you in spirit through the son we share, and I entrust him to you to bring up and to educate in a way worthy of us. Let him have no experience of a stepmother (8.4.5).⁵²

Whatever the situation, a stepparent is to be avoided.

⁵² Cf. Hirschberger (2001) p.168-9.

Admetus' commitment to abandoning all forms of revelry provides the appropriate backdrop for Heracles' bad behavior, and Chaereas mimics the widower's sentiment when he has been separated from his wife. Following the fall of his enemy, Chaereas abstains from celebration,

τί γάρ μοι ὄφελος ἐπινικίων, ἂν σύ, Καλλιρόη, μὴ βλέπῃς; οὐκέτι
στεφανώσομαι μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν γαμήλιον νύκτα. εἴτε γὰρ τέθνηκας,
ἀσεβῶ, εἴτε καὶ ζῇς, πῶς ἐορτάζειν δύναμαι δίχα σοῦ κατακείμενος;

What good is a victory celebration to me if you, Callirhoe, cannot see it?
After our wedding night, I shall never wear a garland again. If you are
dead it would be a sacrilege, and even if you are alive, how can I recline
at the feast without you at my side? (7.4.10)

Admetus' life-sized likeness of Alcestis is intended to keep him company after his wife has died, and though neither Chaereas nor Dionysius follow suit, it is Callirhoe who takes solace in an image of her "deceased" husband. At the lavish funeral prepared by Dionysius for his wife's first husband, an image of Chaereas is carried in the procession (4.1.10), and Callirhoe embraces it as if it were her husband (4.1.11).

Beyond the circumstances of their death and the similar patterns of mourning a departed spouse, Euripides' Alcestis and Chariton's Callirhoe share stories with similar plots and characterizations. Both Callirhoe and Alcestis are exceptional wives, who are fully devoted to their husbands. Alcestis is so devoted that she does, in fact, put her husband's life above her own and dies in his place even though she could have easily remarried (285-6). After her apparent death, Callirhoe's father reveals that she was as devoted as Alcestis, ἤκοθα λεγούσης αὐτῆς πολλάκις ὅτι αὐτῆς μᾶλλον θέλει

Χαιρέαν ζῆν (I have often heard her say that she would rather have Chaereas live than herself 1.5.7). And when faced with the difficult decisions raised by her pregnancy, Callirhoe herself asserts that being the wife of Chaereas alone was her greatest wish,

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν πρώτη τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην ἀποφαίνομαι· θέλω γὰρ
ἀποθανεῖν Χαιρέου μόνου γυνή. τοῦτό μοι καὶ γονέων ἥδιον καὶ
πατρίδος καὶ τέκνου, πείραν ἀνδρὸς ἑτέρου μὴ λαβεῖν.

I wish to die as the wife of Chaereas alone. This is dearer to me than parents, homeland, and child –not to have experience of another husband (2.11.1)

Being the husband of Callirhoe or Alcestis, or at the very least someone like them, is a role coveted by many. The men of Pherae, represented by the Chorus, wish they could have a wife like Admetus,

τοιαύτας εἶη μοι κῦρσαι
συνδυάδος φιλίας ἀλόχου, τὸ γὰρ
ἐν βιώτῳ σπάνιον μέρος· ἢ γὰρ ἄν
ἔμοιγ' ἄλυπος δι' αἰ-
ῶνος ἄν ξυνεῖη.

Be it my fate to find such a dear wife, for this lot in life is rare! Truly, such a woman, living with me my whole life, would bring me no grief (473-6)

A plethora of suitors exhibit a similar desire to be Callirhoe's husband. Before she married Chaereas many men came to seek her hand (1.1.2), and even after she has been married they join forces and plot to destroy her husband (1.2.3-4). The fame of Callirhoe's beauty is a persistent theme in the novel, first as it attracts the many suitors

to her and then later as her beauty's reputation plants the seeds of lust that are the cause of her many problems. Dionysius fears the reach of her fame,

ἔμελλε γὰρ περιβόητος ὀφθεῖσα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὅλην τὴν
Ἰωνίαν δουλαγωγήσιν ἀναβήσεσθαι τε τὴν φήμην καὶ μέχρι τοῦ
μεγάλου βασιλέως.

For if she were once seen, she was sure to become celebrated and her beauty would then enthrall all Ionia, indeed her fame would even make its way to the Great King (2.7.1).

And he is right to do so, for her reputation attracts the attention of both Mithridates and Pharnaces and even the Great King (4.1.8), a fact which both she and Dionysius will have cause to regret. Unlike Callirhoe, Alcestis' fame is wholly positive, but no less potent. The whole city of Pherae is aware of her noble actions (156), and the Chorus insists that Alcestis know that she will die glorious (150). According to the Chorus, Alcestis' story of self-sacrifice will be the material of poets and will be sung far beyond the reaches of Pherae,

πολλά σε μουσοπόλοι
μέλψουσι καθ' ἐπτάτονόν τ' ὀρείαν
χέλυν ἔν τ' ἀλύροις κλέοντες ὕμνοις,
Σπάρτα κυκλᾶς ἀνίκα Καρνεί-
ου περινίσεται ὥρα
μηνός, ἀειρομένας
παννύχου σελάνας,
λιπαραῖσί τ' ἐν ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις,
τοίαν ἔλιπες θανοῦσα μολ-
πὰν μελέων ἀοιδοῖς.

Poets shall sing often in your praise both on the seven-stringed mountain tortoise shell and in songs unaccompanied by the lyre when at Sparta the

month Karneios comes circling round and the moon is aloft the whole night long, and also in rich, gleaming Athens. Such is the theme for song that you have left poets by your death (445-54).

Throughout Euripides' play, Alcestis is referred to as "such" a woman, wife, or mistress on six separate occasions.⁵³ In each instance Admetus, the Chorus, or Heracles are lamenting the loss (or soon to be loss) of this remarkable woman and distinguishing her from the average woman, ὦ δαῖμον, οἷας συζύγου μ' ἀποστρεφεῖς (O fate, what a wife you take from me! 384). Alcestis is universally respected and mourned, even by those who do not know her well. Callirhoe is likewise admired by all, and loss of her as a wife is lamented in terms similar to those used of Alcestis. When Chaereas, presumed though not actually dead, is being mourned with a lavish public burial the crowd who has never laid eyes on him weeps, though not because he is dead, θρῆνον ἐξέροηξε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πάντες οὐχ ὅτι τέθνηκε Χαιρέαν ἠλέουν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοιαύτης γυναικὸς ἀφῆρητο. (The crowd burst into tears and all felt pity for Chaereas, not because he was dead, but because he had been deprived of such a wife 4.1.12). When Mithridates, who was present at Chaereas' funeral, discovers that Chaereas is alive but enslaved and sentenced to death, his pity is also directed not at Chaereas' situation but at his loss of such a wife, μὴ γὰρ τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐλεῶ σου, Χαιρέα, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοιαύτης γυναικὸς ἀφῆρέθης (Chaereas, it is not the chains and the cross for which I pity you, but rather for losing such a wife 4.3.8). The loss of Callirhoe, either because of death or

⁵³ 144, 342, 384, 472, 824, and 949.

because of a rival for her affections is as acutely perceived as the loss of Alcestis to death. Both Callirhoe and Alcestis are figured as belonging to a distinctive and rare type of woman whose loss is devastating to all those around them.

Callirhoe and Alcestis “die” because of the actions of their husbands, but the tomb is not the end of their stories. Alcestis, who has actually died, is resurrected through the efforts of Heracles, who wrestles death at her tomb and returns the woman to her husband (1140-2). Callirhoe, though not actually dead, is mourned and buried as if she were dead and rescued, albeit unwittingly by the pirate Theron and his gang. The ne’er-do-well Theron seems an unlikely double for the bumbling hero, but his characterization mirrors that of Heracles in surprising ways. Heracles arrives in Pherae enroute to Thrace for one of his twelve labors –the horses of Diomedes (482-3). The savagery of the man-eating horses themselves and the necessity to kill their master in order to possess them are emphasized by the Chorus (492-8), but what neither the Chorus nor Heracles realize at the moment is that the hero will resort to thievery, a trick more befitting Theron, in order to obtain them.⁵⁴ Though Heracles is ostensibly a friend of Admetus’ household, his portrayal is not always positive. After Alcestis has died and, unaware of the situation, Heracles is feasting in the house, a servant complains,

καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν δόμοισιν ἔστιω
ξένον, πανοῦργον κλῶπα καὶ ληστήν τινα,
ἢ δ’ ἐκ δόμων βέβηκεν, οὐδ’ ἐφ’ ἐσπόμην
οὐδ’ ἐξέτεινα χεῖρ’ ἀποιμώζων ἐμὴν

⁵⁴ Apollodorus 2.5.8. The tradition surrounding Heracles’ use of theft in obtaining the horses may not have been current for Euripides, but it likely would have been by Chariton’s time.

δέσποιναν

And now I must feast the stranger in our house, some knavish thief or brigand, while my mistress has left the house without my following or holding out my hand in mourning for her (765-9).

Chariton's first description of Theron mirrors the slave's indictment of Heracles,

Θήρων γάρ τις ἦν, πανοῦργος ἄνθρωπος, ἐξ ἀδικίας πλέων
τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ληστὰς ἔχων ὑφορμοῦντας τοῖς λιμέσιν ὀνό-
ματι πορθμείου, πειρατήριον συγκροτῶν

There was a cunning rogue named Theron who followed a life of crime upon the sea. He associated with freebooters whose craft rode at anchor in the harbors ostensibly for ferrying; but Theron led them as a pirate crew (1.7.1).

Both are πανοῦργοι and λησταί, criminals at heart.

Heracles is connected to the house of Admetus by the ties of guest-friendship, and once he discovers that Admetus has lost his wife he sets his mind to helping his friend by snatching Alcestis back from Death (840-60). After Heracles has won Alcestis from Death at her tomb he brings her to Admetus and presents her to his friend as a servant, δίδωμι τήνδε σοῖσι προσπολεῖν δόμοις (I give her to you to be a servant in your house 1024). Heracles explains that he won the woman in an athletic contest (1025-32) and insists that though profit was in his mind he did not steal her,

ἐντυχόντι δὲ
αἰσχρὸν παρεῖναι κέρδος ἦν τόδ' εὐκλέες.
ἀλλ', ὥσπερ εἶπον, σοὶ μέλειν γυναιῖκα χρή·
οὐ γὰρ κλοπαίαν ἀλλὰ σὺν πόνῳ λαβὼν
ἦκω

Since I happened to be there, it seemed a shame to let slip this chance for profit combined with glory. But as I said, you must care for the woman. For I did not steal her but won her with labor (1032-6).

Heracles' story is, of course, a half-lie, but it is reflected by the truth of Theron's actions.

As a pirate, Theron's motives also lie with profit (1.7.1), and it is his motivation for treasure that leads him to accidentally find and rescue the living Callirhoe from her tomb. Though Theron's motives are not well-meaning like those of Heracles, he fulfills the same role as the hero and rescues the woman from the clutches of death. Were it not for Theron's tomb robbing activities, Callirhoe would surely have expired without food or water.

When Theron arrives in Ionia to sell Callirhoe, he meets Dionysius, whose situation is strongly evocative of Admetus following the death of Alcestis, despite the fact that Dionysius is not yet Callirhoe's husband. Dionysius has recently lost his first wife and has been left a widowed father (1.12.7-8). Theron is welcomed by Dionysius' servant into his palace-like house as a guest-friend (1.12.10-13.1), much as Heracles is welcomed into Admetus' palace (545-50). When Heracles offers Alcestis to Admetus, he offers his friend a slave to serve his house (1024). Theron also offers Callirhoe as a slave for the house of Dionysius, for a price. Theron discusses the proposition with Dionysius' steward Leonas,

σοὶ οὖν γενέσθω τὸ κέρδος, εἴτε σεαυτῷ θέλεις τροφὸν κατασχεῖν
τοῦ παιδίου (πεπαίδευται γὰρ ἱκανῶς) εἴτε καὶ ἄξιον ὑπολαμβάνεις
χαρίσασθαι τῷ δεσπότη. λυσιτελεῖ δέ σοι μᾶλλον ἀργυρώνητον ἔχειν
αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ τροφίμῃ σου μητροιὰν ἐπαγάγηται

You can profit by this, whether you wish to get a nurse for the child (she is well enough trained for that), or whether you think it worthwhile doing your master a favor. It is more to your advantage for him to have a bought slave: this will avoid his introducing a stepmother for your young ward (1.12.9).

Unable to tell the truth about his possession of Callirhoe, Theron constructs a story about her origins (1.12.8-9), just as Heracles claims to have won Alcestis in an athletic contest (1028-9).

Admetus is reluctant to accept Heracles' gift out of respect for his deceased wife, and he refuses to take another wife or a concubine (1090). But he eventually succumbs to his friend's badgering and accepts the woman into his home (1110). Dionysius' steward purchases Callirhoe without his master's knowledge, and though Dionysius is pleased to have acquired a beautiful slave he, too, does not wish to take a slave as a concubine (2.1.5). Dionysius, however, finally does succumb to Callirhoe's beauty and wishes to make her his wife.

Callirhoe's final reintroduction to Chaereas is also evocative of Alcestis' reunion with Admetus. When Chaereas recovers Callirhoe, he has won her as a prize of war (8.1.1) as Heracles claims to have.⁵⁵ Alcestis is at first unrecognizable to Admetus,⁵⁶ and when Chaereas first sees Callirhoe he also does not recognize her though he feels a connection (8.1.7). Admetus is initially incredulous of Heracles' accomplishment,

ὦ θεοί, τί λέξω; θαῦμα' ἀνέλπιστον τόδε·

⁵⁵ Cf. Hirschberger (2001) p.172.

⁵⁶ Admetus, in fact, does not recognize his wife for at least 100 lines of his conversation with Heracles, though he does mention that she looks very similar to his wife (1062-3).

γυναῖκα λεύσσω τήνδ' ἐμὴν ἐτητύμῳ,
ἧ κέρτομός μ' ἐκ θεοῦ τις ἐκπλήσσει χαρά;

O gods, what shall I say? Here is a wonder past all hoping. Is this truly
my wife I see here, or does some delusive joy sent by a god steal my wits?
(1123-5)

But he eventually believes, and rejoices in his wife's return from the dead,

ὦ φιλάτης γυναικὸς ὄμμα καὶ δέμας,
ἔχω σ' ἀέλπτως, οὐ ποτ' ὄψεσθαι δοκῶν.

O face and form of the wife I love, I have you back against all
expectation, never thinking to see you again! (1133-4)

Similarly, Chaeras and Callirhoe express their own disbelief over their reunion,

ἔχω σε, εἰ ἀληθῶς εἶ Καλλιρόη· εἰ ἀληθῶς εἶ Χαιρέας (Are you really Callirhoe whom
I hold in my arms? Are you really Chaereas? 8.1.10). Like Alcestis, Callirhoe has been
resurrected, passed as a slave, and finally reunited with her husband.

Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* engages in dynamic relationships with many
preceding prose and poetry genres, from epic to historiography. Among the most
influential genres is tragedy, whose influence is felt throughout the novel. Chariton
characterizes himself as a dramatic writer both explicitly and implicitly by evoking
Aristotle's theories on tragedies. He aligns his novel with a work fit to be performed in
a theatre when Chaereas recounts all that has happened in the theatre of Syracuse, and
he uses quotations and verbal allusions from tragedy to characterize the figures in his
novel. Many of the plot elements in *Chaereas and Callirhoe* –the false claims of a wife's

infidelity, a husband's eastward expedition to reclaim a wife, the struggle to remain chaste in a foreign land, a wife's apparent resurrection, and the reunion of a couple separated by time, distance, and the meddling of Aphrodite –are drawn from tragedy, giving the novel a particularly tragic cast, even after its happy ending.

HELIODORUS AND THE UBIQUITY OF TRAGEDY

Of all the surviving Greek novelists, Heliodorus' work is the most complex and the most richly embroidered with themes, plots, and characters derived from the tragic stage. Even before the novels were dusted off as literary works worthy of study, scholars were taking note of Heliodorus' particular affinity for tragedy. Walden systematically catalogued every use of stage terminology in the *Aethiopica*, and he attributes Heliodorus' "superiority" over the other novelists to his general "dramatic feeling."¹ Neimke collected more than seventy examples of Euripidean language incorporated into Heliodorus' text, and while some are less convincing than others, his attention to Heliodorus' "*studia Euripideia*" is justified.² From its very beginning, the *Aethiopica* is colored by language, characters, and situations that are evocative of the tragic stage.

The *Aethiopica* opens at dawn as a group of brigands sitting on an elevated location peer down at the scene below them. The reader's understanding of the scene is focalized through the brigands as Heliodorus describes them surveying the sea in the distance and the carnage on the beach. The scene that they observe below is couched in theatrical language.

Καὶ μυρίον εἶδος ὁ δαίμων ἐπὶ μικροῦ τοῦ χωρίου διεσκεύαστο, οἶνον

¹ Walden (1894) p.1.

² Neimke (1889) p.11-21.

αἵματι μιάνας, καὶ συμποσίοις πόλεμον ἐπιστήσας, φόνους καὶ
πότους, σπονδὰς καὶ σφαγὰς ἐπισυνάψας, καὶ τοιοῦτον θέατρον
λησταῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιδείξας. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος θεωροὺς
ἑαυτοὺς τῶνδε καθίσαντες οὐδὲ συνιέναι τὴν σκηνὴν ἐδύναντο

In that small space the deity had contrived an infinitely varied spectacle, defiling wine with blood and unleashing war at the party, combining wining and dying, pouring of drink and spilling of blood, and staging this tragic show for the Egyptian bandits. They sat on the mountainside like the audience in a theater, unable to comprehend the scene (1.1.6-7).³

An unnamed divinity has orchestrated the scene below as if a stage performance, and the bandits have taken up the role of audience.⁴ The early morning spectacle, for which the brigands provide the audience, occurs at the customary time for the dramatic festivals in Athens, at dawn.⁵ By choosing this time of day for the novel's beginning, Heliodorus has subtly aligned his work with theatrical precedents.

The "stage management of the deity," to use Morgan's phrase, described in this opening is programmatic for the novel as a whole. ⁶ Time and again the characters, both major and minor, will find themselves unhappily playing tragic roles assigned to them by the anonymous *daimon*. This chapter will analyze the ways in which Heliodorus

³ All translations of Heliodorus are from Morgan (1989a) unless otherwise noted. This instance is slightly adapted.

⁴ The theatricality of the opening scene has been much discussed. Walden (1894) p.4, Bartsch (1989) p.119-20, Paulsen (1992) p.54, Dworacki (1996) p.356-7, Cueva (1998) p.104-5, Pletcher (1998) p.17-18, Cueva (2004) p.85-6.

⁵ Pickard-Cambridge (1968) p.67 (Aeschines *In Ctes.* 76, Demosthenes *Meid.* 74).

⁶ Morgan (1989a) p.351.

adopts motifs, patterns, and characters from tragedy and uses them to create an overarching tragic feel to the *Aethiopica*.

My Very Own Hippolytus

Knemon is introduced to the reader by name only moments after Theagenes and Charikleia, the central couple (1.8). A fellow captive of the bandits who have snatched Charikleia and the wounded Theagenes from the beach, he has been assigned to watch over the couple. Theagenes engages Knemon in introductory pleasantries, and the reader learns that Knemon is from Athens. When Theagenes pushes Knemon for more, he begs him to stop and replies with a line lifted verbatim from Euripidean tragedy, “Why do you batter and prize open these doors?” (τί ταῦτα κινεῖς κἀναμοχλεύεις; *Medea* 1317).⁷ His quotation is conscious, “to borrow a phrase from the tragedians” (τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν) and purposeful, “This is no time to introduce a new theme into your own tragedy in the form of my misfortunes,” (Οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτ’ ἄν ἐπεισόδιον ὑμῖν τῶν ὑμετέρων τὰ μὰ ἐπεισφέρειν κακά (1.8.7). Knemon, born and raised in the tragic city par excellence, pictures himself as a participant in a tragedy, and with good reason. Knemon has been the victim of his stepmother’s illicit lust and has found himself unwittingly participating in a Hippolytus tragedy.⁸

⁷ This line is spoken by Medea to Jason as he attempts to open the palace doors, which will reveal the death of his children. As Morgan (1989a) p.359 n.8 notes, there is an anachronism here, though the fact that Knemon could not know this tragedy does not make the use of the line any less tragic.

⁸ Unsurprisingly, Knemon and his associations with Hippolytus have prompted much discussion. Neimke (1889) p.11-12; Feuillatre (1966) p.118; Rocca (1976), Paulsen (1992) p.85-110, Cueva (1998)

Heliodorus' characterization of Knemon as a tragic Hippolytus figure does not rest solely on a wife's immoral affection for her husband's son. Hippolytus was the son of the Athenian king and Knemon is the son of a well-to-do Athenian. His father's name, Aristippos, may be intended as a subtle reminder of Hippolytus, whose name shares "horse" as an etymological root. Particularly striking for Knemon's tragic characterization, however, is Demainete's choice to call him her Hippolytus (1.10.2). Unfortunately, the text here is uncertain as preserved: ὁ νέος Ἰππόλυτος, † ὁ Θησεὺς ὁ ἐμός † (young Hippolytus, my Theseus). In context Demainete's words are illogical, which has prompted several possible emendations. Rattenbury suggests that ὁ Θησεὺς originated as the marginal gloss ὁ Θησεύς to explain that Hippolytus was the son of Theseus, having Demainete exclaim "a young Hippolytus of my own."⁹ Merkelbach would go as far as to rearrange the line, ὁ <ἐμός> Ἰππόλυτος, ὁ Θησεὺς <ὁ νέος> (my Hippolytus, a young Theseus) based on a line from Seneca's *Phaedra* and its possible source, Euripides' first and now lost Hippolytus play.¹⁰ Arnott adds the possibility that a scribe has substituted ὁ for οὐ, rendering the line ὁ νέος Ἰππόλυτος, οὐ Θησεὺς ὁ ἐμός (young Hippolytus, not my Theseus).¹¹ All three possible emendations as well as

p.107-9, Laplace (2001) p.390-3, Cueva (2004) p.87. The Hippolytus theme also appears prominently in the novel in the Arsake episode of Book 7, and though it is not discussed in this chapter it has also received much attention Dwaroacki (1996) p.359, Cueva (1998) p.109-110, Paulsen (1992) p.67-8, Cueva (2004) p.88-9.

⁹ Rattenbury (1925) p.178.

¹⁰ Merkelbach (1957) p 99-100.

¹¹ Arnott (1965) p.308-9.

the problematic text itself support Knemon's tragic analog for both the internal and external audience of his story.¹²

Reading Knemon as a tragic Hippolytus figure is itself unproblematic, but the nuances of the story and its many tragic reincarnations in antiquity presents several difficulties.¹³ We know of three renditions of the Hippolytus/Phaedra story by fifth century tragedians: Sophocles' *Phaidra* and Euripides *Hippolytus Veiled* and *Hippolytus Crowned*. Of these three only the last survives intact. The first two plays have left several fragments and all three have left their mark on subsequent treatments of the story by Ovid and Seneca.¹⁴ Though the general outline of the plot (stepmother loves stepson and fails to become his lover, stepmother falsely accuses stepson, exiled son meets grizzly fate, stepmother commits suicide) appears consistent across all three tragedies, the sequence of events and agency of the characters is varied.

In Euripides' extant *Hippolytus Crowned* Phaedra is inflamed with passion but makes no attempt to seduce her stepson; it is the nurse, acting against Phaedra's wishes, who tells the boy of the attraction. In this version Phaedra herself is chaste, a victim of the goddess' vengeance on Hippolytus. Even before Theseus has the opportunity to discover her attraction to his son, Phaedra kills herself and accuses Hippolytus in a

¹² Merkelbach's suggestion provides the strongest backing for my reading of Knemon as Hippolytus, but it is also the biggest stretch from the text and relies on the inherently problematic prospect of reconstructing Euripides' lost *Hippolytus Veiled* through Seneca's *Phaedra*.

¹³ *pace* Cueva (1998) p.108, who asserts that Knemon's associations with Hippolytus are meant to distract the reader from the real parallel between Hippolytus and Theagenes.

¹⁴ See Barrett (1964) p.15-45 for a complete collection of the fragments of the *Phaidra* and first *Hippolytus* as well as a comprehensive discussion of what can be gleaned from them and relevant Roman poetry.

suicide note in an attempt to salvage her reputation. This version of the story, for which Euripides won the prize, varies significantly from the traditional plotline. Other versions, *Hippolytus Veiled* and Sophocles' *Phaidra* likely among them, present a Phaedra who does not resist her passion and attempts to seduce the boy.¹⁵ When he denies her advances she accuses him to her husband and only after Hippolytus is at or near death and her secret has been revealed does she kill herself because of shame or remorse.¹⁶ Knemon's story does not precisely follow the lines of our extant *Hippolytus Crowned*, nor does it, in so far as we can tell, adhere more closely to the lines of the lost tragedies. Instead, Heliodorus adopts a recognizably tragic framework that draws on multiple plays and distributes elements of these tragedies onto multiple characters and situations in the novel.

