ABSTRACT.

A Commentary on the Ninth and Tenth Books of the Aithiopica of Heliodoros.

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This commentary attempts to combine the functions of a traditional textual and linguistic study with those of literary criticism. It deals with the many passages in the last two books of the Aithiopica where the text is in doubt or its meaning obscure, and discusses a variety of stylistic points, presenting parallels for many of Heliodoros' peculiar usages. It adduces comparative material to relate Heliodoros' geographical, anthropological and historical setting both to reality and to the beliefs and practices of the ancient world. It also offers the reader of Heliodoros a running commentary on larger issues of narrative technique, characterisation, structure and overall interpretation, showing how Bks.9 & 10 form the climax of the novel; these elements together form a judgement on Heliodoros' stature as a writer and his success as a novelist.

The Introduction offers a connected treatment of four important themes: Section 1 discusses the dating of the Aithiopica and argues that it must have been written after Shapur's siege of Nisibis in AD 350, but that Heliodoros was not drawing on Julian's account of the siege; the possibility of a shared source is suggested; Section 2 discusses the religious background of the novel and rejects the religious interpretation, arguing that the many references to the supernatural do not shew a consistent view of divine intervention in human affairs and derive from a purely literary desire for unity and forward movement; Section 3 analyses Heliodoros' attempt to achieve realism and classifies the devices he uses; Section 4 discusses the author's prose style and isolates some characteristic features.

A

COMMENTARY ON THE

NINTH AND TENTH BOOKS

OF THE

AITHIOPICA

OF

HELIODOROS

By

J.R.MORGAN

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PREFACE.

I must discharge two duties at the outset: those of apology and thanks.

Apologies are owed to the reader for the length of this commentary, which might appear excessive. My excuse is that I have made it as short as I could, but the last two books of the Aithiopica seem to me to pose many questions to which a commentator ought at least to offer answers. They also hang together as the climax of the novel, and as so many themes run through them both I did not think it sensible to treat them separately.

Thanks are due to my supervisors, Mr.M.D.Reeve and Mrs.S.R.West, who saved me from many errors of fact and judgement. The faults that remain are entirely of my own perpetration. The largest debt of gratitude, however, is owed to my wife, without whose understanding and moral support I should have despaired of ever finishing this commentary. To her the following pages, such as they are, are dedicated.

INTRODUCTION.

1. The Siege of Syene and the Dating of the Aithiopica.

We have very little evidence from the ancient world on the life of Heliodoros. In a note appended to the Aithiopica (10.41.4), the author tells us that he was a Phoenician from Emesa, his family was ἐξ Ἡλίου γένους, whatever that may mean, and his father's name was Theodosios. There are no good reasons for doubting the authenticity of this sentence, and strong stylistic grounds for attributing it to Heliodoros; see my notes on 10.41.4 for a fuller discussion of the points it raises.

Our most valuable testimony comes from the church historian Socrates Scholasticos, writing in the fifth century. In a section discussing how the customs of the church vary from region to region (Hist.Eccl.5.22 = PG.67.637), he talks of the custom in Thessaly whereby a man was compelled to put away his wife on becoming a priest. This practice was introduced by Heliodoros, bishop of Tricca, οὗ λέγεται πονήματα ἐρωτικὰ βιβλία, ἃ νέος ὢν ἔτυχε καὶ Αἰθιοπικὰ προσηγόρευσε. Socrates' work covers the years 306-439, but the context is of such a kind that it is not necessary to place Heliodoros, bishop of Tricca, within that period.

The testimony of Byzantine writers is of little value, since they clearly had no more evidence than we have. Thus the anecdote recounted by Nicephoros Callistos (Hist.Eccl. 12.34 = PG.146.860) that Heliodoros lost his bishopric because he refused to disown the Aithiopica is simply an

imaginative elaboration of Socrates: the first few sentences are an almost exact quotation from Socrates. The notice added in a 14th.-century hand to a manuscriot in the Vatican (Vaticanus 157), dating Heliodoros to the reign of Theodosios, is attributed to Georgios Cedrenos (see Colonna Test.XIV). This is, in fact, a misattribution and the information is derived from the eleventh-century historian Theodosios Melitenos, as was later discovered by Colonna (Athenaeum NS 28, 1950, p.86-7). But again it is extremely unlikely that the source has any independent value: the coincidence of names stretches credulity too far and it is clear that the wretched historian has confused Heliodoros' father Theodosios with the emperor.

Nevertheless, the fourth-century dating was accepted without question by early scholars, as was the identification with the bishop of Tricca. Corays went as far as to trace Christian elements in the Aithiopica, but this is extremely unconvincing. Even accepting Socrates' evidence, there is no need to suppose that Heliodoros was a Christian when he wrote the Aithiopica.

Doubt was first cast on the fourth-century dating by Rohde. He dismissed Socrates' evidence as uncertain (on the grounds of the λέγεται) and claimed to have found elements in the Aithiopica linking that work with the spirit of Philostratos' Life of Apollonios of Tyana rather than with the aggressive paganism of fourth-century writers like Julian. Rohde concluded

by dating the Aithiopica in the third century, during the reign of Aurelian, at a time when the cult of the Emesan sun god was at its height. Rohde's arguments were adopted and modified by Rattenbury and Lumb, who accept the link with Emesa but opt for the reigns of Elagabalus and Alexander Severus; Altheim provided historical arguments for this dating based on the description of the cataphracts in 9.15, but they are not convincing. (See my notes on 9.15.6)

Clearly our assessment of the passage in Socrates is crucial to the question, and although they bring us no nearer to an objective solution the following observations should be made. Firstly, it is not unlikely that a pagan writer was 'Christianised' by later tradition. The case of Achilles Tatius is strikingly parallel, and it is probably due to the reputation of these two novelists as Christian bishops that they have survived in such quantity. It is impossible to believe in Achilles as a bishop, since his work is characterised by a flippant licentiousness not found in any other extant romance. Yet not only is Achilles described as Χριστιανὸς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος (Suda sv. Ἀχιλλεὺς Στάτιος [sic]), but his hero and heroine appear as the parents of St.Galaction in the legend of St.Galaction and St.Episteme (= PG 116.93ff.). I do not, incidentally, see any reference to Heliodoros in the fact that they appear as natives of Emesa; by the time that the legend acquired the form in which it has been transmitted, the town had become a centre of Christianity

and so a natural choice of background. For the process by which a pagan writer acquired a Christian reputation, see H.Gärtner: Charikleia in Byzanz; Antike und Abendland 15 (1969) p.47ff., and also H.Dörrie: Die griechischen Romane und das Christentum; Philologus 93 (1938-9) p.273ff.

Against this possibility we must balance the trustworthiness of Socrates: part of his testimony at least is beyond question. He was himself a member of the Thessalian clergy (Hist.Eccl. 5.22.77) and came under the rule introduced by Heliodoros; as an historian he strove for impartiality and accuracy, and was largely successful (see Eltester in RE sv. Sokrates Scholasticus). It may be because he was uncertain of the identification of the novelist with the bishop that he qualifies his statement with λέγεται. However, we must remember that Socrates was more interested in church history than in pagan fiction, and the form of his statement may be intended rather to give the impression of ignorance on a subject where knowledge was thought to be undesirable. The issue is finely balanced; I have sought in vain for inscriptional evidence that might help us to place this celibate bishop.

It does not seem feasible to postulate a dating on historical grounds. The custom of celibacy remained voluntary in the eastern church, and it is as an exceptional instance that Socrates records Heliodoros. He gives no clue as to how long the rule had been in operation. Asceticism flourished

in the east but remained unenforced; even at the Second General Council held at Constantinople in 331, only four years before the decretals of Siricius enforced clerical celibacy in the west, the question was not even discussed. Because Heliodoros is so atypical of his area, he is impossible to place in a trend; compare H.C.Lea: History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church, 4th. edition, p.61ff. The identification of the novelist with the bishop remains attractive because of the stress laid on chastity in the novel, but we should remember that the climax of the Aithiopica is the marriage of Theagenes and Charicleia. (For a further example of the novelist's ambivalence towards the female sex, see my notes on 10.4.4.)

In 1941 M.H.A.L.H.van der Valk introduced new arguments for a fourth-century dating of the Aithiopica (Remarques sur la date des Éthiopiques d'Héliodore; Mnemosyne 3rd. series 9 (1941) p.97ff.). He saw close verbal resemblances between Heliodoros and fourth-century writers. The first of these was the description of the cataphracts in 9.15, and this has proved unproductive since most of the features singled out by van der Valk belong in fact to a rhetorical topos which is found in a large number of authors. For this compare my notes on 9.15.5. The second of van der Valk's points concerned the similarity between the siege of Syene in the Aithiopica and Julian's descriptions of the third siege of Nisibis in 350. Van der Valk did not state his case conclusively enough, and Weinreich, in a postscript to

R.Keymer's German translation of the Aithiopica (Zurich, 1950), was able to argue that Julian was copying from Heliodoros, not vice versa, using Julian's strictures on fiction to show that he was acquainted with the form (Ep.89.301b.). In 1950 the case for a fourth-century dating was restated by Colonna (Athenaeum NS 28 (1950) p.79ff.). Stated briefly Colonna's thesis was that the resemblances are strong enough to show the dependence of either Heliodoros or Julian; since Julian's account can be shown to represent accurately what happened at Nisibis, it is impossible that he is using a novelist as a model, and therefore it must be Heliodoros who was copying. If Colonna's argument is valid, it is a conclusive demonstration of a fourth-century dating. We must therefore make a close examination of it.

There exist two versions of the siege of Nisibis:

a) Julian says that the river Mygdonios was diverted into a trench around the town, in an attempt to starve it into submission, and that siege engines mounted on ships were brought to bear on the walls.

b) A version first found in Theodoretos Hist.Eccl.2.30 (= PG 82.1076ff.) and, with some variation, in the same writer's life of St.James of Nisibis (= PG 82.1294ff.), and later, with a surplus of detail, in Zonaras 13.7ff. According to this, Shapur at first tried to force the city into submission by cutting off its water supply, but when, owing to the abundance of fresh springs within the town,

this plan failed, he broke the dam holding back the river and loosed the water against the walls like a sort of battering-ram, succeeding in breaking down a part of the wall. But his delays in following up this success enabled the inhabitants to rebuild the wall, until Shapur was forced to withdraw by unrest in the interior of his kingdom.

Colonna argued that Julian's version is supported by the poems of St.Ephraim of Nisibis, who had been an eyewitness of the siege. Although the poems are full of allegory and mystical symbolism, it is quite clear that Ephraim had experienced a situation in which Nisibis was surrounded by water for some length of time. Colonna also claimed to have found support for Julian's version in the Chronicon Paschale (CSHB.10.536-7), the author of which had apparently seen a letter written by the bishop of Nisibis at the time of the siege. However, in my view, the account of the Chronicon Paschale is not sufficiently detailed for us to make a sensible judgement as to which branch of the historical tradition it belongs to. Other literary sources (e.g. Liban.Or.18.208, Philostorg.Hist. Eccl.3.23, Theophanes CSHB.43.58-9) are likewise too sketchy to give conclusive support to either version.

Thus Colonna's argument depends on his interpretation of the poems of Ephraim, and it has recently been assailed at precisely this point by T.Szepessy (Die "Neudatierung" des Heliodoros und die Belagerung von Nisibis). Szepessy

argues that passages in Ephraim, interpreted by Colonna as references to Shapur's surrounding bank of earth, cannot in fact be so; Colonna was in part misled by Bickell's Latin translation of Ephraim. Once Julian's account is stripped of the support of Ephraim's eyewitness evidence, there is nothing to stop us giving credence to the alternative tradition, which is in the majority. Moreover, the narrative of Theodoretos is basically hagiographical and might be expected to emphasise the danger to Nisibis as much as possible; it is therefore significant that Theodoretos follows the less colourful version.

Szepessy's criticism of Colonna's argumentation is not without force, and undermines the logical certainty which Colonna believed his conclusions to have. Nevertheless, the balance of evidence continues in my opinion to uphold Colonna. Firstly, Szepessy does not tackle Colonna's point that the poems of Ephraim refer to a situation where the waters surrounded Nisibis for some length of time; this should not be overstressed, since it is difficult to be sure of one's ground with writing so deeply allegorical as Ephraim's, but Colonna's reading still seems to be the more natural. More importantly, Szepessy's arguments show no more than that Ephraim need not be incompatible with Theodoretos' version; his final preference for Theodoretos and Zonaras is based on the fact that Julian is the only writer to contradict them. However, the inherent implausibility

of Theodoretos' account was demonstrated by P.Peeters (La légende de saint Jacques de Nisibe; Analecta Bollandiana 38, 1920, p.285ff.), who pointed out that an important rôle is ascribed to St.James, who in 350 had already been dead for twelve years. Theodoretos has in fact confused two distinct sieges of Nisibis.

Moreover, the actual topography of the site supports Julian. He has the river Mygdonios flowing past Nisibis, while Theodoretos and Zonaras agree in making the river flow through the town. The area was visited in the last century by Eduard Sachau, who describes the site of Nisibis in his Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien (Leipzig, 1883) p.390ff. According to him, the main river, the modern river Jaghjagha, skirts to the south of the ancient town, although another, "mehr bachartiges", watercourse, called the Khnês, flows through the city a little way to the north. Interestingly, the area between the Jaghjagha and the town is marshy. Peeters advances an interpretation which shows that Julian did not fully understand Shapur's tactics. Confronted with a marsh running right up to the city wall, he was unable to make use of his siege engines and hit upon the idea of flooding the marsh so as to make it navigable. He then mounted his equipment on ships and brought it close up the walls. Unexpectedly perhaps, the water proved more damaging than the siege machinery. That Julian should have preserved facts accurate enough for

such a plausible explanation to be advanced, without himself advancing that explanation, is a strong argument for the historicity of his account.

The case of Szepessy and others for an early dating of the Aithiopica rests on the possibility that the similarities between the siege of Syene in Heliodoros and the siege of Nisibis in Julian result from a borrowing by Julian from Heliodoros rather than vice versa. It is to this question of priority that we must now turn. We have seen that on balance Julian's account of the siege of Nisibis has a greater likelihood of being accurate than the alternative tradition; but there remains a logical possibility that certain details were coloured by memories of Heliodoros. If we assume Heliodoros to be the earlier writer, his narrative will be either entirely his own invention, or else derived from some earlier account. We must deal with each of these possibilities in turn.

There are a number of details in the siege of Syene which appear to be inconsistent. It seems to me that a novelist would be more likely to be consistent with himself if his account were entirely the product of his own imagination than if he were trying to reconcile reminiscences of some historical event with the alien circumstances of his fictional plot. Some of these inconsistencies appear as mere quirkiness, such as the fact that Syene is at a lower level than the river which flows past its walls (9.3.3 and note). Others

result in contradictions: for example, at 9.3.2 the ditch around the city is said to be dug out of bowshot from the walls, whereas the whole strategem depends on water-pressure being exerted directly on the walls; or at 9.8.2 the defenders are apparently digging their tunnel on the wrong side of the city for it to be effective (see my note ad loc.). Most important is the question of the breach in the Ethiopian dyke, which, as we shall see, is completely extraneous in Heliodoros. On the other hand, Julian's account of the siege of Nisibis, although highly allusive and rhetorical, has a discernible logic in the progression of its events, and the breach becomes organic in a sense in which it is not in Heliodoros.

Keydell (Zur Datierung der Aithiopika Heliodors; Polychronia p.315ff.) also found a number of details which betray an exterior provenance by not being perfectly integrated into their context. However, it is difficult to agree with one of his points: this concerns the πορθμεῖα τῶν ποταμίων mentioned at 9.5.4. Keydell asks why these boats should have been prepared by Hydaspes unless it was to carry troops and siege-engines to the walls of Syene, as Shapur did at Nisibis. I feel that this is treating Heliodoros too much as if he were a writer of history not fiction; we are not entitled to deduce motives in a fictional character; Hydaspes, not being a real person, has no intentions other than those allowed him, explicitly

or implicitly, by Heliodoros. The boats are introduced at this point because they are suddenly necessary in the plot to allow the Ethiopians to come close to the walls of Syene. Heliodoros, who was much concerned with creating an impression of reality, added a brief word of explanation as to why boats should suddenly appear on what had been dry land. Keydell is sounder in his treatment of the rebuilding of the Syenian wall at 9.8.1 and the fracture of the dyke at 9.8.2, although he does not realise that what is not organic may nevertheless be functional. This proviso affects our assessment of Heliodoros as a literary artist rather than our estimation of Keydell's thesis; Keydell's Heliodoros is a man who has mindlessly taken over details which do not fit with his narrative, but it is to my mind clear that Heliodoros has exploited the details in a rather clever way (cf. my notes on 9.8.1 and 9.8.2). I should still allow that, together with the mud at 9.8.6, these details would have been unlikely to occur unprompted to Heliodoros, and that they are far better integrated in Julian's account of Nisibis.

The tendency of this argument to show that if Heliodoros borrowed details of the siege from anywhere he borrowed them from an account of Shapur's siege of Nisibis should already be clear, but before proceeding we should explore the possibility of Heliodoros having some other source. If we can argue that the inconsistencies in Heliodoros'

version arose from his following an account of some previous siege, it is still open to us to suggest that Julian's account is coloured by reminiscence of Heliodoros, and that in some miraculous way he has noticed and tidied up Heliodoros' inconsistencies. The following examples seem to be possible models, and there are doubtless others which I have not located. None of them is adequate to account for Heliodoros.

i) The siege of Lycopolis by Ptolemy V in 196 BC, narrated on the Rosetta stone (OGIS 90.22ff.): καὶ ἀντικαθίσας χώμασίν τε καὶ τάφροις καὶ τείχεσιν αὐτὴν ἐξελόγους περιέλαβεν. τοῦ τε Νείλου τὴν ἀνάβασιν μεγάλην ποιησαμένου ἐν τῷ ὄγδοον ἔτει, καὶ ἐθέλοντος κατακλύζειν τὰ πεδία κατέσχεν, ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων ἀχυρώσας τὰ στόματα τῶν ποταμῶν. It is not clear exactly what is happening here, but it looks as if Ptolemy was holding back the river flood rather than surrounding the city. It is easier to understand the tactics as parallel to those of the siege of the Athenians on the island of Prosopitis, described in Thuc.1.109.4. If allowed to flood normally, the Nile would have surrounded Lycopolis and rendered the town impregnable. Ptolemy was thwarting the Lycopolitans by preventing the flood from reaching them, and so keeping the approaches to the town passable.

ii) The siege of Babylon by Cyros. This has been advanced as a possible model by Weinreich and Feuillâtre. Heliodoros was perhaps aware of the account in Xen.Cyr.7.5 (cf.my notes

on 9.3.1), but the tactics involved are completely different. Cyros gained entry to Babylon along the dry bed of a diverted river; Hydaspes is trying to undermine the walls of Syene by flooding. To see a connection with Babylon rather than Nisibis is a blinkered act of prejudice against the fourth-century dating.

iii) The capture of Nineveh in Diod.2.27. The town was taken after a flood had knocked down part of the wall. Admittedly this was not the intention of the besiegers. We should note the effect here of a stream of water as a battering-ram.

iv) The strange little rhetorical exercise purporting to be a speech delivered by some mercenaries who have diverted a river against the enemy's camp and are now asking for a reward from the Amphictyons. This is of uncertain authorship; it is traditionally attributed to an otherwise unknown Adrian of Tyre, and is so found in Hinck's edition of Polemon. Habrich attributed it to Iamblichos and it is included as Frag.101 on p.73 of his edition of the Babyloniaca. This ascription had already been disproved by M.Nächster (De Pollucis et Phrynichi controversiis, p.47ff.). The piece clearly belongs to the rhetorical schools of the second or third centuries. It is difficult to assess it as evidence, and in any case the events implied are not the same as those of the siege of Syene. It is likely that the subject is intentionally bizarre, rather than a routine exercise; this would discount the possibility

of Heliodoros borrowing from a traditional stock-in-trade of the schools.

v) Caesar's siege of Alesia (Bell.Gall.7.68ff.). Caesar surrounded the town with water-filled trenches. This again is a completely different tactic. The water does not actually come into contact with the walls but serves as another line of blockade.

vi) The incident described in Zonaras 12.30: ἐν κοίλῳ γάρ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τόπῳ· ὃν οἱ Πέρσαι θεασάμενοι τὸν ἐκεῖ παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν εἰς τὸν κοῖλον ἐκεῖνον τόπον διὰ δώρυχος ἐπαφείκασι. No siege is involved here and the water is used as an offensive weapon in its own right. The tactic may be the one hinted at in Adrian's exercise.

vii) Frontin.3.7.3 records an instance of a river being diverted against an enemy by Metellus in Spain. He is very short on details, and I have not been able to find the incident described elsewhere.

viii) Philon Mechanicos, a tactical writer of the third century BC (edited by Diels and Schramm in Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1919/20) advises his reader (4.97 = p.67 Diels and Schramm) to try the tactic of river diversion at the beginning of a siege: ἐὰν ᾖ ποταμὸς πλησίον, ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος <ἐφεῦναι>, ἵνα ἐὰν δύνῃ πεσόντος μεταιωρήσου τινὸς ἢ πύργου κατάσκῃς τὴν πόλιν. This again envisages the use of water as a battering-ram, and is not the same tactic as used by Hydaspes in the Aithiopica. It is curiously close to that described

by the Theodoretos/Zonaras tradition of the siege of Nisibis, and it looks as if it may have been an accepted, if unusual, resource, confused by Theodoretos and Zonaras with the rather different tactics adopted by Shapur in 350 and described by Julian.

ix) Luc.Hipp.2: τοιοῦτον ἀκούομεν τὸν Ἀρχιμήδη γένεσθαι ... τὸν ... Πτολεμαίῳ χειρωσάμενον τὴν Μέμφιν ἄνευ πολιορκίας ἀποστρεφῇ καὶ διαρρέσει τὸ ποταμοῦ . The tactics here are unclear, but there is no suggestion that the water was used to breach the walls. It may have afforded an entry into the city along the river-bed, or simply have served as a blockade without the conventional apparatus of a siege.

x) Strabo (6.1.13) describes the destruction of Sybaris by the people of Croton. After the capture of the town, the site was flooded and all trace of Sybaris flushed away (ἐλόντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἐπηγάγον τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατέκλυσαν). This is a fundamentally different manoeuvre from a siege.

xi) The last example is the most hopeful. This is the siege of Mantineia in 385 BC as described by Xenophon (Hell.5.2.4ff.) and Pausanias (8.8.9), who mentions that a similar stratagem was used by Cimon at Eion. The strategem is indeed closely similar to Hydaspes', and it seems to be the sole example to refer to the slow undermining of a wall by water, as opposed to the force of a sudden inundation. This gives the lie to Julian when he claims that the siege of Nisibis as he describes it was a unique occurrence

(Or.1.43b), but there are two observations which rule it out of court as a model for Heliodoros. First, both Xenophon and Pausanias explain that the device worked at Mantineia because the walls were made of brick: ἡ δὲ πλίνθος ἐκ μηχανημάτων μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως πονεῖ, διαλύεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐκ ἧσσον ἢ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἡλίου κεφά(Paus.loc.cit.); βρεχομένων γὲ τῶν κάτω πλίνθων καὶ προπιπτουσῶν τοῖς ἔνδον (Xen.Hell.5.2.5). Heliodoros on the other hand explains that the water undermined the foundations of the wall (9.4.3) and later discloses that he conceived the walls of Syene as built of stones (9.8.1). Second, neither Xenophon nor Pausanias has any hint of those details which seem extraneous in Heliodoros. It might be argued that all that needs to be shown is that such siege methods were known before the time of Julian; Heliodoros might then have borrowed from some writer no longer extant. This approach smacks of desperation; and, in any case, Heliodoros' allusive technique depends on the source of his allusion being recognised easily by his reader. Elsewhere this leads him to allude to classics of history and geography, and so the chances that he is using some obscure incident which has vanished entirely from our extant sources seem to me remote. The most economical hypothesis is still that the siege of Syene is modelled on the siege of Nisibis.

The exact relationship between Heliodoros and Julian remains to be examined. It may be possible, for example,

that Heliodoros adapted the events of Nisibis and then in his turn influenced Julian's account of the real occurrences. Our next task then is to examine the possible verbal similarities. I have found eight.

i) Jul.Or.1.27a πᾶσαν ἐξανιστήσαντες ἡλικίαν καὶ φύσιν καὶ τύχην ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμηντο, ἄνδρες, μειράκια, πρεσβῦται καὶ γυναικῶν πλῆθος καὶ θεραπόντων, οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὑπουργιῶν χάριν, ἐκ περιουσίας δὲ πλῆστον ἑπόμενον with Hld.9.3.8 καὶ ἦν οὐδὲ ἡσυχάζων, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως παῖς, γυνὴ καὶ πρεσβύτης ἔργου εἶχετο· γένος γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἡλικίαν ὁ περὶ ψυχῆς διωκόμενος κίνδυνος. Despite the similarity of ideas, it is misguided to look for a direct borrowing here; the motif is found several times in Heliodoros (cf.also 7.8.3, 9.22.1 and 10.38.3). We must at least note the possibility that both Julian and Heliodoros are making independent use of a common motif.

ii) Jul.Or.1.27b ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς Μαλιορκίαν κατέστησαν, ἐπετειχίζετο μὲν ἡ πόλις κύκλῳ τοῖς χώμασιν, ἐπέρρει δὲ ὁ Μυγδόνιος πελαγίζων τὸ περὶ τῷ τείχει χώριον, καθάπερ ὁ Νεῖλος, φασί, τὴν Αἴγυπτον with Hld.9.4.2 ὁ Νεῖλος ... τῷ κατὰ τὸν κύκλον ἐνέπιπτε καὶ πανταχόθεν περιρρυεὶς τὸ μετοίχιον τῶν τειχῶν ἐλίμναζε. Despite the similarity of subject matter, there is little verbal resemblance. Julian's reference to the Nile flood links more closely with Hdt.2.92.2, where the same verb πελαγίζω occurs, than with Heliodoros. A comparison with the Nile would

have been the natural one for any ancient author to make, and there is no need to read any significance into it. It does not imply in Julian any knowledge of Heliodoros.

iii) Jul.Or.1.27c μετὰ δὲ ἦν ἅπαντα σωμάτων καὶ ναυαγίων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄρτι καταδυομένων, τῶν δὲ ... κουφιζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος with Hld.1.1.3 μετὰ πάντα σωμάτων νεοσφαγῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄρδην ἀπολωλότων, τῶν δὲ ἡμιθνήτων. This is very striking, being verbally the closest, and the only example which does not occur in Heliodoros' description of the siege of Syene. This is a point to which we must return, but we must allow for the possibility of coincidence; the phrase μετὰ πάντα was something of a cliché in introducing vivid descriptions; compare for example Philostr.Vit.Apoll.3.26.

iv) Jul.Or.2.62c (I use the numeration of the Loeb edition) ... περιτειχίζων τὴν πόλιν χώμασιν· εἶτα εἰς τοῦτο δεξάμενος τὸν Μυγδόνιον λίμνην ἐπέθηκε τὸ περὶ τῷ ἄστει χωρίον with Hld.9.4.2 (quoted in ii) above). Again there is no very striking verbal correspondence beyond the similarity of subject matter.

v) Jul.Or.2.62c ... καὶ ὥσπερ νῆσον ἐν αὐτῇ συνεῖχε τὴν πόλιν, μικρὸν ὑπερέχουσῶν καὶ ὑπερφαινομένων τῶν ἐπάλξεων with Hld.9.4.2 καὶ νῆσος αὐτίκα ἦν ἡ Συήνη and 9.5.1 ἀλλὰ πέντε που πήχεις ὑπερέχουσαν ἀπειλουμένην ὅσον οὔπω κατεπηχέναι τὴν ἔπικλυσιν. This example shows that the question is far more complicated than a simple one-to-one

correspondence. In Julian the extract occurs just after the water has been let into the trenches around the wall; in Heliodoros it occurs at an altogether later stage, when part of the city wall has already collapsed. In this respect there is a greater similarity with Jul.Or.2.63a. The verbal similarity is small: the battlements, which are the most striking feature in Julian, are not taken up by Heliodoros, and the shared word ὑπερέχω is more or less inevitable.

vi) Jul.Or.2.63a ... ῥήγνυται μέρος τοῦ χώματος καὶ ἡ τῶν ὕδάτων ἐκρεῖ (codd.; εἰσρεῖ Cobet) πλήμμυρα καὶ ἐπ'αὐτῇ τοῦ τείχους μέρος οὐκ ἔλασσον πήχεων ἑκατὸν συγκατηνέχθη with Hld.9.8.2 ... κατὰ μέσας τοῦ νύκτας μέρος τι τοῦ χώματος καθ'ὃ τῆς ἑσπέρας οἱ Αἰθίοπες τοῦ διορύττειν ἐφήψαντο ... κυρὰ δέξαν ἐκρήγνυται. The fracture of the dyke is functionally irrelevant in Heliodoros (see my notes on 9.7.4), and Keydell used this detail as evidence of Heliodoros' dependence. However, the dependence demonstrated is on the siege of Nisibis, not necessarily on Julian's account of it. We should note again that the effects are completely opposite. In Julian the departure of the water brings about the rupture in the city wall; in Heliodoros the city wall is already broken, and the accidental fracture of the Ethiopian dyke hastens the salvation of Syene. Any dependence is far from slavish!

vii) Jul.Or.2.64d ἰλύς τε ἡν περὶ τὸ χωρίον εὖ μάλα

βαθεῖα with Hld.9.8.6 ἰλὺς γὰρ βαθείας ἢ γῆ κατάπλεως ἐγεγόνει καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐξικμάσθη φαινομένην τέλμα λύγρον ὑπέτρεχεν ... Heliodoros does not include Julian's spectacular details of horses and elephants floundering in the mire, but he does perhaps hint at the idea (ὕπου τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνδρὸς βάσιν εἰς βυθισμὸν ἐνεδρεύον). Julian's mud is not simply the wetness left by the flood but consists of a natural swamp (cf.Sachau's description) and the remains of an ancient moat. Presumably the idea is that these now looked no different from ground firm enough to walk on, and Shapur's forces fell into them unawares. The mud in Heliodoros is not without its function (see my note on 9.8.6): it motivates both the carelessness in the Ethiopian army which allows the Persians to escape and the unusual method of escape adopted. It is not therefore a pointless or mindless borrowing, but we may nevertheless be justified in feeling that Heliodoros would not have bothered to include a reference to the mud if it not played such a prominent role at Nisibis.

viii) Jul.Or.2.66b κατὰ νώτου γὰρ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἕτερον τεῖχος ἐφκοδόμητο ... ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ὅλῃ καὶ νυκτὶ συνεχῶς ἐρημουμένων ἔστε ἐπὶ τέτταρας πήχεις ὕψους ἠγείρετο with Hld.9.8.1 καὶ τὸ πεπτωκὸς ἕτερον τοῦ τείχους ὑπὸ λαμπτῆρσιν ἀνήγειρον. This is another example used by Keydell to show Heliodoros' dependence, and he is correct in saying that the wall serves no organic purpose. I have my douhts as to whether

it should be seen as a reminiscence, since it may be that Heliodoros is aiming for historiographical verisimilitude by having his fictional characters act as real people would in a comparable situation, even though their actions are irrelevant to his fictional plot. (This argument is advanced more fully in my note on 9.8.1.)

The general impression gained from these comparisons is that Heliodoros is often surprisingly close to Julian in subject matter, sometimes extraneous to his narrative as with the fracture of the dyke and the mud, but that there is relatively little verbal similarity of the kind which would suggest close copying, and that even the correspondences of subject matter have been subtly rearranged and distorted.

We must now go back to our third similarity and deal with a subtle argument advanced by Professor A.Henrichs but not yet published. Henrichs argues that we are faced with two lists of passages running in sequence, except for this one which takes us right back to the beginning of the Aithiopica; we must assume either that Heliodoros used Julian in setting the scene at the start of his novel, then put him aside until he reached the siege of Syene in the ninth book, where he proceeded to conflate Julian's two accounts, all the while maintaining the stylistic level that he had borrowed at the beginning; or that Julian, who was in any case prone to literary allusion, embellished

his somewhat sketchy account of the siege of Nisibis with allusions to Heliodoros, rounded off with a reference to the famous opening scene; when he returned to the subject in his second oration, he returned also to his literary model, at almost exactly the place where he had left it. By phrasing the alternatives in this fashion, Henrichs has no hesitation in choosing the second.