Elements drawn from *Hippolytus Crowned* in Knemon's story are the most readily apparent to modern readers due to its survival. In Euripides' play Hippolytus is first noticed by Phaedra as a sexual object when he goes to Athens to take part in the mysteries (24-8). Demainete's lust also becomes inflamed when her stepson comes home after a religious observance, in this case the Panathenaia (1.101-2).¹⁷ After an unsuccessful attempt to woo Knemon, the disappointed Demainete sets a trap to punish him for rejecting her. When Knemon is caught in her deception and unknowingly tries to kill his father, Aristippos chooses not to exercise his right to kill his son but sends him

¹⁵ Barrett (1964) p.37.

¹⁶ Barrett (1964) p.38-44.

¹⁷ cf. Feuillâtre (1966) p.118.

to trial instead (1.13.1-2). Theseus, also within his rights to kill Hippolytus, chooses exile for his son (1041-9), the same fate ultimately visited on Knemon by the court (1.14.1).

Thisbe, Demainete's henchwoman and Knemon's lover, has no direct or consistent parallel in the Hippolytus tragedies, but several tragic roles from the plays can be mapped on the character of the slave girl. She is Knemon's lover both by order and by choice, both his enemy and his friend, and the woman through whose actions he is both destroyed and redeemed. Thisbe is first identified as the stepmother's devoted slave. In *Hippolytus Crowned* it is Phaedra's nurse who acts, albeit without her mistress' knowledge, to alleviate the "ill" woman's distress (595-6) and it may be that the nurse or another servant acted at Phaedra's behest in one of the other Hippolytus tragedies.¹⁸

Thisbe's second tragic role is that of Knemon's would-be lover. After Demainete's unsuccessful attempt to woo Knemon, she instructs Thisbe to become his lover to further her plot of revenge (1.11.3). By playing the role of lover that Demainete originally wished for herself, Thisbe becomes a surrogate for her mistress and is able to manipulate Knemon into attacking his father. Thisbe does what Demainete cannot; she fulfills the Phaedra-figure's wish to become the intimate of the Hippolytus-figure. After Knemon has been exiled, Demainete begins to resent this, and she turns her malice toward Thisbe (1.15.1). Borrowing her actions from her mistress' script, Thisbe lays a trap for Demainete that reverses the trap set earlier for Knemon (1.15.2ff). Instead of Knemon attacking Demainete's phantom lover who turns out to be his father, Aristippos

¹⁸ Barrett (1964) p.37.

will attack a phantom lover whom Demainete thinks will be Knemon. Yet again, Thisbe plays a better, more successful Demainete than her mistress. Her plots and treachery have succeeded where her mistresses' have failed, and Demainete takes her own life, securing her identification with Phaedra, who feared facing the consequences of her own actions (1.17.5).

When Thisbe reappears in the novel and Knemon's story again comes to the fore she is no longer part of an inset tale and she is no longer alive. Having fled Athens for fear of being tortured as evidence in Aristippos' trial, Thisbe is captured by the bandits in Egypt, where she is killed with a sword (2.9-10). In a moment of confusion, the dead woman is assumed to be Charikleia until Knemon on closer inspections declares that it is none other than Thisbe (2.5.4). Thisbe's corpse shares characteristics with two tragic Phaedras: she has been killed by a sword like Seneca's Phaedra (and possibly the Phaedras of *Phaidra* and *Hippolytus Veiled*), and she is discovered with a letter, like Euripides' Phaedra in *Hippolytus Crowned*.¹⁹

Thisbe's corpse prompts all present to view the scene in theatrical terms. Theagenes describes Knemon's shock at seeing the girl, "as if she were some evil spirit in a play" (ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δαίμονας 2.7.3). Thisbe is figured here as a spirit or ghost on the stage.²⁰ Charikleia, perplexed by what has happened, can only describe the events as if they were stageworthy, "How can someone suddenly be spirited away by a

¹⁹ Leferatou (2013) reads Thisbe's death as a "latent Iphigenia motif" p. 206-7.

²⁰ For δαίμων as ghost, see Pausanias 6.6.8.

sort of theatrical special effect, out of the heart of Greece to the remotest parts of Egypt?”

(πῶς ἦν εἰκός, ὦ Κνήμων, εἰπούσης τὴν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ’ ἐσχάτοις γῆς Αἰγύπτου καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς ἀναπεμφθῆναι; 2.8.3). And Knemon, whose upbringing in Athens and personal experiences have prepared him to think in terms of tragedies, fears that Thisbe’s arrival marks the beginning of another. “I am haunted by the fear that the story of Demainete’s death is untrue, that the friends who brought me the news were deceiving me, and that you have come across the sea to make me the victim of another Attic tragedy, but in an Egyptian setting” (σφόδρα δέδοικα μὴ καὶ πλάσμα ἐστὶν ἢ Δημαινέτης τελευτὴ καμὲ μὲν ἠπάτησαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες σὺ δὲ καὶ διαπόντιος ἦκεις ἑτέραν καθ’ ἡμῶν σκηνὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τραγωδήσουσα 2.11.2).

But what *other* tragedy does Knemon fear Thisbe has a part in? Her role in Knemon’s Hippolytus-like tragedy has already been discussed, but Thisbe’s situation also resonates with other recognizable tragedies. Charikleia’s amazement at Thisbe’s miraculous movement from Greece to Egypt recalls Euripides’ *Helen*, in which the heroine has been removed from her home in Greece by Hermes and deposited safely in Egypt to wait out the Trojan War (44-8). The identification of Thisbe as a Helen figure is especially apt when one thinks of her as an *eidolon* of Charikleia, sent into the warzone to protect the life and chastity of her double.²¹ The living Thisbe is confuse with Charikleia and consequently murdered by Thyamis (1.30.7) and the deceased Thisbe is thought to

²¹ cf. Anderson (1982) p.39.

be Charikleia by Theagenes (2.3.3). Like the *eidolon* in the *Helen*, Thisbe has preserved Charikleia in Egypt for her (future) husband.

Thisbe can also be seen as an Antigone figure. Discovered dead in a cave, “Charikleia” (actually Thisbe) is embraced and lamented by her groom, who subsequently attempts suicide with his sword (2.3.3-4.4). Theagenes is foiled in his suicide attempt by Knemon and fails to become a fully effective Haemon. Theagenes laments,

Ἀλλ’ ὦ τί ἄν σέ τις ὀνομάσειε; νύμφην; ἀλλ’ ἀνύμφευτος· γαμετήν;
ἀλλ’ ἀπείρατος. Τίνα οὖν ἀνακαλέσω; τίνα προσφθέγξομαι λοιπόν; Ἡ
ἄρα τὸ πάντων ὀνομάτων ἥδιστον Χαρίκλειαν; ὦ Χαρίκλεια, θάρσει·
πιστὸν ἔχεις τὸν ἐρώμενον· ἀπολήψῃ με μικρὸν ὕστερον· ἰδοὺ γάρ σοι
χοᾶς ἐπάξω τὰς ἐμαυτοῦ σφαγὰς καὶ σπείσομαι τὸ σοὶ φίλον αἷμα
τοῦμόν· ἔξει δὲ ἡμᾶς αὐτοσχέδιον μνήμα τόδε τὸ σπήλαιον. Ἐξεσται
πάντως ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι μετὰ γοῦν θάνατον εἰ καὶ ζῶσιν ὁ δαίμων
οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε

What is one to call you? Bride? But you will never marry! Wife? But you are forever a virgin! What shall I call you? How shall I address you now? By the sweetest name of all –Charikleia! Rest easy, Charikleia. Your lover is true. Soon I shall be with you again. See, on your grave I shall pour a libation: my lifeblood; I shall pour over you my blood, the blood you love. Here in this cave we shall lie: it will serve as our tomb. At least we shall be able to find union after death, even if heaven did not vouchsafe us it in life (2.4.3-4).

Heliodorus' imagery of a wedding fulfilled only in the death of first the bride and then the groom is reminiscent of Sophocles' *Antigone* (1240-4).²²

Knemon's experience has taught him to view his life in terms of tragedies. As his story unfolds for Theagenes and Charikleia, as well as the reader, tragic themes and vocabulary remain prominent. Introduced at such a prominent place in the narrative, Knemon's story is poised to say something meaningful to both the central couple and the reader.²³ In this case, tragedies do not just occur on stage in trimeter; they infiltrate every aspect of life. Theagenes resists his tragic role, "I have no part in [Knemon's] tragedy" (οὐδὲν κοινωνοῦντα τοῦ δράματος 2.11.3), but the reader has already seen him fill the roles of Sophocles' Haemon, discovering a deceased fiancée, and Euripides' Menelaus, regaining the beloved he thought was lost. As the novel unfolds, Theagenes, Charikleia, and the other main characters will continue to adopt the characteristics and endure the hardships of a variety of tragic figures, a pattern foreshadowed and fulfilled by the first character they meet by name.

The House of Memphis

Shortly after Knemon closes the first portion of his tragic Hippolytus narrative, the reader is introduced to the robber-chief by name (1.18.2). Thyamis, though a robber

²² cf. Rehm (1994) p.59-71. For a further tragic analogy of marriage and funeral, see the later section on Iphigenia and Charikleia. For more discussion of Charikleia as Antigone see below.

²³ Morgan (1989b) rightly identifies the precarious and purposeful placement of the novella and suggests that its tale of love gone wrong serves as a foil for Theagenes and Charikleia's love gone right.

and responsible for the reprehensible behavior of capturing Charikleia and Theagenes, quickly becomes sympathetic as he relates his circumstances to his band of followers and the captured Greeks:

Ἐγὼ γάρ, ὡς ἴστε, παῖς μὲν προφήτου τοῦ ἐν Μέρφει γεγονώς,
ἀποτυχὼν δὲ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπαναχώρησιν,
ἀδελφοῦ νεωτέρου ταύτην παρελέσθαι παρανομήσαντος, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς
καταφυγὼν ἐφ' ᾧ τε τιμωρίαν μὲν λαβεῖν τὴν τιμὴν δὲ ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ
τοῦ ἄρχειν ὑμῶν

I was born the son of the high priest at Memphis, but I did not succeed to the priesthood after my father's disappearance, since my younger brother illegally usurped the office. I took refuge with you in the hope of gaining revenge and regaining my position (1.19.4).

Thyamis' situation, briefly described here and again at 1.33.2, like Knemon's previously, reflects a well-known tragic pattern, in this case in connection with the house of Thebes.²⁴

The story of the house of Thebes survives in the works of all three major tragedians. King Laius was told by an oracle that if he had a son, that son would become his murderer, but Laius disregarded the advice and a son was born to his wife Jocasta (*OT* 711ff, *Ph.* 19ff). Not wishing to be murdered by his offspring, Laius had the infant exposed (*OT* 717, *Ph.* 22-5), but the child was rescued by a local herdsman and was raised by the king and queen of Corinth, who named him Oedipus (*OT* 1024-6, *Ph.*

²⁴ The similarities of the warring brothers and the tragic strife of Eteocles and Polynices have been noted briefly by other scholars. Feuillâtre (1966) p.116 notes only the similarities of the brotherly strife, the manners of the death of Oedipus, and the Antigone-like actions of Charikleia. Paulsen (1992) p.156-7 nods to the overall Theban parallelism, but does not elaborate on the ways in which Kalasiris and Oedipus are connected.

28-30). Seeking the truth about his parents, Oedipus visited the oracle at Delphi, which instructed him not to return home, for if he did he would be destined to kill his own father and marry his mother (*OT* 994-9). Believing that his true home was Corinth and that his adoptive parents were those that gave him birth, Oedipus was determined not to return there and fulfill the oracle. But Oedipus was unable to avoid his fate and met and killed his (unknown) real father, Laius, before proceeding to Thebes and (unknowingly) marrying his mother Jocasta (*OT* 800ff, *Ph.* 44ff). After marrying Jocasta and becoming the father of his own siblings, the truth of Oedipus' parentage comes to light, and Thebes is plunged into despair (*OT* 1182-5). Jocasta ends her own life (*OT* 1237ff) and, in most versions, Oedipus blinds himself (*Th.* 778ff., *Ant.* 51f., *OT* 1268ff., *Ph.* 60-2). He curses his two sons, Polynices and Eteocles, and leaves them to fight over the kingdom (*OC* 1383ff., *Ph.* 66-8).

The tragedy surrounding Thyamis and Petosiris' family takes on fuller shape thorough the narration of their father Kalasiris. Knemon, who was the protagonist of the first tragic arc in the novel, serves as the audience for the beginning of Kalasiris' tragedy. The two men are receiving hospitality at the home of Nausikles, and the banquet wine fuels Knemon's curiosity about his new companion's past. Knemon says,

ὁ Διόνυσος... οἶσθα, ὦ πάτερ, ὥς χαίρει μύθοις καὶ κωμωδίας φιλεῖ·
κάμει δὴ οὖν τὰ νῦν εἰσῳκισμένος ἀνίησι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν τόν τε
ἐπηγγελλόμενον πρὸς σοῦ μισθὸν ἀπαιτεῖν ἐπείγει, καὶ ὥρα σοι τὸ
δρᾶμα καθάπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τῷ λόγῳ διασκευάζειν

You know, Father, how Dionysos delights in stories and enjoys an entertaining tale. Now the god has taken up residence in me, easing my

heart and putting me in a mood for listening; and he is pressing me to demand the payment you promised. The time has come for you to set the stage and present your tale (2.23.5).

Knemon's assertion that Dionysus enjoys μῦθοι and κωμωδίαι, tragedy and comedy, as well as his insistence that the god is dwelling within him, εἰσφικισμένος, makes the god's association with drama more prominent. Knemon instructs Kalasiris to tell his story, as if he were putting on a stage performance, and after Kalasiris briefly digresses on the whereabouts of Nausikles, Knemon insists that he is, "wheeling on this subplot which, so the saying goes has nothing to do with Dionysos" (εἰς πέρας τῷ λόγῳ διαβιβάζων, ἐπεισόδιον δὴ τοῦτο οὐδέν φασι πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπεισκευκλήσας ὥστε ἐπάναγε τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν 2.24.4), drawing him back with proverb that was typically applied to tragedy.

It is in this dramatic context that Kalasiris elaborates on the Thebes-like story alluded to by Thyamis at 1.19.4. Like the house of Oedipus, Kalasiris' house is destined for tragedy by fate (2.24.6), and Kalasiris asserts the lesson that Oedipus must famously learn: "while it is possible to foresee the immutable dispensations of Fate, it is not permitted to evade them" (τοὺς γὰρ μοιρῶν ἀτρέπτους ὅρους προῖδεῖν μὲν δυνατόν ἐκφεύγειν δὲ οὐκ ἐφικτόν 2.24.6). Kalasiris' story does not have a component which compares with Oedipus' murder of his biological father, but Kalasiris does (at least in mind, if not in body) commit what he considers to be a sin of the flesh worthy of self-

imposed exile (2.25.4).²⁵ Kalasiris' almost affair with the courtesan Rhodopis and Oedipus' consummated marriage with his mother are leagues apart, but their effect is similar. Both men, shamed by their sexual behavior, exile themselves from their communities and leave their respective positions of power. Kalasiris describes the woman who is his ruin as a critical part of the tragedy fate has made of his life:

Ἀρχὴν δὴ τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ προαγορευθέντων μοι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ
δυσχερῶν τὴν γυναικὰ φωράσας καὶ συνεῖς ὡς τῶν πεπρωμένων
ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις καὶ ὡς ὁ τότε εἰληχῶς δαίμων οἶονεὶ προσωπεῖον
αὐτὴν ὑπῆλθε

This woman, I discovered, was the start of the ordeals that heaven had predicted awaited me; it was clear to me that she was but acting a part in the drama of destiny, a mask, as it were, worn by the malign power that guided my fate at that time (2.25.3).

Oedipus' sons are cursed by their father to battle over the throne of Thebes (*Ph.* 66-8), and Kalasiris' sons are cursed by fate to do the same over the priesthood (2.25.5). Kalasiris' exile is, he says, also motivated by his desire not to *see* his sons come to blows over who will be head priest.

Περιγράφων οὖν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὴν οὕτως ἀπηνῆ θεαν, ἣν
ἐκτραπήσεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰκάζω νέφος τῆς ἀκτίνος
προκαλυψάμενον, καὶ πατρώαις ὄψεσι τὸν παίδων φόνον ἀθέατον
χαριζόμενος ἐξώκιζον ἑμαυτὸν γῆς τε καὶ οἰκίας πατρώας

Even the sun, I think, would hid his beams in cloud and turn away from so cruel a sight; and it was in an attempt to avoid seeing it, to spare a

²⁵ Paulsen (1992) p.157 points out that it is Kalasiris' very act of leaving that creates the potential for his sons' dispute.

father's eyes the spectacle of his sons' fratricide, that I banished myself from the home and land of my fathers. (2.25.6)

The emphasis on sight and spectacle in this portion of Kalasiris' narrative, particularly on the lack of seeing, evokes the image of Oedipus who blinds himself in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* (1268ff) and Euripides' *Phoenician Women* (60-2) and is blinded by others in Euripides' *Oedipus* (Fr541). Though Kalasiris must maintain the use of his sight in order to read and thereby reveal Charikleia's story, he is figuratively blinded by his own self-imposed exile, again aligning his fate and that of Oedipus.

The course of Kalasiris' exile, as described to Knemon, also connects him to Oedipus. In order to depart in secret, Kalasiris pretends that he is visiting Egyptian Thebes (2.25.6), a city whose name evokes the ill-fated city in Greece at the precise time that Kalasiris' story reminds readers of Greek Thebes' ill-fated rulers. Kalasiris' exile eventually takes him to Delphi, where he meets Theagenes and Charikleia and where he receives an oracle about his homecoming (2.26.5). Oedipus, too, visited Delphi and received an oracle about his homecoming (*OT* 787ff), but, as is the case with their other similarities, Kalasiris' oracle is much more positive than Oedipus'. Not long after Kalasiris finishes telling what has already happened to Knemon, twists of the plot take him, Theagenes, and Charikleia toward Memphis, the final setting of his tragedy.

En route to Memphis Kalasiris and Charikleia, disguised as beggars, meet an old woman whose son has just been killed in a skirmish. The old woman tells Kalasiris and Charikleia that one of the groups involved in the fight has continued on to Memphis with the intent of restoring their leader, Thyamis, to the priesthood (6.13.5). At the head

of the herdsmen, setting out for Memphis for the purposes of restoring his rightful position, Thyamis' situation as described by the old woman continues to parallel that of Oedipus' son Polynices, who marched on Thebes with his band of followers in order to become king. In one of the stranger episodes of the novel, the old woman, distraught over the death of her son and desperate to discover if her other son will return home safely, performs an elaborate necromancy ritual. Her son's reanimated corpse delivers the information she wishes to hear and also recounts the tragic situation in which Thyamis and Petosiris find themselves, "[Kalasiris'] sons are armed; they are facing one another ready to fight to the death, but if he makes haste, his arrival will stay their hands on the very point of joining single combat" (τοὺς γοῦν παῖδας εἰς τὸν δι' αἵματος ἄγῶνα καὶ ξιφῆρεις καθισταμένους καὶ μονομαχήσιν μέλλοντας ἀποκωλύσει τε καὶ παύσει φανείς, εἶπερ ἐπισπεύσειεν 6.15.4). What is foretold by the necromancy for the sons of Kalasiris is mild when compared to the fate of Eteocles and Polynices. But unlike Oedipus, whose very birth was forewarned against by an oracle (*OT* 711-14), Kalasiris is dear to the gods θεοῖς φίλος (6.15.4). His sons are destined to fight each other for the priesthood, but much as Kalasiris is able to save himself from lustfully sinning with Rhodopis he will also be able to save his sons from ending each other's lives.

As Book 7 opens Charikleia and Kalasiris rush on to Memphis to stop the unfolding tragedy (7.1.2). Thyamis is positioned outside of the city in the role of Polynices about to besiege the city (7.1.2). Inside the city Arsake, the wife of the absent satrap, is in charge and the citizens consult her before taking up arms in their own

defense “for if she gave her approval, such soldiers as there were to be found in the city would be more inclined to cooperate” (ὥς ἂν μετὰ γνώμης τῆς ἐκείνης τὸ εὐρισκόμενον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν στρατιωτικὸν ῥᾶόν τε συλλαμβάνοιμεν καὶ προθυμότερον 7.1.4). The strong feminine leadership at Memphis is evocative of Jocasta in Euripides’ *Phoenician Women*. Jocasta, because of her inappropriate relationship with Oedipus, is indirectly the cause of Eteocles’ and Polynices strife; Arsake, because of her inappropriate lust for the priest, is likewise the cause of the hostility between Thyamis and Petosiris (7.2). Jocasta attempts to negotiate a peace between Oedipus’ sons before they begin all out war (*Ph.* 81-2) and Arsake serves a similar role as mediator between Thyamis and Petosiris (7.3.2ff). Because their dispute over the priesthood is a private and not a public matter, Arsake commands that it should be decided in single combat instead of war between the people of Memphis and the people of Bessa, “Those who are in dispute over the office of high priest will face one another in single combat, with the priesthood as prize for the victor” (τοὺς δὲ τῆς προφητείας ἀμφισβητοῦντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους μονομαχήσαντας ἔπαθλον τῷ νικῶντι προθέσθαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην 7.4.4). Though the famous Seven are not spared from a full battle with the Thebans, the tragic story of Eteocles and Polynices does result in a one on one combat between the brothers (*Th.* 810ff).

The confrontation between Thyamis and Petosiris does not live up to the intensity of its tragic precursors described in *Phoenician Women* and *Seven Against Thebes*. In fact, Heliodorus’ description of the robber chief Thyamis in pursuit of the fearful

Petosiris is borderline comic (7.6). What is most notably tragic about the scene is what is happening above the battle.

Εἰς ἅπαξ μὲν οὖν καὶ δεύτερον οὕτω περιήλασαν τὸ τεῖχος· ἄλλ’ ὅτε
δὴ τρίτος αὐτοῖς ἠνύετο κύκλος, ἤδη τὸ δόρυ τοῦ Θυάμιδος κατὰ τῶν
μεταφρένων τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κατασεύοντος καὶ μένειν ἢ βεβλήσεσθαι
διαπειλοῦντος, ἡ πόλις δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου περιεστῶσα τοῦ τείχους
ἠθλοθέτει τὴν θέαν, τότε δὴ πῶς εἴτε τι δαιμόνιον εἴτε τύχη τις τὰ
ἀνθρώπεια βραβεύουσα καὶνὸν ἐπεισόδιον ἐπετραγῶδει τοῖς
δρωμένοις, ὥσπερ εἰς ἀνταγώνισμα δράματος ἀρχὴν ἄλλου
παρεισφέρουσα, καὶ τὸν Καλάσιριν εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ ὥραν ἐκείνην
ὥσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς σὺνδρομόν τε καὶ οὐκ εὐτυχῇ θεωρὸν τῷ περὶ
ψυχῆς ἀγῶνι τῶν παίδων ἐφίστησι...

Round the walls they sped, once, twice, but towards the end of the their
third circuit, with Thyamis leveling his spear at his brother's back and
threatening to strike him dead if he did not stand and fight, with the
entire population of the city lining the walls, watching like the presiding
judges in a theater—at that very moment either some divine power or
some fortune that arbitrates over human destiny made the drama take a
new and tragic twist, almost as if bringing a second drama on stage to
compete with the one already in progress: by a miracle of stagecraft it
brought Kalasiris onto the scene...(7.6.4-5)

Just as the opening of the novel emphasized the robbers' role as audience of a drama, the
people of Memphis' position as spectator-judges of Thyamis' tragedy is emphasized
here.²⁶ The unnamed divine force credited with staging the first spectacle on the beach
in front of the bandits is also at work in Memphis, bringing Kalasiris onto the stage as if
he were a *deus ex machina*, arriving from a distant place to take part in the action of the

²⁶ cf. Bartch (1989) p.131-2, Marino (1990) p.205, Paulsen (1992) p.167-8, and Dworacki (1996) p.357.

tragedy.²⁷ In this case, his arrival corresponds to Oedipus' inability to avoid his fate, as he must be present to see his sons fight as had been foretold (7.6.5).

Like Oedipus (OC 1-2), Kalasiris has been wandering in foreign lands and due to time, distance, and unfamiliar dress is almost unrecognizable to his sons (7.7.2). A recognition scene, typical of tragedy, follows in which Kalasiris casts off his beggar's disguise and is revealed to his sons in his normal appearance (7.7.2-4).²⁸ Thyamis and Petosiris are overcome with emotions and crowd looks on dumbstruck.