His reasoning can be faulted at several stages:

i) He omits our eighth similarity (Jul.Or.2.66b with Hld.9.8.1), which would upset the neat symmetry of his sequences.

ii) He passes over the fact that Hld.9.5.1 resembles not only Jul.Or.2.62c but also Jul.Or.2.63a, which in its turn shows similarities to Hld.9.3.2. In other words, he is too schematic in linking one passage of Heliodoros to one passage of Julian, when in fact there exists a complicated network of references.

iii) He involves himself in an assumption every bit as unnatural as that which he rejects, namely that Julian in writing his second account should return to Heliodoros at exactly the point where he had laid him aside after finishing his first account. Both of Julian's speeches are intended to be self-contained, and there was no reason for him not to make use of the same passages of Heliodoros in both, if Heliodoros were his source. The first oration was written and delivered in 355 before Julian went to

Gaul; the second was composed after his elevation to the rank of Caesar, when he was campaigning in Gaul (cf.Or.2.56b and 101d). Thus we are excluded even from the possibility that Julian's copy of Heliodoros lay open on his library shelf for some length of time before he began the composition of his second oration!

iv) Henrichs ignores the question of the author's intention in making such allusions to another writer.

With the rejection of Henrichs's hypothesis, it becomes difficult to sustain the theory that Heliodoros wrote before Julian's first oration but was himself influenced by events at Nisibis. We may now discount the possibility that Julian was using Heliodoros as a model. This rejection revolves around a literary argument. The nature of the rhetorical paideia of the Second Sophistic is excellently described by B.P.Reardon (Courants littéraires grecs des IIième et IIIième siècles après J.-C. p.1ff.). It is in the tradition of this paideia that Julian's speeches must be located. They are permeated by allusions to classical authors, and there can be no doubt that Julian intended these allusions to be recognised. The whole of the second oration is actually structured around a comparison of Constantius' achievements with the exploits of Homeric heroes, and ends with a discourse on virtue and kingship resonant with echoes of Plato. Likewise, the first oration contains allusions to Isocrates, Simonides, Pindar, Herodotos

Aischines, Plato, Xenophon and, just before the account of Nisibis, a well known passage of Demosthenes (Dem.18.169 cf.Jul.Or.1.26b). This creates a particularly dense literary texture and a deliberately highly pitched stylistic level: nothing in a composition of this nature is unconscious or accidental.

Although it is wrong to dismiss, as was once fashionable, the novelists as low-brow hacks, it remains true that the romance as a genre was never included in the classical tradition. It is never mentioned, for example, in pre-Byzantine literary criticism. The nearest that any novel comes to respectability is when Porphyrios uses Antonius Diogenes' Ἄπιστα as a source for his Life of Pythagoras (see Porph. Vit.Pythag.10 and 32); but Antonius was scarcely typical of the genre and Porphyrios is careful not to reveal any acquaintance with the overtly fictional sections of the work, least of all with the "love-interest". (For Antonius see K.Reyhl's dissertation 'Antonius Diogenes - Untersuchungen zu den Roman-Fragmenten der "Wunder jenseits von Thule"'.) Otherwise there is no favourable reference to novels before the Byzantine period. Thus the Aithiopica, whatever literary merits it may now be seen to possess, would not have carried the literary prestige for Julian to use it in one of his panegyrics. This argument is strengthened by the fact that Julian can be shown to have been aware of the existence of

novels (Ep.89.301b), of which he expressed his disapproval in strong terms. Experience with puritanical campaigners of our own time may lead us to doubt whether he had actually read what he condemns, but in any case his moral stance makes him even more unlikely than other rhetors to have exposed himself to the charge of having borrowed the most striking sections of his speech from a novelist. Heliodoros, on the other hand, could only have enhanced his prestige by borrowing, either from Julian or from some other source.

A final, and to my view clinching, argument may be derived from an inspection of the rôle of the whole Syene episode. To achieve his narrative aims Heliodoros must have Theagenes and Charicleia captured by the Ethiopians and set aside by Hydaspes for ritual immolation. This has already been done before the siege begins. For victory sacrifices to take place at all Hydaspes must be victorious; this is the function of the battle scene in 9.14-20, which also introduces the moralistic little scenes with Oroondates in 9.21 and 9.26.2ff. For none of this is the siege necessary.

Rattenbury and Lumb claim (vol.1 p.xx) that the military manoeuvres of the ninth book are "des parties intégrantes du roman grec et qu'elles devaient bien être placées quelque part." This is a dubious statement, but the requirements would in any case have been satisfied by the battle alone. Hefti (Zur Erzählungstechnik in Heliodors Aethiopica, p.124-5) argues that the events have a direct bearing

on the fate of the central pair and that prolonged uncertainty produces suspense; but again what affects Charicleia and Theagenes is not the siege but the battle that follows, and so far is the siege from prolonging uncertainty over their fate that the hero and heroine are not even mentioned between 9.2.2 and 9.24.1; they are quite forgotten for the moment. Hefti goes on to suggest that the whole episode may be intended as a glorification of Hydaspes, but this again is hardly necessary when Hydaspes' character is already well enough established by the battle. The background of conflict between Ethiopia and the Persian satrapy of Egypt is most influential in the story of Charicleia's fate, and it is aesthetically desirable that the motif be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, but again this could have been achieved by the battle alone.

At the moment I must confess that I can see no good reason for including the siege of Syene at all. It must be conceded that the episode has some basis other than literary necessity, and this is most easily explained as an exploitation of public interest in the spectacular events at Nisibis. Once the connection with Nisibis had been recognised, the episode would also contribute to Heliodoros' realism in that he would be seen by his reader to be describing the sort of things that happen in the real world.

I have argued a) that Heliodoros has modelled his

narrative on the siege of Nisibis and b) that Julian is not dependent on Heliodoros. Are we therefore compelled to the conclusion that Heliodoros is dependent on Julian? I think not. None of the arguments that follow is conclusive in itself, but their cumulative effect is decisive.

i) Would the orations of Julian be the natural place to go to for the facts of the siege of Nisibis? The answer must be no. The siege is only an episode in two of his panegyrics, and his treatment of it is sketchy and allusive and appears to assume that his audience already understood what had happened. It is not informational writing. Moreover, his account is confused in a way that we should not expect from a primary source; the second oration in particular is almost incomprehensible in places, especially the important passage at Or.2.63a; he says that Shapur spent four months battering at the city's defences with ship-mounted siege-engines (Or.2.62d) but can also represent the strategem as the hurling of the river against the walls διερὲ μηχάνημα (Or.1.30a). This suggests that he was falling into the same trap as Theodoretos and Zonaras by confusing Shapur's tactics with the strategem described by Philon Mechanicos, namely the knocking of a hole in a wall by the sudden release of a force of water against it. And yet, as we have seen, St.Ephraim provides clear support for Julian's facts against Julian's interpretation. He must have had those facts at second hand from some lost source. That

such sources existed is shown by Or.2.74b: καὶ γὰρ ἀνεγράφη (sc.Constantius) Γερμανοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ῥήνου πολεμίων, τά τε ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρητι ζεύγματα καὶ τὴς Παρθυαίων δυνάμεως καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ἔλεγχος οὐ φαῦλος etc. The verb ἀνεγράφη implies historical writing; cf.Arr.Anab.1 Praef.1, Philostr. Vit.Apoll.5.37. If these histories were known to Julian when he composed his second oration while campaigning in Gaul in 356, we may presume that they were also available to Heliodoros when he was describing the siege of Syene.

ii) If we posit that Heliodoros was borrowing from Julian, we must allow allusions to both the first and second orations. The first was written and probably delivered in 355; there is therefore no doubt that Heliodoros could have had access to it. The second oration, however, was probably never delivered. I do not know how quickly an undelivered speech may be presumed to have come into literary circulation, but there is so much resemblance between the second oration and the vastly superior first that it is doubtful that Julian would ever have countenanced its release. Thus there is a real, if minor, difficulty in supposing that Heliodoros, writing perhaps in Syria, could have had access to both speeches while public interest in Nisibis was still fresh.

iii) All of Heliodoros' supposed borrowings come from the passages where Julian is describing the siege of Nisibis. He shows no sign of being acquainted with any other work

of Julian, or even with the other portions of the first two orations. We have seen that the similarities in the descriptions of the cataphracts noted by van der Valk are better attributed to common use of a widespread rhetorical topos. This leads me to suspect that Heliodoros was using not Julian's orations but an account of the war against the Parthians.

iv) None of the verbal similarities discussed above is striking enough to be an indisputable borrowing. They are mainly of subject matter rather than language. The closest resemblance (Hld.1.1.3 with Jul.Or.1.27c) does not even occur in Heliodoros' description of the siege of Syene. That Julian copied it from Heliodoros is inherently unlikely, and that Heliodoros borrowed this one phrase from Julian's account of Nisibis, removed it to the beginning of his first book and then made no similar linguistic allusions when subject matter coincided so much more closely is hard to believe.

I am thus driven to the recourse of supposing that Heliodoros and Julian share a source. This hypothesis would a) explain how Julian can preserve the correct facts but be confused as to their interpretation; b) remove the necessity of Heliodoros being acquainted with a speech which may not have been published by the time he was writing; c) explain why Heliodoros appears not to be conversant with the remaining portions of Julian's first and second

orations; d) account for the strong similarity of subject matter between Heliodoros and Julian. That such sources existed we know from Julian himself; once their existence is admitted, they would surely have been the natural choice of anyone wishing to know what happened at Nisibis.

We may now draw our conclusions about the dating of the Aithiopica. Heliodoros must have written after the third siege of Nisibis in 350 and before the time when Socrates wrote his history. Socrates does not talk of Heliodoros as a contemporary, but as the founder of a custom still in existence. We may therefore presume that the bishop of Tricca lived before the end of the fourth century. If we accept Socrates' identification, this will give us a date soon after 350 for Heliodoros' youthful work; if we reject it, we must still allow the passage of a number of years for the confusion to have arisen. Since the only discernible reason for the inclusion of the siege of Syene in the Aithiopica is to exploit public excitement about the siege of Nisibis, it would seem plausible to date the Aithiopica as soon after 350 as possible; we may estimate that Heliodoros wrote within the twenty years 350-70.

We must now turn to consider two other arguments put forward for a fourth-century dating:

i) The linguistic and stylistic one advanced by Wifstrand (Ἐλένη V). Arguments of this kind are notoriously subjective;

in what sense can any writer's style be said to be "typical" of his time? How can we suppose that it would have been impossible for him to have written in a certain way had he lived fifty years earlier or fifty years later? The questions become sharper if we view them in modern terms: who could possibly deduce from their styles alone that, for example, Joyce and Galsworthy were contemporary? One might with justice surmise that neither had lived in the eighteenth century, but could we trust our judgement not to make Galsworthy coeval with, say, Dickens? In short, we must allow that the use of language depends as much on the personality of the author as on the time in which he lives. The avant-garde of one century may pass for the reactionary of the next.

Thus, when Wifstrand claims that Heliodoros' periodic style is more characteristic of the fourth century than of the third, we should allow him a wide margin of error. It is clearly simplistic to assume that no one in the third century could write in periods; Wifstrand himself admits the example of Dio Cassius, and we may add that Longus can rise to rhetorical heights much as Heliodoros can. But if it was possible for Dio Cassius to write in a periodic style during the third century, why could Heliodoros not have done the same?

The same reservation must apply to much of Wifstrand's more detailed evidence. The use of ἡ ἐνεγκοῦσα to mean

"homeland" (see 10.7.8 and note), of λαπτόν as equivalent to ἠϑή (see 10.7.1 and note), of the predicative placing of adjectives (see 10.16.4 and note) can all be found before the fourth century, albeit infrequently.

Wifstrand's article is a valuable one, since it helps to define Heliodoros style and usage, but on the question of dating I am afraid that the evidence he produces (or which anyone could produce) can do no more than show that there is nothing in the style of the Aithiopica incompatible with a fourth-century dating.

ii) The religious argument of M.P.Nilsson (Geschichte der griechischen Religion, 5th.edition, Vol.2 p.565ff.) is couched in terms too general to be really useful. One has the greatest of respect for Nilsson's work in an extremely complicated field, but it really is taking too much on trust if we accept his impressions as a valid argument: "... habe ich den Eindruck, dass die geistige Atmosphäre eher dem 4. als dem 2/3 Jahrhundert entspricht." The greatest value in Nilsson's few paragraphs is that they challenge the widely held view that the Aithiopica is in some way intimately connected with the cult of the Emesan sun-god. Beyond that they do no more than Wifstrand's linguistic arguments; there is nothing religiously incompatible with the fourth century.

Other unacceptable arguments for the dating depend on the detailed interpretation of the text, and are best

discussed fully in the notes on the appropriate passages. They may, however, conveniently be listed and summarised here:

i) C.Sittl (Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer, p.63) argues from the Syenians' use of σθόνια at 9.6.1 that Heliodoros was writing after the emperor Aurelian distributed handkerchiefs to the populace for them to wave in the theatre. He is trying to link Heliodoros to the wrong set of examples.

ii) F.Altheim (Literatur und Gesellscaft im ausgehenden Altertum, p.111ff.) argues that the description of the cataphracts in 9.15 must have been written at a time when they were still a novelty. This neglects the fact that other fourth-century writers made use of the same rhetorical commonplace as Heliodoros. In view of Heliodoros' rather bookish literary character, it is strange to expect him to have been the first writer of the ancient world to describe cataphracts.

iii) R.Merkelbach (Roman und Mysterium in der Antike, p.287 n.3) argues that Heliodoros' apparent opposition to blood sacrifices at 10.9.6 would have been unthinkable in the fourth century when paganism was trying to reassert itself against Christianity. But Merkelbach's premises are simply not true: Heliodoros has no genuine concern over the question of blood offerings, but has adapted the motif from Philostratos. Moreover, it is simplistic to suggest that all fourth-century pagans rallied round

the banner of animal sacrifice; we know, for instance, that good fourth-century pagans such as Libanios and Ammianus were embarrassed by the extravagance of Julian's hecatombs.

iv) F.Altheim and R.Stiehl (Die Araber in der alten Welt, Vol.2 p.298ff.) argue from the position of the Blemmyes as tributary subjects of Meroe (10.26.3) that Heliodoros must have been writing in the third century before the Blemmyes became a force to be reckoned with in their own right. Such an argument deprives Heliodoros of any historical imagination and falls into the trap of assuming that he was invariably well informed about the political realities of east Africa. There is no other evidence that the Blemmyes ever were tributary subjects of Meroe.

v) F.Altheim and R.Stiehl (op.cit., Vol.5/1 p.18ff.) construct a similar argument to the previous one on the status of Axum as a non-tributary ally of Meroe (10.27.1). It is open to the same objections.

vi)J.Schwartz (Quelques observations sur des romans grecs; L'antiquité classique 36 (1967) p.536ff.) claims to have found links between the embassies attending Hydaspes after his victory and lists of embassies in the Historia Augusta. He concludes that the author of the Historia Augusta had read Heliodoros, and that this would concur well with a fourth-century dating of the Aithiopica. However, the lists of embassies have to be drastically manipulated to yield the required congruences, and what similarities

there are may be better explained as common instances of routine exotica.

vii) On a more general plane, A.M.Scarcella (Testimonianze della crisi di un'età nel romanzo di Eliodoro; Maia 24 (1972) p.8ff.) argues that the emotional climate of the Aithiopica reflects the despair of the end of the third century. This is grotesque oversimplification; Scarcella makes no distinction between the authorial voice and remarks made in character. In fact most elements of despair occur in laments arising from a fictional situation. The Aithiopica as a whole is a not unoptimistic work wherein virtue is finally rewarded. In any case we may wonder whether no one in the fourth century ever felt despair.

2. The Religious Background of the Aithiopica.

The study of the religious assumptions made by Heliodoros in the narrative of the Aithiopica has bulked large in scholarship on the author. Indeed, a cynic might suggest that the scholarly obsession with the spiritual background is merely the other face of a general failure to come fully to terms with the Greek romances as works of literature. Yet clearly no assessment of Heliodoros can be complete without some attempt to define his religious position. If my conclusions appear somewhat negative, this will reflect my belief that religious considerations were very low on Heliodoros' list of priorities when he wrote the Aithiopica.

The attempt by Coraes to trace Christian ideas in the Aithiopica is now discredited; in any case, it never rose above merely verbal coincidences and started from the assumption that certain words were used only by Christian writers. Coraes was, of course, greatly influenced by the biographical tradition found in Socrates Scholasticos and elsewhere that Heliodoros later became the bishop of Tricca in Thessaly who enforced celibacy on his clergy. But even if we accept Socrates' evidence, there is nothing to rule out the possibility that Heliodoros was converted to Christianity after writing the Aithiopica in his youth (ἀνὴρ νέος ὢν ἔταξε). We might, however, wonder what is the

significance of the almost literal quotation from Philo's Life of Moses at 9.9.3; how widely would such a work have been read in pagan circles?

The Christianising interpretation apart, scholarly opinion on the question falls into three broad groups: a) that originated by K.Kerényi and taken up in greater detail by R.Merkelbach, that the romances are cult literature, and when correctly interpreted are an allegory of ritual practices; b) the more general position occupied by writers such as F.Altheim and D.Kövendi, that Heliodoros can be shown to have been a devotee of the Emesan sun-god and that the beliefs of that cult are reflected to some extent in the body of the romance; arguments of this kind are often used to date the Aithiopica in the third century, when the Emesan sun religion was at its zenith; c) the even more general position most concisely stated by B.P.Reardon, The Greek Novel; Phoenix 23 (1969) p.302f: "This concern (i.e. with Providence) is expressed in the very structure of the story ... Heliodorus intended his work to be a religious novel ... (he) at least suggests that the ways of divinity can be discerned by toiling humans."

It will be most convenient to deal with these three interpretations separately.

a) Kerenyi's thesis was that all of the romances reflect details of Isiac cult. Merkelbach has refined this so that each romance is related to a different mystery cult.

Despite acceptance in a few quarters, these ideas have not gained general approval. The main trouble is that both make their own criteria of criticism; details from the narrative are seized upon and pronounced to be symbolic of part of a mystery ritual. Both scholars accumulate a formidable total of such references, but we may doubt the value of almost all of them: thus, for example, when Charicleia calls Hydaspes "father" for the first time Merkelbach exclaims, "Bei der Mysterienweihe wird der amtierende Priester zum geistlichen Vater des Initianden" (Roman und Mysterium, p.288), but would it really occur to any reader that this was anything other than a dramatic climax to a dramatic scene?

Both Kerényi's and Merkelbach's books have received full criticism which makes a point-by-point refutation of their views unnecessary. See the review of Kerényi by A.D.Nock in Gnomon 4 (1928) p.485ff., and on Merkelbach see R.Turcan: Le roman "initiatique" - à propos d'un livre récent; Revue de l'histoire des réligions 163 (1963) p.149ff., esp.p.195ff., where it is pointed out that many of Merkelbach's details come in the wrong place to sustain the allegory of initiation, and that the overall interpretation that Charicleia's return to Ethiopia symbolises the return of a human soul to the state of grace from which it had fallen at birth runs into serious structural difficulties; the idea of return, for example, applies only to Charicleia

and not to Thoagenes, and "dans cette perspective la mère de Chariclée qui l'a exposée, c'est-à-dire la divinité génératrice, est seule responsable de la chute de l'âme."

Moreover, Merkelbach does not avoid the obvious circularity to which his argument is prone. Very little is known about the detailed rituals of the mystery cults, and Merkelbach claims that, correctly interpreted, the romances furnish valuable evidence as to their nature. But the very paucity of external evidence means that there is no proper control on the inferences which Merkelbach draws from the romances, apart from the evidence of the inferences themselves.

In any case, I am quite satisfied that, at least in the case of Heliodoros, an allegorising interpretation cannot be reconciled with other evidence indicative of the author's literary aims. In another section I argue that Heliodoros has taken great pains to anchor his narrative in the real world and to give depth of verisimilitude to the action. Such a procedure would be an incomprehensible superfluity, if not a downright hindrance, if the action were no more than a symbol for a profounder ritual content.

b) The case for connecting Heliodoros with the sun-cult of Emesa rests almost entirely on the postscript to the novel, where Heliodoros says that he was a native of Emesa and that his family were called οἱ ἀφ' Ἡλίου (10.41.4). Although various scholars have claimed to find other indications

of Heliodoros' adherence to the Emesan cult in the body of the romance, it is fair to say that it would never have occurred to them to look if the postscript had not pointed the way.

The thesis is presented in its fullest form by F.Altheim, but the association of Heliodoros with Emesan cult is accepted also by E.Rohde, K.Münscher (in Pauly-Wissowa), E.Cerulli, L.Cracco Ruggini, D.Kövendi and various other writers. Although what follows is principally directed against Altheim, I intend it to apply to all those scholars who have followed the same line of interpretation, whether they choose to date Heliodoros to the time of Elagabalus, when the cult was first introduced to Rome, or to the reign of Aurelian, when the cult of Sol Invictus, basically identical with that of the Emesan sun-god, enjoyed a new popularity.

Altheim argues that the main part of the romance will impress the reader with its emphasis on morality and the ultimate rewards of goodness; continued emphasis on sun-worship, especially in the last book, will predispose the audience towards conversion, and the revelation of Heliodoros' association with the great cult centre of Emesa will suddenly make clear the already subliminally accepted religious message of the novel.

However, I for one am quite unable to see that the romance is dominated by the figure of the sun (cf.Altheim

Literatur und Gesellschaft im ausgehenden Altertum, p.95: "... der ganze Roman ist durchzogen mit Hinweisen auf den grossen Gott von Emesa, Helios.") Apart from the Ethiopian divinities of the last book, there seem to be only three occasions when the divinity of the sun is mentioned (1.18.3, 2.1.1, 7.26.3), and none of these has any cultic significance. In the first two cases the sun is called ὁ θεός apparently to avoid a lame repetition of the word ἥλιος, and the third case is a call on the sun to witness an oath, a familiar classical topos and nothing to do with Emesa.

As for the Ethiopian sun-god of the last book, I can find no similarities between the cult described and that of the Emesan Baal. Under Elagabalus, the Syrian rites of the imported god were characterised, at least in the eyes of worthy historians, by sexual excess and human sacrifices (see the evidence collected by G.H.Halsberghe: The Cult of Sol Invictus, p.1ff.). Under Aurelian, the cult was universalised and discarded its local bases in Syria (Halsberghe p.156); it also lost its orgiastic content. But there is no evidence whatsoever to associate it with the sexual purity of which Heliodoros makes such a great show (and which forms such an important part of Altheim's argument), or with the wish to put an end to all forms of blood sacrifice expressed by Sisimithres at 10.9.6, but later forgotten. The Ethiopian sun-god is rather another element in Heliodoros' systematic realism,

derived from a widespread historiographical tradition of sun-worship in the land to the south of Egypt.

Great emphasis is placed by proponents of this theory on the identification of the Ethiopian sun-god with Apollo made by Charicles at 10.36.3 (cf.Rohde p.434/463 n.6, Altheim p.95f., Munscher col.20). If the identification is accepted, it would certainly carry the agency of Helios back into the Delphic books. However, it involves over-interpretation of 10.36.3. Charicles is making a purely rhetorical point. He is seeking punishment for Theagenes for the abduction of Charicleia, and by making the assimilation he can show that a crime has been committed against the ancestral Ethiopian god. This puts Hydaspes under an obligation to take Charicles' part. The rhetorical nature of the assimilation is emphasised by the structure of the sentence in which it occurs: first of all Theagenes is said simply to have raised a sanctuary (ἐκ τῶν Ἡλίου αὐτῶν), then this is made more specific, almost as an afterthought(καὶ Ἡλίου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος), finally the religious obligation on Hydaspes is introduced and used as an argument for his helping Charicles. When dealing with this passage and its interpreters we should note that a) nowhere is there any evidence for the Emesan Baal ever having been identified with Apollo; when an assimilation to the Greek pantheon was made it was with Zeus (cf.Halsberghe p.75), but mostly the sun-god retained his individual identity; b) the

assimilation of Apollo to the sun is in fact a a classical one; compare, for example, Aes.Bassarai (Nauck p.9, a quotation from Eratosth.Catast.24 p.140), Eur.Frag.781.11 Nauck (from the Phaethon); the identification is implied by Aes.Supp.212 and id.Sept.857, and is made explicit by Horace in the Carmen Saeculare (especially line 9). It is this classical tradition which is mocked by later Christian writers, not any current syncretism; see, for example, Arnob.adv.nat.3.33, Augustin.Civ.Dei 7.16.

In fact, far from the plot of the Aithiopica being motivated and guided by one divine power, there is a quite alarming variety at work, as we shall see when we come to discuss the third group of interpretation. When the action is ascribed to τύχη or αὐτοῦ θεοῦ or ὁ δαίμων, what room is there for the Emesan sun-god, whose cult "comprised pure monotheism" (Halsberghe p.80)?

With these considerations in mind we must turn again to 10.41.4. That Heliodoros came from Emesa does not prove that he was an adherent of the cult of the sun. Under Aurelian at least, that connection was dropped, and the cult became delocalised. Inscriptional evidence from Emesa (published in the fifth volume of Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, ed. L.Jalabert and R.Mouterde) contains surprisingly little which can be connected with the sun-cult, and by the fourth century, to which Heliodoros

must be dated, the town was becoming a centre of Christianity. Everything hinges, then, on how we are to understand the cryptic phrase τῶν ἀφ' Ἡλίου γένος. It is often used as evidence that Heliodoros was a priest of the Baal, but has also formed the basis of a theory that Heliodoros was a black man (cf.Snowden;Blacks in Antiquity, p.326 n.120). I can find no parallel occurrence to assist our interpretation. It is clear only that there is some connection with the native god of Emesa. However, Latin inscriptions mentioning "sacerdotes Solis Alagabali" (e.g.CIL.6.2269) suggest that the phrase is not a periphrastic formula to denote priesthood. The last sentence of the Aithiopica derives immense stylistic strength from the way in which it gradually homes in on the author: first his nationality, then his city, then comes τῶν ἀφ' Ἡλίου γένος, then his father and finally himself. It is thus obvious that τὸ ἀφ' Ἡλίου γένος is a family name, and it is perfectly plausible that in a centre of sun-worship there should be certain families claiming descent from the deity, just as the Spartan kings claimed descent from Heracles. It is also plausible that an individual should go on using a family name without himself being a devotee of the divinity enshrined in that name. In the absence of any firm evidence indicating a close relationship with Emesan cult, the phrase is most safely understood simply as a family name without immediate religious significance. It need indicate no more than that

Heliodoros was a member of the Emesan aristocracy; it is part of an identification, not a statement of belief.

Having concluded that there is no positive evidence that Heliodoros was proselytising the Emesan sun-cult, we may point to a few features of the last two books of the Aithiopica that actually rule out such an interpretation.

i) 9.9.5, where Heliodoros discusses the myth of Isis and Osiris. The unquestioning acceptance of the Egyptian mysteries, adherence to which remained widespread in the Mediterranean area, cannot be reconciled with the theories of Merkelbach or Altheim. Altheim appears to notice no difficulty, and Merkelbach is driven to the extraordinary expedient of arguing (p.283) that τὰ μυστικώτερα of 9.10.1 are an explanation of the connection between the Isiac and Heliac cults. It is indeed a strange way of winning converts, to stop short of mentioning the cult which one is proselytising !

ii) 10.1.2 θύσας ... θεοὺς ἐνορίους : for a discussion of what these θεοὶ ἔνόριοι are, see my notes on 10.1.2. They may be no more than a literary convention, but the authorial acceptance of numerous divinities with specific spheres of influence can only weaken the case for the novel being permeated by the religion of the Emesan sun-god.

iii) 10.2.2: the inclusion of Dionysos among the ancestral gods of Meroe is hard to explain if the Ethiopian sun-god is intended to be identified with a universal Apollo/Baal

principle.

iv) 10.4.4: women are excluded from the Ethiopian sacrifice, although no similar restriction appears to have operated in the sun-cult.

The arguments to be advanced in the next section will also apply a fortiori to the Emesan cult.

c) One of the most noticeable features of the Aithiopica is the frequency with which divine agency is invoked, both by characters and by the narrator. Almost equally striking is the plethora of forms which this divine agency is supposed to take. Since the lack of consistency is the main plank of my argument, it will be necessary to collect the evidence at some length. First, however, we must register one caveat which has become routine when dealing with, for example, tragedy: it is wrong to look for the author's own views in the statements of his characters. For this reason I have divided my examples into two lists: i) those where divine agency is confirmed by authorial statement; ii) those where it exists only in the mouth of a character. Sometimes these utterances are close enough in form to those of the authorial voice for us to accept them, but we can rule out of our investigation certain exotic features of Calasiris' narrative, such as the astrology of 2.24.6 and 2.25.5, and the ἀνάβασις and ὑπηρέται of 4.7.13, which are pure ἀλαζονεία and not even intended to represent Calasiris' genuine beliefs.

I begin with the authorial statements.

i) 1.1.6: the striking opening scene is said to be the work of ὁ δαίμων.

ii) 1.18.3: Thyamis' dream is described as θεῖον, presumably meaning sent by ὁ θεός.

iii) 2.20.2: Thermouthis' death is μοιρῶν τάχα βουλήσει.

iv) 5.4.1: Cnemon, believing that Thisbe is alive, is described as the victim of τι ... δαιμόνιον, which is then elevated to a universal principle, ὃ καὶ τἆλλα κλύειν ὡς ἔπεισαν τὰ ἀνθρώπεια καὶ παιδιὰν πεποίηται.

v) 7.2.2: Calasiris' oracle is called τὰ ἐκ θεῶν αὐτῷ ... προθεσπισθέντα.

vi) 7.6.4: Calasiris' intervention at his sons' duel is ascribed to εἴτε τι δαιμόνιον εἴτε τύχη τις τὰ ἀνθρώπεια βραβεύουσα. In the next section Calasiris is said to have been defeated ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης, and the events are said to be the fulfilment of ἃ πάλαι αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς προεθέσπισεν.

vii) At 7.9.1 the same events are τὸ προωρισμένον ἐκ μοιρῶν.

viii) 7.12.2: Theagenes and Charicleia enter Arsace's palace, impelled by ἡ τὰ καθ'αὑτοὺς ἀθλοθετοῦσα τύχη.

ix) 8.9.2: the divine will is offered as part of a set of alternative explanations; this is a device to achieve verisimilitude by feigning uncertainty; compare 9.8.2, where the same device is used, and 10.28.4, where one of the possible reasons for Theagenes' pursuit of the bull

is that he is acting ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ὁρμή.

x) 10.16.3: Charicleia's recognition is described as ἡ σκηνοπεσία τῆς τύχης.

xi) But at 10.37.3 the realisation of the central pair's love is τὰ φανερούμενα πρὸς τοῦ κρείττονος.

xii) 10.38.3: a possible explanation involves a ὁρμὴ θεία ἢ σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἐσκηνογράφησεν.

xiii) 10.41.2: the oracle is παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.

In addition to these specific statements we must take into account all the occasions when the influence of some divine power takes a concrete form in the narrative, usually through dreams or oracles. In the Aithiopica the action is controlled to a surprising extent by purely human agencies, and although it may be possible to argue for a scheme whereby the will of the gods works itself out in a framework of freely taken decisions, the narrative structure offers no evidence that Heliodoros conceived the gods as intervening directly in human affairs. Thus, although the flight of Theagenes and Charicleia and their journey to Ethiopia is predicted by the Delphic oracle (2.35.5), no one understands it at the time, and it is not explained to the reader until the very end of the romance (10.41.2); the motivation of the flight is centred on the figure of Calasiris, and it is remarkable that he is furnished with two complete sets of motives: a) a divine plan, made manifest in the vision of Apollo and Artemis at 3.11.5, and referred to at one point

as ἡ ἐκ θεῶν οἰκονομία (4.9.1); and b) a human motivation, completely incompatible with the first, whereby Calasiris had visited Ethiopia and had been commissioned by Persinna to look for her lost daughter (4.12.2). This double motivation at such a crucial point argues at least a carelessness that would be unexpected if the author's central tenet were the exercise of a divine plan. An interesting new approach to this problem has recently been made by Prof. J.J.Winkler (in a paper read at the International Conference on the Ancient Novel, 12-17 July, 1976). This sought to reconcile the double motivation of Calasiris by casting him in a narrative rôle somewhat like that of Heliodoros himself: his narrative technique depends largely on suspense maintained by gradual and partial revelation of the truth. If this interpretation is true (and I have doubts over parts of it - see my note on 10.36.4), it means that the divine plan is no more than a staging-post on the way to the revelation of Persinna's commission, which will be the final and definitive version. At any rate, the divine plan is a useful literary device to pin the action together; it embodies no statement of belief, either of the real Heliodoros or of his narrative persona. This conclusion is strengthened by evidence such as that of vi-vii) above, where the same events are within the space of a few lines ascribed to τι δαιμόνιον, τύχη, εἱμαρμένη, οἱ θεοί and μοῖραι.

Before going on to draw firm conclusions, we must look at the evidence of the characters' words. As I have pointed out above, this will require careful interpretation, and it will have to be a matter of judgement whether or not any individual example is felt to have authorial backing. I think, however, that we can disregard in this context passages where irony is at work, and also the many places where a character blames his misfortune on a divine power; this is usually no more than a natural human response finding an outlet in a rhetorical form.

i) 1.26.4: Charicleia says she trusts θεοῖς and δαίμονι τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαχόντι τὸν ἡμέτερον ἐπιτροπεύειν ἔρωτα.

ii) 2.7.3: Theagenes discerns the action of θεῶν τις ; cf.2.17.1.

iii) 2.21.4: Calasiris talks of τύχη ; cf.2.21.6.

iv) 2.23.2: Calasiris says of Theagenes and Charicleia τύχη γάρ μου θεοὶ τούτους ἀνέδειξαν. A suggestive juxtaposition.

v) 2.23.3: Calasiris' return has been promised by σὶ θεοί.

vi) Calasiris' flight from Memphis was caused by the courtesan Rhodopis. At 2.25.3 she is called τῶν πεπρωμένων ... ὑποκρίτις ; then an agent of ὃ τότε ἐλληχὼς δαίμων, and at 2.25.4 her effect is described as αἱ μοιρῶν ἀνάγκαι. This seems like further evidence for Heliodoros' indiscriminate use of terms.

vii) 3.11.5: in Calasiris' dream Apollo and Artemis talk of ὁ μοιρῶν ... θεσμός and τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον.

viii) 3.16.5: Calasiris talks of θεοὶ π τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ μοῖραις and blames them for his exile.

ix) 4.5.1: Calasiris refers to a dimly sensed divine plan as εἱμαρμένη. At 4.9.1 it is ἡ ἐκ θεῶν δύσνομία.

x) 4.13.1: Calasiris' visit to Delphi was θεῶν ὑποθήκη.

xi) 4.16.3: Calasiris says ἀλλ' ἦν ἅρα καὶ νοῦ πάντος ὀξύτερον τὸ θεῖον. In the same sentence τὸ θεῖον is apparently equated with ὁ Πύθιος.

xii) 4.19.3: Charicles attributes all his misfortunes to divine wrath at a previous transgression; a most peculiar passage.

xiii) 5.6.2: in one sentence Theagenes ascribes the same events to εἱμαρμένη, τύχη and ὁ δαίμων.

xiv) 5.27.1: Calasiris attributes the worsening of the sea to perhaps τύχη τις.

xv) 5.29.2: τῆς τύχης ἐνυβρίσαι παραδόσης (Calasiris).

xvi) 6.4.2: the meeting with Nausicles' friend is οὐκ ἀθεεί.

xvii) 6.12.1: Charicleia and Calasiris call on τὸν ... εἰληχότα δαίμονα.

xviii) 6.15.1: the dead son of the Bessan witch accuses her of violating τοὺς ἐκ μοιρῶν θεσμούς.

xix) 7.7.2: Calasiris calls the duel between his two sons τὴν ἐκ μοιρῶν μανίαν.

xx) At 7.26.9, in a sententia Theagenes refers to εἱ κρείττονες.

xxi) 8.9.16: after being saved from Arsace's stake, Charicleia thinks that her rescue was due to the gods. However, Heliodoros makes it clear that this was not the real cause (cf.8.10.1 against 8.10.2). Contrast 8.11.8.

xxii) 8.11.2: the vision of Calasiris talks of μοῖρα; at 8.11.6 Charicleia attributes the vision to θεοί.

xxiii) 8.16.7: Theagenes tells Charicleia that their capture is πεπρωμένον, and at 8.17.1 Charicleia realises that she is ὑπὸ τῶν εἱμαρμένων χειραγωγουμένη.

xxiv) 9.24.4: the adventures of the couple are ascribed by Charicleia to ὁ δαίμων.

xxv) 10.4.2: Sisimithres - whose religious statements are to be accepted almost on the same level as those of the author - equates ἐκ θεοῦ, τὸ δαιμόνιον and τὸ πεπρωμένον.

xxvi) 10.9.3: in an inspired moment Charicleia talks of ἡ μοῖρα.

xxvii) 10.9.6: Sisimithres on τὸ θεῖον and ἐκ κρείττονος.

xxviii) 10.12.3: Charicleia says ἐκ θεοῦ will reveal her identity; cf.Sisimithres at 10.14.6 and Hydaspes after the revelation, at 10.16.4 and 10.16.6. At 10.18.1 Hydaspes refers to τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενές.

xxix) 10.19.2: Charicleia's association with Theagenes πρὸς τοῦ δαιμονίου καθέστηκε, but at 10.20.2 it is ascribed to θεοῦ.

xxx) 10.31.2: Theagenes proclaims θεοὺς ... μελήσει περὶ ἡμῶν.

xxxi) 10.38.1: Charicleia implies that the action is due to βούλημα θεῶν and διάκρισις ἐκείνων.

xxxii) 10.39.2: a most important passage, where Sisimithres offers a religious interpretation of the events at Meroe; cf.10.39.3.

xxxiii) 10.40.1: Hydaspes agrees that things have happened θεῶν νεύματι and at the very end of the novel (10.41.1) it is said to be through the will of Helios and Selene.

What are we to make of this plethora of supernatural motivations ? Apart from the fact tnat ὁ δαίμων preponderates in laments, there is no discernible pattern in the author's use of different divine powers, and in several cases the same events are ascribed to differing forces within the one sentence, apparently with no aim other than to vary the vocabulary. It is difficult to see how such widely differing terms could be interchanged by a man writing to demonstrate the workings of the divine will in human affairs. The conclusion is unavoidable that if the divine plan were in any sense central to his conception, Heliodoros would have taken some care to make its workings the product of a consistent agency. It is especially difficult to accept the interchangeability of ἡ τύχη and τὸ θεῖον for example, when both occur in the role of "universal playwright" (10.16.3 cf. 10.38.3), and in general it is hard to square the rôle of τύχη with any idea of the gods as the beneficent arbiters of human life. This lack of consistency

is mirrored by Heliodoros' treatment of the religious motifs of the plot itself; the qualifications needed to be a sacrifice to the Ethiopian gods are never resolved; the standing of the priest and priestess varies to suit the dramatic possibilities of the moment; the objection to animal sacrifice made by the gymnosophists is ultimately disregarded, and the sacrifices go ahead in Sisimithres' presence, even the practice of human sacrifice never being explicitly abolished; the constitution of the Ethiopian pantheon varies also, Selene not being mentioned until the last book, and Dionysos being disregarded after the first few chapters of the tenth book. Again the only reason for these careless inconsistencies must be that they were not in the centre of the author's thinking.

Nevertheless, it is self-evident that Heliodoros has overlaid his plot with a network of references to divine direction. Why should this be?

The point has been well made by T.Szepessy (Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 5 (1957) p.241ff.) that Heliodoros has taken some care to avoid the structural weaknesses to which the romantic form was prey. The structure could easily degenerate into a random concatenation of incidents, that could be prolonged indefinately to give the required length. Heliodoros has devised a narrative shape which gives a constant feeling of forward purpose in that events are always directed towards Charicleia's

return to Ethiopia. Here we may go beyond Szepessy's conclusions and associate the divine motivations with the author's desire to prevent his narrative trailing off into formlessness. All that is important is to create the impression of a maintained direction; it is immaterial whether the divine plan is actually discernible in the events, far less that it can be interpreted in any consistent fashion. In fact, as we have seen, the divine level is often a superfluity, grafted onto events that already have a fully sufficient motivation on the human level. What is more, the author's own advanced religious interpretation breaks down at the climactic point of the entire novel.

This deserves a detailed analysis. At 10.39.2 Sisimithres offers Hydaspes an interpretation of the preceding episodes. The most immediately striking thing about this is that the events are not presented in the order in which they occurred; this need not of course be at all significant, but we must note that the role of Charicles is certainly distorted. His intervention is presented as parallel to the recognition of Charicleia, as proof that the gods do not desire the sacrifice. Now, although his arrival is dramatic and unexpected, and could easily be described as miraculous, it is ultimately inconsequential, coming too late to affect the recognition of Charicleia and at a time when Charicleia was already explaining to her mother the nature of her relationship with Theagenes. Charicles'

arrival at Meroe is a purely literary inspiration, and none the worse for that. Sisimithres then turns to the incident of the runaway bull. We shall see in the commentary that this episode is not organically relevant to the denouement, despite a definite function in teasing the reader's expectations (see notes on 10.31.3); it does nothing to further the divine plan of which Sisimithres presents it as part. His allegorical interpretation that the interruption of the animal sacrifice somehow symbolised and prefigured the non-fulfilment of the human sacrifice is even harder to accept; the bull was recaptured and led back to the altar (10.30.6), and it is presumably slaughtered in the sacrifice which takes place, without emphasis, at 10.41.3; on this basis Theagenes stands little chance of survival! Moreover, Sisimithres' retrospect is incomplete; he does not mention the Ethiopian wrestler for example, but it is not clear why this episode should be less significant than the bull-fight. The vivid and visualised detail with which both of Theagenes combats are described may lead us to suspect that they are too concrete to represent anything allegorically. The tone of Sisimithres is unmistakably authoritative. The whole climax at the end of the novel depends on his interpretation being accepted as authorial, and there is no question of distancing irony here. We must conclude, I submit, that the religious climax at the end of the Aithiopica, of which Sisimithres' allegory stands as

the central part, is applied to the narrative rather than growing from it. It serves a retrospectively unifying function, but does not genuinely pervade the texture of the romance. Heliodoros makes use of the religious effect when it suits him, and at other times he forgets about it to such an extent that he lapses into tell-tale inconsistency.

None of this is to deny that it is possible to parallel certain motifs in the Aithiopica from the mystery religions; according to F.Cumont (Les mystères de Mithra) the δαῖμονες, ἑμαρμένη and the sun all appear in Mithraic doctrine; on Mithraic monuments the moon appears in a chariot pulled by bulls, which is related to the thought of 10.6.5; and women were banned from Mithraic ceremonies as they are from the Ethiopian sacrifice (10.4.5). It is, however, somewhat superficial to interpret the mere presence of these motifs as an indication of any religious thinking on Heliodoros' part; they must have formed part of the mental furniture of most fourth-century inhabitants of the empire, and what is truly significant in the Aithiopica is the jumbled and garbled form in which they appear.

My negative conclusion should not be read as a dismissal of Heliodoros as a thoughtless hack. I should rather hope that it may help to liberate his work from what I regard as an irrelevant, not to say trivialising, area of criticism. It seems to me that the problems which exercised him were not religious but literary, those of form and resolution.

To these he has found a largely successful answer. He is a fine romancer, not an indifferent theologue.

Finally a modern parallel. Many horror-films end on an apparently religious note, but I should imagine that few have been converted to Christianity by the Dracula cycle, or even convinced of the religious sincerity of those concerned in the making of the films. Here too the religious theme is introduced for the satisfying conclusion it supplies, and its specific form is often dictated by generic requirements.

3. Realism in the Aithiopica.

Realism may appear an odd concept to apply to the Greek romances, with their far-fetched and stereotyped plots. A few general remarks may serve to delineate the sense in which I intend it to be taken. One problem that has to be faced, consciously or not, by any writer of literary fiction is the complete control that he can exert over his material. An historian, for example, has the structure of his narrative largely predetermined; since motivations and background actually existed, his task is not so much one of creation as of recovery. Even a very imaginative historian can count on carrying some degree of conviction simply because his business is the retailing of facts. The novelist on the other hand has to invent not only the events which form his plot, but also their causes, the personalities and motivations of his characters, and even the background against which his plot is played out. Paradoxically, this very freedom can be a difficulty. The novelist has the power to make anything happen, literally at the stroke of a pen, but he must, if he is to retain any plausibility, restrict that power. The degree of restraint depends, of course, on many factors: a fairy tale can allow a certain laxity in the normal processes of cause and effect, while a religious allegory can do without a concrete or specific background. When a writer can be shown to have

made some attempt to make his narrative credible, to have followed normal logical processes, and especially to have tried to set his plot in an environment which is recognisably that of the real world, we are entitled to talk of realism in connection with his work.

The outline of the Aithiopica resembles that of the other romances; here we may justifiably invoke the limitations of the genre. I hope to show that Heliodoros' treatment of his material shows a greater awareness of realism than that of any other romancer. We are immediately faced with the problem of how the final result can remain, to our minds, so incredible. When we are confronted with the phenomenon of a highly self-conscious writer writing realistically about events that seem to us quite incredible, we must begin by calling our own criteria of credibility into question. Would the plot of the Aithiopica have seemed as incredible to its original readership as it does to us ? Clearly an unanswerable question, but again some general considerations may help to guide us round it. Given the introversion of the ancient literary culture, we need not be surprised if the controls exerted over unlimited possibility derive from literary sources rather than from actual experience. This insight has far-reaching consequences: earlier scholars who remarked on similarities with other genres, such as Hellenistic poetry, New Comedy, or rhetorical controversiae were right to draw attention

to them, but misguided in interpreting them as evidence for the origin of the romantic form. The resemblances postdate the invention of literary fiction, in so far as it is sensible to talk in such terms, and are best regarded as a means of anchoring a wholly fictitious plot to the type of thing already familiar, and therefore credible, to both author and reader from their literary experience. In short, the criteria of realism within which the Greek romance operates are defined by what had been written in the past, not by individual experience.

Even with this general proviso, however, we must admit that the plots of the romances make excessive use of τύχη or co-incidence. Heliodoros in contrast almost always provides a motivation of some kind, even if not always entirely convincing. Thus, for example, Persinna's exposure of her white-skinned child is motivated by her fear of being accused of adultery, although this is not consistent with the character of her husband as presented elsewhere in the novel, especially in the last two books. But we may contrast a similar moment in Xenophon of Ephesos (1.7.2), where the parents of Habrocomes and Anthia decide to send the couple abroad for no discernible reason, except to get the plot under way. Heliodoros can be seen at his best in this respect in the episode of the giraffe and the sacrificial bull (10.27ff.), where effect follows cause most convincingly.

This technique of creating verisimilitude by what we may call depth of motivation has already been discussed by Feuillâtre - the best part of a somewhat unsatisfactory book. We may turn instead to another type of technique centring on the pretence that the events described are real ones and that they take place in the real world. This automatically places Heliodoros in the rôle of historian, and much of the pose derives from historiography. We may divide the technique into three parts.

The first may be termed authorial uncertainty. The very admission that there is the possibility of doubt or of a different interpretation of the facts removes the narrative from the realms of fiction to those where the author sits in judgement over evidence. This category can be further subdivided: a) directly expressed uncertainty:

i) 1.8.1: ἀνακινούσης αὐτῆς , σῖμαι , πλέον τὰ πάθη τῆς νυκτός ...

ii) 2.13.2: ἡ ... Χαρίκλεια καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοιλότερα τοῦ σηκοῦ κατεδύετο , τάχα μὲν καὶ εὐλαβηθεῖσα πλέον δὲ ἅμα κατασκυνθεῖσα .

iii) 2.20.2: ὁ Θέρμουθις χάλκεόν τινα καὶ πύματον ὕπνον ἔλκυσεν ἀσπίδος δήγμασι, μοιρῶν τάχα βουλήσει ...

iv) 2.22.1: ὑποδέχονται δὲ αὐτοὺς ... θυγάτηρ τε ... θεραπαινίδες τε ... οὕτως σῖμαι πρὸς τοῦ κεκτημένου διακεκαυμένον.

v) 5.5.3: καὶ αὖθις ἔκκλιτον ὥσπερ σῖμαι σπονδῶν τῶν δακρύων ἀπάρχοντες ...

vi)5.7.3: τοὺς γὰρ καλοὺς καὶ βαίβαρον χεῖρες ὡς ἔοικε δυσωποῦνται.

vii) 6.5.1: τωῦτα λέγων οὐ χαλέπως ἔπειθεν, ἅμα τε αἰμαι καὶ ἑτέραι ἐλπίδες τοὺς ἀγγελθεῖσι συναναθαινομένης.

viii) 8.8.2: ἀλλ'ἦν αἷμα καὶ θηλητηρίου ψυχὴ δολερὰ πικρότερον.

ix) 9.9.5: φυσικῶν πινῶν, αἷμα, ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεολόγων ... τὰι ἐγκαπεσπαρμένας ... ὑπονοίαι μὴ παραγυμνούντων.

x) 9.11.6: τὰ βρέφη ... τάχα που τὴν ἄπειρον ἀποτρεπόμενα βοήν, ὑπέφευγεν.

xi) 9.19.5: οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ... ἀντέιχοντο ... ἴσως δέ που καὶ τιμωρίαν λιποταξίου προορῶντες.

xii) 10.6.5: Διονύσῳ ... παντοῖα ζῷα ἐκεσφάττοντο, διὰ τὸ πανδήμων αἷμα τοῦ θεοῦ ... Ἡλίῳ μὲν τέθριππον λευκὸν ἔπεμπον, τῷ ταχυτάτῳ θεῶν, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ τάχιστον καθοσιοῦντες.

xiii) 10.28.2: τῶν ταύρων ἄτερος, ὁ μόνος ὡς ἐώκει τὸ θηρίον κατωπτευκώς)...

These examples are made the more noticeable by the recessive authorial stance normally adopted by Heliodoros.

b) indirectly expressed uncertainty, usually appearing as no more than vagueness over details. But a novelist can write, for example, "two days, four hours and six minutes later" as easily as "some two or three days later", and with as little fear of contradiction. The avoidance of precision is a significant element in an authorial pose of less than complete omniscience. The

follo"ing examples shoula serve to illustrate the principle.

i) 7.20.1: καὶ πέμπτης που λουτὸν καὶ ἕκτης ἡμέρας παρωχηκυίας καὶ τὴν Χαρίκλειαν τῆς Ἀρσάκης ἅπαξ που καὶ δεύτερον προσκεκλημένης.

ii) 8.1.4: τὴν ... φρουρὰν ἐξήλασε, δύο μέν που καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνεσχόμην.

iii) 8.14.2: κατὰ τὴν ἕκτης ἡμέραν εἰς ὥραν που τρίτην.

iv) 9.4.1: the besieged Syenians dig a shaft εἰς ὀργυιὰς που πέντε τὴν κάθετον

v)9.5.1: after the collapse of part of the city wall of Syene, that which is left stands above the water πέντε που πήχεις.

vi) 9.5.8: under fire from Syene, the Ethiopians shoot back at the Syenians and δύο. πού τινας καὶ πλείους διαπείρουσιν.

vii) 9.8.2: the Ethiopian dyke bursts κατὰ μέσας που νύκτας.

viii)9.9.1: unable to enter Syene because of the deep mud, the Ethiopians ἡμέρας μὲν δὴ δύο που καὶ τρεῖς ἔστω διῆγεν.

ix) 10.1.2: Hydaspes stops at Philai and ἡμέρας μέν που δύο διαναπαύει τὸν στρατόν.

x) 10.8.2: all the captured young men and women fail the ordeal of the brazier, πλὴν δύο που καὶ τριῶν νεανίδων.

c) uncertainty expressed by offering a variety of alternative reasons or explanations. This is a device most clearly borrowed from true historiography, and is especially reminiscent of Herodotos. It is worth noting

that often one of the explanations advanced involves the operation of a supernatural force. This I take to be an imitation of the historiographer's method of dealing with an event whose causes he cannot explain. Certainly such passages are not legitimate evidence in assessing Heliodoros' own religious position. We may cite 7.6.4 - two explanations for the sudden appearance of Calasiris at the duel between his sons, both supernatural; 8.9.2 - two explanations of why the Ionian serving-girl should claim to be responsible for the poisoning of Cybele, the second supernatural; 9.8.2 - four explanations for the collapse of the Ethiopian dyke, the fourth supernatural; 10.28.4 - two explanations of why Theagenes tackled the runaway bull, the second supernatural; 10.38.3 - two explanations of how the Ethiopian populace came to understand fully the truth of the relationship between Charicleia and Theagenes, the second supernatural.

Authorial uncertainty is actually a well established trick in Lügenerzählung; compare the words of D.Fehling (Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot, p.91): "Wer hundert Details gibt und dann beim hundertundersten sagt, hier sei er nicht mehr ganz sicher, der beglaubigt damit die hundert anderen erlogenen Details in einer Weise, die nicht mehr zu überbieten ist."

The second way in which Heliodoros strengthens the historiographical plausibility of his romance is to make allusions to historical or geographical knowledge familiar to his reader, either from reading or from experience. This is perhaps the clearest method of making a close tie with the real world. The source of the information is immaterial, although the device will obviously work most neatly when references can be easily identified by the reader. Hence Heliodoros tends to use mostly classics like Herodotos; the most obvious example is the introduction of the courtesan Rhodopis to motivate Calasiris' flight from Memphis (2.25.1). It has often been noticed that the effect of this is to provide a link with the Persian-occupied Egypt of the sixth century BC, but no attempt has been made to see the same technique in operation elsewhere in the Aithiopica. Heliodoros is more often accused of aiming only to demonstrate his erudition. Admittedly his technique is not infallible: his learning often appears superficial and garbled, and occasionally he misses a point altogether, for example with his apparent ignorance of the fact that Philai is an island (9.11.2, 10.1.2).

Examples of the device are legion, and its importance may be judged by the proportion of my commentary which is concerned with matters of historical or geographical or ethnographical detail. The following is a selection of the most striking examples from the last two books. A

cursory reading will confirm that the technique is present throughout the work. For fuller discussion of the sources used by Heliodoros, the reader is referred in each case to my commentary on the relevant passage.

i) the golden chains used by the Ethiopians at 9.1.5 derive from a tradition of Ethiopian wealth which may be traced in many authors; this passage is an explicit reminiscence of Hdt.3.23.

ii) the Syenians' shaft at 9.4.1 is taken from Xen.Hell. 3.1.7, where it is more in place.

iii) the cracks in the ground used in one of the explanations of the breaching of the wall at 9.4.3 seem to be connected in some way with Ephoros' account of the Nile flood, which survives in a rather jumbled version at Diod.1.39.7ff.

iv) the clemency shown by Hydaspes to Syene, and much of the detail of his characterisation, echoes a long tradition of Ethiopian piety, starting with the Homeric banquets of the gods and extending into the late empire.

v) the emerald mines are mentioned by Pliny (Nat.Hist. 37.69) and Strabo (17.1.45); it is possible that they were a matter of some public interest in the fourth century, having recently been taken over by the nomadic tribes, including the Blemmyes, who were encroaching on the southern frontier of the province of Egypt.

vi) Oroondates' fear of horrible punishment (9.6.6) echoes a tradition of Persian cruelty. Heliodoros employs

this trait in much the same way as he does Ethiopian piety, as a kind of leitmotif to characterise the Persians throughout the romance.

vii) the mud around Syene may be reminiscent of that which plays so dramatic a rôle in Julian's account of the siege of Nisibis. It is worth while to consider the gain in verisimilitude accruing to Heliodoros' narrative if the siege of Syene is recognised to be a large-scale allusion to the siege of Nisibis.

viii) the quotation from Philo at 9.9.3 may serve this allusive function.

ix) the identification at 9.9.4 of Isis with the land of Egypt and Osiris with the Nile has a long pedigree in "scientific" writers.

x) the very inclusion of all the material in 9.9-10 relating to the Isiac mysteries may be regarded as consciously an historian's response, and the pose of reticence over mystical revelation at 9.10.1 is borrowed from Hdt.2.171. This is a particularly interesting example; the suggestion of the truth being more extensive than what Heliodoros is prepared to reveal gives the impression of a wider knowledge than he really possessed. He even imitates historiographical ἀλαζονεία.

xi) the description of the cataphracts' armour is accurate, although it cannot be pinned down to a single extant source. It may derive from a history of Constantius' eastern campaigns

which I believe both Heliodoros and Julian to have been using in their descriptions of the siege of Syene and Nisibis respectively.

xii) the number of men accommodated in the tower on an elephant's back (9.18.5) was a matter of perennial interest to classical authors, and although Heliodoros cannot be pinned down to a single extant source, it again seems likely that he was exploiting the verisimilitude to be gained by appearing to react as a real historian.

xiii) Oroondates' withdrawal from the battle at 9.19.1 is directly modelled on the behaviour of Dareios at Gaugamela. The principle here is that what had happened once could quite possibly happen again.

xiv) the headdress and behaviour of the Ethiopian archers at 9.19.3 are also described by Lucian. Similar archers are depicted on the Arch of Constantine in Rome.

xv) the description of the Nilometer at Syene (9.22.3) shares a source with Strabo, probably Artemidoros.

xvi) the name of the eunuch Bagoas is taken from several historical Persian eunuchs. Heliodoros' practice with names is in general aimed at giving an impression of authenticity.

xvii) the list of the ancestral gods of Ethiopia (10.2.2) closely resembles those found in Herodotos, Diodoros and Strabo.

xviii) the temple of Pan, said to be the residence of the gymnosophists (10.4.1), may be an oblique reference

to the worship of Pan in Ethiopia recorded by Diodoros (3.9) and Strabo (17.2.3).

xix) the giant reeds at 10.4.6 may reflect some actual botanical theory; cf. Aristot. de plant. 820a1.

xx) the account of the geography of the Island of Meroe given at 10.5.1, though very confused, bears strikingly close resemblances to versions preserved by Strabo (17.2.2) and Diodoros (1.33).

xxi) the exceptional abundance of fauna around Meroe again echoes the source followed by Strabo (17.1.2).

xxii) the refusal of the gymnosophists to participate in the human sacrifice (10.9.6) is modelled on an episode in Philostratos' Life of Apollonios, which may also be regarded as the source for the very existence of Ethiopian gymnosophists. By including these figures at all, Heliodoros was creating a link with a work which, whatever we may consider its value, at least claimed to be of genuine historicity.

xxiii) the power of the Meroitic priesthood (10.10.1) is in conformity with traditions reported by Diodoros (3.6) and Strabo (17.2.3).

xxiv) although what Heliodoros says about Ethiopian hieroglyphics (10.14.1) is directly contradicted by Diodoros (3.3), it nevertheless seems reasonable to say that he was drawing on facts, in this case incorrectly remembered, to enhance his historical background.

xxv) the ant-gold bought by the Troglodyte ambassadors

at 10.26.2 is derived from Hdt.3.102, and is found, with elaborations, in many later writers.

xxvi) the information given on Axum at 10.27.1, although never historically accurate, may reflect awareness that a newly emerged power had assumed some kind of hegemony in north-east Africa.

xxvii) Heliodoros' description of the Axumitic giraffe (10.27.1ff.) shares a source with Timotheos of Gaza.

xxviii) Theagenes' Thessalian bull-wrestling employs an actual Thessalian technique; if Heliodoros really was the Bishop of Tricca, he may even have seen this for himself.

This list of details is far from complete, but we must also note the possibility of allusion on a larger scale. This is especially important with the siege of Syene. The method employed by Hydaspes is spectacular, but it is also plausible, as it had just recently been used by Shapur at Nisibis. Once the reader had picked up the allusion of general method and of detail, especially the fracture of the dyke which is inorganic in Heliodoros, the similarity with the siege of Nisibis would go to strengthen the realism of Heliodoros' narrative. The literary effect is a complex one, and I must say that I do not believe that considerations of realism are sufficient to explain the inclusion of the siege in the first place; I would guess that there was a much less worthy reason for that - sensationalist exploitation of current public interest.

But once the inclusion was made, whatever the motive, I can see no reason to deny that certain sections of the description play a part in making the whole more realistic.

I have already touched on the Ethiopian gymnosophists. Their very inclusion is a gesture towards fact as Heliodoros saw it. Can we go even further and ask why it was that Heliodoros chose to give the historical name Meroe to Hydaspes' capital ? It is part of a technique of realism so obvious and so natural as to have passed totally unremarked.

The final technique for achieving verisimilitude that I wish to discuss is less easily defined, but may be termed abundance of detail. The more irrelevant the detail, the more real it appears, since it gives the impression that we are not dealing solely with the confines of a tidy fictional world, but with a more historical type of event, where not every detail is organically linked to the central theme. In other words, the reader is to think "There would be no point in including this if it were not true." There is not a great deal of difference in form or function between an inorganic detail that alludes to a well-known historian or geographer and an inorganic detail invented by Heliodoros himself. It may be, therefore, that some of the examples I shall discuss in this section in fact belong in the previous one, the work to which they allude being lost. In general, though, Heliodoros does not invent the

kind of "fact" which admits di proof, and these inorganic details hang more closely on the central narrative, without actually advancing it in any way. Sometimes they seem to have been added simply because this was the way things would have been done if the events had really happened.

Of course, there are vast numbers of such details in the Aithiopica, and their identification must often remain a matter for subjective response. I hope that the following examples will serve to illustrate the principle.

i) the details of the mining operations undertaken by the Syenians (9.4.1ff.) involve at least two pieces of striking circumstantial detail: the motif of the forward diggers passing the earth back to those behind them, and that of the earth removed from the mine being deposited in a part of the city that used to be a public garden, πόλιν κηπευόμενον. The very fact that the public gardens of Syene play no part in the plot reinforces the impression that they are real.

ii) at 9.8.1ff. the Syenians' tunnel and the rebuilding of the broken wall raise a number of problems. My opinion is that both are narrative cul-de-sacs which tease the reader's expectations and create suspense, but they also reflect real practice during a siege, and so add to the verisimilitude. A genuinely realistic detail in the same section is the remark that the rebuilding of the wall was easy because the stones had fallen inwards. A less

fastidious writer would simply have ignored the problem.

iii) 9.17.1: the careful differentiation between the battle signals of the Ethiopians and the Persians serves no narrative function.

iv) the care with which Heliodoros avoids anomalies in conversations is discussed in my note on 9.24.2. This forms an obvious contrast with, for example, television science fiction, where creatures from all over the universe converse in English.

v) also in 9.24.2 Heliodoros has a clear enough visualisation of the arrangement of Hydaspes' camp to make him realise that someone has to go and fetch Theagenes and Charicleia.

vi) 10.4.6: the details of how the Ethiopians cross the river Astaborras to meet Hydaspes in the [illegible] on the other side become almost ridiculously minute. Again I can see no motive for their inclusion except a desire to give the impression that there is a vast bulk of reality stretching into the distance behind the fiction of the plot.

vii) the structure of the Ethiopian pavilions treated in detail at 10.6.2 corresponds to no source that I have been able to discover, and may have been invented by Heliodoros himself.

viii) at 10.28.2 two of the sacrificial horses escape from their keepers, although only one is needed for Theagenes' exploit with the bull. The reason for having two horses break loose is presumably to avoid the unrealistic convenience

of the number being exactly that required by the plot. Heliodoros unfortunnately betrays the cleverness of the initial idea by omitting to say that the second horse was ever recaptured.

These examples must suffice; even a cursory reading of the Aithiopica will reveal many more. We must, however, spare a word for the two combats of Theagenes, which are both described in painstakingly realistic and concrete detail. In these two passages realism may be outweighed as a determining factor by simple interest in the events themselves, generating its own excitement and overriding any larger literary considerations.