Καὶ ταῦτα ἔτι τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως θαυμαζόντων καὶ λεγόντων μὲν
οὐδὲν οὐδὲ πραττόντων, ὥσπερ δὲ ἀχανῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας καὶ τοῖς
γεγραμμένοις παραπλησίων πρὸς μόνην τὴν θεὰν ἐπτοημένων,
ἔτερον ἐγένετο παρεγκύκλημα τοῦ δράματος—ἡ Χαρίκλεια.

And before the people of Memphis could recover from their amazement,
as silent as if they had been struck dumb with bewilderment, as still as
figures in a painting, so engrossed and moved were they by this
spectacle, the drama was interrupted by another unexpected entry:
Charikleia! (7.7.4)

The people's role as spectators, not just of what is in front of them but of a dramatic performance specifically, is emphasized by the way in which Charikleia's arrival is described. Like Kalasiris before her, Charikleia's arrival is characterized as the work of stagecraft, in this case the *parenkuklema*. While the term is obscure and the precise nature

²⁷ cf. Marino (1990) p.206, Paulsen (1992) p.168.

²⁸ Aristotle (*Poetics* 1452a29-33) describes recognitions as one of the types of reversals integral to tragedy. See below.

of this device as opposed to the *ekkuklema* remains unclear, its theatrical connotations are unquestionable.²⁹

As this drama appears to come to its conclusion, Heliodorus makes his readers particularly aware of its generic affiliations with the fate of Kalasiris' family, "So this sinful war between brothers was at an end, and the struggle, which had seemed set to be settled by the spilling of blood, changed at its denouement from tragedy to comedy (Λέλυτο μὲν ἄθεσμος ἀδελφῶν πόλεμος καὶ ἀγὼν ὁ δι' αἵματος κριθήσεσθαι προσδοκώμενος εἰς κωμικὸν ἐκ τραγικοῦ τὸ τέλος κατέστρεψε 7.8.1). What began as a clear-cut tragedy cast in the mold of the House of Thebes turns toward the comic and the novel with a reunion of father and sons as well as a reunion of a young couple. Kalasiris's story, however, does not end with the reconciliation of his sons. The old man hands his priestly crown off to Thyamis, its rightful heir, and he retires to the priests' quarters along with his sons, Theagenes, and Charikleia (7.8.7-9.1). Ever the Oedipus-figure, even after his sons have been spared the fate of Polynices and Eteocles, Kalasiris persists in his role. Knowing that the time of his death is at hand, Kalasiris pours a libation, tells his sons that they will never see him alive again, and asks them to take care of Theagenes and Charikleia after he is gone (7.11.3-4). The libation, farewell to his children, and the insistence that friendly parties care for those he loves are all consistent with Oedipus as he prepares to meet his end in *Oedipus at Colonus*. Oedipus predicts his

²⁹cf. Morgan (1989a) p.492 n.172.

own death (1460), says farewell to his children (1610ff), begins to perform a libation (1598), and enjoins Theseus to care for Antigone after he is gone (1631ff).³⁰

After Kalasiris' death Charikleia laments as vehemently as Antigone did (1670ff), and her mourning is given an even more tragic aspect when one of the sacristans quotes Euripides' lost *Kresphontes*,

Οὐκ ἔννομα μὲν...οὐδὲ συγκεχωρημένα ἐκ τῶν πατρίων
διαπράττεσθε, καὶ ταῦτα προαπηγορευμένον ὑμῖν, ὀδυρόμενοι καὶ
θρηνοῦντες ἄνδρα προφήτην, ὃν χαίροντας καὶ εὐφημοῦντας
ἐκπέμπειν ὡς τῆς βελτίονος μετεληχότα λήξεως καὶ πρὸς τῶν
κρειττόνων κεκληρωμένον ὁ θεῖος καὶ ἱερὸς παρεγγυᾷ λόγος· πλήν
ἀλλὰ συγγνωστὰ μὲν ὑμῖν πατέρα, ὧς φάτε, καὶ κηδεμόνα καὶ ἐλπίδα
τὴν μόνην ἀποβεβληκόσιν.

In mourning and lamenting the passing of a high priest, despite an express warning that this was forbidden, you are transgressing our rules and contravening our traditions; rather, according to the precepts of divine and sacred lore, he should be conducted to his grave with rejoicing and blessings for having entered upon a better estate and joined heaven's elect (7.11.9).³¹

This is not the only time that Charikleia plays a role similar to Antigone. Feuillâtre also suggests that Charikleia's defiant attitude toward Hydaspes later in the novel resembles Antigone's defiance of Creon in Sophocles' *Antigone*.³² And, as previously discussed,

³⁰ Cf. Paulsen (1992) p.63.

³¹ F 449

ἐχοῖν γὰρ ἡμᾶς σύλλογον ποιουμένους
τὸν φύντα θρηγεῖν εἰς ὅσ' ἔρχεται κακά,
τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον
χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.

³² Feuillâtre (1966) p.116.

when a woman presumed to be Charikleia (in reality Thisbe) is discovered beheaded in the robbers' cave, "Charikleia" serves as an Antigone figure to Theagenes' Haemon. In both life and death Kalasiris and his extended "family" live up to their tragic predecessors in every aspect except their grisly end.

Delphi's Children

In the midst of narrating the beginnings of his own Thebes-like tragedy, Kalasiris also lays the foundation for Charikleia's role in another tragic pattern. As a founding princess with strong connections to Delphi, Charikleia's life is a mirror of Ion's in Euripides' play of the same name.³³ Ion is the son of Creusa, the Athenian princess and later queen, and the god Apollo (*Ion* 9ff). Because of the circumstances of Ion's birth (i.e. Apollo's rape of Creusa), his mother exposed him in a wicker basket along with some of her weaving (26). Ion is saved, at Apollo's behest, by Hermes and left at Apollo's temple in Delphi (28ff). There, he is raised by the priestess, whom he loves as a mother (42ff, 1324). When Creusa and her husband Xuthus arrive in Delphi to seek advice on how they might become parents, the oracle tells Xuthus that Ion is his son and Ion begins to consider him to be his father, although in fact he is not (64ff, 560). Creusa, grieving over

³³ Feuillâtre (1966) p.116 connects the novel to *Ion* because of their shared dawn-time opening but makes nothing of the other striking similarities between Charikleia and Ion. Laplace (2001) p.374-81 also identifies and discusses the connection between Charikleia and Ion: royal birth, exposure, a Delphic upbringing by a priest(ess) foster parent, tokens of infancy, relationship to solar deities. He also suggests similar mechanisms and purposes for the origins of both Ion and Charikleia's names, which I find less convincing.

her own “lost” child and anxious that her husband’s newly discovered son might unrightfully inherit the throne of Athens, attempts to kill Ion (808ff). She is unsuccessful, and as she clings to Apollo’s altar as a suppliant, the truth of her connection to her intended victim is revealed through the appearance of the priestess carrying the tokens with which Ion had been exposed (1337ff). Athena arrives *ex machina* as Apollo’s messenger to confirm that Ion is the son of the god and the princess and to tell the reunited mother and son not to inform Xuthus of the truth (1552ff). With the question of legitimate parentage satisfactorily resolved for both Creusa and Xuthus, the family is ready to return home to Athens and Ion ready to rule (1626ff).

Like Ion, Charikleia is the daughter of royalty, in this case the king and queen of Ethiopia. Though her father is not himself a sun god, he is closely associated with the Sun as his priest (10.4.5). Charikles asserts that Apollo and the Sun worshiped by the Ethiopians are one and the same (10.36.3). Hydaspes, and indeed his whole nation, is envisioned as being descended from a solar deity (4.8.2-3). The bizarre circumstances surrounding Charikleia’s birth, particularly the child’s pale complexion, caused her mother to fear accusations of adultery, and, like Creusa, she exposed her child with tokens, including an intricate weaving (4.8.6-7).³⁴ After being saved by a gymnosophist,

³⁴ Laplace (2001) p.377-8 sees a connection between the tokens left by Creusa and Charikleia’s adornment when she is first seen by Theagenes at Delphi and p.375 suggests that Charikleia and Ion are also linked by their exposure in the cave of Pan. Nowhere, however, does Heliodorus mention specifically where Charikleia was exposed or where she was found by Sisimithres. The only mention of Pan in the novel occurs at 10.4.1, where the gymnosophists are described as living in the temple of Pan. Morgan (1989a) p.559 n.230 suggests a more convincing reading Pantheon instead of Paneion.

she is adopted by the priest Charikles (2.31-3). Charikleia is treated as the daughter of the Delphic priest, and, like Ion, she inhabits the sanctuary there (2.33.1-3). Charikleia becomes the chaste acolyte of Artemis, the sister of Apollo and a more fitting deity for a young girl (2.33.4). Charikleia's connection to Delphi is reinforced when she and Theagenes choose "Pythian" as one of the signs by which they will recognize each other if separated (5.5.1).

Charikleia's fate eventually brings her back in contact with her rightful parents and at the same time puts her in danger of being killed by them, as is the case with Ion and his mother. Moments before being sacrificed by her parents, Charikleia is saved by the good will of the Ethiopians and the revelation that she is Hydaspes' daughter (10.11-12).³⁵ The issue of Charikleia's complexion and parentage are resolved by Sisimithres, the gymnosophist who had rescued her as a child, and by the tokens with which Persinna had abandoned her at birth (10.13-15). Unlike Creusa, Hydaspes is in no danger as a result of his abandoned sacrifice of Charikleia, but Theagenes' life still hangs in the balance after Charikleia's true identity is revealed. The abrupt arrival of Charikleia's priestly foster father Charikles, which is characterized by Heliodorus as a *deus ex machina* (10.39.2), saves Theagenes just as the arrival of Ion's priestessly foster mother and the *ex machina* appearance of Athena secures Creusa's safety (1320ff, 1552ff). With the questions of Charikleia's legitimacy and Theagenes' safety resolved,

³⁵ For more on Charikleia as a sacrificial victim, see below.

Charikleia's family is reunited and she and Theagenes are poised to take their rightful places in Ethiopia (10.41.2-3).

Iphigenia at Meroe

As much as Charikleia's experience reflects the story of Ion in her near death at the hands of her parent, the sacrifice of a daughter by her father also mirrors the tragic story of Iphigenia, who figures prominently in two Euripidean tragedies, *Iphigenia at Aulis* and *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, and provides a significant backdrop for Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*.³⁶ The story of Iphigenia is represented in fifth century tragedy with considerable variation, and as he did with the multiple renditions of Hippolytus, Heliodorus avails himself of this variety when characterizing Charikleia as a tragic Iphigenia.

All variants agree that Iphigenia's troubles begin when the Greek fleet gathered at Aulis to depart for Troy. Stymied by the unfavorable winds, Calchas tells Agamemnon that Artemis will only allow the fleet to sail if he sacrifices his daughter (*A* 125ff, *IA* 89ff, *IT* 16ff). Torn between the pressures of community and parenthood, Agamemnon agrees to perform the sacrifice. Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* portrays a cold, almost heartless king who is untroubled by his frightened daughter's cries (227ff). The

³⁶ Laplace (2001) p.386ff also draws connections between Charikleia and the Euripidean Iphigenias: impending sacrifice at the hands of the father to a lunar deity, the goddess' ultimate desire not to receive the sacrifice, and the installation of the would-be sacrifice as priestess. See also Leferatou (2013).

Chorus that relates Iphigenia's fate admits that they did not see the sacrifice, nor will they speak of the details, but the implication is clear; Iphigenia is dead and her father is to blame (248ff). In Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* Agamemnon is more conflicted, at one moment summoning his daughter to Aulis and at the next sending a letter with instructions that she be taken safely home (98ff, 117ff). In both *Iphigenia at Aulis* and *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, Agamemnon brings Iphigenia to Aulis on the pretense that she is to be married to Achilles (IA 100, IT 24ff). After his wavering and despite Clytemnestra's and Achilles' efforts to the contrary, Agamemnon of *Iphigenia at Aulis* leads his daughter to sacrifice (1255ff). Iphigenia faces her fate bravely and forbids those around her to cry (1433ff).³⁷

Like Iphigenia, Charikleia is the daughter of a king who finds herself the victim of a sacrifice to be performed by her parent (10.4.4-5).³⁸ In both cases, the sacrifice is intended as a benefit for the community at large.³⁹ Iphigenia's death will appease Artemis and allow the fleet to sail, and Charikleia's death (along with that of her male counterpart) will be a sacrifice of thanksgiving for success in the war (9.1.4). Though the two maiden's deaths are located at temporally opposite junctures of war, their sacrifices are both figured as benefits to the community, rather than just to the king. Iphigenia is to be sacrificed to Artemis and Charikleia to Selenia (10.4.5). Both goddesses have

³⁷ The final portion of *Iphigenia at Aulis* is full of interpolations and difficulties, and just how Euripides intended this play to end has been irretrievably lost.

³⁸ cf. Leferatou (2013) p.207.

³⁹ cf. Leferatou (2013) p.211.

strong associations with the moon, and, if one follows Charikles' reasoning about Apollo and Helios (10.36.3), may be considered the same goddess.

Unlike Iphigenia, whose father is fully aware that it is his own flesh and blood that he is sacrificing, Charikleia's true identity is initially unknown to Hydaspes. He feels strangely drawn to Charikleia when he first declares her fit for sacrifice (9.1.3), but the recognition between father and daughter is delayed. The narrator says that the crowd of Ethiopians, who have begun to pity their as yet unrecognized princess, would be glad to see her saved, "by some miracle" (ἐκ τινος μηχανῆς 10.9.5).⁴⁰ Charikleia's plight is characterized as something that might be solved by a trick of stagecraft.

As the moment of Charikleia's doom draws closer and Charikleia herself proclaims that she is Hydaspes' daughter, the tragic pattern and dramatic nature of the circumstances becomes palpable even for the characters themselves. Hydaspes is suspicious and mistrusts the theatricality of the whole situation, accusing Charikleia of merely playing the role of his daughter in an attempt to save herself ἐκ μηχανῆς (10.12.2). The crowd's secret wish to see Charikleia saved is being fulfilled by a common trope from tragedy, a recognition scene. In a flourish of his tragic skill, Heliodorus deploys all three modes of Aristotelian recognition, as Lefteratou notes: recognition by tokens (ἡ διὰ τῶν σημείων), contrived recognition (αἰ πεποιημέναι), and recognition by reasoning and memory (ἡ διὰ μνήμης τῷ αἰσθέσθαι) (*Poetics* 1455a21).⁴¹ Aristotle

⁴⁰ Bartsch (1989) p.132ff discusses the overall theatric and tragic qualities of this extended scene, though she does not deal with the similarities found in the plot.

⁴¹ Winkler (1982) p.6, Lefteratou (2013) p.210-11.

divides recognition by tokens into two subcategories: external (τὰ ἐκτός) and bodily (τὰ ἐν τῷ σώματι) (1454b24). Charikleia is recognized through the external tokens of her mother's weaving and jewelry (10.13.1-14.4) and through the bodily token of her birthmark and resemblance to the painting of Andromeda (10.14.7-15.2). The recognition is also πεποιημένη because Charikleia looks to Sisimithres as her savior (10.10.1) and only later realizes that he is the man who rescued her as an infant many years before (10.11.1). The scene is also a recognition by the memory and reasoning of Sisimithres, who takes a mental account of Charikleia's age and that of the girl whom he rescued (10.14.4).

Hydaspes becomes an even truer Agamemnon after Charikleia has been revealed as his daughter beyond all doubt and he can be fully aware of the situation. He first looks to his people and finds them "weeping from a mixture of delight and pity at destiny's stage management of human life" (πρὸς τὴν σκηνοποιῖαν τῆς τύχης ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τε ἅμα καὶ ἐλέου δακρύοντας 10.16.3). Heliodorus describes Hydaspes' people as if they were an audience watching Charikleia's tragedy, directed by fate, unfold before their eyes. The tears of the people are motivated by delight, but also by pity. This emotion again corresponds to Aristotle's theories on tragedy, which suggest that tragedy offers a κάθαρσις of two key emotions: fear and pity (*Poetics* 1449b27-8). The Ethiopians weep because they pity the horrible fate that awaits the undeserving Charikleia and they fear the wicked deed that Hydaspes must commit. Charikleia's

story, which was already a tragedy by virtue of its Iphigenia-like plot, has also become a tragedy by virtue of its audience's reactions.

Hydaspes, like Aeschylus' Agamemon and the Agamemnon at the end of *Iphigenia at Aulis*, recognizes that his role as king must come before his role as father. He delivers a lengthy speech to the crowd and says that it is necessary to follow the ancestral tradition of sacrifice, even if it is an unpopular decision (10.13.5). Distressed by the position in which he finds himself, Hydaspes contrasts the marriage torches and bedchamber to which he should bring his daughter with the altar of sacrifice to which he must bring his victim.

καὶ ἔπου τῷ γεννήσαντι, νυμφοστολῆσαι μὲν οὐ δύνηθέντι οὐδὲ ἐπὶ
παστάδας καὶ θαλάμους ἀγαγόντι, πρὸς δὲ θυσίαν κοσμοῦντι καὶ
δαῖδας οὐ γαμηλίους ἀλλ' ἐπιβωμίους ἄπτοντι καὶ τὴν ἄμαχον ταυτηνὶ
τοῦ κάλλους ἀκμὴν ἀνθ' ἱερείων προσάγοντι. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰλήκοιτε ὦ θεοὶ
τῶν εἰρημένων [καὶ] εἰ δὴ τι πρὸς τοῦ πάθους νικώμενος οὐκ εὐαγὲς
ἐφθεγξάμην ὁ τέκνον ὁμοῦ καλεσάμενος καὶ τεκνοκτόνος γινόμενος

Come with your father: he has not been able to robe you in a bridal gown;
it is not to marriage torches and a bridal chamber that he has brought
you, but it is for sacrifice that he adorns you now, and the torches he
lights are not those of the wedding ceremony but those that burn on the
altar of sacrifice, to which he bring your peerless and supreme beauty as
an offering (10.16.10).

The explicit connection between marriage, death, and sacrifice ritual is also a prominent theme in *Iphigenia at Aulis*. Iphigenia has been brought to Aulis under the pretense that she is to marry, and the confusion of marriage torches and the sacrificial fire is a theme

to which Euripides returns many times.⁴² The messenger who announces Iphigenia's arrival begins the motif by relaying the crowd's ironic suggestion that the Greeks begin the marriage sacrifices to Artemis (433), and Agamemnon picks it up when he says that Hades will marry his daughter (461). Agamemnon figures the sacrificial preparations he makes for Iphigenia's slaughter as those for a wedding (1110ff), and Iphigenia herself tells her mother that the selfless act of her sacrifice will stand in the place of her marriage and children (1398-9).

Iphigenia's falsely promised groom is Achilles, the famous hero from Thessaly. Though the ploy of the marriage was the invention of Agamemnon (98ff) and was never consented to by Achilles (842-3), he honorably protects Iphigenia until she herself releases him from the obligation (935ff). Iphigenia shows great bravery and resolve (1378ff), and even goes so far as to ask her mother to refrain from weeping over her loss (1433ff). This bravery and resolve is shared by Charikleia (10.7.9) and is encouraged by Hydaspes (10.16.9). Achilles' heroic defense of the sacrificial victim and spouse is matched by Theagenes' devotion to his fiancée throughout the novel. This is only fitting, considering that Thessalian Theagenes is the direct descendent of Achilles (2.34.4) and is more than once characterized in a way reminiscent of the hero (2.35.1, 3.3.4, 4.2.3). In *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Iphigenia's courage makes her a worthy bride of the hero, and in the novel their marriage of equals comes to be fulfilled through Theagenes and Charikleia.

⁴² A common motif in Attic tragedy, see Rehm (1994), cf. Leferatou (2013) p.211.

The crowd of Ethiopians presents their Agamemnon not with requests to complete the sacrifice as in *Iphigenia at Aulis*, but with pleas to stop and save Charikleia's life (10.17.1). With the blessing of the community, Hydaspes may now save himself from Agamemnon's fate and Charikleia from Iphigenia's. It is this halting of Charikleia's sacrifice that solidifies this portion of the plot as the type which Aristotle considers the best, κράτιστον (*Poetics* 1454a4). In this pattern an unwitting agent is prevented from acting by a recognition, illustrated by Aristotle with an Iphigenia play as an example (1454a7).⁴³ With the recognition of Hydaspes' daughter complete and the sacrifice of Charikleia cancelled, Heliodorus' version of *Iphigenia at Aulis* has concluded in a manner consistent with its model; the virgin has been saved from a sacrifice.⁴⁴

During the course of Charikleia's recognition Theagenes remains silent and all but unnoticed by Charikleia, Hydaspes, Persinna, the Ethiopians, and even the reader. It is only after the first tragic pattern, roughly corresponding to *Iphigenia at Aulis*, concludes that Theagenes again becomes important to the plot. Hydaspes inquires how Charikleia, whom he knows to be an only child, came to call her former fellow victim "brother" (10.18.2). Understood in the context of an Iphigenia tragedy, Theagenes in the role of Charikleia's brother becomes an Orestes figure and Heliodorus' next tragic model, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, begins to come into focus.

⁴³ This may be Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians* or Polyidus' *Iphigenia* (cf. *Poetics* 1455b11). Laplace (1980) p.386 connects the tokens of Charikleia's recognition to the letter delivered by Orestes in *IT*.

⁴⁴ How Euripides actually concluded *IA* is debatable, but it is clear that Heliodorus would have had the same ending as we do, with hind replacing girl.

Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians* takes place many years after the events in *Iphigenia at Aulis*. The Trojan War is over, Agamemnon has been killed by Clytemnestra, Orestes has killed Clytemnestra, and he is now on a quest enjoined by Apollo to be purified. Along with Pylades, Orestes arrives in the distant and dangerous land of the xenophobic Taurians, where he intends to steal the cult statue of Artemis and bring it safely to Attica, thus expiating his sins (77ff). The two men are captured by the local inhabitants and brought to the priestess of Artemis to be sacrificed, as is the custom (333ff). The priestess is Iphigenia, whom all of Greece presumes is dead but whom Artemis substituted with a hind just before her sacrifice and whisked off to safety (25ff). After a double recognition scene (767ff) Iphigenia spares the lives of Orestes and Pylades, and the three successfully flee the Taurians, statue in hand (1289-92). With the help of a *deus ex machina*, the audience learn that Artemis will no longer require human sacrifice and that Iphigenia will have a permanent home as her priestess at Brauron (1435ff).

Though they are more accurately labeled lovers, if only in mind and not yet in body, Theagenes and Charikleia adroitly play the role of brother and sister (at least in public) for much of the novel. Since the time of their departure from Delphi with Kalasiris, whom they consider to be like a father (5.11.2), Theagenes and Charikleia have presented themselves to the world as siblings (5.16.2, 5.18.7, etc.) This ruse proved useful in staying alive and warding off the jealousy of would-be lovers and spouses of both sexes (5.26ff, 7.13ff). When she asks Hydaspes that she personally be allowed to

sacrifice Theagenes (10.20.2) and later when Theagenes requests the same (10.32.4), Charikleia again steps into the shoes of Iphigenia, in this case not Iphigenia the sacrificial victim but Iphigenia the would-be sacrificer of her brother Orestes.⁴⁵

Theagenes' journey to the Ethiopian altar began at Delphi with an oracle (2.35.5), just as Orestes was sent to fetch the statue of Artemis from the Taurians by Apollo's oracle (82ff). Theagenes and Orestes are both Greeks, far from home and captured in a foreign land. Orestes is an outcast from Argos because he is a matricide, and though Theagenes' crime was no crime at all in the eyes of his "victim," he has also been disowned by his community for his abduction of Charikleia (10.36.4). Following the staged abduction, the duped Charikles laments to the assembly that Theagenes and his friends have stolen the most prized possession of the temple, namely Charikleia (4.19.8). Charikleia is not merely called a priestess, but a κτῆμα of the temple, figuring her as much as a cult statue as a person. Charikleia's appearance is more than once compared with Artemis either implicitly as at Delphi (3.4.6) or explicitly when the Egyptians in the opening scene presume she must be the goddess (1.2.6). By snatching away Charikleia, Theagenes has effectively rescued both a priestess and an image of Artemis. Charikleia is a willing participant in her abduction, as are Iphigenia and, implicitly though Apollo's oracle, Artemis' statue. Though Orestes' successful rescue of Iphigenia and the statue occurs after the would-be sacrifice and Theagenes' abduction of Charikleia occurs before

⁴⁵ Cf. Leferatou (2013) p.212.

it, the latter still resonates with the former.⁴⁶ When Theagenes arrives at Meroe, he has already successfully done what Orestes was sent to do –save the sister-princess.