What conclusions are we to draw from all this about Heliodoros' literary stature? Firstly, we can discount even more firmly any idea that the novel is symbolic of any mystery cult. Realism and allegory are uneasy bedfellows at the best of times, and on the allegorising interpretation the features that have been analysed in this section are inexplicable and pointless excrescences. Secondly, the stress laid on explanation and motivation diminishes the rôle of the supernatural, and what remains, namely a shadowy "divine plan", becomes principally a literary structuring device rather than in any real sense a reflection of beliefs actually held and promulgated by the author. Thirdly, the literary, even bookish character of Heliodoros' realism ought to soften our opinion of the plausibility of his

plot in toto. Fourthly, once the idea of anchoring the narrative to reality by means of allusion has been grasped, we shall have to revise conventional judgements on the sophistic nature of Heliodoros' digressions; he differs markedly in this respect from Achilles Tatius, the most "sophistic" of the romancers, his excursus being shorter, fewer and less rhetorical (cf.H.Rommel: Die naturwissenschaftlich-parodoxographischen Exkurse bei Philostratos, Heliodoros und Achilleus Tatios), but in general the introduction of information should be viewed less as an exercise in erudition than as a not unsubtle way of achieving realism. Lastly, we should observe in connection with the last two books that the realistic devices tend to cluster around the more obviously "historical" sections of the plot, the siege, the battle, the early characterisations of Meroe, and the relations of Hydaspes with the outside world. There is less place for them in the "romantic" sequences of recognition and reunion which form the main part of the tenth book.

Since writing the first draft of this section, I happen to have read a translation of a novel by the nineteenth-century Spanish novelist Benito Pérez Galdós, a conscious realist. I was not a little gratified to find that his methods often coincide with those of Heliodoros. There is extensive use of authorial uncertainty (though in a far more obtrusive authorial stance than that adopted

by Heliodoros), and a favourite trick is to describe in great detail the routes followed by the characters through the streets of contemporary Madrid. Allowing for the difference between the introverted Greek culture and the modern one with its emphasis on first-hand experience, there is no discrepancy in intention or effect from the techniques that I have attempted to analyse in Heliodoros.

4. The Style of Heliodoros.

Heliodoros has in general not fared very well with his critics; he is usually damned with faint praise as "the best of the romancers". His prose style has likewise come in for adverse comment. Even Otto Mazal, whose 1955 Vienna dissertation "Der Stil des Heliodorus von Emesa" remains the basic study, felt obliged to end his work with the usual obligatory apologetic remarks: "Nach all dem Gesagten ist es wohl klar, dass wir in Heliodor keinen schöpferischen Sprachgestalter vor uns haben. Er versteht es, als Rhetor Wirkungen zu erzielen ... ist seine Sprache, wenngleich ein kunstvolles, so doch mehr ein gekünsteltes Erzeugnis, in dem nicht mehr der Funke des echten Lebens glüht, der uns die Werke der klassischen Zeit so nahe bringt." (p.347). We have fortunately progressed from the attitude which saw everything rhetorical as ipso facto bad. We may continue to assume that Heliodoros' Greek is far removed from that spoken in the streets of his day, but I fail to see any basis for sensible criticism in such an assumption; indeed, it may be made, to varying degrees, of almost any writer with pretensions to literary status. After living with Heliodoros' prose for several years, I find myself struck not by its lifelessness but by its exuberance. His faults arise from excess of invention rather than from any routine exercise of rhetoric. He often

seems to be fascinated by the sheer music of the Greek language and goes out of his way to construct rhyming and assonantal patterns. He has a talent for hitting on the "mot juste", but having done so tends to repeat it: this accounts for his fondness for certain words such as those from the τοβέω root, and all those occasions when someone laughs τεσηρώς.

I am aware that style tends to disintegrate when subjected to a systematic analysis; for all his thoroughness Mazal never succeeds in communicating the essence of Heliodoros' prose until he turns to discuss specific passages. I have decided therefore to leave the bulk of my stylistic comments in the body of my commentary, where I should like to think of it being used almost like a guidebook to an historic building, directing the reader's gaze to individual felicities which he may not have noticed for himself. I shall content myself here with drawing together a few strands, and then refer the reader to the text. In any case, it makes little sense to talk of a writer's style as if it could be in some way isolated from his writing.

The passages which stay most in the mind are naturally the most rhetorical ones. These are characterised by a syntactic parallelism of structure reinforced by a number of rhetorical devices, especially rhyme (e.g. 9.2.2, 9.6.2, 9.8.5, 9.11.2, 9.13.4, 9.15.2, 9.18.7, 9.20.4, 9.21.1, 9.22.5, 9.26.3, 9.27.2, 10.5.2, 10.6.5, 10.16.10, 10.17.3,

10.22.3, 10.22.4, 10.29.1, 10.30.2, 10.30.5, 10.31.3, 10.33.2, 10.34.3, 10.38.4, 10.39.3), exact or almost exact balancing of the numbers of syllables in coordinate members (e.g.9.2.2, 9.6.2, 9.9.1, 10.27.1, 10.28.2, 10.33.1, 10.37.2, 10.38.4), and the use of similar prefixes on compound verbs, even when not fully applicable - occasionally a context can become almost saturated with one prepositional prefix (e.g. 9.2.1, 9.13.4, 9.15.2, 9.17.2, 9.18.1, 9.19.4, 9.27.2, 10.3.2, 10.6.5, 10.12.3, 10.26.3, 10.27.1, 10.33.1). Sometimes the parallelism is associated with anaphora (e.g. 9.5.3, 9.23.1, 10.1.1, 10.5.2, 10.7.3, 10.16.8, 10.16.9, 10.17.1, 10.22.3, 10.27.2, 10.34.4, 10.35.1, 10.35.2). The parallel members may be either coordinate or antithetical, with a μέν ...δέ construction often serving no more than a patterning function with no real antithesis underlying the diction. Besides isocolia, Heliodoros occasionally arranges clauses so as to give a feeling of growth towards a climax (e.g. 10.16.9, 10.38.4). Homoeoteleuton predominates but occasionally there is evidence of an attempt at a chiastic formation (e.g. 9.9.1, 9.13.1, 10.4.2, 10.11.2).

The delight in the sound of words finds another outlet in the construction of little jingles such as ἀνυπόκτου καὶ ἀνυποκρίτου (9.11.5), ἀκίδας οἵαν ἀκτῖνας (9.19.3), θαύματος ἢ θεαμάτος (9.22.2), μέλους ... μέρους (10.4.2),

συνήιορόν τε καὶ συνεργόν (10.11.2), θαυμασμῷ τε ἅμα καὶ σεβασμῷ (10.23.4), μὴ ἀποδειλίασις ... μηδὲ ἀπόδρασις (10.28.5), λυθῆναί μου καὶ δοθῆναί μου (10.34.3). For similar examples from the earlier books compare 1.1.6, 1.19.4, 1.26.5, 1.30.2, 2.22.4, 2.23.2 (cf.2.32.1), 2.23.4 (cf.7.10.2, 10.4.2), 3.2.1, 3.5.1, 3.5.4, 4.6.5, 5.4.5, 7.12.1, 7.12.4, 7.23.1, 8.1.5, 8.9.8, 8.14.2. Perhaps related is the use of words derived from the same root in close proximity (e.g.10.9.4, 10.23.3, 10.41.4 and perhaps 10.32.1), and of polyptoton, where the same word is used in different cases (e.g. 9.24.3, 10.29.1).

The same exuberance manifests itself also in the coining of new words. From the last two books the following words do not appear to have been used before Heliodoros, although some of them are compounds whose appearance is unremarkable: προεισελαύνω (9.1.1); εἰς ἅρδην (9.2.3); ἄχωστος (9.3.3); ἐφοκετεύω (9.3.4); ἐγκατερείπεσθαι (9.5.1); ἐσφενδονίζω (9.5.8); εἰς ὁλόκληρον (9.6.5); ἐκδεημαίνω (9.8.3); βυθισμός (9.8.6); μονήλατος (9.15.1); σιδηρόπλοκος (9.15.4); λαγαρότης (9.15.4); καταστοχάζομαι (9.16.2); προυπεκλύω (9.17.1); προκώλυμα (9.17.2); προεφορμάω (9.17.2); κορμηδόν (9.18.2); αὐτογλώχιν (9.19.4); περιφλοισμός (9.22.4); προεξωπλοποιέω (9.25.3); ἀνεμογενής (9.25.4); προεξιόσμαι (10.2.1); προκαθηγητής (10.4.2); ἐξουσιασμός (10.7.8); κατερυθριάω (10.18.3); μυρμηκιάω (10.26.2); καμηλίζω (10.27.2); ζυγηδόν (10.27.3); ἀμφόκομος (10.27.3); ἀμότακτος (10.29.1);

ἱπάτευσε (10.29.1); ὑπερφρονήσῃ (10.29.4 and also 4.3.4); ἀερόμενοι (10.30.4); ὑποσοβέω (10.30.8); καθιππίζω (10.39.1); προσβύσμιος (10.39.2); ἀριστόβιος (10.41.2 and also 2.35.2).

A related phenomenon is the stretching of the usage of some verbs so that they can govern a direct object which would be inadmissible in classical Greek; these instances often represent an effort to achieve a particularly striking form of diction. Compare 9.2.1 (ἡ τύχη τὰ μεγάλα φιλανθρωπεύεται); 9.2.3 (ἔγνω μὴ χρονοτριβεῖν τὸν στρατὸν); 9.5.1 (κατεσκηχέναι τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν); 9.6.3 (οὐ γὰρ τυραννεῖ τὴν νίκην); 9.7.2 (ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τεθνάναι σαλεύων); 9.11.6 (τὴν ἄπειρον ἀποτρεπόμενα βοήν); 9.15.1 (ἅμα ἀνδρὸς ... σοφιζόμενον); 9.13.8 (στερεμνίου φολίδος τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐπιτρεχούσης); 9.20.6 (ἀμαναχτήσαντες δὲ τὸ ἄθλιον τοῦ ἐγκλήματος); 9.27.2(τὸ εἶναι δὲ φιλανθρωπεύομενον); 10.1.3 (τὴν νίκην εὐαγγελιζόμενος); 10.2.1 (οὐκ ἀλαζονεύσμενος τὸ κατόρθωμα); 10.5.2 (ἦπειρον ἐν νήσῳ σοφιζομένη); 10.16.9 (τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς βαρυτέραν τὴν πατρίδα δυστυχήσασα); 10.18.3 (ὠδινούσῃ τὴν ἐπὶ σοι τὸ παρὸν ἀπόλαυσιν); 10.23.4 (ἅρτι τὸν μέιρακα παραλλάττων); 10.25.2 (τὴν ... ὑποκατάκλισιν ... παρηγορηθέντες); 10.28.2 (τὸ μεσεῦον ἅπαν δρόμοις σεσοβημένοις ἐξελίττοντες); 10.29.2 (τὴν ἐκείνου τρῶσιν ὡς ἰδίαν σφαγὴν ὑπεραγωνιῶσα); 10.30.5 (τὸ θαῦμα ἐξεφώνει); 10.31.3 (τὰς λαβὰς τῶν παλαισμάτων ὠδίνων); 10.31.5 (τὴν ... ἐναγώνιον Ἑρμοῦ τέχνην ἠκριβωκώς); 10.32.3 (στεφανοῦ δ' οὖν καὶ νῦν τὴν ἐπίδοξον ... νίκην); 10.34.2 (εἰ βραχείαν αἴτησιν

ἐπινεύσεως); 10.38.3 (συμφώνως τὰ ιμνούμενα θυμηδοῦντες).

Another characteristic form of syntactic looseness involves Heliodoros' use of the infinitive after verbs and nouns incapable of taking such a construction in classical Greek. Examples are: 9.3.8 (ὀρύττειν ἀποκεκλήρωντο ; cf. also 9.7.3, 9.24.6, 9.27.2); 9.6.1 (ἐπιτρέπειν τὸν ὅρμον ἐνεδείκνυτο ; cf.my note ad loc.); 9.7.1 (ὑποδεχθῆναι καὶ δύο Περσῶν εἰς τὰ σκάφη παρεκάλει ; for other examples see my note ad loc.); 9.13.3 (καὶ δύο Περσῶν ... περαιωθῆναι παρασκευάσας ; for other examples see my note ad loc.); 9.18.7 (καὶ τοὺς μὲν καὶ τιτρώσκειν εὐστοχούντων); 9.17.2 (καὶ τοὺς Σῆρας ὥσπερ πρόκωλυμα εἶναι καὶ πρόσπαιζιν τῶν ἐλεφάντων καταλιπόντες); 9.20.5 (πρῶτα δὲ κυρίαν ἀποτυχόντος); 10.4.2 (εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον παρελθόντες εὔχεσθαι); 10.14.1 (οὐ παρέχουσαν ἀμφιβολίαν ἀλλαχοῦ συντετάχθαι); 10.14.7 (ἑκουσίως πεῖθεν ἀγαπῶμεν ; cf.7.12.1); 10.19.2 (εἰ ... προσφιλονεικοίη τις ... καὶ ἐξ ἑκατέρου γένους ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τὴν ἱερουργίαν); 10.22.3 (ἄνδρα ἔχειν ἐμφαίνει); 10.26.3 (ἅ γε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα νυνὶ μὴ προσκομίζεσθαι γέγονεν αἴτια); 10.28.3 (οὐδὲ ἡ Περσίννα καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια μένειν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ... ἐκαρτέρησαν ; cf.2.25.7, 4.1.3, 5.3.1, 10.31.1); 10.35.2 (ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ... Θύαντος ... ἐξενίκησε); 10.37.2 (ὃ τὸ νίκημα ἔχων ἀποδιδόναι δίκαιος); 10.37.3 (οὐκέτι καρτερεῖν οὐδὲ ἠνέσχετο).

He also uses with extraordinary frequency the infinitive in place of an abstract noun. There is nothing syntactically

odd about the construction as ..uch, but occasionally Heliodoros makes use of it where a more conventional stylist would have employed a subordinate clause; compare for example 10.39.2 καὶ τὸ διακεκρῆσθαι τὰ τελεώτερα νομιζόμενα τῶν ἱερείων συμβάλλειν παρέχοντες ; or 10.30.5 πρὸς τὸ συνήθεσθαι δεξιούμενος ; or 10.37.2 διὰ τὸ προκαθιστῶσθαι τῆς θεοῦ τὴν ἐκ τῆς θυσίας ἐπίδοξον ... τελαγὴν ὑφέξειν Other instances of this construction may be found at 9.3.6, 9.6.3, 9.7.1, 9.7.2, 9.8.2, 9.9.4, 9.13.1, 9.15.1, 9.20.4, 9.21.1, 9.23.5, 9.27.2, 10.12.4, 10.17.2, 10.22.5, 10.25.1, 10.29.3, 10.29.4, 10.30.5, 10.31.2, 10.31.6, 10.32.4, 10.33.1 and 10.40.1.

Akin to this is the use of a neuter adjective as an abstract noun, often followed by a partitive genitive, giving a rather Thucydidean turn of phrase; cf.9.1.3 (where the MSS reading is to be retained), 9.7.3, 9.11.5, 9.12.2, 9.13.4, 9.15.2, 9.15.6, 9.18.4, 9.18.5, 9.20.6, 10.2.1, 10.6.5, 10.9.5, 10.14.4, 10.16.1, 10.18.1, 10.19.1, 10.20.1, 10.22.1, 10.23.4, 10.27.1, 10.30.4, 10.33.1.

Finally we must discuss two features of Heliodoros' use of verbs. For a more formal treatment the reader is here referred to F.Barber's 1962 London dissertation, "The Syntax of the Verb in the 'Aethiopica' of Heliodorus." The first feature is shared with much post-classical prose: the increased use of the middle voice, even in verbs employed exclusively in the active by more classical writers. In Heliodoros' case at least, I suspect that the habit arises

from a desire for euphony; a pair of middle participles, for example, supplies a much more obvious and weighty rhyme than a pair of actives. From the many examples we may instance ὑπερτίθεμαι (9.1.1), λυσωποῦμαι (9.3.8), ἀφυπνοῦμαι (9.12.2), ὑπολείπομαι (9.20.3, where the MSS reading is to be preferred), ὑπηρετοῦμαι (9.25.5), καθιππεύομαι (10.3.2), κατασκήπτομαι (10.16.8), ἐπιτελοῦμαι (10.19.2), περιπίπτομαι (10.24.1) and ἀνακηρύττομαι (10.30.5).

The second feature is much more important, and concerns Heliodoros' use of narrative tenses. The historic present is occasionally employed, though without any apparent consistency. Its use may be explained by the vividness which it imparts to the action. This is confirmed by the untypical frequency with which it occurs in the descriptions of Theagenes' two wrestling matches, with the bull (ἁναρπάζει ... ἐφίπταται ... μυκτίζει in 10.28.4; ἐπιρρίπτει in 10.30.2; παραφέρει ... προβάλλει in 10.30.3 and ὑποσκελίζεται in 10.30.4), and with the Ethiopian giant (προβάλλει in 10.31.3; ἐπαφάσσει in 10.31.4 and ἀμφιβαίνει in 10.32.2), although even within these set-pieces tenses are juxtaposed disconcertingly. Other isolated examples encapsulate a dramatic or unexpected event; for instance ἐκφήνυται at 9.9.2, προσπίπτει at 10.10.1, ἐπιβάλλει at 10.35.1 or ἐπιτίθησιν at 10.41.2. A third class, however, does not appear susceptible to any logical explanation: how is one to account for κατανέμει at 9.3.1, διαπείρουσιν at 9.5.8, ὑπεξάγει at 9.10.2, ἁλίσκεται at 9.20.5, φησίν at 9.25.4, διαναπαύει at 10.1.2 or ἐπιστέλλει

at 10.1.3 ?

This lack of pattern is even more striking in the author's use of the imperfect as an ordinary narrative tense. It occurs persistently alongside the aorist, apparently with no distinction made between the two. Individual cases may be justifiable as inceptive or conative, but where there are so many that are not one wonders whether subtle explanations are in order. One's initial impulse is to suppose that the imperfect is intended to be a more vigorous and vivid narrative tense (see the article by H.Koller in Mus.Helv.8, 1951, who associates Homer's use of the imperfect with that of the historic present in other writers), but telling evidence to the contrary is provided by the run of imperfect verbs starting at 10.34.1. They seem to begin at exactly the least vivid point of the narrative, where there is little action, and Heliodoros falls back into the aorist when the dramatic tension reaches a higher level at 10.35.1. A curious complication of the problem lies in the fact that certain verbs appear to be more associated with the imperfect than others, almost as if the author were avoiding certain strong aorist forms. For example, the imperfect of ἔχω is far more commonly used than the aorist (cf.1.7.1, 1.27.2, 1.28.2, 7.24.3, 7.26.1, 8.8.3, 8.9.10, 8.17.5, 9.1.3, 9.11.2, 9.13.4, 9.17.1, 10.25.2, 10.30.6, 10.33.4). Other strong aorists which tend to be avoided, although with by no means complete

consistency, are those of βάλλω (e.g.1.2.7, 1.4.1, 1.12.4, 1.14.3, 1.29.2, 1.31.4, 2.16.2, 5.5.3, 5.17.4, 6.9.1, 6.9.2, 6.11.2, 7.7.7, 10.6.1, 10.17.1), στέλλω (e.g.1.24.1, 3.19.1, 5.10.1, 5.27.9, 6.9.2, 7.3.4, 7.17.1, 7.26.1, 8.12.4, 9.18.3, 10.16.3), πίπτω (e.g.1.12.4, 5.26.3, 9.4.2, 9.13.2, 9.18.3, 10.10.1), φέρω (e.g.3.5.1, 7.27.3, 9.18.3, 10.13.1), λαμβάνω (3.17.5, 4.17.3, 5.3.3, 5.11.1, 5.34.1, 6.5.1, 7.17.1, 9.14.3, 10.27.4), ἀγγέλλω (e.g.4.3.1, 5.22.5, 10.4.4) and νέμω (e.g.1.3.3, 9.14.2, 9.23.2); less regularly avoided are those from μανθάνω (e.g.5.3.3), πυνθάνομαι (e.g.6.13.4, 10.34.1), πείθω (e.g.6.2.3, 6.4.1) and εὑρίσκω (e.g.5.34.1).

Other verbs appear regularly in the imperfect. For instance those with a stem in ζ seem especially prone to do this: ἐγκερίζω (e.g.5.13.3, 6.8.2, 8.3.1, 10.4.1, 10.4.4, 10.34.1), ἁρπάζομαι (e.g.2.30.1, 6.11.2, 7.6.1, 10.6.1), κομίζω (e.g.5.27.9, 10.8.1, 10.13.1, 10.15.1), ἁλυπνίζω (6.9.1, 6.14.5). Similar behaviour may be observed with verbs like τάττω (1.19.1, 1.23.1, 1.31.3, 4.1.3, 4.2.1, 4.5.3, 5.17.4, 8.12.4, 9.14.3, 9.17.1, 9.26.1, 10.7.2, 10.25.2) and πράττω (e.g.1.17.1, 1.28.2, 5.18.8, 7.26.1, 9.2.1, 10.3.2); less common verbs of a similar formation also turn up in the imperfect where we should have expected an aorist: παράττω (7.14.6) and ῥάττω (9.3.7).

However, an explanation along these lines, presumably motivated by a desire for euphony and a marked preference for

certain consonantal patterns, can only furnish a partial answer. Yet other verbs are commonly found in the imperfect which have perfectly regular aorists and nothing distinctive about their stems: for example πέμπω (admittedly found as often in the aorist) occurs in the imperfect at 1.19.1, 2.18.2, 7.19.3, 7.19.4, 8.2.3, 9.1.5, 9.5.4, 9.13.3, 9.22.1, 10.41.3. A final class encompasses several verbs involving speech: ἔλεγε and ἔφη are regarded as interchangeable (cf.1.2.6, 1.15.2, 1.16.1, 1.23.1, 2.23.1, 2.30.1, 2.33.1, 3.17.5, 4.6.2, 5.10.1, 5.22.5, 6.2.3, 6.13.4, 7.12.1, 9.12.4, 9.12.2, 10.10.1, 10.12.2, 10.16.4, 10.19.1, 10.24.1, 10.26.2, 10.34.6, 10.36.1, 10.37.3, 10.38.2), but I can see no rationale in the continual use of the imperfects of κελεύω (1.2.7, 1.4.1, 1.12.4, 1.19.1, 1.21.1, 1.23.1, 2.21.3, 8.7.2, 10.6.4, 10.22.6), ἐρωτάω (1.8.4, 1.21.2, 1.29.1, 3.17.1, 4.6.2, 7.24.3, 7.26.6, 9.12.1, 10.22.6), μηνύω (1.12.1, 7.2.4, 8.1.6, 9.13.2), αἰνέω (1.16.1, 1.23.1, 5.5.1, 9.22.1), ἱκετεύω (1.16.1, 2.6.1, 3.5.1, 5.11.1) or ἀμορέω (7.24.2, 9.20.2).

In the last resort, one is driven to say that Heliodoros' use of the imperfect in aorist situations is instinctive rather than rationally motivated. Several different forces may determine the use of an imperfect in any one instance. Vividness undoubtedly plays a part, but a somewhat unpredictable one; the force of euphony is evidenced by a more or less systematic avoidance of certain forms. We must also take

into account a rhetorical striving for variation, and the negative consideration that in English we do not have a simple imperfect tense, and so may be led to draw firmer lines of distinction than might appear valid to a native speaker of a language like Greek which is so much richer in this respect. We may at least say with some conviction that we are not entitled to emend away an unexpected imperfect in the text of Heliodoros.

A Note on Editions.

This commentary is based throughout on the text of the Aithiopica edited by R.M.Rattenbury and T.W.Lumb, published with a French translation by J.Maillon in the Budé series between 1935 and 1943; it is hereafter referred to as RL. The so called second edition of 1960 is a photographic reproduction of the first, retaining even the misprints. Other editions are cited in my commentary by the name of the editor. I have found especially useful those by A.Coraes, with a commentary in modern Greek (Paris, 1804); I.Bekker, who mainly reprints Coraes' text (Teubner, Leipzig, 1855); W.A.Hirschig, mostly for the helpful Latin translation (Didot, Paris, 1856); and A.Colonna, a much less consistent work than RL, but not totally devoid of merit (Rome, 1938).

Earlier editions of Heliodoros are described by O.Mazal (Die Textausgaben der 'Aithiopika' Heliodors von Emesa; Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1966, p.132ff.), and there is no need to reproduce his discussion here.

9.1.1

Ἡ δὲ Σιήνη ...: This picks up the last sentence of Bk.8: τὰ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν . For a μὲν ...δὲ construction spanning the break between two books, compare the last two books of Thucydides.

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὀροονδάτης : the Persian satrap of Egypt. The name does not occur elsewhere, but, as Coraes points out, the formation Oro- is common enough in eastern names to guarantee the impression of authenticity.

τοὺς καταρράκτας ὑπερθεμένους: for ὑπερτίθεμαι with the accusative of the place passed, compare Diod.13.3, Polyb. 22.22.9. The active form is more usual in this sense; see Strab.14.14.3, Polyb.34.13.4 etc.

προεστελάσας: the compound προστελαύνω occurs nowhere else.

ἐκφαύσκει τὸ μέλλον: Something of a stock phrase, perhaps; compare App.Bell.Civ.5.127 and Cic.ad Att.9.10.8.

9.1.2

Ὁ .....τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεύς : Note that Heliodoros shows no knowledge of the tradition that Meroitic Ethiopia was ruled by queens called Candace. The tradition first occurs in the third century BC in a fragment of Bion of Soloi, preserved by the scholiast to Acts of the Apostles 8.27. This is a significant passage for a study of Heliodoros since it connects the prominence of the Candace (here called the mother of the king) with the claim of Ethiopian kings

to be the children of the Sun. Pliny (Nat.Hist.6.186) says that Candace was the title of successive queens, and it recurs at Acts 8.27, where Philip baptises an Ethiopian eunuch, minister of the queen Candace. The campaign of C.Petronius against Ethiopia in 22 BC was resisted by troops of the Candace (cf. Strab.17.1.54 and Dio 54.5.4), while in the Alexander Romance (3.18.3 = p.115 Kroll) Candace cautions Alexander against prejudging Ethiopians because of the colour of their skin. Archaeology has not completely solved the question of the Candace's status; I quote from D.Dunham's 'The Royal Cemeteries of Kush' Vol.4 p.8: "The exact significance of the title Kandake is not clear; it seems to imply sovereign power, and it has been suggested that it was applied to Queen Mothers, but it does not necessarily signify sole rule, and may at times have been borne by the mother of the reigning king. In any case, there can be no doubt as to the importance of these great royal ladies and there is much evidence to support the theory that the royal succession passed through the mother: certainly in some cases it passed from the son to his younger brother by the same mother and not through the line father-son-grandson."

Whatever the truth about the Candace, it is clear that the tradition was an historical and not a mythical one. We might have expected Heliodoros to recognise its existence. But it will emerge that the world he has created is full of anachronisms and errors; it appears that he is inclined

to aim for a vague verisimilitude by incorporating details familiar from other sources. He is not concerned, however, to achieve complete consistency either with himself or with known facts. The important thing is that the reader should have the impression that the events of the novel are played out in a real and plausible world. The absence of the Candace is our first indication that we should not scour the Aithiopica for reflections of the true facts of Meroitic culture.

'Υδάσπης: Hydaspes is first mentioned by name at 4.8.2 in the Τανιά exposed with Charicleia by Persinna. It is noteworthy that all of Heliodoros' Ethiopians have Persian names. It is clearly a desire for exotic flavour which underlies this tendency, and it seems that Heliodoros knew so little of the real Ethiopia that he was unable to borrow or invent names on the Ethiopian pattern. Contrast the Egyptian names: Calasiris and Thermouthis are both Egyptian words taken over by Greek, and Petosiris is a genuine name, particularly common; only Thyamis appears to be an invention, but it is obviously meant to have an Egyptian ring to it.

Within these broad distinctions it does seem that the name Hydaspes was chosen for a reason; from the first century AD we find numerous references to a Persian magus called Hystaspes, whose name is often given as Hydaspes (see Ganschinietz, RE sv.Hystaspes) : there are no detailed correspondences between Heliodoros and the Hystaspes/Hydaspes tradition, but it seems safe to assume at least that the

name could be relied upon to conjure up associations of oriental piety.

πόρρωθεν ... προκαταπτεύσας: not, as in Maillon's translation, "informed by scouts". From the identical phrase at 7.6.5 it is clear that Hydaspes does actually see in the distance that the Persian army is making a dash for Syene. This interpretation accords better with 9.1.1: Oroondates is taking quick action because he knows that the Ethiopians are close at hand, so close in fact that their commander can already see Syene in the distance but is too late to engage the Persians before they enter the town (φθῆναι συμβαλών).

σὺν ἑλαύνειν μέλλοντες : Heliodoros uses present and future infinitives indiscriminately after μέλλω.

ἀπρόσμαχον καὶ μόνῃ τῇ θέᾳ : ἀπρόσμαχος is a favourite word of Heliodoros; cf.2.1.1, 2.25.1, 5.22.7, 8.15.4, 8.16.3. The same idea as here is expressed more fully at 8.16.3: τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀπρόσμαχον ἰδόντες ... οὐδὲ ἀκριβῶς τὴν θέαν ἀναστχόμενοι. RL complain of the exaggeration in the present case, especially in view of the brave resistance which Syene will put up, but their objections are pedantic. Hydaspes' army is ἀπρόσμαχος because of its sheer size (cf. μυριάσιν ἀπείροις ἀνδρῶν etc.), and so the Syenians or any other opponents would realise its invincibility just by looking (μόνῃ τῇ θέᾳ), before they had even tried

its strength in battle.

For the order of μάχῃ τῇ δέᾳ cf.10.3.2.

μυριάσιν ἀπείροις ἀνδρῶν : the size of the Ethiopian army is repeatedly stressed; compare 9.3.2, 9.3.3, 9.5.10, 9.8.5, 9.16.1, 9.21.3.

τὰ ... πέδια στενοχωρῶν : there is an element of oxymoron here. The army is so large that it makes even an open plain into a narrow space. For the transitive use of στενοχωρέω compare Char.5.3.6 and 4.7.6.

9.1.3

οἳ κατάσκοποι τοὺς ἁλόντας : i.e. the scouting party which had captured Theagenes, Charicleia and the eunuch Bagoas as narrated in 8.16.1ff.

ὁ δὲ ἥδετο μὲν καὶ τῇ ὄψει τῶν νέων etc.: the first appearance of a vein of irony which will be worked more fully in the recognition sequences of the tenth book. Here Heliodoros spells out the situation for his reader: Hydaspes feels a natural predisposition towards his own daughter without knowing who she is. Compare the reaction of Persinna when she sees Charicleia for the first time (10.7.3ff.).

ὑπὸ [τοῦ] μαντευτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς: this is the reading of all MSS. The excision of τοῦ is proposed by RL, a solution which does nothing to solve the difficulties of the phrase. Briefly, these are that the adjective μαντεύτος means "foretold or prescribed by an oracle", a meaning

which is clearly inappropriate here. This has led to a tacitly agreed hypothesis that μαντευτοῦ is the genitive of an otherwise unknown noun μαντευτής, which is supposed to stand in an appositional relationship with τῆς ψυκῆς. RL's excision of the article τοῦ is presumably designed to afford the passage some degree of uniformity with other metaphorical expressions in Heliodoros such as 10.13.5 καθάπερ νέφει τῇ ταινίᾳ. But obviously an approach which demands that we postulate an unattested form and reject the unanimous evidence of the tradition is a desperate one.

Coraes felt these difficulties, but adopted the equally desperate expedient of reading μαντευτικοῦ for μαντευτοῦ. The corruption could be easily understood, but the authority for μαντευτικός is little better than for μαντευτής; the word survives only in an incorrect citation of Euripides by Plutarch (Mor.432e).

One wonders whether all the possibilities of the transmitted reading have been fully explored, in short whether μαντευτός need always mean "foretold by an oracle". Another, more viable meaning is conveyed by the title of a group of speeches by Aelius Aristides; at the head of his second oration (Dindorf's numbering) we read: ΜΑΝΤΕΥΤΟΙ. ΑΘΗΝΑ. Dindorf explains this (Vol.1 p.12): "oratio quae dicitur velut ὑπὸ μάντεως, quae quasi μαντεύεται, ab inspirato recitatur." If this interpretation is correct,

we have an example where the passive verbal adjective μαντευτός is applied not to the event foretold but to the words uttered by a μάντις in his inspiration, and from there it is a short step to a generalised meaning of "prophetically inspired". This is the meaning which one would like to extract from the words of Heliodoros, and, given his tendency to use words in abnormal ways, it does not seem impossible.

The word order given by the manuscripts is certainly characteristic of Heliodoros; compare similar usages of the neuter adjective to denote an abstract concept at 2.15.1, 4.6.1, 6.9.1, 7.21.4, 7.28.1, 8.17.5, 10.16.1, 10.18.1, 10.19.1, 10.22.1, etc.