In *Iphigenia among the Taurians* Iphigenia's participation in sacrificing foreigners is part of her role as the priestess of Artemis. Charikleia was a devotee of Artemis at Delphi, and in her newly proposed role of Theagenes' sacrificer she must be the priestess of the Moon, whose correlation with Artemis has been discussed above. Charikleia is adamant that she and Theagenes must share in the fate of either life or death (10.19.2) just as Orestes insists that he and Iphigenia will either escape to Greece together or both be killed by the king of the Taurians (1008-9). Orestes sees the gods as his allies in saving his sister, particularly Artemis, whose brother's oracle sent him to rescue the statue (1012-16). Charikleia also attributes her own salvation from sacrifice to the benevolence of the gods (10.20.1). The existence of deities who wish to save specific mortals but whose cults require their sacrifice is a contradiction explored by both Euripides and Heliodorus. Early in *Iphigenia among the Taurians* Iphigenia doubts that Artemis really desires human sacrifice (380ff) and Sisimithres, speaking on behalf of all of the gymnosophists, echoes her sentiment in the novel (10.9.6).

Along with putting a halt to Thoas' furor and enabling the Argives' escape, Athena's *ex machina* appearance at the end of *Iphigenia among the Taurians* delivers more

⁴⁶ Laplace (2001) p.386 connects the abductions executed by both Theagenes and Orestes as abductions of "sisters" but does not read Charikleia as a cult statue.

than one characteristic *aition*.⁴⁷ Iphigenia is to have a cult role at Brauron and the statue of Artemis that once received regular human sacrifices will now reside at Halae, where it will receive an offering of one drop of human blood in remembrance of her gory past (1449ff). Euripides' Artemis has been reformed and the sacrifice of humans has come to an end, at least the for this particular cult statue. Iphigenia's unwillingness to ascribe the thirst for human blood to the deity who had saved her from sacrifice at Aulis, who would soon save her brother, is proved to be wise.

Sisimithres also finds validation for his hesitation about human sacrifice in the course of events (10.39.2). As the moment of Theagenes' sacrifice nears, Charikles suddenly arrives at Meroe, the details of young couple's story are confirmed, and the people are treated to a stage-worthy conclusion,

Ὁ δῆμος ἐτέρωθεν σὺν εὐφήμοις ταῖς βοαῖς ἐξεχώρευε, πᾶσα ἡλικία
καὶ τύχη συμφώνως τὰ γινόμενα θυμηδοῦντες, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα τῶν
λεγομένων οὐ συνιέντες, τὰ ὄντα δὲ ἐκ τῶν προγεγονότων ἐπὶ τῇ
Χαρικλείᾳ συμβάλλοντες, ἢ τάχα καὶ ἐξ ὁρμῆς θείας ἢ σύμπαντα
ταῦτα ἐσκηνογράφησεν εἰς ὑπόνοιαν τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐλθόντες.

The populace cheered and danced for joy where they stood, and there was no discordant voice as young and old, rich and poor, united in jubilation, for though they had understood very little of what was said, they were able to surmise the facts of the matter from what had already transpired concerning Charikleia; or else perhaps they had been brought to a realization of the truth by the same divine force that had staged this whole drama (10.38.3)

⁴⁷ In addition to halting in-progress atrocities, *dei ex machina* often offer *aitia* of cult practice, place names, etc. For example, Athena at the end of *Ion* explains that Ion's descendants will be the Ionians (1587) and Artemis at the end of *Hippolytus Crowned* explains how Hippolytus will be honored at Troezen (1423-5). For more on characteristics of *dei ex machina*, and accompanying *aitia* see Chapter 3 and Dunn (1996) p.26-44, 64-83.

As they were at the opening of the novel, Theagenes and Charikleia's ordeals are figured as a play, directed by a divinity and performed in front of the Ethiopians and the reader. The general structure of events has deviated from *Iphigenia at Aulis* and *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, but it remains very much tied to its tragic models. Sisimithres echoes the narrator's depiction of the events as a tragedy and even goes so far as to describe Charikles' appearance a *deus ex machina* (καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς 10.39.2). While his appearance does resemble a *deus ex machina* in its suddenness, it also fulfills the same needs as this typical tragic trope, despite the fact that Charikles is not a god. Like the arrival of Athena at the end of the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* or the Dioscouri at the end of *Helen*, Charikles' arrival delays and ultimately averts the disaster about to befall the hero. The sacrifice of Theagenes cannot begin immediately because the rest of the emissaries, including Charikles, have to be heard (10.34.1). Like Artemis *ex machina* at the end of *Hippolytus Crowned* (1416ff), Charikles is also able to offer information otherwise unavailable, or at least unverifiable, to the rest of the characters. In this case, he confirms Theagenes' relationship with Charikleia as well as her relationship to Hydaspes and Persinna. The delay Charikles causes to the sacrifice as well as the revelations he brings allow Sisimithres the opportunity to convince Hydaspes that human sacrifice is unnecessary and that the gods orchestrated all of the remarkable events to bring an end to the practice (10.39.2). Charikleia's experience, like that of her tragic predecessor Iphigenia, has become an *aition* for the end of human sacrifice.

Tragedy is an ever-present element in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*. The opening of the novel presents an audience, at dawn, observing and interpreting a grisly theatrical scene, staged specifically for them. Throughout the novel, internal audiences continue to watch and interpret as if they were in a theater, fate or a *daimon* stages scenes, characters appear as if through stagecraft, and they often describe what they see or feel with theatrical metaphors. Heliodorus pulls plot elements and character types from tragedies and layers them on his novel characters. Knemon quotes Euripides, tells the story of his own Hippolytus-like tragedy, and witnesses the young couple's reenactment of scenes from *Antigone* and *Helen*. Kalasiris and his sons play the roles of Oedipus, Polynices, and Eteocles, and Memphis becomes the setting for a new Theban tragedy, complete with a figuratively blind father, a duel between brothers, and a mournful yet defiant daughter. The circumstances of Charikleia's life in Delphi recalls the *Ion*, and her near death by sacrifice and almost sacrifice of her "brother" evoke both the variants of the tragic story of Iphigenia. Though a work of prose fiction centered not on mythic but on created characters, tragedy remains a major source of inspiration for the plot, characters, and tone of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*.

APULEIUS AND A NOVELLY TRAGIC ENDING

In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the appearance of the goddess Isis at opening of the last book is perhaps the most difficult aspect of the narrative to interpret.¹ After seemingly countless haunting, raunchy, amusing, or disturbing tales as well as descriptions of the tortures that Lucius suffers while an ass, the arrival of the goddess at Cenchreae surprises the reader as much as it does Lucius. A distinct departure from the plot of the *Onos* found in the Lucianic corpus, which runs largely parallel, if less often sidetracked by inset tales, Isis belongs wholly to Apuleius and his version of Lucius' story. In Lucius' world that is out of control, Isis comes to reestablish order and save Lucius from his beastly fate. In this chapter I argue that shifts of genre evident in the stories of Charite (Book 6 and Book 8) and the stepmother (Book 10) suggest that the work as a whole may be read as moving away from the novelistic and toward the tragic, complete with its own *deus ex machina*.

Lucius' novel

¹ An earlier version of this chapter was delivered as a paper at the International Conference on the Ancient Novel in Lisbon in 2008.

Apuleius' enigmatic prologue plants his reader firmly in the tradition of prose fiction.² He draws the reader's attention to his work's Greek antecedents, "we begin a Greekish story" (*fabulam Graecanicam incipimus* 1.1). Whether the volume in the reader's hand was labeled *Metamorphoses* or *Asinus Aureus*, or *Asinus Aureus*: περὶ μεταμορφώσεων, the *fabula Graecanica* to follow could reasonably be expected to follow a plot similar to the Lucianic *Onos* or the now lost *Metamorphoseis* of Lucius of Patrae, two works of extended prose fiction.³ The basic structures of Apuleius' novel and the *Onos* are similar. A man (Lucius in the *Metamorphoses*, Loukios in the *Onos*), while traveling in Thessaly arrives at the house of a friend of a friend, indulges his fancy for magic, becomes intimate with the maid of his host, and tricks her into sharing some of her mistress' magic, which results in his unfortunate metamorphosis into a donkey. Aside from the radically different ending --Loukios stumbles upon roses without the intervention of Isis --the chief difference between the *Metamorphoses* and the *Onos* lies in the inset stories with which Apuleius peppers his narrative.⁴ It is through these

² The relatively brief prologue has spawned a collected volume with twenty-four readings of it alone, Kahane and Laird (2001).

³ See Mason (1978) for the Greek antecedents of the *Metamorphoses*, Bitel (2001) p.139 for titles, and Slater (2001) p. 214-15 for expectations an ancient reader would have had from the appearance of a scroll.

⁴ The extent to which the inset tales found in the *Metamorphoses* are the addition of Apuleius or may have been present in his Greek models is likely to remain unclear. See Scobie (1978) p. 43 and Dowden (1982) p.420ff.

embellishments that Apuleius plays with the generic framework of his novel and prepares the reader for its surprising conclusion.⁵

Charite's novel, Charite's tragedy

The drastic swing between the world of the novel and the world of tragedy which I suggest is not unparalleled in the *Metamorphoses*. The Charite complex, which frames the story of Cupid and Psyche, exhibits a similar shift.⁶ Charite enters the narrative playing a role typical for the heroine of a novel: a beautiful young woman held captive by robbers.⁷ The paradoxical way she is described by Apuleius, a maiden or *virgo* whose appearance suggests that she is a ripe for marriage (*matronatus eius* 4.23), marks her as a character worth watching.⁸ Weeping and tearing her hair, she is clearly well-born (*filio liberalem ...summam regionis*) and desirable, at least to an ass (*asino tali concupiescendam* 4.23). Following a nightmare, the girl shares her story with the robbers' care-giver slave with a particularly dramatic flair: "so watch the scene of my disaster" (*specta denique scaenam meae calamitatis* 4.26).⁹ Charite goes on to tell that she is from a prominent family and on the very day on which she was wed to her beloved fiancé, she

⁵ For inset tales and their relation to the larger narrative, see Tatum (1966) p.488, Smith (1998), Zimmerman (2000b) p.122.

⁶ For the purposes of this chapter I will leave aside the story of Cupid and Psyche, though it is worth noting that it, too, demonstrates a generic shift similar to what I argue for in the Charite complex, the stepmother story, and the novel as a whole. For a comprehensive discussion of the theatrical elements and generic changes in Cupid and Psyche see May (2006) p.208ff.

⁷ Lateiner (2003) p.237-8.

⁸ Atkins (2013) p.115.

⁹ cf. Hijmans et al. (1977) p.192.

was abducted. Now, thanks to a horrific dream, she fears that her groom has been killed by the very men who hold her captive. The details of the girl's story, elaborated far beyond that of her unnamed counterpart in the *Onos*, explain her appearance and help to cast her as the heroine of an ideal Greek romance.¹⁰

Charite, as Lucius later learns the girl is called, shares much with the likes of Heliodorus' Charikleia and Chariton's Callirhoe. Well-born and beautiful, the central female character of a Greek romance typically suffers a severe reduction in her status. Longus' Chloe is raised as a poor shepherd (*Daphnis and Chloe* 1.8), and Callirhoe is sold as a slave (*Chaereas and Callirhoe* 1.14), as are Xenophon's Anthia (*Ephesiaca* 2.2) and Achilles Tatius' Leucippe (*Leucippe and Clitophon* 5.18). Charikleia is disguised as a beggar (*Aethiopica* 6.10) despite her royal birth and privileged upbringing at Delphi. The robbers who are holding Charite make no mention of enslaving her, but rather suggest that they intend to release the girl in return for a ransom (4.23). Nevertheless, Charite sees herself as a slave, locked up in a stony prison (*inque isto saxeo carcere serviliter clausa*, 4.24).

The reduction in status suffered by the heroines of the Greek novels is typically at the hands of robbers, pirates, bandits, or other unsavory characters and is often accompanied by a separation from their beloved husband or fiancé. The heroines often consider ending their own lives as a result of their unfortunate circumstances. Egyptian

¹⁰ In the *Onos* the girl remains nameless and is merely described as excessively beautiful, σφόδρα καλήν (22) and aristocratic, καλή καγαθή (24). Paratore (1928) p.32-5 also suggests Charite's similarity to the heroines of Greek romance.

“herdsmen” bandits keep apart Theagenes and Charikleia (*Aethiopica* 2.1) and Leucippe and Cleitophon (*Leucippe and Cleitophon* 3.15). In a coma and considered dead by her family, Callirhoe is taken from Syracuse by the men who rob her tomb (*Chaereas and Callirhoe* 1.9) and who later sell her as a slave (1.14). She contemplates ending the life of her unborn child (2.10-11) and her own (3.3), and is so convinced that her husband Chaereas is dead that she builds him a cenotaph (3.10). Anthia, separated from Habrocomes by his imprisonment and their mutual servitude (*Ephesiaca* 2.9) considers suicide (3.5). Bereft of her spouse and her family, and haunted by a dream of her husband’s death, Charite also sees death as a preferable option, “Now it’s certain, now I’m surely done for, now I renounce all hope of safety. Without a doubt I must seize a noose, or a sword, or headlong fall” (*em nunc certe, nunc maxime funditus perii, nunc spei salutiferae renuntiavi. laqueus aut gladius aut certe praecipitium procul dubio capessendum est* 4.25).

After being temporarily soothed by the old woman’s tale of Cupid and Psyche, Charite seizes the opportunity to escape from her captors on Lucius’ back. From astride the donkey she promises to immortalize their adventure, “I will commemorate my present fortune and divine providence with an everlasting witness. I will dedicate a painting of this escape in the atrium of my house” (*nam memoriam praesentis fortunae meae divinaeque providentiae perpetua testatione signabo, et depictam in tabula fugae praesentis imaginem meae domus atrio dedicabo* 6.29). Charite’s plans for autobiographical decor, while not a regular decorating motif in real ancient houses, are paralleled in the ancient

novels.¹¹ Petronius' Trimalchio chose to decorate his home with scenes depicting his early life as a slave and later manumission (29.1-7).

Charite's ambitions for the painting go beyond mere interior design. The picture is to be something people will come to visit and the inspiration for both oral and written stories, "'Noble maiden flees captivity on donkey' will be visited and heard in tales and continually relayed by the fresh pens of learned men" (*visetur et in fabulis audietur doctorumque stilis rudis perpetuabitur historia, asino vectore virgo regia fugiens captivitatem* 6.29).¹² The narrator of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, on a visit to Lesbos, takes a painting as the inspiration and starting point of his narrative,

Ἐν Λέσβῳ θηρῶν ἐν ἄλσει Νυμφῶν θέαμα εἶδον κάλλιστον ὧν εἶδον·
εἰκόνα γραπτὴν, ἱστορίαν ἔρωτος. Καλὸν μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄλσος,
πολύδενδρον, ἀνθηρόν, κατάρρυτον· μία πηγὴ πάντα ἔτρεφε, καὶ τὰ
ἄνθη καὶ τὰ δένδρα· ἀλλ' ἡ γραφὴ τερπνοτέρα καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσα
περιττὴν καὶ τύχην ἐρωτικὴν· ὥστε πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων κατὰ φήμην
ἤεσαν, τῶν μὲν Νυμφῶν ἰκέται, τῆς δὲ εἰκόνος θεαταί. Γυναῖκες ἐπ'
αὐτῆς τίκτουσαι καὶ ἄλλαι σπαργάνοις κοσμοῦσαι, παῖδιά ἐκκείμενα,
ποιμνία τρέφοντα, ποιμένες ἀναιρούμενοι, νέοι συντιθέμενοι, ληστῶν
καταδρομή, πολέμιων ἐμβολή. Πολλὰ ἄλλα καὶ πάντα ἐρωτικὰ ἰδόντα
με καὶ θαυμάσαντα πόθος ἔσχεν ἀντιγράψαι τῇ γραφῇ· καὶ
ἀναζητησάμενος ἐξηγητὴν τῆς εἰκόνος τέτταρας βίβλους
ἐξεπονησάμην, ἀνάθημα μὲν Ἐρωτι καὶ Νύμφαις καὶ Πανί, κτῆμα δὲ
τερπνὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις

When I was hunting in Lesbos, I saw the most beautiful sight I have ever seen, in a grove that was sacred to the Nymphs: a painting that told a

¹¹ See Bodel (1994) for autobiographical house décor in the ancient novel.

¹² Paintings also play a key role in the beginning of Achilles Tatius' novel, though there they inspire the narration because of similarly erotic material; they do not represent the story being told (1.1-2).

story of love. The grove itself was beautiful –thickly wooded, flowery, well watered; a single spring nourished everything, flowers and trees alike. But the picture was lovelier still, combining great artistic skill with an exciting, romantic subject. Many people were attracted by its fame and came, even from abroad, to pray to the Nymphs and to look at the picture. The picture: women giving birth, others dressing the babies, babies exposed, animals suckling them, shepherds adopting them, young people pledging love, a pirates’ raid, an enemy attack –and more, much more, all of it romantic. I gazed in admiration and was seized by a yearning to depict the pictures in words. I searched out an interpreter of the picture and produced the four volumes of this book, as an offering to Love, the Nymphs, and Pan, and something for mankind to possess and enjoy. (*prologue* 1-3)

As the story of their love closes, the reader learns that the now married Daphnis and Chloe have decorated the inside of the cave of the Nymphs, “They also decorated the cave and set up images in it and established an altar to Love the Shepherd, and gave Pan a temple to live in instead of pine, calling him Pan the Soldier” (καὶ τὸ ἄντρον ἐκόσμησαν καὶ εἰκόνας ἀνέθεσαν καὶ βωμὸν εἶσαντο Ποιμένος Ἑρωτος· καὶ τῷ Πανὶ δὲ ἔδοσαν ἀντὶ τῆς πίτυος οἰκεῖν νεῶν Πανὸς Στρατιώτου ὀνομάσαντες 4.39).¹³ The young couple’s commemoration has become the starting point of their narrative, exactly as Charite imagines the painting of her escape will be. Charite’s promises of both pictorial and narrative commemoration make one wonder if the prophecy that Lucius received from Diophanes the charlatan fortune teller might not have some truth after all,¹⁴

¹³ Trans., Gill, in Reardon (1989).

¹⁴ Cf. Hijmans et al. (1981) p.56-7.

Mihi denique proventum huius peregrinationis inquirenti multa respondit et oppido mira et satis varia: nunc enim gloriam satis floridam, nunc historiam magnam et incredulam fabulam et libros me futurum.

He responded to my inquiry about this journey with an exceedingly strange and sufficiently varied answer: my reputation would flourish, my story would be a great and unbelievable tale, and I would be a chapter book (2.12).

Despite Charite's hopes, the two are unsuccessful in their attempt to flee, and the robbers who have previously not threatened Charite's person are driven by anger to plot the horrific death of both escapees (6.31). While Charite's fate looms, a handsome new recruit, in reality her young husband in disguise, joins the robber band.¹⁵ The young man is tall, young, solid, and capable (*statu procerum et aetate iuvenum et corpore vastum et manu strenuum* 7.4) with a newly sprouted beard (*ei commodum lanugo malis inserpebat* 7.5). Incapable of comparing him to any man of the current generation (*nescio an ulli praesentium comparandum* 7.5), Lucius paints him as a hero of epic perfection, a description also frequent among novel heroes. Habrocomes is characterized as the rival of Eros and he is treated much like a god by the people of Ephesus (*Ephesiaca* 1.1). Chaereas' beauty is explicitly compared to that of Achilles (*Chaereas and Callirhoe* 1.1). Theagenes is described as a direct descendant of Achilles (*Aethiopica* 2.34), and is characterized in ways reminiscent of the hero (2.35, 3.3, etc.).¹⁶ True to his novelistic

¹⁵ Charite's counterpart in the *Onos* is rescued by her fiancé, but not through an elaborate ruse; he arrives with troops and is otherwise uncharacterized (26).

¹⁶ See Ch. 2 for more on Theagenes and Achilles.

counterparts, who are of high rank and good family background, Tlepolemus is a match for Charite in every way, “a remarkable young man, the first among the best, whom the whole city considered to be their son, and my cousin” (*speciosus adulescens inter suos principalis, quem filium publicum omnis sibi civitas cooptavit meus alioquin consobrinus* 4.26).¹⁷

Having lured the bandits into a false sense of security with feigned comradeship and then incapacitated them with wine and ropes, Tlepolemus safely delivers Charite home. Their return elicits a response from the entire community,

*quam simul accessimus, tota civitas ad votivum conspectum effunditur.
procurrunt parentes, affines, clientes, alumni, famuli, laeti faciem, gaudio delibuti.
pompa cerneret omnis sexus et omnis aetatis, novumque et Hercules memorandum
spectamen, virginem asino triumphantem.*

As soon as we arrived, the whole city poured out to see what they had prayed for. Parents, relatives, clients, foster children, and slaves ran out, faces happy and smeared with joy. You could see a parade of every sex and age, and by Hercules, a new and memorable spectacle –a virgin riding in triumph on a donkey (7.13).

The return of a young couple is similarly celebrated in Greek novels. Habrocomes and Anthia are cheered at their reunion in their beloved Rhodes (*Ephesiaca* 5.13). The entire populace of Syracuse throngs Chaereas and Callirhoe and then gathers in the theater to

¹⁷ Haynes (2003) p.81ff outlines what she prefers to call the “male protagonists” of the Greek Novels. Exceptional appearance and high social rank are always defining characteristics (86). Though a generally passive group, particularly when compared to their bold and intelligent female partners, these male protagonists show a great variety of engagement in typical heroic activities, ranging from the virtually helpless, but strong, Habrocomes to the militarily able Chaereas (85-7). Tlepolemus certainly falls more on the Chaereas end of the spectrum.

see the returning couple and hear of their adventures (*Chaereas and Callirhoe* 8.6ff).

Charikleia and her new husband are joyfully welcomed into the community of the Ethiopians (*Aethiopica* 10.40-1).

By the time Lucius has been put out to pasture as a reward for his part in bringing Charite home (7.14) Apuleius has given his readers precisely what they expect from a novel. The character who was introduced as a *virgo* has now become a *matrona*, lovers have been reunited, and villains have been punished. One book later, when Charite's story reappears in Lucius' narrative, its generic conventions have shifted. No longer the heroine of an ideal romance, Charite is poised to become the protagonist of a tragedy, albeit one written in prose.¹⁸ As Lucius is recovering from yet another harrowing physical experience as a donkey, a slave from Charite's household enters in what is recognizable as a typically tragic role, that of the messenger who relates the horrible things that have occurred off-stage, or in this case, out of Lucius' sight (8.1).¹⁹ His arrival is marked by the very early-morning crow of the rooster (*noctis gallacinio* 8.1), the time which also signaled the start of Athens' major dramatic festival.²⁰ Many Greek tragedies bear the mark of this transition from night to day in their early lines, and

¹⁸ Hijmans et al. (1985) p.134 looks to Charite's death at 8.14 as the moment at which her story becomes a tragedy. "The tale, which up to this points (sic) has exhibited the characteristics of a Greek romance, changes into a tragedy."

¹⁹ cf. Hijmans et al. (1985) p.29, Finklepearl (1998) p.115-16, May (2006) p.266.

²⁰ Pickard-Cambridge (1968) p.67.

Roman tragedy follows suit.²¹ Surrounded by an audience of Lucius and fellow-slaves, the man reports, *annuntiabat*, not only that Charite has died but that she has done so because of a most serious misfortune, *casu gravissimo* (8.1). His report, which covers the first fourteen chapters of Book 8, describes, often in language of the stage, tragic motif heaped upon tragic motif, transforming Charite's novel into Charite's tragedy.

Though Charite had told the old slave woman that she and Tlepolemus were intended for each other from an early age, the messenger speech reveals that their courtship was not so simple. Thrasyllus, a wealthy and noble man, but a reprobate from a neighboring town, had also been her suitor. Rejected by Charite's parents, Thrasyllus harbored great resentment and burned with passion. Convinced that Charite could not be forced or coaxed into his arms while her husband still lived, he turned his plans to murder. The messenger-narrator addresses his audience, "So watch –I beg you –pay attention with your troubled minds to how the attacks of raging passion burst forth" (*spectate denique, sed oro sollicitis animis intendite, quorsum furiosae libidinis proruperint impetus* 8.3). This appeal addresses the recipients of the story not merely as listeners, but as spectators who will appreciate the story by viewing it.²² Like audience members seated in a theater, they are to watch, *spectate*, the story unfolding before them.

²¹Tragedies which begin at dawn or at night shortly before dawn: Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, Sophocles' *Electra*, Euripides' *Electra*, *Ion*, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, and *Hecuba*, Seneca's *Agamemnon*, *Hercules Furens*, and *Oedipus*, and the *Octavia*.

²² cf. Finklepearl (1998) p.116, Frangoulidis (2001) p.85.

Thrasyllus befriends the couple, and one day when the men are off hunting less dangerous animals, Thrasyllus goads the newlywed into pursuing a boar. Tlepolemus struggles with the boar, is wounded by its tusks, and is finally killed by Thrasyllus, whose spear's wounds are easily disguised among those produced by the tusks (8.4-5).