ἐμάνυτο : despite the reading of all MSS apart from Z, RL have printed the form with the single ν. The correctness of this form is attested by Eustathios (ad Il.13.495 = p.944.3). The MSS of Heliodoros give the form in -νν- also at 5.14.3.

9.1.4

ὡ γε, ἀνεβόησε ...: the irony is increased when Hydaspes makes what the reader knows to be the wrong interpretation of the situation. There is a similar effect at 10.3.1, where Persinna misinterprets her dream.

πρῶτοι ληφθέντες ...: there is some confusion during the

tentn book as to the qualifications needed to become an Ethiopian sacrifice. In the course of the sequences of recognition and rescue the emphasis on the 'first-fruits' motif is dropped and more stress is put on the idea of virginity. We can, to some extent, explain this inconsistency on literary-technical grounds. Heliodoros has to think up some reason why Hydaspes should consign Theagenes and Charicleia to the sacrifice: their virginity clearly cannot be established or disproved at this juncture, and, in any case, the brazier scene is a dramatic one which Heliodoros would naturally have been unwilling to forgo. The fact that they are the first captives of the campaign presents a plausible alternative which Heliodoros adopts in a rather utilitarian way. His conceptions tend to alter to suit the circumstances of the moment and the dramatic possibilities of each scene.

ὡς ὁ πάτριος Αἰθιόπων βούλεται νόμος: the tenth book lays great emphasis on the traditional aspect of the sacrifice: cf.10.7.1, 10.7.6, 10.9.7 etc.

θοὺς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους: unspecified at present; cf.10.2.2: τοὺς πατρίους ἡμῶν θεοὺς Ἡλίῳ τε καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Διονύσῳ.

τὴν ἱερουργίαν φυλαχθησόμενον: an important foreshadowing device which carries the reader's interest forwards through the description of the siege of Syene, during which his attention is diverted away from the hero and heroine. By introducing the idea of the sacrifice here Heliodoros is providing himself with an interesting situation and a measure

of suspense, increased by the intervening episode.

9.1.5

ἐς τοὺς σκευοφόρους: ie. out of the front line of fighting. The baggage and provisions would be kept in a safe place in the rear of the besieging army.

μοῖραν αὐτάρκη τῶν ὁμογλώσσων...ἀποκληρώσας: These ὁμόγλωσσοι are rather puzzling, and Heliodoros never makes clear who these Greek-speakers are. At 9.24.2 he introduces a μιξέλλην who is presumably to be identified from the present passage; compare my notes ad loc. The motif is best considered as part of the thoughtful treatment which the prisoners are to receive: compare the concern shown by Thyamis in placing Theagenes and Charicleia under the care of their fellow-Greek, Cnemon (1.7.3).

σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ ... διάγειν: for this transitive use of διάγω compare Philostr.Heroic.10.4.

καὶ πάντας ἁγοὺς καθαρεύοντας φυλάττειν: not made specific at the moment. Compare 9.25.5, where Bagoas is given charge of Charicleia, ὥστε ἁγνὴν ἡμῖν ἄχρι καιροῦ τῆς θυσίας φυλαχθῆναι. The requirement of virginity is not made until 10.7.7. The Ethiopians take great care to preserve the purity of their sacrifices; cf.10.4.5.

τὰ δεσμά τε ἀμείβειν καὶ χρυσᾶ ἐπιβάλλειν: The golden chains here seem to combine two distinct and exclusive motifs. The sentence τά τε ἄλλα.....χρυσᾶ ἐπιβάλλειν carries the implication that the golden chains in which Theagenes and

Charicleia are to be imprisoned are a mark of distinction and respect, complementary to the attention (ἐπιμέλειαν) and luxury (ἄφθονον δίαιταν) to be lavished on them. This is the way in which Theagenes himself understands the chains; cf. φρουρὰν πλουτοῦντες ἐντιμότερα δεσμωτῶν at 9.2.1. A similar use of gold chains is mentioned at Curt.5.12.20, where Darius is fettered with gold, "ne ... honos regi non haberetur", while at Amm.Marc.27.12.3 Arsaces is in silver chains "quod apud eos honoratis vanum suppliciorum aestimatur esse solacium".

This would be coherent were it not for the last sentence of 9.1.5, ὅτι γὰρ ... χρυσοῦς νομίζεται. By saying that gold chains were nothing remarkable for Ethiopians, Heliodoros is echoing the tradition of the wealth of Ethiopia, which arises from Hdt.3.23; it may not be unfounded: gold mines in Ethiopia are referred to by Agatharchides (de mar.Erythr.23ff.) and Diodoros (3.12ff.). Compare also Mela 3.85: "apud hos plus auri quam aeris est; ideo quod minus est pretiosius censent: aere exornantur, auro vincla sontium fabricant." For a discussion of the archaeological evidence see J.Vercoutter: The Gold of Kush; Kush 7 (1959) p.120ff.

Heliodoros' use of this motif falls into a consistent pattern of borrowing striking details from historical writers, not so much to instruct his readers as to add a realistic colouring to the narrative. This particular case is disturbing because by invoking the legend of an Ethiopian El Dorado

Heliodoros is undermining his own implications as to the significance of the gold chains. If gold in Ethiopia is so common that it is used as other nations use iron, there can be no honour attached to the gold chains. By including two exotic details Heliodoros has negated both of them.

We must, however, resist the temptation to excise ὅτε μὲν ... νομίζεται. Firstly, the allusion to Herodotos is totally characteristic of Heliodoros. Secondly, the allusion is not made with the degree of literalness we might have expected of a scribal interpolator: Herodotos contrasts gold with bronze, but does not mention iron. Thirdly, the inexact allusion helps motivate the further inexact allusion of 9.2.1 discussed below.

9.2.1

παραλύοντες...παραστήσαντες ...παρεῖχον: note how the sentence is structured by three compounds in παρα-, clearly intended as a sequence with the final πλέον παρεῖχον ὧδέ coming as a heavy anticlimax.

χρυσᾶς τὰς ἁλύσεις αὖθις ἐνείροντες : an unusual expression; the variant ἀνείροντες offered by P and at the first attempt by B is no easier. ἐνείρω normally means "entwine or string together", and it seems that it could be used perhaps of making chains but not usually of putting them on a prisoner. I have not been able to find a parallel for the way in which Heliodoros uses the word here.

ταῦτα...τὰ μεγάλα φιλανθρωπεύεται: for this direct object after φιλανθρωπεύσμαι cf.9.27.2 τὸ εἶναι...φιλανθρωπευόμενον. Compare also Dio Cass.50.20.

χρυσᾶ σιδηρῶν ἀμείβομεν : an allusion to Hom.Il.6.235f., a passage also referred to by Heliodoros at 7.10.5, where it has the more accurate form of exchanging gold for bronze, not for iron (cf.9.1.5). The Homeric phrase was obviously widely known, and acquired a proverbial force earlier than the first century BC: Cicero uses it as a proverb (ad Att.6.1.22), and to find a Roman using it in this way must imply at least a certain currency in the Greek literature with which he was acquainted. Proverbial usages occur in later authors, for example at Plut.Mor.1063f, Themist.Or.11.151b, Gell.2.23.

In this passage, however, the phrase has a literal

appositeness which is removed from its proverbial sense. Irony arises from the fact that Theagenes' meaning is almost directly opposite to that normally implied (as at 7.10.5). The heavy sarcasm at the start of Theagenes' outburst makes it clear how we are to take the phrase, and he rounds off with a pair of fine oxymora.

The Budé editors tell us that we must admire the 'sang-froid' of a man who can make jokes in great adversity, but I feel that they underestimate the blackness of his humour. Charicleia too senses the bitterness and reacts with more than a mere smile at the joke. Heliodoros is quite explicit that her encouragement is needed by Theagenes rather than vice versa (9.2.2).

9.2.2

τὸν Θεαγένην μεταβάλλεω: μεταβαλλω is not found in classical Greek with this direct object of a person. The idiom seems to derive from the common middle sense of "change one's mind" (eg. Hdt.5.75). Thus the active can mean "change someone else's mind". In Christian writers the word can mean "convert", eg. at St. John Chrys.Hom.35.1 in Jo.(=8.504c), 'ἀγοστὴν ἐν σταυρῷ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ εἰς παράδεισον εἰσαγαγεῖν."

τοῖς ἐκ θεῶν προρρηθεῖσιν : this is the reading of BPZ. VM include an unnecessary καί before the phrase, which is printed by Colonna.

Presumably the principal reference here is to the

visions of Calasiris that appeared to both Theagenes and Charicleia in the dungeons of Arsace (8.11.2ff.), of which Charicleia advanced a hopeful interpretation at 8.11.5. But this interpretation is itself backed by a reference to τὰ μεμαντευμένα, couched in similar words (cf. θεοῖς ἐπανέχοντες in 8.11.11 with τοῖς ἐκ θεῶν προρρηθεῖσιν ἐπανέχουσα in 9.2.2). So ultimately the reference comes back to the oracle of Apollo given at 2.35.5 and recalled at the very end of the novel (10.41.2). The reader will also recall the various divine visions seen by Calasiris, through which the divine purpose was revealed, and although Heliodoros nowhere says that the old man told his charges about them, we must not be too pedantic to admit that these visions are included in Charicleia's reference. To all intents and purposes the pair of lovers know as much of the divine will as Calasiris did, and it would have been superfluous for Heliodoros to have a scene where he explained it all to them.

ἐπανέχουσα ... κατεπάδουσα: note the characteristic sentence structure, with parallelism in the participial cola reinforced by rhyme and isocolia.

9.2.3

ὁ δὲ Ὑδάσπης...: picks up οἱ μὲν τὰ προστεταγμένα ἔπραττον of 9.2.1.

αὐτοβοεί: an adverb much used by Thucydides and by scarcely any other writer: cf. Thuc.2.31, 3.113, 8.62 etc. By using

it here Heliodoros is adding to the historiographical flavour of the military episode; compare also the Thucydidean contrast which follows: ἔργῳ ... καὶ λόγοις. Heliodoros uses αὐτοβοεί also at 4.21.3.

εἰς ... παροξυσμὸν ἐπιχλευασάντων: two rare words. παροξυσμός first occurs in Demosthenes (45.14). Especially relevant here is the definition at Bas.reg.br.55 (=PG 31.1120b): τὸ σφοδρότερον ἀπὸ θυμοῦ κίνημα παροξυσμὸς ὀνομάζεται. For ἐπιχλευάζω compare 6.12.1, where it is paired with ἐπισκώπτω, and Luc.de gymnas.13, where it is paired with ἐπιγελάω.

ὀργὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιησάμενος ἐὶ ...: another extension of a classical usage. The phrase ὀργὴν ποιεῖσθαι is used as early as Herodotos and Thucydides, the last following it with a conditional clause (4.122). Heliodoros treats the phrase ὀργὴν ποιεῖσθαι as a single verbal idea and allows it to take a direct object, τὸ πρᾶγμα.

ἐκονὶ φέροντες αὖπους: for the rare adverb ἐκονί compare 1.23.2 and Themist.Or.16.209a. The occurrence at Aristot. Rhet. ad Alex.1431b20 is better read as ἐκόντι. For the phrase φέροντες αὖπους etc. compare Char.7.2.4, φέροντες αὖπους ἱδρώμενον.

χρονοτριβεῖν τὸν στρατὸν προσκαθήμενος etc: a very difficult passage, discussed fully by RL in their first volume, p.lxxix. If we accent the manuscript tradition, χρονοτριβεῖν appears to be used in a transitive sense for which there is no true

parallel; certainly the phrase χρονοτριβεῖν τὸν πόλεμον found at Plut.Cato Minor 53 and Eunap.Hist.Frag.46 (=p.242 Dindorf) is no justification for Heliodoros' usage. RL suggest the following solutions:

i) to write τὴν στρατείαν instead of τὸν στρατὸν, which could produce a construction similar to that in Plutarch and Eunapios. I find this suggestion unattractive.

ii) to write τῷ στρατῷ, which would then be taken closely with προσκαθήμενος (ie."besieging with his army"). This may be supported by Thuc.8.11.2, τῷ πέζῳ προσκαθήμενοι.

iii) to understand χρονοτριβεῖν as equivalent to χρόνῳ τρίβειν, and τὸν στρατὸν as referring to the Persians besieged in Syene.

None of these is fully satisfactory. The objection may be made to all of them that they fail to make sense of the structure of the sentence: as the text stands, the participles προσκαθήμενος and ἀποπειρώμενος are parallel and are both included under the head χρονοτριβῶν. The alternatives being considered by Hydaspes are clear enough: a lengthy siege, or destruction of the city walls by machinery. Put it is equally clear that not both of these may be thought of as wasting time (or wearing down by time), but only the first. In other words, the true parallelism is between χρονοτριβεῖν and ἀποπειρώμενος. It is only logical, therefore, to emend to the infinitive, ἀποπειρᾶσθαι.

The resultant parallelism makes the task of interpretation a little easier, and, if we accept RL's explanation of χρονοτριβεῖν,

The sentence will have the following thought sequence: Hydaspes decided against a long siege, which would exhaust his army (ἀν στρατὸν refers much more easily to his own than to the enemy's forces, and the idea that a long siege is as wearisome for the besieger as for the besieged is something of a commonplace; cf. Thuc.2.77.2 and Plut.Camill.2), and also against destruction of the walls which would allow some to escape. These two objections are picked up chiastically in the last phrase of the sentence, εἰς ἄρδην καὶ θᾶττον.

If one still feels unable to accept a transitive χρονοτριβεῖν, the emendation τῷ στρατῷ will impose itself. Decision can in the last resort only be subjective. My personal feeling is that χρονοτριβεῖν with the accusative is well within Heliodoros' capabilities, and is not an inelegant construction; and that τῷ στρατῷ in the second version would be flaccid and superfluous, giving a much less pointed meaning.

εἰς ἄρδην: A Heliodorean neologism. There seems to have been a tendency in late Greek to join εἰς with adverbs of this type; compare εἰς μάτην at Luc.Jup.Trag.28 and Aristid.Or. 33 (51).3. Heliodoros has the simple ἄρδην at 1.1.3.

9.3.1

εἰς μοίρας etc: a similar procedure is followed by the Peloponnesians at Thuc.2.78.1, where sections are assigned to contingents from various cities during the siege of Plataia. Compare also Xenophon's account of the siege of Babylon by Cyros: esoecially close to this section is Xen. Cyr.7.5.9, διαμετρησαμένους δὲ χρὴ ὡς τάχιστα τὸ μέρος ἑκάστους ἡμῶν ὀρύττειν τάφρον ὡς πλατυτάτην καὶ βαθυτάτην. Heliodoros seems to have Xenophon's description at the back of his mind; besides verbal similarities like that just mentioned, there are features common to the sieges of Babylon and Syene, notably the religious festival which puts the inhabitants off their guard. But Heliodoros cannot have derived his narrative solely from Xenophon (as argued by Weinreich and Feuillâtre). The strategems involved are completely different.

καταναίμεν: the present seems without reason, coming as it does between the imperfect ἔπραττε and the aorist ἐκέλευσεν. Heliodoros is often erratic in his choice of narrative tenses, as is argued in the introduction , and it would be foolhardy to emend here in an attempt to impose strict logic.

καὶ δεκάδα ὁρμιῶν δεκάδι ἀνδρῶν : the MSS all read δεκάσιν, with a slight difference of word order in B. For the sense I would like to follow RL in adopting Coraes' conjecture δεκάδι but it does introduce a hiatus avoided by the tradition.

Evidence indicates that Heliodoros tended to avoid hiatus; see M.D.Reeve: Hiatus in the Greek Novelists; CQ NS 21 (1971) p.514ff. The desirable symmetry is better attained by making the easy correction of δεκάδας for δεκάλα.

εὖρος τε καὶ βάθος ὡς ὅτι πλεῖστον : compare the passage of Xenophon quoted above:... ἐφύτευον τάφρον ὡς πλατυτάτην καὶ βαθυτάτην.

ὡς ὅτι : ὡς and ὅτι are frequently used by Heliodoros in this pleonastic idiom; cf.1.17.4, 2.6.1, 4.20.2, 5.11.1, 6.1.1, 7.14.6, 7.19.6, 8.2.3, 8.5.3, 8.9.11, 8.9.12, 10.28.6; also Ach.Tat.3.21.2, 5.17.2. It is found as early as Plato (Laws 908a); cf. also IG 2^2.1028.7 (from the 2nd. century BC). The construction is found with other senses also; see Dionys. Hal.Ant.Rom.9.14, Anth.Pal.9.530.

εἰς ὀφρῦν etc.: compare RL's note (p.40 n.3). ὀφρῦς of course originally means "brow", and is used by early poets to denote the brow of a hill (eg. Hom.Il.20.151, Pi.Olymp.13.106). Later prose writers take the word over: RL quote Polyb.36.8.3, which is closest to Heliodoros: προβαλόμενος ὀφρῦν ἀπότομον. We may add Polyb.2.33.7, where ὀφρῦς is applied to the bank of a river, and Strab.5.3.7, where it is used of the edge of a ditch.

ἀντεχέφρωντες: for the rare compound see 10.15.1, and App. Pun.114, Dio Cass.69.12.

9.3.2

τὴν ἀποτείχισιν: a rare word, perhaps consciously borrowed

from Thucydides' account of the investment of Poteidaia (Thuc.1.65). Compare also Polyain.2.22.3.

ἐπὶ μυριοπληθῆ στρατόν : cf. 9.1.2: μυριάσιν ἀπείροις ἀνδρῶν ... τὰ Ξυηναίων πεδία στενοχωρῶν. μυριοπληθής is a poetic word: the only other occurrences I have found are at Eur. Iph.Aul.571 and in a fragment of Alexandrides, preserved by Athenaios (4.131a etc., line 9).

τὸ μεσεῦσν: described by Rohde as "affektiert" (p.491/461 n.4). Compare 4.14.2, 9.16.3, 10.6.4, 10.28.2. The only other instance of this use of the neuter participle of μεσεύω that I have been able to locate is at Poll.2.10.

ὅσον βολῆς ἐκτὸς εἶναι : the detail of positioning the trench outside the range of arrows shot from the walls occurs also in Xenophon's account of the fall of Babylon. It does, however, fit in very badly with the strategem which Heliodoros is describing; this depends on water-pressure building up against the wall, which would not be possible if the water were a bow-shot away. It seems that Heliodoros is incorporating material from other literary sieges into the general outlines taken from the siege of Nisibis. Details familiar to the reader would ipso facto appear more plausible.

9.3.3

λόγου θᾶττον: a rather arbitrary way of compressing time; compare 8.15.7, where the Ethiopian army arrives θᾶττον ἀκοῆς, and similar phrases at 1.15.1, 4.7.12, 5.23.3, 7.5.3, 8.8.1.

μυρίας ... χειρὸς: very singular ! Compare Hdt.1.174, also of the digging of a trench: καὶ δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων.

ἄχωστον: the word occurs nowhere else.

τὴν ἀπολήγουσαν ἄκραν: ie. the point where the trench and its accompanying mound come to an end; compare the medical use of the term τὰ ἀπολήγοντα for "extremities", for example at Ruf.ap.Oribas.49.33.11.

ἀπὸ τῶν ταπεινοτέρων etc: this is very strange stuff indeed. Heliodoros has quite clearly conceived a situation where Syene is in a hollow while the Nile flows past on an embankment of some kind. Indeed, some such arrangement is necessary for Hydaspes' strategem to work at all, otherwise the water would not leave the river and flow into the trench around the town. Although the picture here made explicit is contrary to the laws of geography, the precision with which Heliodoros phrases it suggests that he was aware of the difficulties and decided that a momentary absurdity was worth while to make the strategem ultimately more plausible. Certainly it is preferable to having the Nile, in some unexplained fashion, climbing out of its bed to envelop Syene. There is nevertheless something clumsy about the device, and it does not require much imagination to devise ways of eliminating the absurdity. We must conclude, then, that Heliodoros was, in this instance, writing somewhat carelessly, and was more concerned with the miraculous nature of the

flooding than with the precise mechanics of achieving it. Compare 9.3.5, where the same anomaly is presented.

Mr.M.D.Reeve has suggested to me that what Heliodoros may have had in mind was that Hydaspes' channel joined the Nile some way upstream, at a point where the river was higher than the town. But this is equally impossible, since it is the property of water always to find the lowest point, and so the steepest route from a place up-river to Syene would always be the course followed by the river. In fact, the device would still not work unless Syene were lower than the adjacent stretch of river. Moreover, the comparison of the trench to long walls (9.3.4 and note) suggests a reasonably straight and short construction; compare especially 9.3.4: μῆκος δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Νείλου καὶ τῆς Συήνης ἀπολαμβάνοντος.

Mrs.S.R.West points out that beside the physical impossibility of what Heliodoros is describing there is the further objection that the real town of Syene must have been constructed to withstand the normal annual inundation of the Nile, so that Hydaspes' ploy could not have been successful in reality.

9.3.4

μακρῶν τείχεσι: the most famous long walls in Greece were those connecting Athens to the Piraeus: these were called τὰ Σκέλη, and it is significant that Heliodoros should use this term to describe the walls of his dyke. The point

of the simile is simply that the long walls were also two walls running parallel and close together; at this stage in the operation the mounds beside the trench looked as if they were a passage from the town to the river, in much the same way as those at Athens safeguarded the city's outlet to the sea.

ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆψε etc: perhaps another allusion to Xenophon's account of the capture of Babylon; cf. Xen.Cyr.7.5.15-16: ἀνεστόμωσε τὰς τάφρους πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, τὸ ὕδωρ κατὰ τὰς τάφρους ἐχώρει ἐν τῇ νύκτι.

τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν σκελῶν ὅλκον: the space between the walls running up to the river. ὅλκος usually denotes a furrow or a groove cut into something, but its extension to the channel between two raised walls is not a worrying one.

ἐἰσωχέτευσεν: cf. Method.Conv.Virg.2.4 (= PG 18.53b), where εἰσοχετεύω occurs in the passive. This is the only occurrence of the verb I have been able to find apart from entries in the Suda and the lexicon of Zonaras, both possibly explaining the example in Heliodoros since they give the verb in the form εἰσωχέτευσαν· ἔνδον μετέφερον.

9.3.5

ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων: the word is first used by Xenophon, and from him passed into the Κοινή. See D.Baumgarten: Quid Xenophonti debeat Heliodorus Emisenus; Studia Leopolitana 4 (1932) p.1ff.

τῆς κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον εὐρύτητος : the κατά construction is regularly used by Heliodoros to indicate possession of an abstract quality; cf. 10.21.2, 10.25.2.

ἄφραστον ... ἀλόησιν ... πάταγον : ἄφραστος is a poetic word only occasionally used in late prose, for example Eunap.Vit.Soph.6.11.6, Plot.6.6.7.

Besides the contrast of places (κατὰ μὲν τὸ στόμιον ... κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἅλιον), there is a distinction between the sounds heard. ἀλόησις suggests the noise made by the seething water at the mouth of the channel; πάταγος the sound of the water running down the channel towards the town, presumably more of a low rumbling.

ἀπετέλει : "produced"; cf. 8.14.3, 9.8.3 and Plat.Tim.34c. Note also the vivid effect of the imperfects in this passage

9.3.6

σὺ κακῶν ἦσαν : compare 1.32.1, εἰς χεῖρας ἔρχων and 5.15.3, εἰς κόρον ἦσαν . The idiom is unobjectionable but RL appear worried by it (p.41 n.2). Their reasoning is fuddled by an unbecoming animosity towards Colonna, who conjectured σὺ for σύ . There is no reason for calling this conjecture "pas très plausible" unless we accept that σύ is backed by the two passages quoted above, both of which RL emend. They conclude "en tout cas, Colonna qui rejette ἰόντων de Bekker dans le livre 1, et notre ἦσαν dans le livre V a tort de s'opposer à σὺ κακῶν ἦσαν." Equally,

HL, who reject the MSS ὄντων in Book 1 and ἦσαν in Book 5, are wrong to keep δὲ κακῶν ἦσαν here. It would be logical for them to alter ἦσαν to ἦσαν, but in fact the MSS readings confirm each other.

ἐπικλυσμὸς : the classical form is ἐπίκλυσις ; cf. Thuc.3.89, Theophr.Frag.171.11; Heliodoros uses ἐπίκλυσις at 9.5.1. ἐπικλυσμός (for which compare Poll.1.114) is formed after the example of κατακλυσμός, used by Plato and Aristotle.

9.3.7

θρυαλλίδα : the only meanings given by LSJ are i) the plantain, plantago crassifolia. ii) the lamp-wick made from that plant. iii) as = φλόμος, a kind of sage. I do not see how any of those things could be used for blocking up cracks in city gates. Maillon, in the Budé translation, renders as "avec des feuilles et du bitume", but θρυαλλίς does not mean "leaves", and Maillon does not explain why he so translated it. Lamb, in the Everyman translation, keeps to lamp-wicks, and very strange they seem in this context. One way out of the difficulty would be to change θρυαλλίδα to θρυγανίδα . Words of such similar shape and sound could have been confused by a slip of the pen. Compare 9.8.5, where the Ethiopians block off the channel from the Nile with a network of thick logs, filling the gaps χοῦν τε ἅμα καὶ θρυγανίδα ὕλην συνλέοντες .

διέφθαρται : a rare word: compare Diod.17.96, Themist.Or. 20.235d, Hdn.3.1.8.

ἔπειτα τὸ τεῖχος etc.: RL compare Luc.Quomodo hist.conscr.sit 3, which describes the activity of the Corinthians on the approach of Philip: οἱ Κορίνθιοι πάντες ἐταράττοντο καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν ὅπλα ἐπισκευάζων, ὁ δὲ λίθους παραφέρων, ὁ δὲ ὑποκολομῶν τοῦ τείχους, ὁ δὲ ἔπαλξιν ὑποστηρίζων, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλο τι τῶν χρησίμων ὑπουργῶν. Presumably Heliodoros is affecting an historiographical style.

9.3.8

παῖς γυνὴ καὶ πρεσβύης : for this method of constucting a list compare 7.17.3 and the examples collected by A.Wifstrand in Hermes 68 (1933) p.469ff. In classical Greek the normal practice is to use either asyndeton or polysyndeton; the mixed form with a conjunction to attach the last item is common only from the third century AD onwards. There is possibly corroborative evidence here for a late dating of the Aithiopica.

On the mobilisation of children, women and old men in a crisis see 4.21.2-3, where the people of Delphi set off in pursuit of the Thessalians whom they believe to have kidnapped Charicleia. Significantly the order is the same in the earlier passage, although much expanded. This is sufficient reason for preferring the reading of BPZ to that of VM, which have γυνὴ παῖς.

γένος γὰρ οὐδὲν ... δυσωπεῖται κίνδυνος: for the sententia compare 5.25.3 and Char.3.3.16.

δυσωπεῖται is difficult: Maillon is reduced to a paraphrase.

The line followed by Hirschig is to take the middle as equivalent to the active in the sense "look askance at". Alternatively, we can take it in the sense "show respect for", which is not recorded by LSJ but which can be paralleled from 5.7.3, 10.10.3 and from contemporary Christian writers, with the passive followed by an accusative: eg. Bas.Hom.1.3 (= PG.31.1(5c), δυσωπήθητι τὴν πολιὰν τῆς νηστείας and id.24.2 (= PG.31.601b), δυσωπούμενος τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ κυρίου.

τὸ ἀκμάζων : for Heliodoros' use of the neuter participle compare 7.8.3, τοῦ μὲν ἐθηβεύοντος τῆς πόλεως καὶ εἰς ἄνδρας ἄρτι παραλλάττοντος τῷ θεαγένει προστρέχοντος. The same passage goes on to offer a useful parallel for ἀκμάζειν: ... τῷ δὲ θυμῷ τῆς ἀκμαζούσης ἡλικίας καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁλοκλήρως πληρούσης †.

ὁρᾶτέον ἀποκεκλήρωντο : the infinitive construction is unclassical; a certain freedom in the use of the infinitive is a characteristic of Heliodoros' style: see Introduction §4.

9.4.1

ἤνυστο τὸ ἔργον ὡς ε: Heliodoros is a little confusing on the time-scale. If the Syenians did not begin work on the tunnel until they heard the water coming down the canal (9.3.6), it is very surprising that they have it so nearly completed by the time the water reaches their wall.

φρεατίαν τοῦ τείχους πλησίον etc: RL rightly compare Xen. Hell.3.1.7, where the rare word φρεατία also occurs; see also 9.22.3 and Polyb.10.28.2. It clearly means not a well-shaft (Maillon translates by "puits".) but a kind of reservoir. ἐγκάρσιον must give the sense "at right angles", that is, having dug vertically to the required depth, they turned through a right angle and began digging horizontally. The idea is that the water will run through their tunnel (ὑπόνομος) and collect in the φρεατία, thus not even touching the wall. This seems a very optimistic move on the part of the Syenians, seeing that Hydaspes has all the unfailing waters of the Nile at his disposal. Not surprisingly the motif occurs nowhere in accounts of the siege of Nisibis, on which Heliodoros' description of that of Syene is largely based. As RL suggest, the Xenophon passage seems to be the source. The tactic is much more in place there: Thimbron is besieging Larissa, and in an effort to deprive the city of its water supply digs a reservoir (φρεατία) fed by a tunnel (ὑπόνομοι), through which water is diverted away from the town. This illustrates well the allusive nature of Heliodoros' writing:

in the middle of a siege which reflects an account of Nisibis, he includes a detail from another source, well integrated and explained.

εἰς ὀργυιὰς που πέντε τὴν κάθετον: ie. the reservoir was about thirty feet deep. With the feminine τὴν κάθετον we are to understand γραμμήν - a perpendicular line. For this adverbial accusative without γραμμήν compare Strab.8.6.21.

ἐγκάρσιαι: RL are stylistically correct to print ἐγκάρσιαι rather than Z's ἐγκάρσιον Apart from superior MSS authority, ἐγκάρσιαι makes less of a jumble of this complicated clause, by giving a scope to ὑπὸ πυρσοῖς ; if we have the neuter singular, we must wait until the end of the sentence for the plural subject to be established by the verb, and ὑπὸ πυρσοῖς is left hanging. By having a nominative plural at the start of the sentence, Heliodoros can make it clear that the men are working by lamplight.

τῶν κατόπιν ἀεὶ etc.: a typical motif of mining; cf. Thuc.2.76.

κηπευόμενον: for the verb in this sense of "to be a garden", compare Theophr.de caus.plant.4.6.7.

9.4.2

ῥήξεως ἐνδόσιμον τῷ ὕδατι : ἐνδόσιμος is a favourite word of Heliodoros, which he uses in both literal and metaphorical ways. Compare 3.2.2, 4.3.1, 4.16.2, 5.14.2, and 5.21.1 (with RL's note). The present passage is quite different in that it treats ἐνδόσιμος almost etymologically. For this

compare Plut.Mor.131c, who talks of τίτια ἐνδόσιμα τῇ πέψει.

The meaning of the present passage is that the Syenians' tunnel would allow the water to pass through (ῥήξεως) without touching the wall at all; compare Hirschig's Latin translation: "ut, si aqua ad locum illum terra vacuum pervenisset, ad perruptionem occasionem et aditum haberet."

For ῥῆξις used of the pressure of water, see the curious passage in Plut.Aem.Paul.14.

προμηθούμενοι ... προθυμίαν: the sense demands that these should be related forms. We should read either προμήθειαν or προμηθίαν: the latter is to be read in the text of Attic tragedians and is also found as a variant on the more usual προμήθεια in the manuscripts of some prose writers, eg. Antiph.118.15, Plat.Gorg.501b. The corruption would be easier to understand if Heliodoros had originally written προμηθίαν

It is interesting that Maillon translates as if the text already read προμηθίαν:"mais malgré toute leur diligence le danger les prévint." Mr.M.D.Reeve tells me that the conjecture has already been made, both by himself and by Keydell, but not published.

τὸ μακρὸν χῶμα ie. the excavation stretching from the town to the river, perhaps an oblique reference to 9.3.4, ἔτεμεν ἂν τις μακρὸν τεῖχος τὸ γιγνόμενον.

ἐπέθηκε τῷ κατὰ τὸν κύκλον etc.: τῷ is the emendation by Coraes of the manuscripts' τῶν, and must be adopted; Colonna

retains τῶν, τῷ κατὰ τὸν κύκλον (sc χωμάτι) echoes and is parallel to τὸ μικρὸν χῶμα. The sentence is a fine piece of writing and describes every stage in the flooding as the Nile first comes down the channel and then fills up the circular space around the town.