Thrasyllus' attempts to woo a married woman and his subsequent merciless killing of his rival in order claim the bride that he feels should have been his resonates with the actions of Orestes in Euripides' *Andromache*. Seeing a dispute between Hermione and her husband, Neoptolemus, Orestes approaches his would-be bride,

ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰδὼς τῶνδε σύγχυσιν δόμων
ἔριν τε τὴν σὴν καὶ γυναικὸς Ἑκτορος,
φυλακὰς ἔχων ἔμιμνον, εἴτ' αὐτοῦ μενεῖς
εἴτ' ἐκφοβηθεῖσ' αἰχμαλωτίδος φόνῳ
γυναικὸς οἴκων τῶνδ' ἀπηλλάχθαι θέλεις.
ἦλθον δὲ σὰς μὲν οὐ σέβων ἐπιστολάς,
εἰ δ' ἐνδιδοίης, ὥσπερ ἐνδίδως, λόγον,
πέμψων σ' ἀπ' οἴκων τῶνδ'· ἐμὴ γὰρ οὔσα πρὶν
σὺν τῷδε ναίεις ἀνδρὶ σοῦ πατρὸς κάκη,
ὃς πρὶν τὰ Τροίας ἐσβαλεῖν ὀρίσματα
γυναικ' ἐμοί σε δοῦς ὑπέσχεθ' ὕστερον
τῷ νῦν σ' ἔχοντι, Τρωάδ' εἰ πέρσοι πόλιν.
ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀχιλλέως δεῦρ' ἐνόστησεν γόνος,
σὼ μὲν συνέγνων πατρί, τὸν δ' ἐλίσσόμην
γάμους ἀφεῖναι σοὺς, ἐμὰς λέγων τύχας
καὶ τὸν παρόντα δαίμον', ὥς φίλων μὲν ἂν
γῆμαιμι ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν, ἔκτοθεν δ' οὐ ῥαδίως,
φεύγων ἀπ' οἴκων ἃς ἐγὼ φεύγω φυγὰς.
ὁ δ' ἦν ὑβριστὴς ἐς τ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς φόνον
τάς θ' αἵματωποὺς θεὰς ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί.

Because I had learned of the turmoil in this house and the strife between you and Hector's wife, I kept watch waiting to see whether you would remain here or, frightened by the murderous attempt on the slave woman, would wish to leave this house. It was not out of respect for any commands of yours that I came, but so that if you should give me the chance to talk to you, as you are now doing, I might escort you from this house. For you were mine to begin with, and you are married to Neoptolemus only by the baseness of your father. Before he attacked Troy, he gave you to me to be my wife, but later he promised you to your present husband as a reward if he sacked Troy. When Achilles' son came home to this land, I was forgiving toward your father, but I begged Neoptolemus to relinquish his marriage to you. I told him of my evil fortunes and my present fate, how I could marry the daughter of a kinsman but only with difficulty one from outside, since I was in exile from my home. But he was insulting and berated me for the murder of my mother and the goddesses whose eyes drip blood (959-978).²³

Orestes and Thrasyllus share hands dirtied with human blood (*manus infectus humano crurore* 8.1), and though Orestes was not denied Hermione's hand on this account, as Thrasyllus was, Neoptolemus certainly uses the taint to insult him (977-8). It is this insult, coupled with his desire to have Hermione for himself, that drives Orestes to lay a trap for Neoptolemus, who has left his home to consult Apollo's oracle at Delphi.

Orestes reveals his motives to Hermione,

ὁ μητροφόντης δ', ἣν δορυξένων ἐμῶν
μείνωσιν ὄρκοι Πυθικὴν ἀνὰ χθόνα,
δείξω γαμεῖν σφε μηδέν' ὧν ἐχρῆν ἐμέ.

I, the matricide, provided the oaths of my allies in Delphi hold fast, shall teach him not to marry a bride that is rightfully mine (999-1001).

²³ Here and throughout Euripides translations are Kovacs (1995).

The victim husbands both meet their tragic deaths by piercing while pursuing the death, not of their rival, but of a goat. Tlepolemus is hunting goats because Charite will not allow him to hunt more dangerous animals, when Thrasyllus redirects the chase to a boar whose tusks mask the spear wounds (8.4). Neoptolemus is preparing to make a sacrifice at Delphi when he and his companions are ambushed by the trap Orestes has set (1100ff).²⁴ The death of Neoptolemus clears the way for Orestes to do as he pleases, and in Euripides' tragedy the wicked man finds no punishment for what he has done. In the novel, Thrasyllus intends the death of Tlepolemus to do the same, but he finds only an unwilling widow cast in the mold of a Laodameia, ready to go down fighting or in flames rather than succumb to his advances. The novel is rapidly becoming more tragic than its tragic model.

Charite responds to Tlepolemus' death with profound grief and thoughts of suicide; Thrasyllus feigns mourning. Coaxed away from starvation by her parents, Charite commemorates her husband's life by creating *imagines* of him, dressed as Liber-Dionysus, "and the *imagines* of the deceased, which she had formed in the appearance of Dionysus, she slavishly worshiped, torturing herself with her own solace" (*et imagines defuncti, quas ad habitum dei Liberi formaverat, affixo servitio divinis percolens honoribus, ipso se solacio cruciabat* 8.7). Charite's extreme devotion to an image of the deceased has tragic antecedents. When faced with the impending death of his wife Alcestis, Euripides'

²⁴ Neoptolemus and his companions are taking μῆλα...παιδεύματα (nursling flocks) to sacrifice (*And.* 1100-1). τὸ μῆλον may refer to either sheep or goats.

Admetus promises that he will have a statue of her made with which he will share his bed (*Alc.* 348-52). Euripides' *Protesilaus*, too, depicted Laodameia, a newly married and now widowed bride, who fashioned a doll which she treated much as her husband.²⁵ Hyginus' brief retelling of the story, which likely drew on Euripides' lost tragedy, describes the way Laodameia shrouded her attachment to the statue in a cloak of religious devotion, "And so she made a wax likeness of her husband Protesilaus and placed it in her bedroom under the guise of devotion, and she began to worship it" (*itaque fecit simulacrum cereum simile Protesilai coniugis et in thalamis posuit sub simulatione sacrorum, et eum colere coepit* 104.1). Indeed, Charite herself previously recognized her kinship with Laodameia, claiming that her own disrupted wedding is the image of her tragic predecessor's, (*ad instar...Protesilai dispectae disturbatataeque nuptiae* 4.26).²⁶

Charite's choice of Liber-Dionysus for the appearance of the *imagines*, with the god's associations of mystic resurrection, must have seemed a likely choice to second century readers.²⁷ In addition to the subtle promise of rebirth, Hijmans offers several other reasons why Liber may have been Charite's choice based on the way Dionysus is characterized in ancient literature: Tlepolemus' disguise as Haemus, Haemus'

²⁵ Cf. Finklepearl (1998) p.119, Lateiner (2003) p.223-4.

²⁶ Cf. Lateiner (2003) p.225, May (2006) p.258.

²⁷ Hijmans (1987) p.363, cf. Bettini (1999) p. 32ff. for evidence from Statius' *Silvae* 2.7.120ff. of a widow practicing similar Bacchic rituals and a mid-2nd century CE sarcophagus (Vatican *Galleria dei Candelabri* inv. 2465) depicting several scenes from Protesilaus and Laodameia's story, including Laodameia reclining on a bed with a mask "generally recognized as the portrait of Protesilaus in the guise of Bacchus" behind her.

assumption of a female role, Haemus/Tlepolemus' consumption and use of wine, the Thracian origin of Haemus, and blinding of adversaries.²⁸ Noting that at 4.26 Charite has compared her own interrupted marriage to that of Protesilaus and Laodameia, Hijmans wonders whether Charite's choice of Liber for her husband's commemoration might have similar mythological overtones.²⁹ I believe it does and, in fact, is more than mythological; it is specifically tragic. Apuleius associates Liber with Dionysus in a specifically tragic context at *Florida* 18.6, "And so, just as poets fabricate various cities on stage like this, such as the tragedian who makes an actor say in the theatre, 'Liber, you who live on these famous slopes of Cithaeron'" (*Quapropter, ut poetae solent hic ibidem varias civitates substituere, ut ille tragicus, qui in theatro dici facit: Liber, qui augusta haec loca Cithaeronis colis*).³⁰ The source of the quotation is unknown, but it reveals that for Apuleius the god Liber could play the role of Dionysus, who is strongly associated with the area near Cithaeron in Euripides' *Bacchae*, in a tragedy. Apuleius is known to have studied in Athens (*Flor.* 20.4), and it is reasonable to think he visited the Theater of Dionysus, where he would have seen reliefs depicting the life of the god on the newly built Hadrianic *scaenae frons*. These reliefs combine elements common in Dionysiac sarcophagi such as (re)birth, Korybantes, and Nymphs with elements that are distinctly theatrical, particularly the tragic *cothurni* and the introduction of tragedy to Athens.³¹

²⁸ Hijmans (1987) p.355-6.

²⁹ Hijmans (1987) p. 357.

³⁰ Trans., Hilton in Harrison, Hilton and Hunink (2001).

³¹ Sturgeon (1977). The four reliefs currently though not originally located on the ground at the west side of the stage front depict 1.) the Birth of Dionysus accompanied by Zeus wearing

The Dionysus of the Hadrianic reliefs was a multifaceted god who carried with him every connotation of rebirth and renewal that were felt across the reaches of the empire, but he was also a god steeped in a performative literary heritage. This is Charite's Liber-Dionysus, equally a god who signifies for a grieving widow the opportunity to see her beloved again and for an astute reader the suspicion that the generic associations of the narrative have shifted.

With the god of tragedy now on the scene, theatrical vocabulary and connections to Liber-Dionysus become more prominent in the description of events. Unable to delay his passion any longer, Thrasyllus reveals his lust for Charite. His revelation pushes the widow from her former position as simply the subject of a tragic story, the one being told by the messenger to the slaves and Lucius, to a new role as the spectator of the story staged by another. Charite is distraught on account of her situation and collapses as if "struck by serious thunder or...a thunderbolt of Jove himself" (*velut gravi tonitru...vel etiam ipso diali fulmine percussa* 8.8). Charite's experience mirrors that of Semele, the mother of Liber-Dionysus, who was killed after experiencing Jove's thunder and lightning at close range. Now the figurative wife, mother, and worshiper of Liber-

cothurni, Hermes, and two unidentified figures who are likely Korybantes. Scenes of the birth or childhood of Dionysus were common on Roman sarcophagi (p.34-6). 2.) Dionysus' entrance into Attica and the beginnings of tragedy, indicated by a goat (τράγος). Here Dionysus, wearing *cothurni*, is accompanied by a man identified as Ikarios, his dog Maera, an unidentified female figure, potentially a maenad, and an unidentified male, potentially a satyr. (p.36-9) 3.) A difficult to interpret sacred marriage scene. (p.39-41) and 4.) the "enthronement of Dionysus" in a chair which recalls the marble seats of the theater itself, joined by the female figure from slab three as well as Tyche and perhaps Theseus.(p.41-44).

Dionysus, Charite is poised to be the creator, consumer, and object of tragedy. She has already been the viewed character on stage throughout the messenger's speech, and she acts as the spectator as she "sees through the act of wicked Thrasyllus" (*scaenam pessimi Thrasylli perspiciens* 8.8). Apuleius couches action in terms of the stage. Thrasyllus has been putting on a show, one that he clearly intended to have a tragic ending for Tlepolemus. After Charite identifies it, she begins to turn to a new role as creator of the drama, putting the polish on her plan (*ad limam consilii* 8.8) for Thrasyllus' demise.

As Charite is formulating her plan for dealing with Thrasyllus, Tlepolemus' ghost appears to tell his sleeping widow the true story of how he died, wounded by his supposed friend and not by a boar. Ghosts also appeared on stage in Aeschylus' *Persae*, *Choephoroi*, and *Psychagogoi*, Sophocles' *Polyxena*, Seneca's *Agamemnon*, *Thyestes*, and *Oedipus* and in the *Octavia*.³² Ghost-Tlepolemus shares thematic parallels with Polydorus, who, killed by a man claiming to be his friend and protector, appears in a dream unsummoned in Euripides' *Hecuba* to give the prologue speech. In no extant tragedy does a dead spouse seeking vengeance or offering a warning appear unsummoned to the living spouse, but in the same speech in which Admetus promises to make an Alcestis doll, he envisions that his soon to be dead wife will visit him in his sleep (354-5). Euripides' Protesilaus, who has already been shown to have other

³²See Lateiner (2003) p.225 for more ghosts in tragedy in connection with this passage and further bibliography and Bardel (2005) for further discussion and bibliography of tragic ghosts generally.

resonances with the story of Charite and Tlepolemus, also visited his widow from the underworld.³³

In Seneca's *Oedipus* the ghost of Laius appears off-stage to report that Oedipus is the source of Thebes' woes, and his words are reported to the audience by Creon (619ff). Ghost-Laius advises Creon and the Thebans to exile the king (647ff) in order to ensure the safety of Thebes and her people. Oedipus' relationship with Jocasta supplanted that of Laius and Jocasta after Oedipus killed his father, albeit for reasons other than taking his wife. Thrasyllus hoped to find himself in a similar situation. Ghost-Tlepolemus tells Charite to marry whomever she pleases,

modo ne in Thrasylli manum sacrilegam convenias, neve sermonem conferas, nec mensam accumbas, neve toro acquiesces. Fuge mei percussoris cruentam dexteram. Noli parricidio nuptias auspicari. Vulnera illa quorum sanguinem tuae lacrimae perluerunt, non sunt tota dentium vulnera: lancea mali Thrasylli me fecit alienum.

Just don't enter into holy matrimony with Thrasyllus. Don't speak to him, don't dine with him, and don't share a bed with him. Flee from the gory hand of my killer. Don't undertake a marriage with one who has killed a kinsman. Those wounds whose blood your tears washed were not wounds made by teeth: the spear of evil Thrasyllus caused me to be separated from you (8.8).

³³ Bettini (1999) p.11-12 sees a parallel trajectory for both the portrait of the deceased husband and his shade. As his memory is kept ever present, literally, in his wife's arms, he is able to continually visit the grieving widow.

Ghost-Tlepolemus' advice to his recently widowed bride is reminiscent of ghost-Laius' speech in Oedipus, and parallels between Thrasyllus and Oedipus begin to emerge.³⁴ First, Thrasyllus and Oedipus are both *parridae*. Oedipus' connection to Laius is patent, but Thrasyllus deserves this label as well because of the way he self-styles himself as Tlepolemus' brother (8.7) when feigning grief.³⁵ Ghost-Laius describes Oedipus in terms that are later echoed in the description of Thrasyllus; both the king and the wicked man have a bloody hand (*cruenta dextra* 642, *cruentam dextram* 8.8). As a woman, Charite possesses no political power to exile Thrasyllus, but ghost-Tlepolemus suggests the social equivalents that she does have at her disposal: she will not speak to him, eat with him, or sleep with him.

Scaena appears again at the close of ghost-Tlepolemus' speech, "he added the rest of the details and illuminated the whole scene of the crime" (*addidit cetera omnemque scaenam sceleris illuminavit* 8.8). The revelation of the details is figured in terms of a theatrical performance, as Frangoulidis puts it, "defining it as a staged act."³⁶ Still the viewed object of the messenger's tragedy and the viewer of the tragedy that ghost-Tlepolemus has revealed, that is, the tragedy staged by Thrasyllus, Charite now fully turns to producing a tragedy of her own. She holds off Thrasyllus' persistent advances by professing her wish to mourn her first husband and then feigning willingness for a secret affair (8.9-10). Euripides' Helen, faced with Theoclymenus' equally forceful

³⁴ For more on Thrasyllus and Oedipus, see below.

³⁵ Cf. Lateiner (2003) p.234 n.49.

³⁶ Frangoulidis (1999) p.606.

advances, uses a similar tactic, although when she does so she is only pretending that Menelaus is dead (*Hel.* 1230ff.). Charite explains to Thrasyllus how he may come to her chamber unseen, and the word *scaena* appears here for the final time in Charite's story as Thrasyllus agrees to her terms: "the show of a deadly marriage pleased Thrasyllus" (*placuit Thrasyullo scaena feralium nuptiarum* 8.11).³⁷ Charite's deception and the deadly mock-marriage that she plans for Thrasyllus, like his deception earlier, is a veritable drama, but this is a drama of Charite's making. She is a participant in the scene but she is the only one fully in the know. Like Theoclymenus, Thrasyllus is the unaware that Charite, like Helen, is playing a role, has no intention of gratifying his lust, and intends to destroy him.

Employing her faithful nurse, a mainstay of tragic heroines' plots, Charite lures Thrasyllus into a position of vulnerability and attacks.³⁸ She tells her victim he is unfit to die in the same manner as her husband and blinds him with her hairpins, leaving him in a living death (8.21-13). Women's decorative ornaments are favorite weapon in tragedies, especially for blinding. Euripides' Hecuba, assisted by other captive women, blinds Polymestor and kills his sons with pins, avenging the death of her son Polydorus, who like Tlepolemus appears as a ghost in a dream (*Hecuba* 1132ff).³⁹ Sophocles'

³⁷ cf. Frangoulidis (1999) p.606.

³⁸ cf. Hijmans et al. (1985) p.110.

³⁹ cf. Hijmans et al. (1985) p.127.

Oedipus removes the brooches from the recently dead Jocasta's dress and blinds himself (OT 1265ff).⁴⁰

Much of Charite's tragic soliloquy, delivered immediately before the blinding blow, could describe the fate of Oedipus as well as Thrasyllus:

oculi isti... quodam modo tamen iam futuras tenebras auspicantes venientes poenas antecedent... vivo tibi morientur oculi, ne quicquam videbis nisi dormiens... Lumen certe non videbis, manu comitis indigebis... sed incertum simulacrum errabis inter Orcum et solem... Sic pudiciae mulieri tui placuerunt oculi, sic faces nuptiales tuos illuminarunt thalamos. Ultrices habebis pronubas et orbitatem comitem et perpetuae conscientiae stimulum.

Those eyes... somehow now predict their future darkness anticipating the coming punishment... those eyes will die while you still live, and you will see nothing except when you are asleep... You will surely see no light, you will need the hand of a chaperone... but you will wander like an unsure ghost between the land of the dead and the sun... In this way your eyes pleased a chaste woman, in this way marriage torches lit your tomb. You will have the Furies and bereavement as your wedding party and the goad of unending conscience as your companion (8.12).

Sated by her vengeance but not content to live without her husband, Charite rushes off to the tomb of Tlepolemus and ends her own life with his sword. Extant tragedy presents a widow who commits suicide in Eurpides' *Suppliant Women* (1012ff), Sophocles' *Trachiniae* (936ff), and *Hercules on Oeta* (1024ff).

When Thrasyllus learns of the suicide, he recognizes his guilt, has himself led to the tomb which now holds both Charite and Tlepolemus, and proceeds to offer himself

⁴⁰ Seneca's Oedipus wrenches his eyeballs out with his hands 963ff.

as a victim to their *manes* (8.14). Human sacrifice is far from rare in tragedy: Menoeceus in *Phoenician Women*, Heracles' daughter in *Children of Heracles*, both sacrifice themselves willingly for their families. Iphigenia in *Iphigenia at Aulis* and *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, and Polyxena in *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women* are less willing victims. Achilles stands as a central figure in the sacrifices of both Iphigenia, who was lured to Aulis on the eve of the Trojan War by the ruse of her wedding to Achilles, and Polyxena, who was sacrificed at the end of the Trojan War to appease his ghost. Tlepolemus/Haemus, who is cast as an Achilles-like figure, plays a similar role for both his bride Charite and his enemy Thrasyllus. Lucius has noted the man's epic quality (*nescio an ulli praesentium comparandum* 7.4), and Haemus/Tlepolemus describes himself as a man of bravery who does not fear death as others do (7.5), evocative of Achilles' fate to die young but glorious (*Iliad* 9.410). "Haemus" also shares Achilles' willingness to dress as woman to achieve his purposes (7.8, Ovid *Met.* 13.162ff., *Achilleid* 1.325ff). Here, in his death, Tlepolemus again acts as a tragic Achilles figure with respect to Charite and Thrasyllus, she the willingly sacrificed bride and he the willingly sacrificed enemy.

The name Haemus, chosen by Tlepolemus while infiltrating the robbers, with its bloody etymology (αἷμα, blood), earlier helped to characterize him as a fellow brigand but also evokes Haemon, the tragic son of Creon in Sophocles' *Antigone*.⁴¹ May suggests that Charite's imprisonment by robbers in a cave from which her fiancé successfully

⁴¹ See May (2006) p.266, especially note 70, for a discussion of the many resonances of Haemus' name.

liberates her is a “playful intertext with tragedy,” a potential “comic device.”⁴² For May, Haemus has succeeded where Haemon has failed, providing a humorous twist for the reader. What May fails to recognize in her comic reading of Haemus and Haemon is that the similarities and inversions go beyond simply a name and an attempted rescue of a fiancée. *Antigone* ends with the deaths of two women, Antigone and Eurydice, connected by the death of one man, Haemon. Charite’s tragedy ends with the death of two men, Tlepolemus and Thrasyllus, connected by the death of one woman, Charite. Antigone, locked in a cave which is also to be her tomb, has been sentenced to death by starvation (842ff), but instead commits suicide by the quicker means of hanging (1220ff). Haemon, having gone to rescue his fiancée only to find that he is too late, kills himself in the cave/tomb with a sword (1231ff), and Eurydice, learning of her son’s death, kills herself with a sword in a sacrificial manner near an altar (1301ff). Apuleius plots the deaths in Charite’s tragedy similarly, but with gender roles reversed. Following the death of Tlepolemus, Charite plays a role similar to that of Haemon; at the tomb of her beloved she kills herself with a sword (8.14, cf. 1234ff.). Haemon’s suicide over the corpse of his fiancée is figured as a wedding accomplished in death, *κεῖται δὲ νεκρὸς περὶ νεκρῶ, τὰ νυμφικὰ τέλη λαχὼν δαίλαιος ἐν γ’ Αἰδοῦ δόμοις*, “corpse lies by corpse, the wretched man completing the marriage ritual in the house of Hades” (1240-

⁴² May (2006) p.266.

1). Similarly, Charite's friends prepare her body and place her in the tomb with Tlepolemus as his everlasting spouse (*marito perpetuam coniugem* 8.14).⁴³

In both cases, the second death forms a causal bridge between the first and third, catalyzing the sacrificially framed deaths of Eurydice and Thrasyllus. Eurydice takes a sword, possibly but not explicitly that of her son, and ends her life at an altar (βωμία 1301). The death of Thrasyllus rejoins that of Eurydice and nods to the would-be fate of Antigone.

*Thrasyllus vero cognitis omnibus, nequiens idoneum exitum praesenti cladi
reddere certusque tanto facinori nec gladium sufficere, sponte delatus ibidem ad
sepulcrum, 'Ultronea vobis, infesti manes, en adest victima' saepe clamitans
valvis super sese diligenter obseratis inedia statuit elidere sua sentential
damnatum spiritum.*

But when Thrasyllus understood everything, unable to fully compensate for the part he had played in the disaster and sure that a sword just wouldn't do for such a deed, he had himself led to that same tomb and often shouting "Here is a willing sacrificial victim for you, unfriendly spirits," with the doors carefully closed above himself he made up his mind to squeeze out his spirit by starvation, condemned by his own opinion. (8.14)

Thrasyllus' death evokes that of Eurydice as it is figured as a sacrifice to the *manes* of Charite and Tlepolemus, but it also provides an inverted parallel. Thrasyllus, the last of Apuleius' three tragic deaths chooses to die by *inedia*, the compulsory death intended for but not completed by Antigone, the first in the Sophoclean sequence.

⁴³ For death and wedding imagery in tragedy, see Rehm (1994). For wedding imagery in this inset tale, see Frangoulidis (1999). cf. May (2006) p.266.

With Thrasyllus' self-imposed death sentence, the messenger's report of Charite's tragedy comes to an end. The slave delivering the bad news is again cast as messenger, *adnuntiabat*, and audience of former slaves reacts by fearing, *metuentes*, and by pitying, *miserantes* (8.15) –the two emotions Aristotle stipulates as proper to tragedy.⁴⁴ There will be no novelistic *Scheintod* for Charite or Tlepolemus as there has been for Callirhoe (*Chaereas and Callirhoe* 1.8) or Leucippe (*Leucippe and Clitophon* 3.15, 5.7). This is the last Lucius will hear of them. Their story has no clear overall parallel in any (extant) tragedy, but the piling up of tragic elements leaves the reader in no doubt as to the generic framework of Charite's story; she is a tragic heroine. In the *Onos* the newly married couple are swept out to sea, never to be seen again (34), but despite the presumed sadness of their friends and family the author of the *Onos* takes no pains to present their story in a particularly tragic light. Charite's story, however, has demonstrated the capacity of Apuleius' narrative to shift from one genre to another, in this case from a novel to a tragedy.

Hippolytus Redefined

In the beginning of Book 10, Lucius presents his readers with the tale of a wicked stepmother and her attempt to seduce her stepson. Here again, the generic allegiance of the story shifts but this time in the reverse direction, from a tragic to a novelistic or New Comedic pattern. The stepson is represented as Hippolytus, "a young son appropriately

⁴⁴ *Poetics* 1450a.

educated and because of it accordingly respectful and modest" (*iuvenum filium probe litteratum atque ob id consequenter pietate, modestia praecipuum* 10.2). His *pietas* and *modestia* are evocative of a tragic Hippolytus who devoted himself to Artemis and, in doing so, vowed chastity (*Hip.* 13-6, *Phaed.* 230-1). The boy's stepmother initially is unable to suppress her desires until they grow to such an extent that they manifest themselves as physical symptoms (*Hip.* 198-202, *Phaed.* 360-86).⁴⁵ Unable to continue in such a state and seizing upon the opportunity of the father's absence (*Hip.* 281, *Phaed.* 92), she summons the boy and reveals her feelings as Phaedra does in Seneca's tragedy (646ff.) and as is likely to have happened in Euripides' lost Hippolytus play.⁴⁶ The boy delays, and then, like Hippolytus (*Hip.* 614, *Phaed.* 701) refuses her advances (10.4).

It is here that the plot detours from our known Hippolytus tragedies but continues on another tragic path. Convinced that the young man must die, the stepmother relies on a trusted male slave who was part of her dowry (10.4) to procure poison to be put in her stepson's drink. Her actions, though differently motivated, mirror those of Creusa in Euripides' *Ion*. Creusa, daughter of the Athenian king, was raped by Apollo in her youth and she exposed the resulting infant. Without her knowledge, Hermes rescued the child and brought him safely to Delphi, where he was

⁴⁵ See Zimmerman (2000a) p.418-32 for a comprehensive discussion of Euripides' Hippolytus plays, Sophocles' *Phaedra*, Seneca's *Phaidra*, other treatments of the Hippolytus story in literature, the Potiphar tale, mime, and Apuleian originality in their combination. See Finklepearl (1998) p.149-83 for an extensive discussion of allusions to tragic Phaedras in the works of Euripides and Seneca as well as Ovid and Vergil within this inset tale.

⁴⁶ Barrett (1964) p.13-14.

raised by the Pythia. Years later, when Creusa and her husband Xuthus are unable to conceive, they travel to the oracle to seek advice. Though he is in reality the son of Creusa and Apollo, the oracle declares Ion is the son of Creusa's husband and an unnamed woman (*Ion* 1-73). Creusa, fearing the realities of her newly discovered stepson, instructs the old male slave who had been her father's *paedagogus* (725) to poison Ion (1019ff). Creusa's plot is foiled in time and so she fails to kill her own flesh and blood (1201ff.). Apuleius' stepmother, intending poison for her husband's son, completes the action from which Creusa was spared; she kills her own son. True to her Phaedra-like depravity (*Hip.* 856ff, *Phaed.* 896ff) the stepmother seizes the moment to accuse her stepson of the murders (10.5).⁴⁷ Playing an appropriately responsive Theseus (*Hip.* 893ff, *Phaed.* 937ff), the father believes the stepmother's lie and denounces his only living son in court (10.6); not everyone may call down Poseidon's wrath.⁴⁸

It is as the stepson is on the verge of being condemned to death that the generic center of gravity of the story begins to shift. A member of the court, who also happens to be a doctor, forestalls the verdict and announces what he knows of the crime. The wrong-doing of both slave and stepmother are revealed, and the doctor tells that he feared such a situation all along and gave the slave not poison but a sleeping potion (10.11)⁴⁹. The boy's tomb is opened to reveal him just waking from an extended nap.

⁴⁷ Another of the Phaedra tale is found in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* 1.8ff. See Chapter 2 for further discussion of this story.

⁴⁸ cf. Zimmerman (1999) p.124.

⁴⁹ Zimmerman (2000a) p.152, 429-31 following Tappi (1986) p.186, 192 and Münsterman (1995) p.118f. notes a potential correlation between the doctor and Artemis' *ex machina* appearance in

The slave is killed, the stepmother exiled, the father reunited with both sons, and all is set right with the world (10.12). It is an ending worthy of New Comedy or a novel.⁵⁰ There is, however, a disconnect between what is presented, a Hippolytus/Ion tragedy turned novel/New Comedy, and what Lucius has told the reader to expect from the tale before beginning it. He has explicitly promised a tragedy, despite having delivered the opposite, “so then, excellent reader, know that you are reading a tragedy, not a *fabula* and that you are ascending from the slipper of comedy to the boot of tragedy” (*iam ergo, optime lector, scito te tragoediam, non fabulam, legere et a socco ad cothurnum asscendere* 10.2). This mismatch between Lucius’ description of the story and its reality has elicited readings ranging from irony to accusations of incompetence and deception.⁵¹ Zimmerman more optimistically suggests that the generic conflation in this tale “[has] a foreshadowing function in the main narrative of the *Metamorphoses*.”⁵² She sees this foreshadowing come to fruition as Lucius refuses his role in the Judgement of Paris pantomime, set up by his master in the theater at Corinth, only to take his place in the

Hippolytus, but rightfully cautions that the doctor does not bring about a reconciliation as Artemis does. The content of his speech reveals only that he has prevented the boy’s death. There is no scene absolving the Hippolytus figure of wrongdoing, though one may imagine it. Additionally, the doctor here has done what Artemis could not; prevented any death except that of the slave complicity in the crime. The doctor’s role in the story, in place of the youth’s wise old friend, is likely an Apuleian addition. See Konstan (1994) p.130-3.

⁵⁰ Romantic reunion is generally considered the central theme of the Greek novels, but reunion of children with parents, often parents who have reason to presume them dead, is not uncommon. Consider *Aethiopica* (10.12), *Chaereas and Callirhoe* (8.6), *Daphnis and Chloe* (4.24). For the family novel, which does center on the reunion of a family, consider *Apollonius King of Tyre* (45-9) and see Szepessy (1985-8).

⁵¹ For irony, Schlam (1994) p.44, for incompetence Walsh (1970) p.171, for deceit May (2006) p.274.

⁵² Zimmerman (2000b) p.120.

new genre of religious devotional literature.⁵³ I am most sympathetic to her reading, but even it fails to take Lucius at his word. Where is the promised tragedy?

“So then, excellent reader, know that you are reading a tragedy, not a *fabula*.”

Provided we continue to assume our narrator is neither incompetent nor purposefully misleading, to what tragedy is he referring? The stepmother’s tale, with its ending befitting a novel or comedy, does not seem to qualify. Finklepearl suggests it is a different inset tale of Book 10 (23-28), linked through verbal, character, and situational parallels, that “bears all the promise of a New Comedy plot (with the baby girl who is not exposed as planned and who is to marry a friend of her brother) but veers equally unexpectedly into a grotesque tragedy.”⁵⁴ This tale certainly fits the tragic label better than that of the stepmother, but its distance, twenty sections, from 10.2 makes it a less compelling candidate. I offer a different reading, employing, in part, Zimmerman’s approach, and suggest that it is not the story of the stepmother that is meant to be read as the tragedy, but the novel as a whole.⁵⁵

Scito, optime lector, te tragoediam non fabulam legere

⁵³ Zimmerman (2000b) p.126-7.

⁵⁴ Finklepearl (1998) p.152

⁵⁵ Apuleius does not call the stepmother’s story a *fabula* but a *facinus* at 10.2. Zimmerman (2000a) p.60. The tale is figured less as literary tragedy than as a crime.

Direct addresses to the reader by title in the *Metamorphoses* are rare.⁵⁶ The first one occurs in the prologue, “We begin a Greekish *fabula*. Reader, pay attention: you will be delighted” (*fabulam Graecanicam incipimus. lector, intende: laetaberis* 1.1).⁵⁷ This first address and the generic marker which immediately precedes it are the instructions for reading the *Metamorphoses*, at least the best available. As Slater puts it, “the Prologue sets out to manufacture a suitable reader for itself.”⁵⁸ We are to view the work as a *fabula*, a story or tale (probably but not necessarily fictional) whose method of delivery intimates orality, nevertheless we are the *lector* consuming the *fabula* by means of the written word and a *liber*.⁵⁹ This contrast is curious for an attentive reader, but even an inattentive one is roused to attention by the direct commend, *intende*, and the promise, *laetaberis*: pay attention and you will be delighted.

The second time the reader is named Lucius imagines he will raise an objection about his reliability as a narrator, “But perhaps you, a meticulous reader, will find fault with my tale ‘How did you, smart ass, penned up inside the mill, know what the women were doing secretly, as you say?’” (*sed forsitan lector scrupulosus reprehendens narratum meum sic argumentaberis: “Unde autem tu, astutule asine, intra terminus pistrini contentus, quid secreto, ut affirmas, mulieres gesserint scire potuisti?”* 9.30) Lucius conjures up for

⁵⁶ For addresses to the reader that do not involve *lector* (2.4, 2.8, 4.6, 8.24, 8.28, 9.4, 9.14, 9.30, 10.2, 10.18, 10.33, 11.3, and 11.23), see Zimmerman (2001).

⁵⁷ This phrase has caused much discussion. See Keulen (2007) p.90-1 for a summary and further bibliography.

⁵⁸ Slater (2001) p.214.

⁵⁹ OLD *fabula* s.v. 3, 4, & 5. For an excellent discussion of the orality of *fabula* and its use in the *Metamorphoses* see Bitel (2001) p.145-8.

himself precisely the reader that has been suggested in the prologue, one paying attention, even to the point of annoyance, *scrupulosus*.⁶⁰ Lucius rewards this careful reader with positive reinforcement for having followed the initial command of the prologue (*intende*) and outlines how he did, in fact, know what had happened while confined to the mill (9.30-31). The third time the reader is named is near the opening of the stepmother's story (10.2). Here, as in the prologue, a command is given to reader, "know that you are reading a tragedy, not a *fabula*." No longer merely just a *lector*, the audience has now been conditioned to be a *scrupulosus* reader at 9.30 and is exhorted here to be what Zimmerman calls a "super-reader" when addressed as the *optime lector* (10.2), intensely aware of generic markers.⁶¹ The super-reader, recently addressed as such, must also be acutely aware of her role, the process of reading, and the physicality of the *liber*, the book, itself.⁶² Lucius has, in the same section, immediately before beginning the stepmother tale, reminded the reader of the presence of the *liber*, "A few days later in that place, I remember, a manifestly wicked and horrible crime was

⁶⁰ Whether it is Lucius, a separate *prologus*, or the book itself who gives the first instruction, *lector intende*, is beyond the scope of my argument here. See Dowden (1982) p.427-8, Harrison (1990, 2013), and Dowden (2001) p.129-32 for further discussion of this issue.

⁶¹ Zimmerman (2000b) p.123; Zimmerman (2000a) p.68 (the GCA) notes the ambiguity of *lector optime* as either a "polite formula" or "exhortation to the reader addressed here to apply himself to a *lectio optima* of this story." The final address to the *lector* occurs at 11.23 "Perhaps, eager reader, you are sufficiently eager to ask what was said, what was done" (*Quaeras forsitan satis anxie, stuidiose lector, quid deinde dictum, quid factum*). Cf. Henderson (2001) p. 196 on the prologue "If we ever know what kind of super-reading matches our super-author, we shall have found happiness, and we shall have been happy (I dare say) all along, but did we know it?" Likewise, Ginseberg (1977) p. 51.

⁶² cf. Zimmerman (2000b) p.122.

committed; I offer it here in the book so that you too may read it." (*Post dies plusculos ibidem dissignatum scelestum ac nefarium facinus memini, sed ut vos etiam legatis, ad librum profero* 10.2). This is the only place in the *Metamorphoses* where Lucius directly labels his text a *liber* or *libri*.⁶³ The *optimus scrupulosus lector*, the *lector* that Lucius has been grooming, may, however, recall the potentially dubious prophecy that Lucius receives prior to his transformation in Book 2,

Mihi denique proventum huius peregrinationis inquirenti multa respondit et oppido mira et satis varia: nunc enim gloriam satis floridam, nunc historiam magnam et incredundam fabulam et libros me futurum.

He responded to my inquiry about this journey with an exceedingly strange and sufficiently varied answer: my reputation would flourish, my story would be a great and unbelievable *fabula*, and I would be a chapter book (2.12).

By this point in the novel, the prophecy has proven true, despite the shady nature of the profit. The *scrupulosus* reader, enabled specifically by the *liber*, has the potential to recall that first address in the prologue and the immediately preceding generic marker: *fabulam graecanicam incipimus, lector intende* (we begin a Greekish *fabula*, reader pay attention 1.1). At 10.2, then, when Lucius tells the reader *scito non fabulam, tragoediam legere* and then

⁶³ At 10.7, also in relation to the stepmother tale, Lucius references the textual nature of the narrative without using *liber*, "But what I clearly gathered I will related in this document" (*sed quae plane comperi ad istas litteras proferam*). At 8.2 the messenger who delivers the news of Charite's end suggests he is telling the tale so that "more learned folks to whom fortune has given pens might write it down like a history on paper" (*quae gesta sunt quaeque possint merito doctiores, quibus stilos fortuna subministrat, in historiae specimen chartis involuere* 8.2).

delivers in the stepmother's tale a crime and a comedy, the *optimus lector* ought to look for a different *fabula* that is in fact a tragedy.

Isis ex Machina

After the demise of the stepmother and with his readers on the watch for something truly tragic, Lucius finds himself in the possession of more kindly owners who realize he is easily trained to eat human food, follow commands, and have sex with women, all of which turns a profit (10.13-22). Lucius' good fortune quickly sours, however, and he finds himself destined to couple with a wickedly evil woman as part of a public spectacle in the theater at Corinth (10.23-34). Fearing for his life Lucius runs when his handlers' backs are turned and flees to the shore at Cenchreae where he drifts off to sleep (10.35). Near midnight he awakens to the sight of the full moon rising from the water (*completum orbem ...marinis emergentem fluctibus* 11.1). Equating the moon with "the present goddess," *specimen deae praesentis*, he prays to a host of female divinities for rest from his toils and then falls back asleep (11.1). Moments later he is greeted by a miraculous sight "behold in the middle of the sea the divine face rises lifting a countenance worthy of being worshiped even by the gods" (*ecce pelago medio venerandos diis etiam vultus attollens emergit divina facies* 11.3). Focalized through the eyes of Lucius are both the moon as the *specimen praesentis deae* and then the epiphany of the goddess in bodily form rising aloft (*emergit*) above the level of the narrator as if by the magic of the

theater.⁶⁴ The tragedy Lucius promised his reader at 10.2 has come to fruition with its very own *dea ex machina*, here to set things right.⁶⁵

Most commonly seen, though not exclusively, in the plays of Euripides, the *deus ex machina* “god from the machine” is so named from the sudden appearance on high of a divinity that was made possible by the μηχανή//*machina* (stage crane). Though each *deus ex machina* scene is tailored to fit the circumstances of its tragedy, they share common features with each other. Dunn summarizes this “remarkably consistent pattern” as one in which a god, likely but not necessarily arriving via the μηχανή, “issues a command, explains what has happened or resolves an impasse, and foretells the future.”⁶⁶ Isis’ role in the *Metamorphoses* fits this pattern in every way.

Isis quickly identifies herself to Lucius, as does Athena to Theseus, Thoas, Ion, and Creusa (*Supp.* 1183, *IT* 1436, *Ion* 1555), the Dioscuri to Theoclymenos, Electra, and Orestes (*Hel.* 1644, *El.* 1239.), Apollo to Menelaus and Orestes (*Or.* 1626), Thetis to Peleus (*And.* 1232), and Artemis to Theseus (*Hipp.* 1285).⁶⁷ She then follows her introduction with a series of commands, “Stop your weeping and cease lamenting. Send away your sadness....Therefore turn your troubled mind to my commands” (*mitte iam fletus et*

⁶⁴ Mastronarde (1990) p.259-60 discusses means other than the crane by which an ancient actor may have appeared aloft in a theater for a *deus* moment, including a trap door from on top the roof of the stage building. The picture of a moon/goddess rising up here from the sea might be imagined as employing this mode of arrival rather than swooping in via crane.

⁶⁵ cf. Zimmerman (2000a) p.444 “As the good doctor in the first story took the place of the evil doctor intended by the *nouerca*, so Isis, with her healing power and the *diuina prouidentia*, steps forward as ‘*dea ex machina*’ in the framing story, driving away *saeua Fortuna*.”

⁶⁶ Dunn (1996) p.27-8; cf. Mikalson (1991) p.65-8, Mastronarde (2008) p.329.

⁶⁷ For the *deus*’ self-introduction, see Dunn (1996) p.31.

lamentationes omitte. depelle maerorem...ergo igitur imperiis istis meis animum intende sollicitum 11.5). Here Isis performs what Mastronarde labels the *deus ex machina's* "stopping function," consistent with such moments in tragedy.⁶⁸ Thoas is stopped from harming the escaping Iphigenia and Orestes (*IT* 1436ff), Theoclymenus is stopped from harming Theonoe (*Hel.* 1656ff), Peleus will be stopped from his suffering as a human as he joins Thetis (*And.* 1254ff.), Theseus is stopped from continuing in his misunderstanding (*Hipp.* 1286ff) and from his son's ill-will (1436ff). Lucius is stopped not just from his sadness and desperation but also from the suffering caused by his asinine shape as Isis describes what she has set in motion for the following day. Isis offers a prophecy of Lucius' immediate future, his return to human form, and his long-term well-being as a devotee of the goddess (11.6). This prophetic look to the future is also characteristic of *dei ex machina*.⁶⁹ Artemis tells of rites Hippolytus will enjoy at Troezen (*Hipp.* 1426ff.), Castor and Pollux describe an island that will bear Helen's name (*Hel.* 1670ff) and predict Orestes' trial at Athens (*El.* 1254ff), Athena reveals the relationship between Ion's offspring and the names of Athens' tribes (*Ion* 1575ff), and Medea offers a prophetic look at Jason's death at the close of her eponymous tragedy (*Med.* 1386ff).

In extant tragedy the *deus ex machina's* arrival on stage facilitates a return to order, often through the establishment of a new ritual or the employment of an existing

⁶⁸ Mastronarde (2008) p.329.

⁶⁹ cf. May (2006) p.313, Keulen (2015) p.182.

ritual. Heracles advises Philoctetes and Neoptolemus to bring spoils from Troy to his grave in return for the bow (*Phil.* 1431-1441). Athena instructs Theseus how to secure an Argive alliance for Athens with an elaborate ritual (*Supp.* 1188-1209). In *Hippolytus*, the rites the youth receives after death from the maidens at Troezen are figured by Artemis as compensation for his poor treatment in life (*Hipp.* 1416-30). The Dioscuri suggest a ritualized use of Athena's statue at Athens will be part of Orestes' final freedom from the Furies (*El.* 1254-5). Athena gives detailed instructions about the relocation of a statue of Artemis to Halae, the installation of Iphigenia as priestess, and the institution of a new cult with kinder practices there, which obviates the need for human sacrifice (*IT* 1438-1461).⁷⁰ The Dioscuri speak of the ultimate inappropriateness of Helen's captivity in Egypt and life as a human, as she is destined to be worshiped as a goddess alongside them (*Hel.* 1666-1669). Even Medea, troubling *ex machina* figure that she is, speaks of the rites that will atone for her children's murder (*Med.* 1378-1388).⁷¹ This connection between ritual behavior and the instruction of the *deus* is so prominent that it appears in all but five of our extant *dei ex machina* scenes.⁷² Isis' appearance to Lucius is consistent with all these tragic *dei*. After her commands and introduction she lays out in detail the

⁷⁰ For a detailed discussion Iphigeneia tragedies in the novel, see Chapter 2.

⁷¹ For further discussion of the ways in which Medea's ultimate divinity (or at the very least status as something more than human) and the way her actions at the end of the play conform to a typical *deus ex machina* see Knox (1977) p.206-11, Griffiths (2006) p.75-78 and Konstan (2007).

⁷² No ritual is found in the Athena's appearance in *Ion* (1552-1618), Apollo in *Orestes* (1625-1690), Thetis in *Andromache* (1231-1272), the Muse in *Rhesus* (890-982), and Dionysus in *Bacchae* (1330-1378), though this speech is incomplete. Dunn (1996) p.45-63 etymological etiologies or ritual elements as a typical feature of all *dei*.

ritualized process which will save Lucius from his current fate. It is both old, the day has long belonged to Isis (*aeterna mihi nuncupavit religio* 11.5), and new, the priest has been commanded to carry roses just for this occasion (*meo monitu* 11.6). The goddess also outlines Lucius' future devotion to her, "You will clearly remember and hold deep in your mind the fact that the rest of your life's course is mine until your very last breath" (*Plane meminervis et penita mente conditum semper tenebis mihi reliqua vitae tua curricula adusque terminus ultimi spiritus vadata* 11.6), a devotion which we will learn as Book 11 proceeds takes the form of elaborate rituals.

May discusses the potential of reading Isis as a tragic *dea ex machina* figure, but ultimately decides against the identification.⁷³ Her analysis differentiates Euripidean "tragicomedies" such as *Alcestis*, *Helen*, *Ion*, and *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, from plays like *Hippolytus* with more traditional and "tragic" endings, on the grounds that Lucius' existence moves from one of unhappiness to one of happiness.⁷⁴ By insisting upon modern subcategories, May inherently privileges the comic over the tragic, a useful step for her overall argument that the *Metamorphoses* is a novel with a pervasive comic texture, but is misleading nonetheless. *Tragicomoedia* is a term coined by *Plautus* (*Am.* 59, 63) and applicable to the *Amphitruo* as it takes high-born and divine characters and puts them in a comic setting. Mercury speaks the prologue:

*nunc quam rem oratum huc veni primum proloquar
post argumentum huius eloquar tragoedia.*

⁷³ May (2006) p.310-314 "Thus tragedy, or rather late Euripidean tragicomedy, may be an intertext, but does not offer a precisely overlapping parallel." p.314.

⁷⁴ May's argument follows Barnes (1964).

*quid? contraxisti frontem, quia tragoediam
dixi futuram hanc? deus sum, commutavero.
eandem hanc, si voltis, faciam ex tragoedia
comoedia ut sit omnibus isdem vorsibus.
utrum sit an non voltis? sed ego stultior,
quasi nesciam vos velle, qui divos siem.
teneo quid animi vestri super hac re siet:
faciam ut commixta sit: sit tragicomoedia.
nam me perpetuo facere ut it comoedia,
reges quo veniant et di, non par arbitror.
quid igitur? quoniam hic servos quoque partes habet,
faciam sit, proinde ut dixi, tragicomoedia.*

Now I'll first tell you what I've come here to ask you for; then I'll tell you the plot of this tragedy. What? You're frowning because I said this was going to be a tragedy? I'm a god, I'll change it. If you want, I'll immediately turn this same play from a tragedy into a comedy with all the same verses. Do you want it to be one or not? But I'm being silly, as if I didn't know that you want it; after all, I'm a god. I know what your feelings in this matter are: I'll make sure it's a mixed play; it'll be a tragicomedy. Well, I don't think it would be appropriate to turn completely into a comedy a play where kings and gods come on stage. What then? Since a slave has a role here as well, I'll make it, as I said, a tragicomedy (50-63).⁷⁵

Like the half-man, half-god whose birth the events of the *Amphitruo* narrate, *tragicomoedia* is a hybrid term, a Plautine joke designed to produce a laugh not literary criticism. Aristotle called Euripides the τραγικώτατος, most tragic (*Poetics* 1453a25), of poets, despite his familiarity with and frequent quotation of the so-called “tragicomedies” and there is no reason to think Apuleius would have seen *Helen* or *Ion* in any different light than *Hippolytus* or *Electra*. This narrowed view of only “happy

⁷⁵ Trans., de Melo (2011).

ending” tragedies precludes an examination of the full range and function of the *deus*, hampering the identification of ritual as a significant component.⁷⁶

May suggests instead a comic *dea ex machina* modeled on the arrival of Jupiter in Plautus’ *Amphitruo* or similar *dei* in lost mythological travesties of Middle Comedy may be a better parallel for Isis.⁷⁷ She points to the fact that Isis arrives in response to Lucius’ prayer, as does Jupiter (*Amph.* 1130), while no tragic *deus* arrives in response to the prayer of a mortal in extant tragedy.⁷⁸ Though this appropriately characterizes instances of *dei ex machina* in tragedy, it wrongly identifies just when the *deus* scene begins in the *Metamorphoses* as the point at which Isis emerges from the water in human form (11.3). If we instead consider the *deus* motif to begin at the start of Book 11, a reading suggested by Lucius’ sudden (*subito*) waking, the rising of the moon (*emergentem*), and his understanding of the moon as a manifestation of a present deity (*specimen deae praesentis*), Lucius’ prayer should not be understood to summon the *dea ex machina* but rather to interact with a goddess already on the scene.⁷⁹ As on the stage, it is the visual presence, here as the moon, of the divinity that first signals her arrival “from the machine,” an arrival which is echoed when her bodily form rises (*emergit* 11.3) from the

⁷⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) p.414-22 argues strongly against Dunn (1996) and his reading of the *deus* as a formal means of literary closure, seeing them instead as a manifestation of the religious lives of the Athenians. Wright (2005) p.6-43 addresses the problems with relabeling Euripides’ escape themed tragedies as tragicomedies, melodramas, etc. and argues, rightfully I think, for their place simply as tragedies.