τὸ μετάλλων τῶν τειχῶν ἐλύμηνε: cf.9.3.1, τῷ πολιορκουμένῳ τεῖχος ἕτερον ἀντεγείροντες. For the verb λυμαίνω used meaning "flood" compare Jos.Ant.Jud.1.3.5, Philo de.vit.Mos. 1.116 and 2.195, also of the Nile flooding.

There seems a resemblance to Julian's description of the siege of Nisibis (Or.1.27b), ἐπέρρει δὲ ὁ Μυγδόνιος πελαγίζων τὸ περὶ τῷ τείχει χωρίον. For the relationship of the two authors, see Introduction §1.

περίρρυτος ἡ μεσόγαιος: περίρρυτος picks up a phrase earlier in this section, παντοχόθεν περιρρυείς.

For the form ἡ μεσόγαιος (sc.γῆ), compare Polyb.1.52.8 etc. Herodotos uses the phrase in the form ἡ μεσόγαια (1.175, 2.7 etc.) as does Heliodoros himself in the very next chapter (9.5.5).

For the oxymoron of the phraseology compare the rhetorical exercise attributed to Adrian of Tyre and printed in Hinck's edition of Polemon (p.46), and in Habrich's edition of the Babyloniaca of Iamblichos (p.73): στρατόπεδον ὅλον ποταμὸν βάλλεται καὶ κλύδωνι χερσαίῳ παραπύρεται.

9.4.3

εἰς ὕψος τε ἤρετο: RL compare 10.6.5, and refer to their

discussion of the textual difficulties of 5.18.2 (Vol.1 p.lxii-iii).

τῶν ἀραιωμάτων τῆς γῆς etc: the ἀραιώματα feature in Ephoros' explanation of the Nile floods, recorded by Diodoros (1.39.7ff.). Heliodoros, however, is terribly confused at this point. In the first place, the Nile floods every year, and in fact the siege of Syene is set a few days before the annual inundation begins (see 9.9.2 etc.). It is therefore strange that the walls of Syene should be supposed to resist the normal annual flood water but not that caused by Hydaspes' strategem. Secondly, if the flood has not yet occurred, the ground might well be cracked but it will hardly be μέλαινα καὶ εὔγεως ... πρὸς τῆς θερινῆς ὥρας. It is not even certain that he meant the cracks in dry earth by his ἀραιώματα: in the Ephoros account they are the holes left in the porous texture of alluvial soil. But if that is the case here, the mechanics of the collapse of the wall are quite incomprehensible; perhaps we need not bother too much about strict scientific coherence in what after all is a fictional narrative. The effect which Heliodoros is aiming at is best expressed in more literary terms, that is as an effort to achieve historiographical verisimilitude by extreme thoroughness of motivation. In this way nothing is left to chance, and the events of the siege seem to unfold quite naturally without any intervention from a supernatural power such as the romances have recourse to

so often.

χαυνούμενον: again it is difficult to understand exactly how Heliodoros has conceived the process involved. How does this looseness or porousness differ from the ἀραιώματα ? χαυνότης is used of spongy soil by Xen.Oic.19, but it appears that Heliodoros is concentrating more on the derived meaning "relaxed", for which compare Ael.Nat.Anim.12.17.

ἰζήσειεν: for the intransitive use of ἵζειν RL compare Plat.Tim.25c and 53a. We may add Pi.Olymp.10.38, (ἵλε)... βαθὺν ἐς ὄχετὸν ἄτας/ἵζουσαν ἐὰν πόλιν . Thus Hirschig's conjecture ἕλξειεν is unnecessary.

τὸ τεῖχος ὤκλαζε: ὀκλάζω is literally "to squat down on one's hams", but Heliodoros uses the word in a variety of metaphorical ways: cf. 1.26.2, 5.1.3, 5.7.3, 5.23.2, 10.1f.7.

τῷ βρασμῷ κλονουμένων: for βρασμός cf. 5.17.3; also Arist. ap.Ar.Did.Frag.13, Orph.Hymn 47.3, where it is used of earthquakes.

κλονέω appears to have epic associations: cf. Hom.Il. 23.212, 5.96, 14.13; Hes.Op.551 and Apoll.Rhod.4.487 etc. For its use in late prose compare Theodoret.Quaest.22 in Iudices (= PG.80.512b.), Chrys.Hom.8.1 in 1 Thess. (= PG. 62.440). The sentence clearly shows Heliodoros' mastery of a periodic style. It lacks the oratorical devices which we shall meet in more emotional passages, but gains in impact through a use of unusual, vivid, semi-poetic vocabulary:

ἐπεβρῖσαν, ἀραιωμάτων, εὔγεως, χαυνούμενον, ἐζήσαμεν, ἤκλαζε, σάλῳ, κραδαινομένων, βρασμῷ, κλονουμένων. The vividness is heightened by the author's use of the imperfect as a narrative tense.

9.5.1

καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους καὶ μεταπύργιον : both the καί 's need explanation. The first emphasises that the wall which has already been shaken now actually collapses. The deletion of the second was proposed by Naber (Mnemosyne NS 1 (1873) p.323). This would involve taking μεταπύργιον as an adjective qualifying μέρος, but LSJ list the word only as a noun. It is clear that καὶ cannot be right, however, since the text as it stands can only mean that the μέρος and μεταπύργιον are separate entities, both of which collapsed. The easiest way round the difficulty is to read κατὰ μεταπύργιον, "part of the wall in the stretch between two towers". The phrase would perhaps have been modelled on Thuc.3.22.3.

ἐγκατερείπεσθαι : ἐγκατερείπεσθαι is a "ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, but B's reading is certain against that of the various other MSS with parts of ἐγκαταρρίπτεσθαι. The single compound κατερείπεσθαι occurs twice in this chapter (see sections 6 and 10). RL point out that Heliodoros is fond of compound verbs in ἐν- , adducing examples from 3.14.3 and 7.18.2. Such compounds are in fact coined regularly by latish prose writers, and need not represent a significant stylistic phenomenon.

ἀλλὰ πέντε που πήχεις ὑπερέχουσαν : note the means by which Heliodoros seeks to gain verisimilitude by deliberate vagueness over an invented figure.

ἀπειλουμένην ὅσον οὔπω κατεπτηχέναι τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν: the syntax cannot be right here. We need another infinitive to continue the construction οὐδ' ὥστε ἐωδέξασθαι ... ἀλλὰ ... As the text stands, the only available infinitive, κατεπτηχέναι, is governed by ἀπειλουμένην, but the perfect infinitive certainly follows on very oddly and the middle participle is strange where one would have expected to find an active. There seem to be two solutions: i) to emend ἀπειλουμένην to ἀπειλεῖσθαι, which restores a balance but leaves the perfect infinitive dependent. ii) to take κατεπτηχέναι as the balancing infinitive. This gives good sense. καταπτήσσω describes the act of collapsing, and to describe the state a perfect infinitive is necessary (compare Philo de somn.2.141 for an example). For ὅσον οὔπω compare 9.1.1. We are then left with the problem of ἀπειλουμένην, to which I can see no immediate solution. It does not look like a scribal gloss and it would be difficult to explain how it found its way into the text if it did not belong there. It may be connected with ὑπολειπομένην a few lines later; the words are similar in appearance, and if ὑπολειπομένην had crept up a few lines it might conceivably have been altered to ἀπειλουμένην to give some sort of sense. But excision is a dangerous remedy; it is safer to obelise ἀπειλουμένην and suggest that the true reading lurks somewhere behind that word.

κατεπτηχέναι: for καταπτήσσω with the accusative, cf. Dion.Hal. Ant.Rom.11.18, Philo de somn.2.141, de agric.146 and leg.

ad Gaium 369. Heliodoros' usage is extremely odd, however, bring the only case where the word means "collapse under".

χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν αἴροντες : for this gesture in prayer, compare 8.9.11 and 10.11.3; it was common at all periods: see Pi.Isth.6.41, Ar.Birds 623, Plut.Arist.7, Plut.Alex.30, Plut.Demetr.29, Hdn.7.3.6.

9.5.2

ὑποτετειχισμένης δὲ τῷ ὕδατι : a conscious oxymoron. Note how Heliodoros phrases his sentence so as to give greater emphasis to the strangeness of the events: σφενδόνῃ ... ἐπρεσβεύετο, διαπόντιον τὴν ἱκεσίαν ποξεύσμενος. For διαπόντιος meaning "across the sea", cf. Plut.Mor.750b and Athen.4.165a.

ἐπίνοιαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐδιδάσκετο : RL compare 7.25.7, εὑρέτις ἄρα ἐπιλογισμῶν ἡ ἀναγκη. The expression may derive from Euripides; cf. Frag.715 N, χρεία διδάσκει, κἂν βραδὺς πς ᾖ, σοφόν, which became a proverb (see Nauck's note ad loc.).

σφενδόνῃ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπρεσβεύετο: the sending of a message by sling or arrow is not uncommon. For slingshot compare App.Mithr.31: πεσσοὺς ἐκ μολύβδου πεποιημένους ἐμμάδοντες ἀεὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠφίεσαν ἀπὸ σφενδόνης (during Sulla's siege of Athens) and [Caes.] Bell.Hisp.13.3: idemque temporis glans missa est inscripta ... Arrows and javelins used for the same purpose are understandably more common: cf. Hdt.8.128, Caes.Bell.Gall.5.48, Plut.Cimon 12, Dio Cass.58.25; the idea also found its way into the theorists:

see Aen.Tact.31 and Polyain.2.29.1.

ἐλαττουμένης τοῦ μήκους : for a comparative genitive after ἐλασσόω cf. Philo de mut.nom.183.

9.5.3.

πάντων μὲν ... ἁπάντων δὲ...: note the virtual anaphora with μὲν ... δὲ. This is a favourite stylistic pattern of Heliodoros'; cf. 2.17.3, 5.33.4, 6.6.2, 6.13.3, 8.1.3, 8.8.1, 10.16.5, 10.34.4 etc.

θέατρον τὰ πάθη τὰ ἐκείνων ποιουμένους : the point of the metaphor is that the Ethiopians standing on their earthworks are like the audience in a theatre, watching the Syenians as an audience would watch the events on the stage. Compare the vivid picture at the start of the first book, and Heliodoros' comment: ὃ δεῖμων... τοιοῦτον θέατρον λῃσταῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιδείξας (1.1.6). In the present instance, of course, the image gains additional strength from the fact that the Syenians are trying to mime to the Ethiopians that they wish to surrender, which again places them in the relationship of stage-performers to an audience.

ἐλεεινοῖς τοῖς σχήμασι : all the manuscripts except the late T read ἐλεεινῶς. Coraes emended correctly to ἐλεεινοῖς. This placing of the adjective is entirely characteristic of Heliodoros.

νῦν μὲν ... νῦν δὲ: note the anaphora as above. The parallelism of the two clauses is almost complete: προτείνοντες is balanced by περιάγοντες, and εἰς ἱκεσίαν ἔκφασιν is closely

echoed by εἰς δουλείας ἐξομολόγησιν .

ὑπτίας προτείνοντες etc: cf. Quint.Curt.6.6.34, "e muris supinas manus tendentes." The gesture is to indicate that the suppliant is unarmed. Compare Thuc.3.58.3, ἔκοντας τε ἐλάβετε καὶ χεῖρας προισχομένους· ὃ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ κτείνειν τούτους . For a fuller discussion, see C.Sittl: Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer, p.147f.

νῦν δὲ κατὰ νώτων etc: this gesture belongs more in the world of mime than of supplication. However, compare Luc.Tox.43, εἰς τοιαύτην παραγωγὴν τῷ χεῖρε ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγκώνων δεδέμενοι· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι ἡμῖν ἡ μεγίστη ἱκετεία . See Sittl: op.cit.p.151f.

9.5.4

ὑπουργεῖ γὰρ τοῖς χρηστοῖς : cf.9.6.2 and 9.21.1, where Hydaspes is talking to Oroondates after the battle. Mercy shown to a defeated enemy is one of the leading characteristics of Hydaspes as presented in the ninth book. The tradition of Ethiopian piety and clemency is discussed in my note on 9.6.2; Hydaspes appears to combine that tradition with one of a line of noble and magnanimous kings.

ἧττον σαφεστέραν λαβεῖν ... ἐπέρασεν : the motivation is rather clumsy in its implication that Hydaspes would not have conducted this "test" had he been able to rescue the Syenians at once. The reason he is not able to do this is that the town is still surrounded by water, and any work to release this would take some time.

καὶ ἦν γὰρ πορθμεῖα etc: in his article "Zur Datierung der Aithiopika Heliodors", R.Keydell used these boats as evidence that Heliodoros had copied his description of the siege of Syene from Julian's account of the siege of Nisibis. I have argued the case at length in the Introduction, but it is worth repeating here that one is not justified in asking why Hydaspes had prepared these craft. Rules of historical probability do not apply in a fictional context; Keydell may serve here as a useful illustration of a general principle. He suggests that Hydaspes was intending to mount siege engines on the ships and bring them to bear on the walls of the town, as Shapur did at Nisibis. But Hydaspes, not being a real person, has no intentions apart from those which Heliodoros gives him, and Heliodoros has nothing to say about siege engines. In fact, at this point he discovers that he needs ships for the Ethiopians to cross to the town, and, being a reasonably careful writer, explains where the ships came from rather than simply have them appear in the middle of what used to be dry land. This care in providing full explanations is a characteristic of Heliodoros' narrative which we shall meet again and again; compare my note on 9.3.3 for a similar instance of the explanation posing almost as many problems as it solves.

ἦν ... προηυτρεπισμένος: for the form of expression, see Kühner-Gerth Vol.1 p.38-9. For the middle in place of the more classical active, and for the use of the perfect participle in a similar sense, compare 7.24.2, τὸ γράμμα τὸ Μιτράνου

πρὸς Ὑδροσπάτην προηυτρεπισμένα ἐπεδείκνυε.

καθελκύσας εἶχε: very confused. καθέλκω is a common nautical term meaning "launch" (cf. Eur.Hel.1531, Ar.Ach.544, Ar. Knights 1315, Isocr.4.118, Thuc.2.94 and 6.50, Hdt.7.100.). But there is no need for Hydaspes to launch his ships, which have already floated down the canal (κατὰ ῥοῦν τῆς διώρυχος ... φέρεσθαι συγκωρήσας) and are now in the water surrounding Syene (τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ κώματος). It looks very much as if Heliodoros misunderstood his nautical vocabulary and intended καθελκύσας to mean "made fast".

α ... κἠ λέγειν ἐπιστείλας: an instance of postponement technique. We do not actually hear Hydaspes' words until his orders are carried out in 9.6.2f. Compare 9.16.3 and my note there.

9.5.5

καὶ ἦν θεαμάτων τὸ καινότατον: this is strikingly close to Ach.Tat.4.12.1, which is also a description of a Nile flood: καὶ ἔστι τὸ θέαμα καινόν, νηῶς ὁμοῦ καὶ δίκελλα, κώπη καὶ ἄροτρον, πηδάλιον καὶ λρέπανον, ναυτῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γεωργῶν καταγωγή, ἰχθύων ὁμοῦ καὶ βοῶν etc. This opens up the interesting possibility of Heliodoros exploiting a particularly subtle type of irony by describing the catastrophic flooding of Syene in terms familiar from accounts of the beneficent annual flooding of the Nile. There is certainly a peculiar and appealing poignancy in the idea of the Nile flood bringing not fertlity and joy but destruction and

suffering. However, there is not sufficient proof that Heliodoros was acquainted with the work of Achilles, and it may be more likely that both are using the traditional terms of description, or even that Heliodoros is conflating (or confusing) the flood produced by Hydaspes' strategem with the annual Nile flood; see my note on 9.4.3 for a similar vagueness over this point. The antitheses are typical of the rhetorical style.

ναύτης ὑπὲρ μεσογαίας πλωιζόμενος: contrast μεσογαίας with the two termination form at 9.4.2. πλωίζομαι is not found in the middle before Polybios; cf. Polyb.4.47.1, 5.88.7. These are in the form πλοιζ- as read here by MPZ; for the form πλωιζ- compare Strab.17:1.6, Luc.Quomodo hist.conscr. sit 62. There is some confusion in the MSS of Heliodoros also at 5.21.3 and 6.6.3: they are not at all consistent and perhaps it would not have occurred to any scribe of antiquity to differentiate between the forms.

For the ellipse of γῆ with ἡ ἀρόσιμος cf.Strab.9.5.19.

καινουργὸς ... ὁ πολέμος: cf.9.21.4: πολλὰ πολέμου καιρὸν διαμαιουργοῦσιν. Heliodoros is echoing a proverbial expression; note the concessive πως as if Heliodoros is quoting the proverb and then going one step better. The exact form of the proverb is doubtful. It occurs first at Thuc.3.30.4, where the MSS are divided between καινόν and κενόν. The passage is in any case a difficult one, and the situation is complicated further by Steup's suggestion of κοινόν (Rh.M. 1878 p.257ff.)

For an intelligent but inconclusive discussion of the problem, see Gomme's commentary Vol.2 p.292, which is inclined towards κενόν. Other occurrences of the phrase are not a great deal of help: Arist.Eth.Nic.1116b5ff. also has MSS confusion between καινὰ and κενὰ; although κενὰ does make marginally better sense (Aristotle is discussing the nature of bravery and says that experienced soldiers only appear brave because they have some acquaintance with καινὰ/κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου), either reading is possible. Polyb.29.16 is the first instance of the phrase being recognised as a proverb (τὸ περιφερόμενον), but again either version is possible, although the MSS are unanimous for κένα. On the other hand, Diod.20.30, which also recognises the proverbial usage (τὸ λεγόμενον), makes considerably better sense with καινὰ (meaning "unpredictable"), although the MSS all have κενὰ. Diod.20.67 is again not decisive, but in view of MSS unanimity κενεοῖς seems preferable. Cicero refers to the proverb in a letter to Atticus (5.20.3), where he has it meaning the same as τὰ πανικά: this certainly seems to indicate κενά as correct (C.P.Bill in CP 1937 p.160 wants to read καινά, but his arguments from the Latin adscripts in Δ are unconvincing). The phrase κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου now appears to take on the connotation of "war of nerves", especially at Diod.17.86: ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς κενοῖς τοῦ πολέμου καταπλήξας τοὺς Ἰνδούς; and perhaps at Diod. 21.2, where τὰ κενὰ are equated with ἄγνοια ... καὶ ἀπάτη.

A clinching case in favour of κενά as the normal proverbial

form, at least in the second century, comes at Plut.Mor.41b. Plutarch is arguing that in a philosophical discussion we should pay no attention to the speaker's reputation but only to the merits of his argument: ὡς γὰρ πολέμου, καὶ ἀκροάσεως πολλὰ τὰ κενὰ ἔστι.

This, however, is no guarantee that we should read κενά in all the earlier instances, and indeed the passages in Heliodoros suggest that by the time of the empire there were two forms of the proverb in existence. Both seem equally true. Later occurrences only add to the indecision: the Suda quotes Polybios but gets him wrong, substituting καινά for κενά ; the κενά form is given by Apostolios 14.53 L.

For the same sentiment as expressed by Heliodoros, compare, for example, Curtius 9.4.7: adeo etiam naturae iura bellum in contrarium mutat.

ναυμάχους πεζομάχας etc: the juxtaposition of these two ideas is a common oxymoron in classical literature. The standard form is that of fighting a land battle at sea when there is not enough room for ships to manoeuvre, or when for some other reason the battle consists of hand-to-hand fighting rather usual naval tactics. The earliest example of this which I have been able to find is at Thuc.7.62.2 and 4, where Nicias says that the Athenians will be forced πεζομαχεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. The converse form also exists as early as Thucydides; in his account of the Athenian attack on Pylos he describes the Spartans as "ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄλλο δὲ ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἐναυμάχουν", while the Athenians, as at Syracuse,

ἀπὸ νεῶν ἐπεξομάχουν. Compare also Ach.Tat.4.14.8: ἐν ὕδατι πεζομαχία, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ναυμαχία.

By the nature of things, it was more likely that land battles should take place at sea than sea battles on land, but when the opportunity arose with the siege of Nisibis in 350, the old oxymoron was duly trotted out. Libanios calls it τὴν ἐν ἠπείρῳ ναυμαχίαν (Or.18.208), but strangely Julian let the chance pass him by.

The verb τειχομαχέω is usually used of attackers rather than defenders; for a possible exception see App.Hann.92. The noun τειχομάχος is much less common; it is used of defenders, again by Appian (Hisp.93). But Heliodoros has been led by his desire for rhetorical contrast into an abnormal use of words.

9.5.6

ἐνόπλους: sc.ὄντας. It is parallel with ἐπιφερομένους.

καθ' ὃ μέρος ἀπήρειστο τὸ τεῖχος: cf.9.5.1 and note. The breach in the wall would be the obvious place for the Ethiopians to make a landing if they were attempting to force an entry into Syene.

καταπλήκτους ἄνθρωπους: the ἄνθρωπους here is tantamount to ὄντες; Mr.Reeve reminds me that Chariton uses ἀνήρ in much the same way.

τοὺς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ σφῶν ἥκοντας: but compare 9.5.4: ὁ δὲ ἡδόμενος ...(σωτηρίαν) παρέχειν ἦν ἕτοιμος ... τὸ παρὸν δὲ ἀδυνάτους ἔχων etc. The inconsistency is only apparent.

In 9.6.2f. the ambassadors offer Syene favourable terms.

ὑπετόπαζον: for this form compare Dio Cass.78.25 and Philo de vit.contempl.57. The more normal form is ὑποτοπέω.

ᾗ καιρ' ἔσχατον κινδύνου γινομένῳ: this is the reading suggested by Coraes (except that he printed γενομένῳ not γινομένῳ). All MSS present us with the neuter τὸ γινόμενον, which is quite impossible.

ξυνετόξευον: for the compound compare 9.19.2, and Hdt.9.49. Heliodoros uses the word in a metaphorical sense at 3.7.5.

9.5.7

οὕτως ... νομίζουσιν: for the sententia, compare the words given to Hydaspes at 10.10.4: δῆλον μὲν ... ὡς οὐδὲν ἔρρει σπουδαίων, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἴδιον τῶν τὰ τελευταῖα κινδυνευόντων, λόγων ματαίων ἔστιν πλάσματα πρὸς ὑπέρθεσιν.

τὸν πρόσπλουν: cf.App.Bell.Civ.4.102 and Dio Cass.37.53.

9.5.8

ἀντετόξευον: cf.Xen.Anab.3.3.15, 5.2.32. The compound is used also by Philostratos (Imag.1.6).

εὐσκοπώτερα ... βάλλοντες: in fact the Persians were not trying to hit the Ethiopians (9.5.7). For the accuracy of Ethiopian archery, compare 9.18.6.

δύο πού τινες καὶ πλείους: the same kind of deliberate vagueness as discussed in my note on 9.5.1.

ἀπροόπτου τῆς τρώσεως: it was certainly very naive of them to imagine that the Ethiopians would allow themselves to be shot at without retaliating, especially as they believed that the Ethiopians were coming with hostile intent. For the rare word ἀπρόοπτος, cf. Aes.PV.1074, Σ.Opp.Hal.3.42, Procop.Arc.23. It is used in a different, active sense by Pollux (1.179, 3.117).

σθενδονηθῆναι: this is the reading of BP. VMZ have ἐκσθενδονισθῆναι (or an obvious variant of it), which was altered to ἐκσθενδονηθῆναι by Coraes. A form σθενδονίζω is attested by the Septuagint (1 Kings 25), by Malalas (Chron. 50.13 = p. 457.19 ed. Dindorf), and in the Alexander Romance(2.16). There is therefore no reason why the compound ἐκσθενδονίζω should not also exist, although there are no instances of it. Heliodoros' usage, however, inclines to the form in -όω: thus at 10.30.4 (in the aorist passive participle) and 2.2.2, where the compound imperfect ἀπεσθενδόνητο is to be found. Should we expect complete consistency from him? The answer must be no. In this chapter alone we find alternative formations from κατερέπω (9.5.1, 9.5.6) and κατερείπτω (9.5.10). Despite the generally superior quality of the β branch of the tradition, I would feel inclined towards the more colourful ἐκσθενδονισθῆναι here, rejecting Coraes' ἐκσθενδονηθῆναι as unnecessary.

9.5.9

τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀεὶ ἐν Συήνῃ μόνων : ie. those in Syene. Cf. 9.5.7: ἔβαλλον δὲ οὐχ ὥστε καὶ τιτρώσκειν ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπείργειν τὸν πρόσπλουν καταστοχαζόμενοι.

σὺν ὁρμῇ τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἀμυνομένων: Hirschig's excision of τῶν Αἰθιόπων is wrong, as it would leave an awkward hiatus.

ἁ μή τις τῶν ἐπὶ δόξης καὶ πρεσβύτης etc.: a similar rôle is played by an old man of Memphis, who suggests that the people of Memphis consult Arsace before they engage Thyamis and his banditsin battle. He is described as πρεσβυτικοῦ ... τινος καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ δόξης (7.1.4).

παραγενόμενος : the reading of VZ is προσπαραγενόμενος. While it is difficult to see how such a variant could have arisen the verb προσπαραγίγνομαι is found nowhere else, and the usual παραγίγνομαι is quite adequate in this context.

ἐλπίδες ἐπέκεινα : cf. 10.1f.4, πόσης ἐπέκεινα προσδοκίας and 1.32.1, βαύματος ἦν ἐπέκεινα τὰ γινόμενον.

προσορμισθέντες: passive where we would have found the middle in a more classical writer. For the passive compare Arr.Anab. 6.20.4, Plut.Mor.601f,Ael.Var.Hist.3.5.

9.5.10

πλούτου νέφους etc: νέφος is fairly frequently found in the sense of "Mass,host", but usually with a genitive. Compare the obscure lines Eur.Phoen.1311 (deleted by some editors but recognised by the scholiast). For the more usual form with dependent genitive, cf.Eur.Phoen.250,Hom.Il.4.274,16.16 etc.

τοῦ κατηρεικωμένου : echoes both 9.5.1 and 9.5.6, but is formed differently, from κατερείκτου, which exists only in the perfect passive participle: compare Diod.32.14, Porph.Plot.12.

9.f.1

τὸ μεταπύργιον: cf.9.5.1: μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους κατὰ (?) μεταπύργιον ἐγκατερείπεται.

ὅ τε δῆμος ὀθόνιοις κατασείων: they were using cloths to make their intentions clear at a distance. There does not appear to have been a convention in the ancient world similar to the modern white flag, but a significant parallel to the present passage can be found in the behaviour of some of Pompey's soldiers in Egypt when they are trying to attract the attention of a passing ship: καὶ κατασείουσί τινες ἄνθρωποι τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγουσι πρὸς αὐτούς (Plut. Pomp.73). There is an extraordinary discussion of the Heliodoros passage by Sittl (op.cit.p.63). He is listing examples of spectators and audiences waving their garments to make their feelings clearer, and remarks that the emperor Aurelian was the first to distribute handkerchieves to the populace for this purpose (Hist.Aug.Aurel.48); he then draws the conclusion (p.63 n.1) "da Heliodor solche Tücher in einer ägyptischen Provinzialstadt voraussetzt, möchte man glauben, er könne nicht schon unter Aurelian geschrieben haben." I accept the later dating but can see no evidence for it here; there is nothing to connect the ὀθόνια of the Syenians with Aurelian's handkerchieves, and it is surely ridiculous to suppose that no one had ever thought of waving a piece of cloth before Aurelian distributed them. Sittl is trying to connect the Heliodoros passage with the wrong set of

examples: it clearly has nothing to do with theatre audiences showing approval. As we have seen, the quotation from Plutarch is far more relevant. There is nothing significant in the ὀθόνια of themselves; Pompey's soldiers used their ἱμάτια because they were what came to hand, while the ὀθόνια of the Syenians are too vague to allow a positive identification to be made.

For the instrumental dative with καταστέω, where we might have expected a direct object, compare Polyb.1.78.3: τῇ χειρὶ καταστέων.

ἐπιτρέπειν ... ἐνδείκνυτο: a non-classical infinitive; the normal construction would have been with a participle. Heliodoros uses ἐνδείκνυμι with the infinitive in several distinct senses: a) as here, where the infinitive expresses the real intention of the subject; cf.5.33.1 and 10.40.2. b) where the infinitive does not express the real intention and ἐνδείκνυμι means something like "pretend", eg. at 3.10.4, 5.8.4, 5.28.2, 8.6.3, 8.17.1, 10.17.1. c) in a genuine passive sense ("was shown to ...") eg. at 10.9.4.

ὥσπερ ἀπ' ἐκκλησίας ... πρὸς τὸ πολιορκούμενον θέατρον: compare 9.5.3 and my note. The situation has now been reversed. Heliodoros is fond of paradoxical images from the theatre; with this "besieged theatre" compare 5.14.3 πολεμικὸν θέατρον ἐπιδείκνυσαν τὸν κρημνόν. For a full discussion of Heliodoros' use of theatrical imagery and metaphor see P.Neimke: Quaestiones Heliodoreae (Halle, 1889), and especially

J.W.H.Walden: Stage terms in Heliodorus's Aethiopica; Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 5 (1894) p.1ff.

9.6.2

τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ δυσμαῖς Αἰθιόπων: this is an echo of Hom.Od.1.22ff., where the Ethiopians are called ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, and are said to be divided

ὃι μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνίοντος.

This is recalled by Ephoros (ap.Strab.1.2.28), and the distinction persisted at least as late as Isidore: duae sunt autem Aethiopiae: una circum ortum solis, alter circum occasum in Mauretania. The truth, if any, behind this tradition is obscure, and was certainly not known to Heliodoros. The important thing as far as he was concerned was that his Homeric allusion should be recognised. For references to discussions on the location of Homeric Ethiopians and the significance of the division, see F.M.Snowden: Blacks in Antiquity (Harvard, 1973) p.280 n.7, and for a persuasive exposition of the idea that this is a relic of a coherent archaic world view, with dark-skinned peoples at the points on earth closest to the sun (ie. at the rising and setting) see the important article by A.Lesky in Hermes 87 (1959) p.27ff.

Although the claim to rule the extremes of the earth may seem to belong to the clichés of oriental kingship, the only possible parallel that I have been able to find is from Aeschines (3.132), and the ἀλαζονεία implied is

not at all consistent with the character of Hydaspes as Heliodoros presents it.

Πολεμίους ... ἐκπορθεῖν: Heliodoros has chosen the colourful word ἐκπορθεῖν and used it in a sense which cannot be exactly paralleled. It properly describes what a victor does to a conquered city rather than any action towards a person.

ἱκέτας οἰκτείρειν πέφυκε: cf.9.5.4 and my note there.

The tone of Hydaspes' message reflects the classical tradition of just, pious Ethiopians; this originates with Homeric references to the gods' friendship with the race: Cf.Hom.Il.1.423f.,23.205ff., Od.1.22ff. Lesky argued that that the Ethiopians in early writers were a mythical people, gradually accommodated to increasing geographical knowledge of the parts of Africa to the south of Egypt. It is possible that the tradition of their piety may have received some reinforcement from historical fact. In the late 8th. century BC Nubians took over for a time the rule of Egypt, and the 25th. dynasty of pharaohs is in fact an Ethiopian one. The first of the dynasty was Piankhi, who after his conquest of Egypt set up a stele which survives; the text is most easily found in Breasted's Ancient Records of Egypt Vol.4 p.419ff. The style of this document, as far as I can judge from an English translation, is marked by a lack of rhetoric, and its substance by a scrupulous observation of religious procedure; for example, "(The people) of Memphis (shall be) safe and sound: not (even) a child shall weep. Look ye to

the nomes of the south; not a single one has been slain therein, except the enemies who blasphemed against the god" (p.432), or "His Majesty sent people into it (ie Memphis), protecting the temples of the gods. He (----) the holy of holies of the gods, offered to the community of gods of Hatkeptah (=Memphis), cleansed Memphis with natron and incense, installed the priests in their places." (p.435) And on p.436 there is a long and detailed account of how Piankhi toured the country, appeasing the local gods of whatever city or village he visited; on p.443 Piankhi refuses to receive "kings and princes of the Northland" because they "were unclean (ie uncircumcised), and eaters of fish, which is an abomination for the palace. Lo, King Namlot, he entered into the king's-house, because he was pure and he ate not fish. There stood three upon their feet, but only one entered the king's-house."