⁷⁷ May (2006) p.313-18.

⁷⁸ May (2006) p.314.

⁷⁹ See Griffiths (1975) p.115 for the potential of speaking to Isis before she formally introduces herself. Also Keulen (2015) p.83.

sea to speak at length to Lucius.⁸⁰ Additionally, Jupiter's appearance in *Amphitruo* is not restricted to an *ex machina* arrival at the end. He is a character throughout, making his arrival hardly as surprising or abrupt as Isis' is. With the notable exceptions of Dionysus in *Bacchae* and Medea, who is playing on the expectation of the genre, tragic *dei ex machina* never appear before the close of the play, though their intervention is often logical or well-motivated.⁸¹ May's comic interpretation of Isis' arrival, then, offers a potential intertext but a less convincing parallel than a tragic *deus ex machina*.

Lucius' story begins firmly in novel territory, declared for the reader as a *fabula Graecanica* following the trajectory of the ass-tale traditions represented in the *Onos*. Though his story unfolds in a much more detailed and embellished way with inset stories unique to Apuleius' version, the outline and generic framework of the story remains consistent. Charite's story, initially parallel to that of the noble maiden in the *Onos*, looks at first to be styled on the heroines of Greek romance, but makes a dramatic turn to a tragedy in Book 8. By elaborating Charite's story in this way, Apuleius makes his reader aware that what begins as a novelistic tale does not always end that way.

⁸⁰ Despite the notorious ability of Roman witches to make rivers flow backward, pull the moon from the sky, etc. the moon here still obeys the laws of nature. What is important is that in its final position it is aloft. May (2006) p.318 argues that Isis does not speak from above. For Isis and her identification with the moon generally, see Keulen (2015) p.83-5.

⁸¹ e.g. Hippolytus is the devotee of Artemis, Helen is the sister of the Dioscuri, Peleus is the husband of Thetis.

Charite's novel turned tragedy acts as a microcosm of Lucius' novel, which will also become a tragedy, albeit with a very different type of ending.

Apuleius ties together the moment in which Charite's story shifts from novel to tragedy and the moment in which Lucius' does the same with a strong verbal echo. The slave of Charite's household, playing the tragic role of messenger, asks the group Lucius is with to "pay attention with their troubled minds" (*sollicitis animis intendite* 8.3) to the violence he is about to describe. When Isis appears in her tragic *ex machina* role, she commands Lucius to direct his troubled mind to her commands using the same words (*imperiis istis meis animum intende sollicitum* 11.3). The words of the goddess hearken back to those of the messenger and signal the similar nature of Lucius and Charite's endings. *Intendo* appears only three times in *Metamorphoses* and always as an imperative, the two instances just described and the prologue's famous exhortation to the reader: *lector, intende, laetaberis* (1.1). The novel's *lector* and the messenger's audience occupy parallel roles as the literary spectators of Charite and Lucius' respective tragedies, a realization the *lector* may only arrive at by following that initial instruction – *intende*.⁸² It is, then, the *optimus lector*, having observed the potential for a novel to morph into a tragedy presented by the Charite complex, that is able to respond to Lucius' own generic definition of his work at 10.2, "know that you are reading not a *fabula* but a tragedy," with appropriate attention and find its fulfillment in the arrival of

⁸² Hijmans (1985) p.8 notes the parallelism of *intendite* and *intende* in connection to the general theme of *voluptas*.

Isis *ex machina* in the final book, enjoying the ultimate metamorphosis of extended prose fiction into a novel kind of tragedy.

PETRONIUS AND THE NOVEL AT PLAY

The connection between Petronius' *Satyricon* and the genres of epic, romance, mime, Milesian Tale, and satire (Menippean or otherwise) is well-trodden territory. The fragmentary nature of the work and its sheer uniqueness in what remains of ancient literature make the *Satyricon* notoriously hard to pin down. What can be confidently said is that its author was familiar with a wide range of genres and employed them to various effect. Little studied, however, is the one genre which makes an appearance in the very title of the work –the satyr-play.¹

Neither “satyr” nor “satyr-play” merits an appearance in the index of Schmeling's recent commentary on the *Satyricon*.² Following Müller Schmeling suggests that the title is a pun on *satura* (Roman satire) and σάτυροι, which he translates as “sexual subjects.”³ Most recently, Hofmann suggests the title be rendered “Books of Randy Stories.”⁴ Others push a bit further and make the direct connection between Σατυρικῶν / *Satyricon libri* and “satyr-like things,” but take it only so far as to suggest that the behavior of Encolpius and his companions centers around sex and food in a way

¹ Manuscripts give *Satyricon*, *Satiricon*, and *satirarum liber* for the title of the work, with *satyricon* being not a neuter singular but a genitive plural dependent on *liber*, on the model of *Aethiopica* or *Ephesiaca*.

² Schmeling (2011) p.617 the *Index Rerum* skips directly from “salutations, greeting a freedman” to “Sayers, Dorothy.”

³ Schmeling (2011) p.xvii, cf. “lascivious behaviour” Walsh (1970) p.72.

⁴ Hofmann (2014) p.100.

that makes them satyr-like.⁵ Those that explicitly discuss “satyr-plays” do so briefly and then move on to more fruitful territory.⁶ Corbett pays greater attention than most to what “satyr-like” might mean for Petronius and his characters, and he mentions “satyric drama” as possible influence on the *Satyricon*.⁷ Nevertheless, in his following scene by scene analysis of the novel this “ingredient” has been omitted. Only rarely do ancient satyr-plays and their connection to the *Satyricon* become a topic of extended academic inquiry.⁸ And yet, in earlier centuries, readers of Petronius were quick to see the satyr and even the satyr-play in the *Satyricon*. Burnaby’s 1694 translation into English is titled *The Satyr of Titus Petronius Arbiter* and a copy of Marteau’s bilingual French translation of the same year, titled *La Satyre de Petrone*, included an illustration of a satyr unmasking two actors opposite the title page.⁹

Since the title of the work loudly poses the question, why the reluctance of more modern scholars to seek out the connections between the *Satyricon* and *satyricon dramata*?¹⁰ Satyr-drama, like the *Satyricon*, is almost always fragmentary, reconstructed, and

⁵ Perry (1925) p.33-4, Corbett (1970) p.30.

⁶ Holzberg (1986) p.64. Branham and Kinney (1996) p. xxii-xxiv nod briefly to the possibilities of “satyric” influences, particularly in reference to the Cyclops cave, but do not explore the notion further.

⁷ Corbett (1970) p.30-33.

⁸ The notable example being Ferri (1988). Griffith (2008) suggests the “middle brow” satyr-play with its romantic elements may have influenced the Greek novels but does not expand his discussion to the *Satyricon*.

⁹ Burnaby (1694), Marteau (1694).

¹⁰ Wiseman (1988) p.13 nods to a possible connection between satyr-plays and the *Satyricon*, but elaborates no further. “The young, urban, lovesick, shameless satyrs Horace objected to [in the *Ars Poetica*] sound rather like Encolpius and Giton in the picaresque novel Petronius entitled *Satyricon* (sic). The mixture of genres went on.”

problematic. Of the myriad satyr-plays produced in Athens' golden age of drama only one, Euripides' *Cyclops*, comes down to us intact.¹¹ Two others, Sophocles' *Ichneutae* and Aeschylus' *Dictyulcoi* survive in substantial fragments, but the rest, including those produced after the fifth-century, remain a partially reconstructed mystery. Satyr-plays in Rome are even more problematic. At worst, their existence is disavowed and at best their content is hypothetical.¹² A careful examination of the *Satyricon* in light of its satyric predecessors is, then, a highly speculative task, but one which will repay investigation.

Petronius' Satyr-Plays

Our understanding of satyr-plays is fraught with unknowns, and, aside from the complete *Cyclops*, illuminated only by fragments, ancient critics, and the archaeological and epigraphic records. Aristotle tells us that a form of satyric performance, though not necessarily satyr-play, gave rise to tragedy and tradition holds that Pratinas of Phlius was the inventor of the satyr-play.¹³ Chamaeleon explains that the satyr-play was

¹¹ Here and throughout I treat *Alcestis* as a tragedy, though it originally appeared fourth in the tetralogy, the space reserved for the satyr-play at the Dionysian festival. Its meter and diction are indistinguishable from tragedy (see López-Eire (2003)), and it lacks a chorus of satyrs. Parker (2007) p. xix-xxiv argues that the play would have been received as a tragedy by its original audience in 438 BCE.

¹² Wiseman (1988) p.1.

¹³ ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν ὁπὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη, τό τε μέτρον ἐκ τετραμέτρου ἰαμβεῖον ἐγένετο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποιήσιν, λέξεως δὲ γενομένης αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις τὸ οἰκεῖον μέτρον εὔρε· "After a period of slight plots and laughable diction, owing to development from a satiric ethos, it was at a late stage that tragedy acquired dignity, and its metre became the iambic trimeter instead of the trochaic tetrameter. To begin with they used the tetrameter because the poetry was satyric and more associated with dancing; but when spoken dialogue was

introduced as a regular part of Athens' City Dionysia to appease those who thought that the festival was growing to have "nothing to do with Dionysus."¹⁴ Whether produced as the fourth position play following three tragedies in a tetralogy during the heyday of Athenian drama or as a single play in later years, the satyr-play was a key component of Athens' great dramatic festival. The satyr-play is famously described by Demetrius as τραγωδία παίζουσα –tragedy at play.¹⁵ Drawing on mythological material as did the tragedies that accompanied them, the satyr-play typically offered a chorus of ithyphallic satyrs and their aged yet still frisky spokesman Silenus in tragedy-like settings and situations.

Fifth-century Athens did not, however, hold a monopoly on the Greek satyr-play. They were performed at festivals throughout Greece, and as Greek language and culture spread across and beyond the Mediterranean world the satyr-play tagged along. Python's *Agen*, labeled by Athenaeus a little satyr-play, σατυρικόν δραμάτιον, was performed for Alexander the Great while on campaign in India.¹⁶ As the scholars of antiquity began collecting and commenting on the works of the three great tragedians

introduced, tragedy's own nature discovered the appropriate metre" (*Poetics* 1449 19-23, trans. Halliwell),

Πρατίνας, Πυρρωνίδου ἢ Ἐγκωμίου, Φλιάσιος, ποιητὴς τραγωδίας· ἀντιγωνίζετο δὲ Αἰσχύλῳ τε καὶ Χοιρίλῳ ἐπὶ τῆς ο' Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ πρῶτος ἔγραψε Σατύρους. "Pratinas, Son of Pyrrhonides or Encomius, of Phlius, the tragedian. He competed against Aeschylus and Choerilus in the seventieth Olympiad and he was first to write satyr plays (*Suda* π2230)

¹⁴ οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνησον Fr. 38 Wehrli=Zenobius 5.40

¹⁵ *On Style* 169.

¹⁶ Athen. 2.50f, 13.586d, 13.59e. There are some indications that Alexander may himself have been the author or have performed in the production. See O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) p.448-9.

their satyr-plays came as part of the package. The *Cyclops* owes its continued existence to an alphabetized anthology of Euripides' works. A musical papyrus, dated to the 2nd century CE, attests to the genre's longevity as performed material,¹⁷ and satyr-plays were often quoted as examples beyond the time in which the *Satyricon* was written.¹⁸

Though the Romans certainly had access to Greek satyr-plays, evidence for Romans writing their own satyr-plays is faint, leading some to conclude that Roman satyr-play did not exist at all.¹⁹ And yet, in the midst of his *Ars Poetica*, Horace imagines himself as a writer of satyr-play, "As a writer of satyr-plays, Pisos, I won't favor only plain and boring nouns and verbs (*non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum verbaque, Pisones, satyrorum scriptor amabo AP 234-5*). Wiseman aptly questions this disconnect, "Could it be that the moderns are simply wrong, and that satyr-play was, after all, a living genre on the Roman stage?"²⁰ There is some evidence to suggest that the Romans were producers of satyr-plays. Livy describes plotless, choreographed songs of a potentially phallic nature (*Fescennino versu*, if it is derived from *fascinum* and not

¹⁷ Pap.Oxy.2436 (Pöhlmann and West No.38, 120-3)

¹⁸ Questions of the dating and authorship of the *Satyricon* are beyond the argument of this chapter. See Schmeling (2011) p.xxii-xvii for a concise summary of the arguments for and against a Neronian date and the very compelling recent article by Roth (2016), which argues that Petronius must have known Pliny 10.104. I have been swayed and now believe the *Satyricon* must have been written sometime after 115 CE.

¹⁹ Cicero confirms that his brother took part in a reproduction of Sophocles' *Sundaepnoi* (QF 11, 16.3). cf. Wiseman (1988) p.9-10. See Seaford (1988) p.29-30 for the absence of Roman satyr-play.

²⁰ Wiseman (1988) p.2.

Fescennia) called *saturae* performed in early Rome (7.2).²¹ Ancient sources tell us that Sulla produced satyric (σατυρικός) comedies in his native language and Pomponius wrote *satyrica*.²² Titles with Greek satyr-play predecessors (*Atalanta*, *Sisyphus*, *Ariadne*) are given for Sulla's plays, and several of Pomponius' known works (*Agamemno suppositus*, *Armorum iudicium*, *Pytho Gorgonius*, *Marsyas*, and *Satura*) seem to lend themselves well to satyr-plays.²³ The archeological, historical, and linguistic records of Rome are replete with knowledge of satyrs and the plots of Greek satyr-plays.²⁴ As Wiseman puts it succinctly: "In Horace's lifetime...as in practically every generation of Roman history, the conditions necessary to satyric drama were part of the experience of Roman citizens from the top to the bottom of the social scale."²⁵ Certainly, this is also true in the time of Petronius.

In tracing the development of satyr-drama from its fifth century form to its hypothetical existence in Augustan Rome, Wiseman offers several pieces of evidence that connect satyr-drama particularly to mime: the decoration on a calyx crater which may depict a scene from Achaëus' satyr-play *Hephaestus*, in which a young satyr boy is labeled "Mimos,"²⁶ the examples of later Greek satyr-plays which are known to be

²¹ Teja (2002) argues against discounting Livy's description of *saturae* as an attempt to mirror the development of Roman theater with the development of Greek theater as described by Aristotle. Instead she sees the continuation of this genre within the cantina of extant Roman comedies.

²² Nicolaus of Damascus FGrH 90 F75 (Athen. VI, 261c), Porphyry on AP 221.

²³ Wiseman (1988) p.2-3.

²⁴ Wiseman (1988) p.3-8.

²⁵ Wiseman (1988) p.8.

²⁶ Wiseman (1988) p.8, see Simon (1982) p.19, pl. 8.

topical and satirical in nature as mime was, Vergil's blending of satyr and mime in the *Eclogues*, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description of *satyristai* taking a role usually performed by *mimi* in a funeral procession (*Antiquitates Romanae* VII 72).²⁷ Wiseman suggests that Roman satyr-drama did exist, likely in "contaminated forms" like "satyric comedy (as written by Sulla)" and "satyric mime," a notion that is intriguing, especially when one considers the light it may shed on the *Satyrica*.²⁸

That Petronius' *Satyrica* has a demonstrable relationship to theatrical productions, perhaps most notably mime, is well established and has been noticed since antiquity.²⁹ Theatrical elements are scattered throughout what remains of the novel. Quartilla stages a lascivious mock wedding that is filled with stagey laughter (*mimico risu* 19.1), Trimalchio orchestrates a lavishly performative banquet easily confused with a stage show (31.7), Giton mimics his own castration with a stage prop (108.11), Encolpius and his friends sets the scene for their grand ruse at Croton (117.2), and the list continues. Panayotakis has meticulously documented the many instances of theatricality in the *Satyrica* with a particular focus on how these moments evoke the mimic and comic traditions. He rightly emphasizes that "mime, or, more generally, the Roman stage, functioned as a formative genre of the *Satyrica*," and concludes that "there

²⁷ Wiseman(1988) p.9-10

²⁸ Wiseman (1988) p.10.

²⁹ See Panayotakis (1995) p.xxff.

is a strong case to argue for an intense connection between the content of the comic and mimic plays and the content of the Petronian narrative.”³⁰

Sex and the Satyr

The often overtly sexual nature of the satyr is literally the stuff of legend. Both named (Silenus, Marsyas, etc.) and unnamed satyrs fill mythology and the visual record with their mostly unsuccessful exploits.³¹ The lechery of the satyrs depicted on pottery is indiscriminate; they are as interested in a pretty boy as a pretty girl, and animals, fellow satyrs, or even wine jugs will do in a pinch.³² O’Sullivan and Collard identify twenty-five satyr-plays which likely contained a sexual motif.³³ As in the case of their visual representation, the sexual urges of satyrs and Silenus in satyr-plays is far from discriminating. The satyrs’ lechery is often in vain, as their attempts at sexual interaction are thwarted to humorous effect.³⁴

The overtly sexual characteristics of the satyrs are equally matched by the *Satyricon’s* presentation of sexuality. From Encolpius’ entrance into a brothel (7) to Eumolpus riding his slave and a young girl like a see-saw (140), the sexual escapades of

³⁰ Panayotakis (1995) p.192, 195.

³¹ O’Sullivan and Collard (2013) p.14-15 list several examples ancient art in which satyrs are easily fended off by maenads, though satyrs often imagine raping women in satyr-plays they never seem to complete the act, and in the *Cyclops* it is Silenus who is brutalized.

³² Lissarrague (2013) p.73-96, “Frequently on vases satyrs will combine drink and sex and will penetrate amphorae or drink from wine sacks as if performing fellatio, or in their exuberance balance cups on their erect phalluses” O’Sullivan and Collard (2013) p. 17.

³³ O’Sullivan and Collard (2013) p.511.

³⁴ O’Sullivan and Collard (2013) p. 15.

the characters fill the pages of the novel. Encolpius has sexual contact or indicates past sexual contact with at least eleven other characters in what remains of the *Satyricon*; many more certainly could be counted in the full novel.³⁵ Though the sheer number of Encolpius' sexual encounters is noteworthy, it is perhaps his inability to fully experience those encounters that is most memorable. Encolpius is plagued by impotence, rendering him an equally frustrated satyr. Even Encolpius' name, derived from the Greek "in the lap" and aptly rendered in English by Branham and Kinney as McGroin and by Jensson as Mr. Incrotch, has overtly sexual connotations.³⁶ Like his satyr-predecessors whose names reflect their preoccupation with wine, music, dance, and sex, Encolpius's name evokes his preoccupation with what is in his lap, or perhaps, his preoccupation with what is not.³⁷

Silenus

Silenus, a fatherly satyr figure, appears in all known classical satyr-plays.³⁸ Silenus is both one of the satyrs, finding himself equally a part of whatever predicament they are in, and also a distinct character. Throughout the fragments of the *Satyricon* Encolpius and his comrades are often accompanied by a Silenus-like figure. In the first

³⁵ Giton (9.2), Ascyltos (9.10), assorted individuals in Quartilla's household (20.2, 23.5, 25.7), Tryphaena (113.8), Circe (127.10), Doris (126.18), Oenothea (135.2), Proselenus (138.3), Philomela's son (140.11), and Eumolpus (140.13).

³⁶ Branham and Kinney (1996) p.101, Jensson (2004) p.82.

³⁷ See Lissarrangue (2013) p.40ff. for the names of satyrs and their relationship to satyr-like activities. e.g. *Oinobios* "I live for wine," *Eraton* "Lover," and *Dophios* "Masterbator"

³⁸ Sutton (1980) p.139.

few chapters of the novel Encolpius is entranced to the point of distraction by his debate with the older man Agamemnon (6.1), whose leadership seems to guide Encolpius and his friends into their next adventure. It is Agamemnon's slave who introduces Trimalchio's eccentricities to the reader (26.9) and Agamemnon accompanies Encolpius, Ascyltos, and Giton to the banquet (28.6). Agamemnon is already acquainted with Trimalchio, and it is presumably through his auspices that Encolpius and the others have been invited to the banquet (10.2). He helps Encolpius understand some of its eccentricities in their appropriate context (65.5), and when the young men depart in haste they must first say goodbye to him (78.8). Just as Silenus works on behalf of the satyrs and is their leader, Agamemnon serves in part to guide the young men to the banquet.

After Agamemnon the rhetor has faded from view Eumolpus the poet takes his place as an even more convincing Silenus. Encolpius first encounters Eumolpus in an art gallery, surrounded by mythological images that cause him to dwell on his own failed romance. Eumolpus is immediately characterized as old and grey (*senex canus*) and though he cannot be sure why, Encolpius feels that this man holds great promise (83.7). This portrait is consistent with Silenus, who is an elderly satyr with mental capacities that exceed those of his compatriots. Sutton describes the Silenus presented in satyr-plays:

"He seems to share always in [the satyrs'] situation and fate and he is given many of the same character-traits, such as greed for wine, food, and women, and in *Ichneutae* alternating bravado and cowardice. In this sense he is no more than an elderly satyr.

The most marked difference between him and the satyrs is that he seems a good deal cleverer, in a debased way. In several satyr plays we can observe him striving to strike various kinds of business deals with other characters, generally with the object of turning the present situation to his own immediate advantage...[He] is never above trying to turn someone else's predicament to his own profit."³⁹

Eumolpus almost immediately proves that he and Encolpius are cut from the same cloth with a story about his exploits in Pergamum (85-7). Eumolpus is as sexually interested in young boys as Encolpius, and he uses his intellect in pursuit of his sexual gratification (cf. his pursuit of Giton 92-4), fitting attributes both for a satyr and Silenus.

After he joins Encolpius and Giton in a more permanent capacity, Eumolpus becomes the spokesman and defender of the group. Just as the satyrs call Silenus their πατήρ (*Cyclops* 84, 272, etc.), Encolpius and Giton refer to Eumolpus as *pater* (98.8, 100.5). He is not only their elder, but also their stated leader (*dux* 109.1), who strives for their safety in dangerous situations, "as for what pertains to my gang, I refuse no danger which offers a hope of safety" (*nam quod ad meum quidem comitatum attinet, nullum recuso periculum quod salutis spem ostendit* 102.6) and their creature comforts in happier times (125). When the innkeeper provokes them, Eumolpus responds with violence in defense of his friends (95.4-5), but his loyalty is always first and foremost to himself; only moments later he betrays Encolpius and Giton to Ascyltos for a cash reward (98.2). Eumolpus' self-centered nature quickly leads him back to the company of Encolpius and

³⁹ Sutton (1980) p.139.

Giton when his need for medical attention and the company of an attractive young man on his impending journey prove more advantageous than continuing on alone (98-9).

The shifting loyalties of the poet echo those of Silenus, whose egocentric attitudes place him alternately in and out of league with both the satyr chorus and other characters in satyr-plays. Euripides' *Cyclops* provides the clearest example of Silenus' slippery character.⁴⁰ When Odysseus arrives on the island of the Cyclops, Silenus befriends him and barter Polyphemus' possessions for wine otherwise unavailable (131-140), betraying his master in the process "I'll do it! I don't care a bit about my master" (δράσω τάδ', ὀλίγον φροντίσας γε δεσποτῶν 163). But when the Cyclops arrives and sees his goods have been disturbed, Silenus claims he has been robbed by Odysseus and his men and injured while defending his master's things (229-40). After being questioned by the Cyclops he swears on the life of his satyr sons that he did not sell the food to Odysseus, betraying both his new friend and his family. "Master, I did not sell a single ounce of your stuff to these travelers. If I did may these sons of mine, whom I love dearly, perish horribly." (ὦ δεσποτίσκε, μὴ τὰ σ' ἐξοδᾶν ἐγὼ ξένοισι χρήματ'. ἢ κακῶς οὔτοι κακοὶ οἱ παῖδες ἀπόλοιθ', οὐς μάλιστ' ἐγὼ φιλῶ 267-9). The satyr chorus denies his claim and curses him in return, "If I'm lying may my father be destroyed" (εἰ δ' ἐγὼ ψευδῇ λέγω, ἀπόλοιθ' ὁ πατήρ μου 271-2). When Odysseus makes plans to escape with the satyr-chorus and Silenus (466-8) the elder satyr again realigns his

⁴⁰ Silenus' self-serving flip-flopping can also be seen in *Dictyulcoi* and *Ichneutae* and can be easily imagined in *Sciron* and *Omphale* as he bargains for his own freedom rather than that of the other satyrs or the hero, on the same model as in the *Cyclops*. Sutton (1980) p.139.

allegiances and works with Odysseus to inebriate the Cyclops (538-559), all the while becoming intoxicated himself (552-581). The satyr chorus or protagonist may also benefit from his schemes, but in the end Silenus is out for Silenus.