Piankhi was succeeded by Shabaka, who reigned ca.712-700 BC. This is the Sabacos of Herodotos and Diodoros, who describes him as εὐσεβείᾳ δὲ καὶ χρηστότητι πολὺ διαφέρων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ. Sabacos, according to the Greek sources, finally abdicated after an ill-omened dream, choosing καθαρὸς παντὸς μύσους ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ζῆν τῇ πεπρωμένῃ μᾶλλον ἢ λυπῶν τὸν κύριον καὶ μίασμα ἀσεβεῖ φόνῳ τὸν ἴδιον βίον ἄρχειν τῆς Αἰγύπτου (Diod.1.65).

Roeder (in PW sv.Sabakon) comments on the archaising tendencies of the Nubian 25th. dynasty. Apparently both

its art and its literature were modelled on that of the great period of temple building, and its inscriptions are in a resurrected style and orthography. This conservatism is another facet of their intense respect for religious institutions.

Diod.1.60.2ff. describes the expedition of an Ethiopian king, Actisanes, against the pharaoh Amasis. Diodoros comments specially on the king's humane treatment of his subordinates. There are, however, grounds for thinking that this Actisanes is no more than a doublet of Sabacos.

Herodotos (3.20ff.) tells the story of Cambyses' abortive expedition against Ethiopia. Again the Ethiopians emerge well, exhibiting independence of spirit and a noble disdain for Persian grandeur - their king calls the Persians' gold bracelets πέδαι. Diodoros 3.2ff. is an account of Ethiopia, derived partly from Agatharchides of Cnidos (cf. the summary in Photios) but also from Artemidoros (cf.3.11), and from some Ethiopian ambassadors with whom Diodoros had spoken while he was in Egypt. This passage is important in tracing the history of this motif, because it is the first time that Homeric material is connected with both historical sources and first-hand witnesses. It implies both a widespread reputation of Ethiopian piety and the frequent citation of Homer, and the idea of the Ethiopians being the most ancient of mankind and the first to worship the gods occurs here for the first time in our extant sources.

The tradition continues into Roman times, in both Latin and Greek writers; references to the Homeric banquets can be found at Stat.Theb.5.426ff. (in a simile), Luc.Jup.Trag.37 (parody), Luc.Prom.17 and de sacr.2 and in the Byzantine ps.Luc.Philopatr.4, while Aelian (Hist.Anim.2.21) recalls that the gods bathe in Ethiopia. An interesting remark for our purposes is made by Pausanias (1.33.4), who says that the justest of all Ethiopians are those who dwell on the so-called Ethiopian Plain around Meroe: this is the first and only time that the historical capital of Ethiopia in the classical period is linked with the tradition of Ethiopian piety, apart from Heliodoros.

And so on, until very late in the empire: Stob.Anth.4.2.25 quotes Nicolaos of Damascus and picks up some of the old stories, adding a new one about their houses having no doors, and summing up ἤκουσι δὲ εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. Steph.Byz.sv. Αἰθίοψ repeats Diodoros' statement that Ethiopians were the first men to honour the gods. Lactantius Placidus Σ.Stat.Theb.5.427 (=p.284 ed.Jahnke) sums up the whole tradition by stating baldly that the gods love the Ethiopians above all men for their piety, justness and moral rectitude.

It is natural, therefore, to see Heliodoros' good king as part of this tradition, but it would be simplistic to see it as the sole motif in the characterisation of Hydaspes. Nevertheless, it is possible that the existence of a classical tradition of Ethiopian rectitude influenced

greatly his choice of setting. Certainly such a literary motivation is in keeping with Heliodoros' allusive manner. To an extent we have here another example of the author's exploitation of widely known historical fact to give his novel a dimension of apparent reality. There is no justification in the view advanced by Merkelbach that the sun kingdom of Ethiopia is intended as an allegory of the paradise to which adherents of the Emesan sun-cult believed their souls would return. All the motifs of Heliodoros' Ethiopia lead us to traditional, literary and not to contemporary, religious sources.

The stylistic features of the sentence are worth pointing out: it contains three antithetical pairs of clauses balanced with isocolia: thus πολεμίους ... τῇδε contains nine syllables (τε elided before ἐκπορθεῖν) and is balanced by καὶ ... πέφυκε, which comprises ten syllables. Similarly the two final clauses each comprise eleven syllables (τὸ μὲν ... στρατιωτικῆς and τὸ δὲ ... γνώμης). These features of Heliodoros' style are noticeably more frequent in the tenth book than in the ostensibly sober historiographical narrative of the ninth. They are analysed in some detail by O.Mazal: Die Satzstruktur in den Aithiopika des Heliodor von Emesa; Wiener Studien 71 (1958) p.116ff., who, however, tends to be rather schematic and does not probe beyond the mechanics of the style. It seems clear that the devices of antithesis, homoeoteleuton and isocolia, which we shall observe again

and again, are the marks of a consciously elevated style. In the present case, this is appropriate in the mouth of a conquering king, but in the tenth book Heliodoros uses it to reinforce the emotional climaxes of his narrative, the clearest example being at 10.38.4.

9.6.3

ἐφ' οἷς ... τὴν ἄφεσιν : a slight anacolouthon, leaving the ἐφ' οἷς clause suspended as a kind of subject heading.

οὐ γὰρ τυραννεῖ τὴν νίκην : this is the reading of all the manuscripts except M, which has δίκην and was followed by all editors before Colonna and RL. If we read δίκην, the construction is easy: τυραννέω is often found with the accusative of the tyrant's subjects, and the metaphor τυραννεῖν τὴν δίκην is easily understood. Its sense, however, is not appropriate here. Hydaspes is saying that although he has the people of Syene completely in his power (ἔχων ... κατ' ἐξουσίαν), he will not misuse his position. νίκην is therefore clearly preferable; the construction it presents us with is unique, but not inelegant. If we have to be strict about these things, we could classify νίκην as an accusative of respect. Hydaspes repeats the same sententia after the battle at 9.26.2.

πρὸς τὸ ἀνεμέσητον διοικεῖ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τύχην : the rather gnomic form of the utterance makes its exact meaning somewhat unclear. τῶν ἀνθρώπων must refer to Hydaspes'

subjects, but it is Hydaspes himself who is seeking to avoid Νέμεσις.

9.6.4

τὴν πόλιν, εἰ περιμένοιτο: RL seem to be right to print the singular verb found only in the two late manuscripts AT, which have no independent value (cf. RL Vol.1 p.xlii). The Syenians' proposed terms fall into two sections, the first (σῴζῃς τε αὐτοὺς ... βούλοιτο) concerned with their persons and the second (καὶ τὴν πόλιν .... σωτηρίας) with the physical structure of Syene. It would also be senseless for them to attach the condition of their own survival to Hydaspes' occupation of the town: if they did not survive, he would be free to do what he liked to it with no fear of resistance. The words εἰ περιμένοιτο are appropriate to a situation where the fabric of the town is threatened by flooding, and are explained in the text by the clause ἂν ... σαλεύειν.

καὶ νῦν: ie even after the surrender of the town, the danger of collapse is still present.

ἐν τῷ ἀνελπίστῳ σαλεύειν: σαλεύειν is one of Heliodoros' favourite words and is frequently used in metaphors: cf. 1.9.1, 1.26.3 (ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων σαλευόντες), 1.13.1 (a rather peculiar transitive usage found again at 2.33.3), 3.10.5, 6.1.2, 7.23.1 and 9.7.2. In the present example the idea of shaking like a ship at sea has an actual as well as

a metaphorical application.

The use of the neuter adjective has a rather Thucydidean feel to it. Thucydides uses the phrase τὸ ἀνέλπιστον at 2.51 and 3.83.

ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἐξ Ὑδάσπου : καί displeased Hirschig, who wanted to read ἤ. But the poignancy of the Syenians' appeal is increased if they present their difficulties as too great for the gods or Hydaspes to solve by themselves.

μηχανὴ σωτηρίας: the phrase occurs in Aes.Sept.209. Heliodoros may be combining an allusion to Aeschylus with a use of his favourite theatrical metaphor; cf. Walden op.cit.p.43.

9.6.5

τάς τε Φίλας τὴν πόλιν: for Hydaspes' capture of Philai and the background of the dispute over the city, see 8.1.1ff.

τὰ σμαράγδεια μέταλλα: the conclusion of a rather subtle device for unifying the plot of the novel and giving plausibility to its background. It was while on an embassy to Egypt demanding the surrender of these emerald mines to Ethiopia (2.32.2) that Sisimithres entrusted the infant Charicleia to the Greek priest Charicles, and was afterwards forced to make a hasty departure, leaving Charicles in ignorance over the child's identity; this ignorance is an essential part of the Delphic section of the plot. The emerald mines come to the fore again at 8.1.3, where we are told that Hydaspes is mounting an expedition to recover them; we are to presume that the ten-year interval has been filled

with unsuccessful diplomacy. Thus the dispute over the emerald mines motivates Charicleia's story at two crucial points: when Sisimithres hands her over to Charicles, and when Hydaspes captures her to take her back to Ethiopia.

Heliodoros is not specific as to the location of these mines. Theophrastos (de lapid.34) places a precious stones industry around Syene, but he does not name emeralds in this connection, and in any case the geological formation of the granite seam which causes the cataract makes it extremely unlikely that Syene could ever have been an emerald centre. The mines were in fact situated in the interior to the east of the Nile, at a place called, appropriately enough, Smaragdus Mons: for the exact location see Kees in RE sv.Smaragdus Mons. The mines were well known in antiquity and were sited by Juba at a distance of 25 days' journey from Coptos (Plin.Nat.Hist.37.69). Strabo's estimate of 6-7 days is more accurate.

In the third century the mines were taken over by the Blemmyes, who were beginning to encroach on the Roman province south of the cataract: see Epiphanios de XII gemmis 20-1, and Olympiodoros 37 (=Dindorf HGM 1.466). Thus it is possible that the emerald mines had taken on a degree of notoriety and that Heliodoros was exploiting this knowledge so as to anchor his fictional narrative on a well known reality.

εἰς ὁλόκληρον: compare εἰς ἄρδην at 9.2.3. I have not been able to find another example of the phrase εἰς ὁλόκληρον, but the closely similar ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου is attested by Orig. Frag.57 in Iohann. (=Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller: Origen Vol.4 p.513), Athan.Apoll.14 (=PG.26.1117b) and id.Fr.Mt. (=PG.27.1372c), with no discernible difference of meaning.

εἰς τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην: Heliodoros is blissfully ignorant of the fact that Elephantine is an island; cf.9.7.1 etc.

9.6.6

ὡς ἴσον εἶναι etc: the force of Oroondates' argument is not immediately obvious. He seems to be saying that he would rather be put to death by Hydaspes than run any chance of suffering punishment from the Persians. Hydaspes should not think that he is being benevolent by accepting their surrender, unless he is prepared to make his magnanimity complete by letting the Persians go without conditions (εἰς ὁλόκληρον ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ φιλάνθρωπον). Otherwise, Oroondates would prefer to suffer immediate death at his hands, which might possibly (τυχόν) be less painful.

παρὰ βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν: this is the reading of VZ. MB have τῶν Περσῶν; RL do not record the reading of P. The difference between the two is so slight that no definite choice is possible. The fact that at 9.26.3 the manuscripts are unanimous in reading πρὸς βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν marginally tips the balance in favour of τῶν here.

ἁπλοῦ καὶ νενομισμένου: not, as Maillon translates, "selon les usages de la guerre", but "a simple ordinary kind of death". νενομισμένον is contrasted with καινουργουμένου. ὠμοτάτου καὶ εἰς πικροτάτην κόλασιν καινουργουμένου: the Persian court in Heliodoros is characterised both by its immorality and by the cruelty of its punishments. For this latter compare 6.13.4-5, 8.3.2, 8.9.9, 8.11.10, 9.19.5, 9.21.4. This stress reflects the actual practice of the Persians: see Plut.Artax.19 for a particularly unpleasant form of execution.

9.7.1

ὑποδεχθῆναι ... παρεκάλει: παρακαλέω is much used by Heliodoros in a sense approaching that in modern Greek. In earlier prose the verb commonly takes an infinitive construction in its literal sense: thus Xen.Cyr.3.3.59 παρεκάλουν ἀλλήλους ἕπεσθαι. Later, the meaning shifted naturally from "call upon" to "ask, plead" (compare, for example, P.Oxy.292 of about AD 25), although the majority of examples indicate that the more usual construction was with ἵνα or ὅπως. The use of παρακαλέω as a substitute for δέομαι was condemned in the second century by Hermogenes (Meth.3). For Heliodoros' use of the verb with a simple infinitive, cf. 1.15.7, 6.1.1, 6.7.7, 6.12.1, 7.19.6, 7.22.1, 8.9.11, 8.11.1, 10.2.1 and 10.21.1 (on which see my notes).

πρόφασιν: the accusative is used as an adverb. This is found occasionally in classical writers : see Hom.Il.19.302, Hdt.5.33, Thuc.6.33.

εἰς Ἐλεφαντίνην ἀφιξομένους: compare 9.6.5 and my note.

ὅτι κατ'αὐτὴν: Elephantine is a Persian garrison-point, where the main Persian army had been assembled; cf.9.12.4 and 9.13.2 (but compare my note on 9.13.2).

ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς ἔτι μελλήσειν: this is the conjecture of RL; the MSS have μελλήσων or an obvious variant of it. The pariciple is necessary to keep the syntax of the sentence and to correspond to ἀφιξομένους: both are structurally dependent on the verbal idea implied by πρόφασιν. RL's

suggestion must therefore be rejected.

9.7.2

τῆς ἀβελτηρίας : despite LSJ's refusal to notice this form as well as the "more correct" ἀβελτερία, there is evidence that they are alternative orthographies. Editors tended in the past to "correct" ἀβελτηρία whenever they found it, but it is so common in the manuscripts of Plutarch and Lucian that it cannot be written off as a simple error.

σὺ περὶ τῶν ἵππων etc: Hydaspes' attitude here is like that of Alexander after the Battle of Issos, typified in the letter presented at Arr.Anab.2.14: see especially §9, μηδὲ ἐξ ἴσου ἐπίστελλε, ἀλλ' ὡς κυρίῳ ὄντι πάντων τῶν σῶν φράζε σὺ τοῦ δέη.

Note also how Hydaspes' humanity is not merely ornamental but functional in narrative terms, motivating his release of the two Persians, which in its turn leads to the preparations for the battle. His strictures on Oroondates' ἀβελτηρία conceal a slight weakness; there is nothing stupid in Oroondates' behaviour except his addressing Hydaspes on equal terms. On the other hand, there is a great deal of stupidity in Hydaspes' allowing the Persian satrap to contact his army at Elephantine - and this is what Heliodoros is at pains to draw our attention away from. In the next section he faces up to the problem more squarely and brazens his way out of it. Hydaspes simply does not care (οὐδεμιᾶς ἂν φρονῶν) if the Persian garrison at Elephantine is alerted and appears

on the scene !

ἐπ' ἄλλῳ καὶ σὺκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐλπίδα ... σαλεύων : for σαλεύω cf.9.6.4 and my note there. For the transitive use of σαλεύω compare 1.13.1 πάντα τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν ἐμὸν ἐσάλευον and 2.33.3 σαλεύω ... ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸν βίον . Note too the element of variation studiously introduced by altering the prepositions. Compare 10.41.3, where the MSS are to be defended against the uniformity which RL attempt to force on them.

τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τεθνάναι : compare Hydaspes' proclamation in 9.6.3 ἔχων ... τὸ ὑμᾶς εἶναι καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐξουσίαν . Note too the force of the perfect infinitive τεθνάναι: not "whether he lives or dies" but "whether he is alive or dead".

ἀπώλειαν: a rare word; compare Arist.Eth.Nich.1120a2, id. Mete.351b11, id.Prob.952b26. The word occurs frequently in the New Testament in a specialised Christian sense, "perdition"; cf.Ep.Rom.9.22, John 17.12, Matth.7.13.

9.7.3

βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην: βαδίζω denotes movement on foot. This is clear proof that Heliodoros did not realise that Elephantine was an island; cf.9.11.2 and 9.6.5 with my notes.

ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ὢν φροντίδος ; this is the reading of MBZ and is confirmed by a parallel from Plut.Nic.18, ἦν δ' ἐλπὶς μεγάλης, cited by RL (p.48 n.3)

It would be difficult to find rational motives for

Hydaspes' casualness over the possibility of a Persian attack from Elephantine. He clearly thinks that he will have to deal only with troops from there, Oroondates being safely shut up in Syene. But his arrogant confidence is still misplaced and out of character. Compare my notes on the previous section; Heliodoros has obviously preferred a moment's arrogance to blind stupidity.

τὸ διορυγὲν τοῦ Νείλου στόμιον: cf.9.3.4 ἐνταῦθα στόμιον τῷ ποταμῷ διατεμών.

τοὺς δὲ ὥστε ἕτερον κατὰ τὸ χῶμα: ὥστε is very odd balancing as it does the straightforward infinitive ἐμβράττειν. It may be an infection from ὡς τῆς τε a little lower down.

The natural reading of the events is that the Ethiopians dig an outlet for the water on the opposite side of the encirclement to the inlet, so that the water can flow away downhill. This is controverted by later statements; see my note on 9.8.2. Heliodoros is very confused about the level of Syene relative to the river (cf.9.3.3 and note), and about the behaviour of water. These are all symptoms of a failure to visualise the scene precisely.

τῆς λιμναζούσης: sc. γῆς. For a transitive use of λιμνάζω see 9.4.2. The intransitive use of 9.7.3 can be paralleled from Arist.Mete.340b37, Diod.4.18, Strab.8.5.1.

ἀναψῦξαι: I have not been able to find another example of the intransitive use of ἀναψύχω meaning "dry out".

εἰς τὸ βάσιμον ἐξικμασθῆναι: has a Thucydidean ring to it. This serves as preparation for 9.3.6, where the ground has begun to dry out but is not yet firm enough to walk on.

9.7.4

προσταχθέντες ... προστάγμασιν: a characteristic trick of echoing related forms.

μικρὰ ... κατάρξαντες: for the adverbial μικρά cf.Men.Sam.588 (Sandbach), Plut.Mor.150d, Plut.Luc.31, Alciphr.3.5.

Why does Heliodoros have the Ethiopians begin the work of dismantling their χῶμα and then have it completed by chance (9.3.2) ? I think the answer is that he has to have the Ethiopians doing something. Theoretically, the dyke could have collapsed at any time, and according to some of Heliodoros' explanations it would have collapsed whether the Ethiopians had started work or not. But for his purposes he must have Hydaspes successful in the siege, and so clearly the rupture cannot happen before the surrender of the city. Once the city is surrendered, it does not matter in the long run how the lake is drained, but there would be an incongruity, if no more, in not having Hydaspes, that most merciful of monarchs, doing something to relieve the plight of his new subjects.

The question, then, that we should ask is why he makes the dyke crack by chance. It may be that the siege of Nisibis influenced his thinking at this point, as Keydell

argues; we cannot hope to recover the order of his thought. If Nikhis was in his mind, then it was an afterthought to have the Ethiopians start the work, but there are two incidental benefits which derive from the accidental rupture. The first is that it keeps the reader's interest in the plot driving forwards by compounding uncertainty. Until now he was expecting the Ethiopians to dismantle the dyke, and the water to run peacefully away. The rupture makes him concerned that something else unexpected will happen. In the event, the result is the same as if the Ethiopians had finished their work, and the events of the night are a red herring. (This technique of not allowing the narrative to drop into an expected rut finds fuller expression towards the end of the tenth book.) The second is that it allows Heliodoros to adopt an authorial pose of less than complete omniscience. This is a device which he uses frequently, on the model of Herodotos, to give verisimilitude to his historiographical pose.

9.3.1

τὴν καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐνδεχομένην σωτηρίαν: cf.9.5.9, τοὺς ἐλπίδος ἐπέκεινα παραγινομένους.

ἀλλ' οὖ τε: Coraes' certain emendation of the MSS ἄλλοτε.

τὸν ὑπόγειον αὐλῶνα: cf.9.4.1-2. To continue with the scheme now is suicidal. It was originally intended as a means to relieve the pressure of the water on the wall (cf. my notes on 9.4.1.). The water will have to pass through the tunnel which the men are digging, and when that happened their position would be unenviable. Of course, Heliodoros is not operating on a scale of complete realism; the artistic purpose of the tunnel is that it allows one of the alternative explanations in the next section. The exact mechanics of the tunnel are confused; the water is up against the city-wall; if the original purpose of diverting the flood-water is continued, I do not see the point of the elaborate measuring procedure (except of course in the purely literary considerations discussed below). The confusion here seems to derive from the fact that the trench was said to have been dug out of bowshot from the walls, itself an anomalous detail (see 9.3.2 and note.)

τὸ πεπτωκὸς ... ἀνήγειρον: Keydell (op.cit.) wonders why the details of the tunnel and of the rebuilding of the wall should be included by Heliodoros; they are, he points out, inorganic to the plot. He concludes that the rebuilding of the wall is copied from Julian's account of the siege

of Nisibis (Jul.Or.2.66b). This suggestion is not impossible in view of the fact that some account of the siege of Nisibis must underlie Heliodoros' siege of Syene (see Introduction 1). But we must be careful not to push individual scraps of evidence further than they will go. In the first place, there is no mention in any extant account of the events at Nisibis of a tunnel dug by the defenders; so even Keydell would have to admit that Heliodoros has invented half of the material of this sentence. Secondly, the rebuilding of the rupture in the wall of Nisibis is notably different from that at Syene: it takes place during hostilities and under heavy fire from Shapur's archers; it is not a straight-forward rebuilding of the existing wall but the construction of a second one behind the line of the first.

Now, if Heliodoros was being unconsciously influenced by a Nisibis source, or if he was following one so implicitly that he was led to introduce details which serve no function in his own narrative (the substance of Keydell's thesis), he would not have taken the trouble to invent and insert his own motif of the tunnel. And, we may go on, he would not have used the tunnel motif unless he felt that it served some purpose; and, since the two are so closely linked, any purpose served by the motif of the tunnel will also be served by that of the rebuilding of the wall.

Keydell is clearly right when he says that neither makes any difference to the ultimate course of events,

although the tunnel is used as motivation for one of the alternative explanations of 9.8.2. We have already discussed (note on 9.7.4) Heliodoros' technique of not letting his narrative drop into an expected pattern. The tunnel and the wall are red herrings, but they do allow for other possibilities. That is to say, they keep the reader's suspense alive, and his expectations are finally thwarted by the unexpected rupture of the Ethiopian dyke.

Thirdly, the inclusion of a great deal of concrete detail reinforces the historiographical impression that Heliodoros is trying to give in order to present his fictional narrative as factual. We have already commented on a minor instance of this (cf.9.4.1.), and it is present in depth in the passage under discussion. The rebuilding of walls was common practice in a siege (cf.Liebenam in RE sv. Festungskrieg, col.2252). So the Syenians are acting as real people would have acted, not simply in a way confined by the economies of a fictional plot. This impression is reinforced by the explanatory detail of the stones rolling inwards, and by that of measuring the length of the tunnel (reminiscent of the Plataians estimating the height of the Peloponnesian wall in Thucydides).

ἡ οἰκοδόμη: an unclassical word first found in papyri from the third century BC (P.Cair.Zen.499.33), but not in literature before Diodoros (1.46). The classical forms are οἰκοδόμησις and οἰκοδομία.

9.3.2

τῆς γῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνο χαύνης etc.: essentially akin to the explanation of the shaking of the city-wall offered at 9.4.3. ἀκρότητος occurs only here in the sense of "not beaten down", but B's reading is certainly to be preferred to the nonsensical ἀκρατῆς of the other MSS.

τῶν ὑπορυττόντων συνενδοῦναι ... παρασχόντων: this section shows some vagueness on Heliodoros' part, and suggests that he had not visualised the position. It is natural to suppose that the water would run away on the opposite side of the town to that from which it entered the artificial lake. However, as we have seen, the defenders' tunnel must have been dug on the same side as the canal from the river. Yet the second of Heliodoros' offered explanations implies that the tunnel was on the side where the Ethiopians were making an outlet for the water, that is on the opposite side to the canal. This is admittedly not an important criticism, since a writer of fiction must be allowed more licence in such matters than an historian. Ultimately, so long as the lake is drained with the minimum of narrative expenditure, the means of its draining is of little importance.

But the multiplication of possibilities suggests that Heliodoros was striving for plausibility by borrowing a trick from historical writers, especially Herodotos, who offered a choice of reasons for occurrences for which they were unable to decide or establish the causes. Thus the

discrepancy is the more disconcerting, betraying as it does the superficial quality of the device; the explanations are clearly not organic to the fictional event. The fracture in the dyke has a very obvious priority and the causes are, as it were, grafted onto the narrative at this point.

τοῦ πρὸς βραχὺ διορυγέντος etc: cf.9.7.4 μικρὰ τοῦ ἔργου καταρξάντες.

This is a difficult sentence, and it seems to me that RL have misunderstood it. The sense must be as follows: at nightfall the Ethiopians left the beginnings of an outlet in their surrounding wall; perhaps, Heliodoros suggests, the water level rose during the night (ἐπίχυσις ... τοῦ ὕδατος) and this enabled some water to flow out through the place where the Ethiopians had removed some earth; once water was flowing, the channel became deeper (ἐλαθὲ βαθυνόμενον) until eventually the dyke collapsed and all the water flowed away. RL's emendation of καὶ to ὃ in line 10 of this sentence makes nonsense of the whole thing. It is not the water which gets deeper, but the channel through which it passes. RL's text does not present a sequential process at all: they have the water getting deeper twice, the second time apparently as a result of the channel providing a way out. It is significant that Maillon does not translate RL's text at this point, but paraphrases rather freely the MSS reading: "... une fois qu'elle (sc.l'eau) se fut fait un chemin par la brèche, la creusa insensiblement et profondément."

RL's emendation to ὁ was obviously designed to provide a subject for ἔλαθε other than the channel which is already referred to in the same clause in a genitive absolute. I do not find the MSS text objectionable, clumsy though it may be. It seems to me that Heliodoros is making a distinction between the small indentation made in the dyke by the Ethiopians' work of the previous evening and the channel through which the water finally escapes. It is also debatable whether he was strict about the use of genitive absolutes; cf.9.9.3, where one is applied to the object of a sentence.

We are left with the problem of ἐπιλαβόντος in line 9. As RL remark, the number of MSS variants shows that this was a disputed passage even in antiquity. The ἐπι- at the start of the word may have crept in from the following ἐπίχωσις, and in that case all that we can hope to do is to restore from the sense. Perhaps there is a compound of λείπω lurking behind the corruption:" the work had been left for the night at a lower level."

I am also suspicious of ῥαγέντος in the next line. There is no question of the dyke actually breaking at this stage, because the whole sentence is a description of events which might possibly have led up to the eventual collapse. Again from the sense, I suggest that we read τοῦ ὀρυγέντος, which would here be used simply as a variant for διορυγέντος earlier in the same clause: thus" the digging provided an outlet." The ὀ- at the beginning could easily have been

absorbed by the preceding τοῦ, and from ρυγέντος to ῥαγέντος is a short step.

The subject of ἔλαθε βαθυνόμενον is to be inferred rather than directly expressed. It is the channel once it is more than just the place where the Ethiopians had shovelled up some earth.

Thus in my version the sentence will run as follows: ἢ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς βραχὺ διορυγέντος ταπεινοτέρου πρὸς τῶν ἐργαζομένων ὑπολειφθέντος (?), ἐπίκυσις αὐξομένου διὰ νυκτὸς ἐγένετο τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ, τοῦ ὀρυγέντος ἅπαξ ὁδοποιοῦντος, ἔλαθε βαθυνόμενον. - "... or, the place that had been dug having been left at a lower level by the workmen, a flood occurred of water whose level had risen during the night, and, once the digging provided a way through, it (ie. the breach) deepened unnoticed."

The ἐπίκυσις will indicate the beginning of the annual Nile flood. This is frequently referred to in words from the same root; for example ἐπικύεσθαι (Him.Or.14.8), ἀναχυθῆναι (Philostr.Vit.Apoll.2.18), χεῖσθαι (Him.Or.3.15), προχεῖσθαι (Philostr.Imag.1.5), ἀναχεῖσθαι (Ioh.Lyd.de mens.4.107 and Ael.Hist.Anim.10.45), χύσις (P.Oxy.1796) and ὑπέρχυσις (Σ.Apoll.Rhod.4.269).

Similarly, αὐξομένου is the regular word to describe the rising of the level of the water in the Nile: cf. Plut. de Iside 39 and 64, Plut.Sol.Anim.34, Aristid.Or.Egypt.28, Proclos on Timaios 37b-c, and Hld.2.28.3. Heliodoros has deliberately set his narrative to coincide with the flood;

cf.9.9.2

9.8.3

ἦλος καὶ δοῦπος: δοῦπος is rare in prose; compare Thuc.3.22, Xen. Anab.2.2.19.

ἐκθεμαίνων: the compound is elsewhere found only in Hierocles' commentary on the Carmen Aureum, written in the fifth century (Mullach FPG Vol.1 p.448).

9.8.4

τὴν ἀχλὺν τῶν ἀμφιβαλλομένων δεινῶν παρέλυσε: the metaphor is vivid. Compare 2.14.5: ... τὸ μεγονὸς ὅπως εἶχεν ἀμηχανῶν, ἀχλύι καὶ σιγῇ κάτοχος ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον ἀνεδύετο τοῦ σπηλαίου. For the metaphorical use of ἀχλύς see also Dio Cass.38.19, Plut.Mor.42c. The present instance is notable since it compounds the metaphor: the sunlight scatters the metaphorical mist in the same way as it would disperse a real one.

9.8.5

ἦμος μὲν ... etc: explaining why the water has gone away. Until the Ethiopians dam up the mouth of the channel leading from the Nile to the earthworks around Syene, the water will flow from the river, down the channel and escape through the breach in the dyke.

Like the work of releasing the flood-water, the damming of the mouth had begun the previous evening: cf.9.7.3, ἐμφράττειν τὸ διορυγὲν τοῦ Νείλου στόμιον.

καταρράκτας ... ἐκ σανίδων συνηρμοσμένων: cf. RL's note ad loc. (p.50 n.1), which makes unnecessarily heavy weather. καταρράκτη is an attested word for "sluice-gate"; cf.Procop. de aed.2.2.18 and perhaps the structures described by Arrian (Anab.7.7.7) intended to stop anyone navigating the Tigris. None of RL's references to occasions when a καταρράκτη is a trap-door is really relevant.

ξύλων .... κορμοῖς: this pleonastic expression simply means "logs"; perhaps imitated from Hdt.7.36.

ἔκτοσθεν διερείδοντες: ἔκτοσθεν was originally a poetic word but occasionally appears in late prose, eg. Luc.Merc.Cond.41. It is difficult to understand what the Ethiopians are doing; there appear to be two ways of interpreting the sentence: a) the sluice-gates have thick timbers at the edges instead of fitting directly into the banks of the canal. b) the timbers are struts on the landward side of the sluice-gates to stop them being washed away down the canal by the force of water.

χοῦν τε ἅμα καὶ φρυγανίπδα ὕλην συνδέοντες: ie. to make the gates watertight. Compare the emergency measures adopted by the Syenians in 9.3.7. The form φρυγανῖτις is elsewhere found only in the Byzantine writer Constantinos Manasses (Chron.4295).

πολλαὶ χιλιάδες ἀνθρώπων etc: cf.9.3.3: μυρίας αὐτῷ χεῖρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐπισκευδούσης.

Note the characteristic sentence structure: the main narrative weight is carried by participles whose parallelism is erphasised by their positions in their respective clauses, producing end-rhyme: καθιέντες .... διερπύζοντες ... σωζόντες ... ἐπιφοβοῦντες.

9.8.6

ἦν ... πορευτέα: a vague neuter plural, "things were impassable".

οὐδ' ἑκατέρως: Coraes' conjecture οὐδετέρως restores Attic purity to Heliodoros but is palaeographically implausible. Compare his habit of writing θάτερον instead of τὴν ἕτερον (eg.2.25.6 etc.)