Odysseus' captivity and escape from Polyphemus' clutches is evoked five times in the extant portions of the *Satyricon* (48.7, 97.4, 98.5, 101.5, 101.7), more than any other single mythic episode. Why the attention to this particular story? The first time it appears twisted in the mouth of Trimalchio along with miscued myths and legends about Hercules and the Sybil (48.7).⁴¹ In this catalog-like instance, the erroneous description of the Cyclops pinching his fingers in tongs characterizes Trimalchio as a would-be intellectual. The myth is not the point –the mistake is. The remaining four instances, in two discreet moments, punctuate Eumolpus' changes of heart and point to his Silenus-like selfishness.

In the first cluster of references it is Encolpius who makes the direct comparison between the actions of Giton and those of Odysseus during his famous escape. With Ascyrtos in the building and on the hunt for Giton, Encolpius tells the boy to hide under the bed.

*imperavi Gitoni ut raptim grabatum subire annecteretque pedes et manus
institis quibus sponda culcitam ferebat, ac sic ut oim Ulixes †pro† arieti
adhaesisset, extentus infra grabatum scrutantium eluderet manus*

⁴¹ The text here is problematized by *porcinio*. Regardless of its solution, Trimalchio's recollection of it is far from what we see in Homer or elsewhere. This failed attempt at erudition is characteristic of much of Trimalchio's discourse.

I ordered Giton to duck underneath the bed and wrap his feet and hands in the straps with which the frame supported the mattress, and just as Ulysses had clung to the ram, spread out under the bed to escape the searching hands (97.4).

As Giton dangles underneath the bed, Eumolpus, who had been the champion of the group a mere two chapters earlier, bursts into the room and announces that he has betrayed his new friends for money (98.2). First their friend and now their enemy, Eumolpus takes his betrayal to the next level and fully reveals Giton's hiding place following an untimely sneeze, "Turning toward the motion, Eumolpus said *gesundheit* to Giton. When the mattress was removed he saw a Ulysses whom even a hungry Cyclops would have spared" (*ad quem motum Eumolpus conversus salvere Gitona iubet. remota etiam culcita videt Ulixem, cui vel esuriens Cyclops potuisset parcere* 98.5). Eumolpus has proven himself to be first a friend and then a foe to Giton and Encolpius, as Silenus was an untrustworthy ally of the captive Odysseus and his companions.

Eumolpus' need for tending and company and the younger men's need for guidance reconcile the trio, and they begin a journey arranged by Eumolpus (98-9). Soon after boarding a ship it becomes clear that the very man who has been chasing Encolpius and Giton since a lost portion of the novel is in charge of their voyage. It seems that Eumolpus has unwittingly betrayed his companions again, and he mockingly suggests they are frightened by a Cyclops, "Who is this Hannibal that sails with us? Lichas of Tarentum is the most reserved man and not only the master of this very ship, which he captains, but also of estates and slave-run businesses. He's bringing a contracted load to market. This is the Cyclops and pirate to whom we owe our voyage"

(*quis nobiscum Hannibal navigat? Lichas Tarentinus homo verecundissimus et not tantum huius navigii dominus quod regit, sed fundorum etiam aliquot et familiae negotiantis, onus deferendum ad mercatum conducit. hic est Cyclops ille et archipirata, cui vecturam debemus* 101.4-5). Moments later Eumolpus regains his collegiality, sees his companions' disaster as his own, and takes charge of their safety, "Pretend, he said, that we've gone into the Cyclops' cave. We must search for some way to escape" (*fingite, inquit, nos antrum Cyclopis intrasse. quaerendum est aliquod effugium* 101.7). Eumolpus' shifting loyalties from friend to foe and back to friend are marked for a second time by references to the Cyclops episode, offering the reader the opportunity to imagine him as a slippery Silenus figure, equally trapped and empowered in Euripides' play.

First in the inn and then here on the ship, Eumolpus is figured as the Silenus-like head of the threesome. It is Eumolpus who eventually devises what he thinks will be the means of salvation for the trapped men (103.1), makes attempts to salvage the plan and thinks quickly to save the others from a disastrous fate, first with a cleverly crafted lies (105.2) and later with an appeal to the law (108.3). Encolpius confirms Eumolpus' role, calling him the leader (*dux* 109.1) and the "legal representation in our trial and the author of the current peace" (*periclitantium advocatus et praesentis concordiae auctor* 110.6). The bargaining and scheming that Eumolpus has performed on behalf of his traveling companions is worthy of Silenus' efforts on behalf of the satyrs, and Eumolpus' drunken state of mind, *vino solutus*, is equally fitting his beastly counterpart (109.8).

After the trio washes ashore from the wreck of Lichas' ship, they wander toward Croton (116). Here again Eumolpus resumes his role, "therefore make me the master, if that sounds good" (*facite ergo me dominum, si negotiatio placet* 117.4), this time for the sake of lining the group's pocketbook. Eumolpus orchestrates and executes a scheme to prey on the legacy hunters. In what remains of the novel his plan appears to be quite successful at both addressing the group's creature comforts (125) and, Encolpius' inadequacies notwithstanding, sexual urges (126ff, 140). As the leader of his small group of gluttonous, sex-crazed companions Eumolpus works for their corporate safety and pleasure, filling the role of Silenus for this group of satyrs.⁴²

Slavery, "bad men," and the failure of *xenia*

One very typical situation in satyr-plays, including *Cyclops*, is the destruction of an ogre or "bad man"⁴³ and the resulting liberation of the satyrs from their captivity, servitude, or danger.⁴⁴ The first time this scenario appears in the extant portion of the novel is the escape of Encolpius and his friends from the overly long dinner party of Trimalchio. Trimalchio is not an ogre in the traditional sense, but his boorish nouveau-

⁴² Ferri (1988) reads the influence of Euripides' *Cylops* scene on the *Satyricon* more than that of Homer, particularly with respect to the mapping of the Odysseus/Cyclops role onto first Encolpius and Giton in the inn and then Lichas on the boat and in the ulterior motives of Silenus and Eumolpus p.315. Jensson (2004) p.233 briefly identifies Encolpius, Giton, and Corax as a "troupe of satyrs led by their Silenus (Eumolpus) who take up habitation in the cave of the Cyclopes (Crotoniates)," but does not develop the connection further than calling the episode "a narrative obeying in some sense the laws of a satyr-drama."

⁴³ Sutton (1980) p.145.

⁴⁴ Sutton (1980) p.147, Seaford (1988) p.33, O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) p.511.

riche antics pervade the dinner party and create an atmosphere seemingly fraught with danger. Slaves are threatened with a hundred lashes if they leave without permission (28.7) and expect harsh punishment for even the smallest infraction (30.7-11). Slavery is center-stage at Trimalchio's banquet. *Servus* and related words (*servio*, *servilis*, *servulum*, *servitia*) appear thirty-six times in the *Cena* and only eighteen in the rest of the surviving novel. It is the slaves who orchestrate, execute, and bear the brunt of Trimalchio's folly, all while keeping the wine flowing. Like a satyr-chorus, Trimalchio's household is enslaved to a capricious ogre, eagerly awaiting rescue from their captivity by means of his death (71.1-2). Though Encolpius, Ascyltos, and the other dinner guests are not technically Trimalchio's slaves, they are equally subject to his whims and eccentricities. When Encolpius and his friends attempt to leave they are thwarted by a watch-dog, a labyrinth, and a veritable whirl-pool.⁴⁵ Even the neighborhood surrounding Trimalchio's home confines the wine-soaked men, and it is only through the Ariadne-like intervention of Giton that they are fully freed (79.1-4). Like the slaves who must not leave without the master's permission (28.7), Encolpius and his friends are trapped by the servitude of Trimalchio's pleasure, subjected to the whims of a host who is not behaving as he should.

Sacred hospitality and its violation also seem to have been a frequent motif in satyr-plays.⁴⁶ Euripides' *Cyclops* concerns itself with just this issue as both Odysseus and

⁴⁵ For readings of these elements as part of a katabasis motif, see Bodel (1994).

⁴⁶ Seaford (1988) p.146-7, O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) p.510

Polyphemus transgress *xenia* with theft and cannibalism, and the same poet's *Busiris* may also have depicted the slaughter of strangers.⁴⁷ Aeschylus' *Circe* and *Leon* and Sophocles' *Helenes Gamos* also may have involved the breakdown or perversion of the guest-host relationship, whether through the detention of a guest, the serving of human flesh, or the abduction of the host's wife.⁴⁸ Violations of the guest-host relationship are not solely attributable to Trimalchio in the *Satyricon*. Encolpius and his friends often suffer ills in inns (16-26, 95-98), locations whose inhabitants are guests by virtue of their very presence. In portions of the novel that have since been lost, Encolpius was the transgressor. The details are vague, but it appears that Encolpius both stole from and killed his host, a man named Lycurgus (83, 117). Encolpius characterizes Lycurgus as cruel (83.6), and his death may also echo the destroyed ogre theme. Lycurgus' name is certainly evocative of Aeschylus' satyr-play by the same name, in which the satyrs were likely freed from servitude at the hands of Lycurgus.⁴⁹ Encolpius' lost dealings with Lichas and Tryphaena may also have broken the unwritten rules of conduct between guests and hosts with the seduction of spouses, as may have occurred in *Helenes Gamos*.⁵⁰ Encolpius certainly needs to be reminded at least once of proper host behavior by Giton, "Giton, the sweet boy, chided me for speaking that way and said that I hadn't acted

⁴⁷ O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) p.30 F312b-315

⁴⁸ Sutton (1980) p.146-7 also suggests that the theme of *xenia* may have figured prominently in Sophocles' *Inachus* and *Iambe* and Aeschylus' *Proteus*. O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) p.30-2 add Sosithus' *Daphnis* or *Lityerses* and Euripides' *Sciron*.

⁴⁹ Sommerstein (2008) p.126-7, O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) p.146. Lycurgus at 83.6 may not be the same Lycurgus at 117.3. See Schmeling (2011) p.353.

⁵⁰ Lloyd-Jones (1994) p.72-3.

rightly, when, forgetful of my duty, I railed at my elder and by my insults ruined the meal which I had elegantly arranged" (*sic me loquentem obiurgavit Giton, mitissimus puer, negavit recte facere, quod seniori conviciarer simulque oblitus officii mensam, quam humanitate posuissem, contumelia tollerem* 93.4).

Trimalchio is not the only "bad man" from whom Encolpius is liberated in the *Satyrical*. He and Giton, on the run from Lichas and Tryphaena since an earlier, lost portion of the novel find themselves trapped on the very boat captained by Lichas (100-114). Eumolpus' ribbing of Encolpius and Giton offers a reminder of the satyrs' escape from the Cyclops in both Aristias' and Euripides' satyr-plays, as described above (101.4-5). Aboard Lichas' ship, Encolpius and Giton find themselves equally endangered by such an ogre. As the men ponder ways in which they might escape Lichas' hold, Encolpius sarcastically eliminates his friend's suggestion while figuring their situation in terms of slavery "You see how much it would help us to call the master back to his runaways" (*vides quam valde nobis expediat ultro dominum ad fugientes accersere* 101.10). The threesome finally settles on an option that reifies the younger men's status as runaways, "We headed for the side of the ship in secret and offered our heads and eyebrows to the barber for a shave. Eumolpus filled both of our foreheads with giant letters, generously covering our whole faces with the recognizable marks of fugitive status" (*ad latus navigii furtim processimus capitaque cum superciliis denudanda tonsori praeuimus. implevit Eumolpu frontes utriusque ingentibus litteris et notum fugitivorum epigramma per totam faciem liberali manu duxit* 103.3-4). The men's slavish position is

echoed again by Tryphaena, “[she said] that we had earned a certain amount of abuse as runaway slaves” (*meruisse quidem contumaliam aliquam fugitivos* 105.11). Eumolpus presents the men as free-born (*liberos* 107.4) individuals who have fallen into servitude and deserve to be free again, and the men are, indeed, liberated from Lichas’ dominion by a shipwreck and Lichas’ death (115).

Though they have been freed by Lichas’ demise, Encolpius and Giton willingly resume the role of slaves when they reach Croton. In the grandest scheme of the novel, the three men concoct an elaborate plot that will allow them to defraud the legacy hunters of Croton (117-141), pretend to be slaves, assume new names, adopt coughs, and feign senility. Trickery, disguises and fraud are often plot elements in satyr-plays. *Cyclops* contains trickery, as does what remains of *Ichneutae*. “To cheat” is the only surviving word from *Iambe*.⁵¹ Such themes are also likely to have appeared in *Ostologoi*, *Proteus*, *Sisyphus Drapentes*, *Sphinx*, *Daedalus*, *Pandora*, *Aithon*, *Hephaestus*, *Atlas Satyricus* and *Phorcides*.⁵² Deception in all forms is present in most of the episodes of the *Satyricon* and fundamental to many. Encolpius and Ascyltos are duped into entering a brothel (7-8), the trio hide coins in the hem of a cloak which they lose and then regain by a trick (12-15), Trimalchio’s banquet is filled with things that are not what they appear (29, 32, etc.), Giton pretends to be a slave (26) and uses a trick razor to mimic self-injury (unintentionally at 94 and intentionally at 108). He willingly deceives Ascyltos by

⁵¹ Sutton (1980) p.149.

⁵² Sutton (1980) p.149-59.

hiding under the bed to escape the notice of the search party while Encolpius claims he has run away (97). Aboard Lichas' ship Eumolpus, Giton, and Encolpius propose many possible deceptions that will allow them to travel safely before settling on one that involves a disguise (102ff). Lost portions of the novel would likely have included similar themes. Trickery, fraud, deceit and disguise are standard parts of the existence of Encolpius and his friends as they are for the satyr chorus.

Epicizing the satyr: the survival crux

The impulse to read names, motifs, and episodes of the *Satyricon* in the context of epic is a natural result of the genre's relatively robust survival, and scholars are not wrong to consider epic a powerful influence on the structure and narrative of the novel; epic's impact is felt on most ancient literature. To consider elements of the *Satyricon* only in terms of epic, however, is to ignore the wider range of references available to its ancient readers. The frequent nods to the Cyclops story, discussed at length above, is a case in point. Near the moment when the men's misadventure aboard Lichas' ship is figured as entrapment by the Cyclops, Eumolpus suggests that the two younger men conceal themselves in his luggage, wrapped up with his clothes until he can safely transport them off the ship (102). Encolpius has his doubts, "You're about to tie us up like bricks who don't have stomachs to cause them problems? Or folks who don't sneeze or snore? Since this kind of trick went so well once before?" (*tamquam solidos alligaturus quibus non soleat venter iniuriam facere? an tamquam eos qui sternutare non*

soleamus nec stertere? an quia hoc genus furti semel [mea] feliciter cessit 102.10). Rendering *mea* is slightly problematic. Various editors have offered *mihi*, *antea*, *Menelao*, and complete deletion as solutions.⁵³ Jahn, the originator of the *Menelao* conjecture probably had in mind the Odyssean occurrence of the story; others certainly do when interpreting his conjecture.⁵⁴ Washed ashore in Egypt, at the advice of Eidothea, Menelaus conceals himself in seal skins to lay in wait for Proteus, who will reveal to him the way home to Sparta (*Odyssey* 4.351ff). This is no surprise, given prominence of epic themes in the *Satyricon* and the treatment Menelaus' adventure receives in the *Odyssey*. Taken in terms of epic, "Since this worked so well for Menelaus before," *Menelao* is inconsistent with Encolpius' sarcastic retort. In the epic, Menelaus did succeed in hiding from Proteus. There remains, however, another potential reference point.

Proteus was the satyr-play written to accompany the *Oresteia*, and though we have only one rather uninformative fragment from it, it is reasonable to think that Aeschylus centered his story on the episode of the *Odyssey* described above. A shipwrecked Menelaus who meets shipwrecked or otherwise stranded satyrs, helping him find his way home in exchange for wine, women, or their own freedom from slavery would be consistent with known satyr-play motifs. Homer notes the particularly negative odors involved in hiding among seals and inside seal carcasses (4.441-6); would not satyrs and their rank odors be ripe material for a satyr-play version

⁵³ Bonfanti (1988) p.57-8 gives a thorough summary.

⁵⁴ Bonfanti (1988) p.58-61.

of this myth? Encolpius' gastroenterological objections to Eumolpus' plan are entirely in keeping with the mood of a satyr-play, and it is easy to imagine a scenario in which satyrs, hiding with Menelaus in place of his men are discovered because of their flatulence. Perhaps in the satyr-play Menelaus received the tip about hiding in seals from Silenus instead of Eidothea, just as Eumolpus as a Silenus-figure suggests wrapping the men in leather bags?

There are other satyr-plays whose titles are evoked in the extant portions of the *Satyricon* and the very little we know of the lost pieces. If both the novel and the plays were more intact, what influence in the *Satyricon* might we be able to see of Aeschylus' *Circe* or *Lycurgus*? Both share names with major characters in Encolpius' story. Might the potential unmaning of Odysseus at the hands of Circe –certainly a humorous satyr-play possibility (cf. *Odyssey* 10.300-301) --help us better understand Encolpius' impotence in the face of his Circe? Others are less obvious, but tempting nonetheless. Might Sophocles' *Sundepnoi* have influenced the *Cena*? Is Giton's clever Ariadne-like trick for exiting Trimalchio's labyrinth evocative of Pomponius' *Ariadne* (79)? Is Giton, the ever-pursued lover, an echo of Achilles in *The Lovers of Achilles*? *Helenes Gamos* may have provided material for the contest over Giton (80) or the mock weddings of Quartilla's companions (25-6). *Autolycus*' thievery and particular talent for convincing the victims that they were receiving back their own property when they were not may have been the inspiration for the episode surrounding the cloak (12-15).⁵⁵ Tricky

⁵⁵ Collard and Cropp (2013) p.283.

pandering in *Scion* could have inspired the brothel scene (7-8). The fragmentary nature of both the *Satyricon* and the satyr-plays make these suggestions at best conjectures, but the possibilities are intriguing nonetheless.

The Potential of Parody

Heinze's overall thesis that the *Satyricon* is a parody of the genre to which the Greek novels belong, though long since qualified and further nuanced by successive generations of scholars, has made a lasting impact on the way that the *Satyricon* is read.⁵⁶ While Heinze's argument as a whole makes little difference for our purpose here, one of his ancillary points does bear further consideration in this context. He notes that the *Satyricon* and novels depart from each other in their seriousness. The difference, Heinze writes, is similar to the difference between tragedies and satyr plays.⁵⁷ For Heinze, the *Satyricon* is less serious than the Greek novels because it is a parody of their genre's typical plots and structures the way a satyr-play parodies the material of a tragedy. There may, however, be an alternate or even complementary explanations.

The Greek novels draw heavily on themes, plots, and character types from tragedy. Petronius' work may be engaging with the genre of satyr-play in a similar way.

⁵⁶ Heinze (1899).

⁵⁷ Heinze (1899) p.503 "Nimmt man den Unterschied der Lebenssphären hinzu, in denen sich die abspielen, so könnte man vielleicht sagen die beiden Gattungen der erzählenden Dichtung stehen einander gegenüber wie im Drama komödie oder Atellane und Tragödie. Aher der Wahrheit näher käme vielleicht ein anderer Vergleich: der zwischen Tragödie und Satyrdrama, oder zwischen Tragödie und tragischer Parodie."

Consequently, the lack of seriousness in Petronius' narrative could be inherited, at least in part, from its satyr-play antecedents, creating a complex relationship in which the *Satyricon* appears to be parodying the novel because it draws on a genre which parodies the material from which the novel draws. To return to Heinze's general premise, if we consider a Greek novel as a type of dramatic performance akin to a tragedy, which there is at least some evidence that Chariton and Heliodorus did, a parody of such a novel might likewise be evocative of a satyr-play.⁵⁸ At the conclusion of his extensive treatment of the theatrical elements of the *Satyricon* Panayotakis, quoting Walsh, wonders whether it is not the case that "the *Satyricon* as amusing farce was written as a deliberate successor to Seneca's worthy Stoic plays."⁵⁹ What genre more appropriately describes the farcical successor to a serious tragedy than satyr-play? Considering the evolutionary connection between satyr-plays and mimes and the numerous motifs from known Greek satyr-plays identifiable in the *Satyricon*, satyr-drama as a model for Petronius' *Satyricon* becomes not only possible but plausible.

Drawing conclusions about the connections between a fragmentary work and a fragmentary and all but lost genre is fraught with unknowns, and no firm conclusion can be reached. What I hope to have shown, however, is that satyr-play in either its Greek or Roman incarnation seems to have been a genre upon which Petronius readily

⁵⁸ See the preceding chapters in this dissertation for discussions of Heliodorus and Chariton's relationship to tragedy.

⁵⁹ Walsh (1974) p.190, Panayotakis (1995) p.196. Walsh and Panayotakis both believe Petronius to be of Neronian date and to be reacting in closer to real-time to Senecan tragedy, but one need not assume an immediate response.

drew. If we had more of either, the picture of a novel at play would likely emerge in a much clearer form.

CONCLUSION

The ways in which the ancient novelists interacted with their tragic predecessors are as diverse as the novels themselves. At the most basic level, the novelists may take a line directly from a tragedy and insert it into their narrative in order to introduce a vignette of a particularly tragic nature, as when Heliodorus has Knemon quote the *Medea*.¹ They may adapt a line or lines from a play, as when Callirhoe thinking about her son's future echoes a sentiment found in Sophocles' *Ajax*.² Entire episodes from a novel may also be peppered with tragically allusive language, as in the tale of Apuleius' Phaedraesque wicked stepmother.³

Novelists also use scenarios reminiscent of theatrical production and terminology evocative of stagecraft in their narratives, creating dramatic productions with and within their prose. Petronius' gaggle of reprobates use stage props in their escapades, Chariton's hero recounts his adventures in the theatre of Syracuse as if it were a tragedy, Heliodorus' characters appear miraculously as if by the *mechane* or *ekkylemma* on more than one occasion, and Apuleius figures Isis' surprise arrival as a *deus ex machina*. Though the novels are not crafted in verse, Aristotle's theories on tragedy set forward in the *Poetics* inform the way they are shaped by their authors.

¹ *Medea* 1317 at *Aethiopica* 1.8.7

² *Ajax* 550 at *Chaereas and Callirhoe* 3.8.8

³ 10.2-12, Finklepearl (1998) p.164ff.

Chariton casts part of his novel as a *katharsion* for the earlier portions of the work, Apuleius describes an internal audience's pity and fear after listening to a messenger's speech relating the disastrous end of a young woman, and Heliodorus constructs a recognition scene employing all three Aristotelian modes.⁴ The novelists' turn toward theoretical ways of understanding the tragedy and use of stage elements in places where they would not otherwise belong points to a self-conscious alignment of their work with the traditions of the tragic stage.

Entire plots and characters are lifted from the stage, reshaped, and repurposed in the novels. Chariton interweaves the plots of *Helen* and *Alcestis* in *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Heliodorus draws on *Hippolytus*, *Ion*, both of Euripides' Iphigenia plays, and the Theban plays of all the tragedians in the *Aethiopica*.⁵ Apuleius, too, uses a Hippolytus tragedy as the framework for one of his many inset tales in the *Metamorphoses* while also drawing on *Ion*, *Antigone*, and others. We can, perhaps, also catch glimpses of satyr-plays, tragedy's similar yet distinct cousin, functioning in similar ways in the *Satyrica*, though the picture is much less certain. While the range of plays from which novelists draw is extensive, and no doubt goes even beyond what survival allows us to see, a clear pattern emerges. It is the plays of Euripides, particularly those in which the Aristotelian reversal arc trends from negative to positive and closure is achieved through a *deus ex machina*, to which the novelists return most frequently. These tragedies tend to be those

⁴ *Aethiopica* 10.12-14, Leferatou (21013) p.210-11

⁵ Achilles Tatius was not a focus of this dissertation, but he also draws on Iphigenia plays. See Mignona (1997).

that incorporate exotic locations, presumed death, and romantic encounters –the stuff of which the novel is also made. These plays were, then, of particular interest to the novelists as they oriented their creations within the context of preexisting literature though working in a relatively new genre.

In 1926 T.W. Lumb read a paper for the Classical Association of Great Britain and suggesting that “[r]omance seems to have attempted a kind of prose drama.”⁶ Some of Lumb’s underlying assumptions about the novels in that paper have certainly become outdated, the notion, for example, that Achilles Tatius is later than both Chariton and Heliodorus,⁷ but his observation that the novels are deeply engaged with a sense of drama remains true. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, this premise can be expanded beyond the Greek romances to the Latin novels as well. The novelists, Greek and Latin alike, drew extensively on tragedy and ancient traditions surrounding it when creating their own works, bringing the genre to the center of the stage while also transforming it.

⁶ Lumb (1926) p.12-13.

⁷ Lumb (1926) p.12.

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