ἰλὺς γὰρ Βαβείας etc: the mud played a more important part at the siege of Nisibis (cf.Jul.Or.2.66a). Keydell argues that the introduction of an irrelevant motif by Heliodoros betrays his dependence on a Nisibis source. However, the mud is not totally irrelevant in Heliodoros because its existence allows the Persians to escape, while the Ethiopians are off their guard, which is necessary to the plot, and it also motivates the unusual method of escape which the Persians use. This is not to deny the influence of the siege of Nisibis, but to point out how well Heliodoros has integrated this particular motif from his sources. Keydell does him an injustice by calling the mud irrelevant.

εἰς βυθιαῖον: the word does not occur elsewhere before

Byzantine times: see Eustath.Opusc.p.259.20 (ed.Tafel)

and Const.Manass.p.22 (ed.Boissonade).

9.9.1

ἠνεῳγμέναις μὲν ... ἅπλοις δὲ: note how the parallel phrases are chiastically arranged. Their parallelism is underlined by the final position of the subjects and by virtual isocolia: ἠνεῳγμέναις ... ξυνιόντων comprises 14 syllables, ἅπλοις ... λίβίσσης 13.

ἦν τὸ γινόμενον ἀνακώχη τις ἀνεπίμικτος; a carefully chosen oxymoron, summing up the whole situation in one striking phrase. This is fairly common practice in novelistic literature: cf.Ach.Tat.1.14.1, ἦν θρήνων ἅμιλλα ... Unlike the parallel ἄσπονδος ἐκεχειρία cited from 5.25.2 by RL, ἀνακώχη τις ἀνεπίμικτος is a genuine oxymoron; a cessation of hostilities without a formal ratification is a common enough concept, but a truce without contact between the two sides is not. The paradox describes only the present situation with separation enforced by the sea of mud, and is not nullified by the parley carried on from the boat in 9.6.2ff. Note how the striking phrase is introduced by a periphrastic formula so as to set it in greater prominence, how the oxymoron is recognised by the apologetic τις, and how the paradoxical concept is strengthened by the assonantal turn of phrase.

ἀνακώχη is a less correct form of ἀνοκώχη. Rattenbury suggested that the correct form be reinstated here. It is true that ἀνακώχη is found in the manuscripts of reputable authors and is commonly presumed to be a mistake on the part of scribes (see LSJ sv.ἀνοκώχη), but the frequency

of the mistake suggests a current confusion, and Rattenbury is perhaps a little sanguine in assuming that Heliodoros would have got it right. We have already seen that he can misunderstand and misuse καθέλκω (9.5.4), and in the tenth book we shall find him confusing ῥιπίζω with ῥίπτω (10.30.4 and 10.32.1). He was probably more than capable of writing ἀνακώχη.

9.9.2

τὰ Νειλῶα: this name for the festival of the Nile flood is not attested before the second century AD. The earliest extant example is in P.Milan 28.iii.79 of 163 AD; cf. also BGU 362.xv.11 (215 AD), CIG 12.2.511. Heliodoros is the first literary text to contain such a reference, and no other is found until Theophanes Confessor Chron.p.92.33-4 (ed. de Boor), where there is mention of a theatre collapsing during τὰ Νειλῶα. The feasts, however, are frequently referred to by some general name such as ἑορτή (Aristid.Or.36.125 K, cf.Hld.9.22.5), ὄρχησις (Philostr.Vit.Apoll.6.1), πανήγυρις (Him.Or.14.1 Colonna) or τελετή (Hld.9.10.2). In Ptolemaic times it was called καταχυτήρια (P.C/Z 59176,39, P.Paris 1.75).

Heliodoros' statement that the Νειλῶα were the Egyptians' greatest festival is echoed by Aristid.Or.36.125 K. Aristainetos of Byzantium de Nili bonis, quoted by Eudoc.Violar.698 (=Hopfner's Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae p.345) says that the feast is celebrated πανδημεί, while Diod.1.36

talks of ὄχλος taking holidays and joining festivities.

The feasts took place all along the course of the Nile,and most of the literary examples refer to those at Alexandria (eg.Theoph.Conf.Chron.p.92.33-4); but the first cataract near Syene also tended to be an important centre, since it was there that the rising of the water could first be observed in Egypt (thus Sen.Nat.Quaest.4a.2.7).

On the complicated question of the dating of the Nile feasts see D.Bonneau: La crue du Nil, p.364ff.

κατὰ τροπὰς ... τὰς θερινὰς: ie. about 21st. June. This dating of the start of the Nile flood is also found in Diod.1.39.4 and 36.2, Lucan 10.298f., Plin.Nat.Hist.9 and Plut.Sull.20.

There is some ambiguity in defining when the Nile flood starts: is it when the water level begins to rise, or when the water actually comes over the river banks ? This later occurrence is often fixed by the rising of Sothis (the Dog Star) on 19th. July, and the Nile was so regular that this became the most accurate form of dating. When a classical writer dates the Nile flood by the rising of the Dog Star, he is writing with some acquaintance with facts, however indirect; eg.Diod.1.19.1, 4.82, Tib.1.7.21-2, Sen.Nat.Quaest.4a.1.2, Lucan 10.211 and 225, Plin.Nat.Hist.5.9, Ael.Nat.Anim.10.45, Claudian Idyl.4.33.

A third way of dating the flood was by reference to the stars. This is found at Manil.4.752, Amm.Marc.22.15.12,

Solin.32.12, Lucan 10.233f.

The date of the summer solstice coincides neither with the beginning of the rise in level (which is first noticeable at the beginning of June) nor with the breaching of the river banks. The number of times that this dating occurs is no doubt due partly to the fact that the festival was fixed at about this time by the calendar reforms of Ptolemy III (although the Egyptian calendar continued to get out of phase with the solar year , and by the time of the early empire the month of Payni in which the Nile festival occurred ran from the end of May to the end of June), but mainly to the fact that the summer solstice was a familiar point of reference in the Hellenic world, while the rising of Sothis was not. There is no need to follow Bonneau's suggestion (p.43-4) that it derives from a tradition going back to the beginning of the third millennium BC, when the rising of Sothis did coincide with the summer solstice.

ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐξήσεως: αὔξησις is the regular word for the Nile flood; cf. the note on αὐξομένου in 9.8.2. αὔξησις is found at Diod.1.39.9, Strab.17.1.4, Plut.de Iside 7 and 75, Aristid.Or.36.26 K, Him.Or.14.1 Colonna, GGM 2.228 and 241, Procl.Comm.Tim.37d.

σπουδαζομένην: comes remarkably close to σπουδαζομένης in 9.9.1; it seems that Heliodoros still had the word in his mind, a phenomenon which occurs a number of times in the Aithiopica.

2.9.3

θεοπλαστοῦσι τὸν Νεῖλον etc: there is a striking resemblance here to Philo Vit.Mos.2.195: τῆς γὰρ χώρας οὐκ ὄντως καθάπερ ἀεὶ ἄλλαι νιφομένης, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλημμυρίαις ἐμβυθίας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος λιμνάζεσθαι, θεοπλαστοῦσι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς ἀντίμιμον οὐρανοῦ γεγονότα καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας σεμνηγοροῦσιν . This was noticed by G.Lumbroso in a letter to Ulrich Wilcken dated 13th.January 1906 and published in Archiv für Papyrusforschung 4 (1907-8) p.66; but the similarity had already been seen by Stephanus - see his entry for ἀντίμιμος. The similarity is too close for the Heliodoros passage to be anything other than a direct quotation, especially since Heliodoros has taken over the word θεοπλαστεῖν, which is not found in earlier literature apart from Philo (cf. also de fug. et invent.90, of the golden calf), and denotes a scepticism not wholly appropriate to its new context (compare the use of θεοπλαστία by Athanasios to mean "pagan idolatry" at Gen.19=PG.25.40b.). This raises various thoughts about Heliodoros' background; certainly an acquaintance with the work of Philo, and the disapproving tone taken over with the quotation, would not be out of place in a future Christian bishop. From a literary point of view it is more significant as another example of Heliodoros' exclusively bookish inspiration and his failure to attain complete integration of borrowed material.

Belief in the divinity of the Nile may be traced in

many sources. Heliodoros' description of the Nile as κρειττόνων τὸν μέλιττον may be paralleled from Diod.1.12, which identifies the river with Oceanos and says that it is the origin of the gods; this is repeated almost verbatim by Eusebios (Praep.Ev.3.2.6). Cic.Tusc.3.16.42ff. lists different legends about the births of the gods and at various points ascribes to the Nile the paternity of Hercules (3.16.42), Vulcan (3.21.54), Mercury (3.22.56 - quem Aegyptii nefas habent nominare), Dionysus (3.23.58 - qui Nysam dicitur interemisse), and Minerva (3.23.59 - quam Aegyptii Saitae colunt). The Nile is found again as the father of Dionysus at Ioh.Lyd. de mens.4.51; of Hercules at Ampel.9.12, Ioh.Lyd.de mens.4.67; of Mercury at Arnob.4.14, Paneg.Const.Aug.7.9.5ff; of Minerva at Clem.Alex.Protrep.2.28.2, Ampel.9.10, Arnob.4.14f., Firm.Mat. de err.prof.rel.16 (who quotes Varro Reatinus); of the sun at Ampel.9.2, Arnob.4.14; and of Vulcan at Ampel.9.14, Diog.Laert.Proem.1-2.

ἀντίμιμον οὐρανοῦ etc: apart from Philo quoted above, compare the description of Man in the medical writer Rufus (Anat.1) as ἀντίμιμος τῆς οὐρανίου τάξεως.

For the thought compare Philo; also Hermetica Asclepius 3.24b: "an ignoras, o Asclepi, quod Aegyptus imago sit caeli aut quod est verius (...) translatio aut descensio omnium quae gubernantur atque exercentur in caelo." and the scholiast on Pindar's fourth Pythian, line 99: ἀναλογεῖν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ὄμβροις τὸ τοῦ Νείλου ὕδωρ, καὶ ὥσπερ

ἀντίστροφόν τινα τοῦτον τῷ Διὶ εἶναι.

βεμνηγορῶντες : the word was clearly suggested by the Philo passage which Heliodoros is copying. Philo uses the verb βεμνηγορέω several times, but I can find no examples from other writers before Heliodoros. This confirms the novelist's dependence on Philo.

διὰ δὴ δίκα νεφώσεων καὶ ὑετῶν ἀερίων etc.: compare Tib.1.7.25f.:

te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres,
arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Iovi.

and Lucan 8.445f:

terra suis contenta bonis, non indiga mercis
aut Iovis: in solo tanta est fiducia Nilo.

Also, again, Philo Vit.Mos.1.6, λιμνάζει τὰς ἀρούρας, εἰ ὑετοῦ μὴ δεόμεναι ... and 1.116, πρὸς ὃ γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὄμβρων φοραὶ χρήσιμοι, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς λιμνάζων τὰς ἀρούρας ...

It is significant that the rare word νέφωσις is used several times by Philo (eg.de Vit.Mos.1.114, de opif.mund.113)

ἄρδοντος : another word commonly used of the Nile floods: cf.Hdt.2.11, 2.13, 2.14, 2.18, Plut.de Iside 66, Paus.10.32.18, and compare ἀρδεύειν in Aes.Prom.852, and ἐπαρδεύειν in Ael.Nat.Anim.5.52.

εἰς ἔτος ἀεὶ τεταγμένως: the regularity of the Nile floods is emphasised in hieroglyphic texts (see Bonneau op.cit.p.29ff.), and in some writers of late classical times, eg. Aristid. Or.36.20 K, Z.Theocr.7.114a, Oros.1.2.28, Soz.Hist.Eccl. 7.9.20. There is a reference to the Nile's ἐνιαύσιον ὕδωρ in Call.Frag.384.27 Pf. With Heliodoros' τεταγμένως we can

compare μετρεώτατα in Lib.Epist.1274.2, ἀτρεκής in Anth.Pal.9.384, and words like τακτά and τάξις in Aristid.Or.36.28-9 K. Especially significant in the context of a novel is a similar passage of Achilles Tatius (4.12.2), which emphasises the river's trustworthiness.

ἐκομβρίζοντος : it is common to find the Nile flood water described as rain. Thus Theophr.Caus.Plant.3.3.3 calls it ὄμβρος; Aeschylus (Frag.300 N) calls it ἐκομβρία, and this word is found again in Procl.Comm.Tim.37c and in the poem quoted by Keydell in Hermes 1934 p.422; ὄμεν occurs at Procop.Ep.136.

9.9.4

τὴν ὑγρᾶς τε καὶ ξηρᾶς οὐσίας σύστασιν : Coraes ad loc. traces this back to Thales, quoted by Plutarch, but this is a mistake. Thales' theory was that all matter was ultimately derived from water and that earth is somehow formed from water and rests upon it. This probably reflects Egyptian beliefs, notably the Nun myth.

This idea of the conjunction of opposites seems at first characteristic of the early Ionian philosophers, but I have not been able to find this particular combination given as the basis of creation by any of them. The nearest is Anaximander (Kirk and Raven No.138), who has life arising from a primeval soup of heated earth and water, but here the heat is a very important factor which is missing from

Heliodoros. Empedocles (Kirk and Raven No.426) has four basic elements, an equilibrium of which is necessary for the creation of life. The Hippocratic Regimen, probably written in the fourth century BC, talks of the conjunction of fire and water, but these represent hot and cold rather than dry and wet. The nearest thing to Heliodoros comes from a non-philosophical source: Hesiod (Works and Days 60ff.) has Pandora being created from earth and water, but this is the idea of man being moulded from clay, which is clearly not what Heliodoros has in mind.

τούτοις συνυπάρχειν τε καὶ συναναφαίνεσθαι: note that Heliodoros is not saying that all other elements are compounded from wet and dry, but that they cannot exist separately from them. It is difficult to see that there is any rational theory behind his philosophising.

δημοσιεύουσι: cf. Arist.Rhet.1395a19, τὰ δεδημοσιευμένα "sayings that have become public property".

πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μύστας: the idea of a selective mystery cult is a very Greek one. Heliodoros really knows very little of authentic Egyptian religion. (See my notes on 9.9.5)

Ἶσιν τὴν γῆν καὶ Ὄσιριν τὸν Νεῖλον : these identifications are often found in late classical and early Christian writers, and therefore do probably reflect contemporary belief. There is a persistent thread in Christian polemic against the Isiac religion of the ridiculousness of worshipping inanimate earth and water. Thus Origen contra Cels.5.38:

τοὺς περὶ Ὄσιριν καὶ Ἶσιν μύθους περιστέον ἐστιν ἡμῖν νῦν καταλέγειν καὶ οὐκ εὔκαιρον. κἂν τροπολογῶνται δὲ οἱ μῦθοι, τὸ ἄψυχον ἡμᾶς ὕδωρ σέβειν διδάξουσι καὶ τὴν ὑποκειμένην ἀνθρώποις καὶ πᾶσι ζῴοις γῆν. οὕτω γὰρ οἶμαι μεταλαμβάνουσι τὸν μὲν Ὄσιριν εἰς ὕδωρ, τὴν δὲ Ἶσιν εἰς γῆν. Similarly Porphyr.de imag. (ap.Euseb.Praep.Ev.3.11.51ff.), which takes the further step of saying that the Nile flows down from heaven so that the process of fertility can be seen as a conjunction both of earth and water and of earth and heaven.

The same identification is referred to at Plut.de Iside 32: οὕτω παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις Νεῖλον εἶναι τὸν Ὄσιριν Ἶσιδι συνόντα τῇ γῇ - but this contains the further identification of Typhon with the sea that consumes Osiris/Nile. In section 33 of this work Plutarch identifies Osiris with the moist principle of nature. According to J.G.Griffith in his introduction to the De Iside et Osiride p.56, the association of the Nile with Osiris is consonant with fully developed Egyptian doctrine and when expanded into a proper allegory makes the identification of Isis with the land of Egypt inevitable (thus section 32), although this last association is not conspicuously Egyptian. Griffith does, however, refer to a Ptolemaic text from Philai in which it occurs.

Heliodoros' identification of Isis with earth probably derives, as RL say (p.51 n.3), from the habitual Greek association of Isis with Demeter (eg.Hdt.2.59, Leo Pellaeus

ap.Clem.Alex.Strom.1.21, Diod.1.96 and 5.69, Apul.Met.11.2 and 5, Tertull.Apolog.16, Porphyr.ap.Euseb.Praep.Ev.3.11.50, Apollod. 2.1.9.). Other instances of Isis as the earth are: Varr.ling.Lat. 5.10 (with Serapis as heaven), Herodianus Grammaticus de orthographia p.526-7 (because the earth is γῆ), Firm.Mat. de err.prof. rel.(ed.Halm CSEL II) 2 (6/7) (with Osiris as "frugum semina" and Tyfon as "calor", and with an interesting interpretation of the Osiris myth as representing the returning seasons), Sallustius de diis et mundo 4 (with Osiris as τὸ ὑγρόν), Macrob.Sat.1.20 (or else she is "natura rerum subiacens soli" with Osiris as the sun), Isid.Etym.3.11.34ff. (quoted also by Mythographus Vaticanus II 90), Etym.Magn. sv.Ἶσις.

Osiris is found separately connected with the moist principle in the Sallustius and Origen passages referred to above, and also at Hippolyt.Ref.Omn.Haeres.5.22f. and Ps.Clem. Recogn.10.27.

All these sources are most easily found in Hopfner's Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae, with use of the excellent index.

The Osiris myth, one of resurrection, was especially appropriate in Egypt, where the vegetation died back each year. There was, however, some ambiguity in the way in which the myth was allegorically applied. Is Osiris the flood or the reappearance of plant-life ? Bonneau (op.cit.p.243ff.) suggests that the eccentric Egyptian calendar may once

more lie at the back of the confusion. The land of Egypt lies desolate during May and June., during which time the land is in mourning. In the version where Osiris is the flood, there is a true marriage between land and river, and the earth burgeoning with fruit is easily translated as the symbol of a woman giving birth; around this nucleus grew up a naturalising myth with each character of the original story given an allegorical function: thus Typhon is identified with the desert sun and Nephtys with the land which is not covered and fertilised by the river. This is the version with which Heliodoros will have been concerned; his dating of the Neiloa in the middle of June at the summer solstice coincides with the period of the rising flood.

At some stage, however, the ceremonies became attatched to a civil date (ie. the first day of the season called "Flood") which then worked its way backwards in relation to the solar year. When the date started to occur in the season when the land lay desolate and unwatered, the symbol of a pregnant woman lost its meaning, and it was only natural that a new symbolism should be invented. Thus the earth became the dead Osiris and the reappearance of vegetation was his resurrection. Similarly another version of the allegory will have arisen when the feast slipped back into December, when the Nile is back in its bed but the land is still green: now it was natural to see the withdrawal of the

water as the death of Osiris (thus Plut.de Iside 39).

καταγγέλλουσι: the word acquired a specialised religious sense used of proclaiming a spiritual truth: compare Just. 1 Apol.42.4 (=PG.6.392c), id.Dial.53.1 (=PG.6.592c), Method. Symp.5.7 (=PG.18.109c), Orig.Princ.4.1.6 (=PG.11.352b).

9.9.5

πόθεν γοῦν etc: the familiar sexual view of the fertility of the land in an Egyptian guise; the normal Greek form with the male part consisting of rain rather than a flooding river is most fully expressed in the famous fragment of Aeschylus' Danaides.

Note the parallelism of the first two clauses. The sentence as a whole has a paratactic structure not characteristic of the author. It seems that he felt that a simpler style was more ritualistic and more suitable for a mystical revelation.

πολέμιον τὸν Τυφῶνα: for the story of Typhon's plot against Osiris, see Plut.de Isidel3. In the allegorical versions of the myth Typhon, as Seth, was identified with the desert sun and storms . Heliodoros shows a certain confusion here, and although he is purporting to explain the mystic content of Isiac cult, he really leaves his reader none the wiser.

οἶμαι: a rare incursion of Heliodoros in the first person. This is another instance of his historiographical pose of less than complete certainty.

τὰς ... ὑποψίας: this is Coraes' necessary emendation

of the MSS ἑπινοίαι. ὑπόνοια is regularly used of the true meaning of an allegory; compare Plat.Rep.378d, Plut.Mor.19e. The same confusion of ὑπόνοια and ἐπίνοια occurs at 10.38.3: προκατηχούντων: for προκατηχέω in this sense of "give preliminary instruction" compare Procop.Ex.15.23 (=PG.87.589a), Orig. Comm.in Matth.12.17 (=PG.13.1021a), Euseb.Hist.Eccl.7.5.5 (=PG.20.645a), Greg.Nyss.v.Gr.Thaum. (=PG.46.921d).

τοὺς δὲ ἐποπτικωτέρους; ἐποπτικός is a technical term denoting the highest grade of mysteries; cf. Plat.Symp.210a, Philoch.148, Plut.Demetr.26. Heliodoros' use of the comparative of an adjective which already carries the implication of a superlative is odd, and is the only such example. It betrays further his ignorance of the realities of Isiac cult.

τῇ πομφόρῳ τῶν ὄντων λαμπάδι: a carefully chosen metaphor, reminding the reader of the torchlit processions of the Isiac mysteries; cf.Hdt.2.62 describing the ceremony at Sais, and for a later period when the cult had become widely disseminated cf. Apul.Met.11.10 and 11.24, Aristid.Or.49.45-50 K. Heliodoros is here talking of some deep significance in the myth revealed only to initiates and which may not be disclosed to the profane (9.10.1). This shows that the mysteries he had in mind were not the same as those held at Sais and described by Herodotos (2.171), which seem to be a kind of dramatic re-enactment of the sufferings of Osiris. Diod.1.27.6 talks of secrecy maintained by Egyptian priests, but this concerns not allegorical knowledge but the facts of Osiris' death. In fact the concept of an exclusive

mystery cult is not part of the original Egyptian practice; see H.Bonnet: Reallexicon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, p.494ff.

Finally, we may pose a general question in connection with this chapter. Heliodoros generally avoids expansive digressions, to a much greater extent than other "sophistic" novelists such as Achilles Tatius; cf.H.Rommel: Die naturwissenschaftlich-paradoxographischen Exkurse bei Philostratos, Heliodoros und Achilleus Tatios. Why then did he choose to introduce a digression at this point ? There are two answers. Firstly it covers a lull in the narrative, the two or three days mentioned in 9.9.1, without giving the impression of fictional time passing unduly quickly. Secondly it is largely an historian's response. Heliodoros is constantly trying to give his narrative the stamp of plausibility by various devices borrowed from "legitimate" historical writers. This is especially so in the ninth book, where the flavour of the narrative is noticeably more sober and factual than the overtly romantic events of the final book. Hence the garble of half-remembered facts, already familiar in outline to the reader, will establish a link between the fictional plot and the real world of scientific literature.

9.10.1

τοῦτό τι καὶ ἡμῖν εὐμένεια etc: for this reticence over religious matters compare Hdt.2.171, Plut.de Iside 25 and 35. It looks as if in his concern to give his account as much verisimilitude as possible Heliodoros has taken this detail over as a feature of the historiographical style. The idea that there is more knowledge underlying what Heliodoros has actually written is another device for anchoring his narrative in reality.

τὰ μυστικώτερα: what exactly this was supposed to comprise is unclear. It is presumably envisaged as a further step in an allegorical interpretation; I have been unable to trace a similar statement in the extensive literature on the Isiac mysteries. It is not necessary to assume that Heliodoros himself knew anything on the subject.

ἀῤῥήτῳ σιγῇ: the phrase has troubled editors. Hemsterhuys proposed ἄῤῥητα instead of ἀῤῥήτῳ, and Rattenbury takes up this solution with his καὶ ἄῤῥητα. However, it has been twice pointed out that the phrase ἀῤῥήτῳ σιγῇ is supported by the similar σιωπῶν ἀῤῥήτως in Arist.Frag.44 Rose; first by W.Morel in Mnemosyne 3rd.series 9 (1941) p.282, and again by D.A.van Krevelen in Philologus 105 (1961) p.159f.

9.10.2

τῆς γὰρ δὴ τῶν Νειλώων ἑορτῆς ἐνεστηκυίας: cf.9.9.2, καὶ ἦρ τως συνέπεσε καὶ τὰ Νειλώα τότε ... ἐνεστηκέναι. Heliodoros resumes his narrative with a strong verbal reminiscence

of the section immediately preceding the digression; compare the similar device at Char.7.3.1, resuming 7.2.6.

θυσίαις τε καὶ τελεταῖς: these sacrifices to the Nile are also mentioned by Aristid.Or.36.125 K, P.Oxy.2409.10; compare too τὰ νομιζόμενα on OGIS 168.4 and "vota" at Firm.Mat. de err.prof.rel.2.1. From P.Oxy.1211 we learn that the Roman governor had to defray the expense of the sacrifices, and there follows a list of the kind of things that they involved: a calf, two jars of aromatic wine, 16 honey cakes, 16 pineapples, 16 flat cakes, oil, honey, milk and perfumes. Sen.Nat.Quest.4a.2.7 actually has the Roman prefect throwing "golden gifts" into the river at Philai.

τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἐπὶ περιεστηκόσι δεινοῖς κάμνουσιν: this is RL's conjecture. All the MSS read καὶ περιεστηκόσι ... except P, which has καὶ τοῖς περιεστηκόσι ... and V, which has περιεστηκόσι τοῖς δεινοῖς. Coraes suggested τοῖς alone; Colonna printed the reading of V. None of these carries much conviction. An interesting solution was proposed by J.Jackson in CQ 29 (1935) p.100, who suggested that the MSS καὶ is all that remains of a missing phrase, and proposed τοῖς μὲν σώμασι <τοῖς τε παρελθοῦσι> καὶ περιεστηκόσι δεινοῖς κάμνουσιν. This seems to be the right approach, although one may differ from Jackson as to the missing words; it is hardly sensible to make a distinction between past and present dangers when they are in fact the same, in so far as it makes any sense at all to talk of the Syenians'

present dangers after the recession of the water. It would be more apposite to postulate words referring to the efforts expended by the Syenians, both in defence of their town and in the various strategems of tunnelling and wall-building.

τῆς ... εὐσεβείας ... οὐκ ἀμνημονοῦντες: ἀμνημονέω is found with both the accusative and the genitive; cf.Dem.18.285.

τὸ θεῖον: the abstract neuter is used elsewhere by Heliodoros at 1.8.4, 10.9.6, 10.9.7, 10.16.7, 10.17.2. It appears to be completely interchangeable with more specific concepts.

ὑπὸ τῆς εὐωχίας: for a full description of the ceremonies involved in the Νειλῶα cf.Bonneau op.cit.p.361ff. There is ample evidence that the feast involved joyful festivities; hieroglyphic texts call it "the day of joy" (eg. the stele of Gebel Silsileh, ed.Barguet p.59). In classical authors we find it denoted by words like ἡδονή (Diod.1.36.10, Max.Tyr. 25.7f.), deliciae (Plin.Nat.Hist.5.58, Ov.Trist.1.2.80), εὐφροσύνων (Achoris 5.1.10), χαρα (Achoris 1,2,4,5,7,8,9,10,11), τὰ χαρμόσυνα (Plut.de Iside 29), ἱλαρία (Achoris 2,4,6,7-11, cf.P.Lond.lit.239.44 and Plin.Nat.Hist.5.9). Good food was a prominent feature; for Heliodoros' εὐωχία cf.εὐωχηθείς on a stele of Ptolemy IX (OGIS 168), and εὐωχία in Lib. pro temp.35. There was public entertainment laid on; from P.Oxy.VII.1050, a bill for expenses, we learn that there were a theatre, actors, Homeristai, athletes,boxers,umpires and jugglers to be paid for.

The joyous nature of the festivities is described

by Diod.1.36: ... συνεχῶς ἑστιώμενοι καὶ πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνηκόντων ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαύοντες . Christian writers strike a disapproving stance; thus Aristainetos of Byzantium de Nili bonis ap.Eudoc.violar.698 (305): ... τοὺς ἄρρενας μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκβακχεύεσθαι καὶ παλλάκις ὡς ἐν μέθῃ καὶ ἀσελγαίνειν . Cf.Euseb.Vit.Const.4.25: the festivities often ended in sleep - or worse! Under the pharaohs this was called the "Feast of Drunkenness".

So the nature of the Νειλῶα in Heliodoros is close to reality. Nevertheless, I should hesitate to say that he had any experience of what he is describing. The motif of a city being asleep in drunkenness after festivity and so off its guard goes right back to the Trojan war. More important, it is found in Xenophon's story of the capture of Babylon by Cyros (Cyrop.7.5.15ff.), which, as we have seen, Heliodoros knew well enough to make allusions to it.

9.10.3

δοκίδα ἢ σανίδα : RL wonder whether we should not delete ἢ σανίδα . I cannot really understand their reasons for suggesting this. The words ἢ σανίδα could only have been inserted for the benefit of a reader who did not know what a δοκίς was, and it seems strange to assume that such a person would understand σανίς any better. It is not as if Heliodoros were an author who is never redundant! In fact, δοκίδα ἢ σανίδα strikes me as a very characteristic assonantal jingle.

9.11.1

ἐγκάρσια τῷ πηλῷ τὰ ξύλα ... ἐπιβάλλων: the dative τῷ πηλῷ is governed by ἐπιβάλλων not by ἐγκάρσια, which would be an unparalleled construction. ἔγκάρσιος here, as at 9.4.1, means "horizontal".

This actual device was used by Julian in one of his eastern campaigns; cf.Zosim.3.19.4. There is no basis for the suggestion (made by L.Cracco Ruggini) that Julian may have remembered it from an earlier reading of Heliodoros. Zosimos' description in fact makes it clear that Julian hit upon the idea after first sinking up to his knees in mud, and that the device was a genuine response to particular circumstances.

ἅπερ .... ἐπεχθησετο: for a similar construction with ἐπανχθίζομαι cf.Philo de Abrah.171, αὐτὸ διελιώσας τὸ ἱερεῖον τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἐπηχθίσθαι

9.11.2

προιδομένους ... πεποιημένους : the unusual middle προιδομένους is chosen to make a characteristically rhymed pair of parallel particicles.

ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην etc: it would be difficult to get from Syene to Elephantine ὡς δρόμου εἶχε, since there is a river in the way. Heliodoros' ignorance of the fact that Elephantine is an island in the middle of the Nile is a very strong reason for concluding that he had no acquaintance with Egypt or things Egyptian except what he had gathered

from his reading. Compare similar geographical absurdities in 9.6.5, 9.7.1, 9.7.3, and one made even more explicit at 10.1.2.

ὡς ἀρόμου ... εἶχε : cf.Hdt.6.116, ὡς κατὼν εἶχον.

καθ'ἓν τὸν στρατὸν ἦγεν : cf.9.13.2 and my note. Heliodoros is clearly supposing that the main part of Oroondates' army is at Elephantine, but this is not what he said earlier; cf.9.15.7.

ἀκωλύτως τε εἰσέβαλεν etc: I do not see why Heliodoros should choose to present Oroondates' entry into Elephantine almost in terms of the betrayal of the city. It is, after all, full of the Persian army. It looks as if the author was carried away with the idea of Oroondates' stealth, and extended it further than was appropriate.

This intransitive use of εἰσβρέω is first found in Polybios (21.27.7), cf.Alciphr.3.53, Jul.Caesares 315a.

τῶν ... προαπεσταλμένων ὑπὸ Περσῶν :cf.9.7.1ff.

τὰς πύλας ἀναπετασάντων: something of a cliché; compare Hdt.3.146, Xen.Anab.7.1.17.

9.11.3

καὶ τέλος καὶ τὸ ζεῦγμα ἐπιστεύοντες : ie. besides noticing merely that the Persians were no longer in the town, they now see the means of escape. Note that what in 9.11.1 was only a kind of ζεῦγμα (οἷον διὰ ζεύγματος) is now a ζεῦγμα without qualification.

LSJ do not list this meaning of ἐποπτεύω, but the straightforward sense "see, or catch sight of" is implied by the cognate ἐποπτός = "visible" at Strab.5.3.12. For ἐποπτεύω compare perhaps Aes.Choeph.439 and 985.

ὡὐθις οὖν ... δευτέρων ἀδικημάτων: the first occasion being their original resistance to Hydaspes. It is worth remembering that Heliodoros emphasised the strength of their resistance against an enemy who was ἀπρόσμαχος καὶ μόνῃ τῇ θέᾳ (9.1,2) - cf.9.2.3, and the account of the Syenians' tunnel.

ὡς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ etc: Hydaspes' mercy is strengthened in the reader's mind by being unexpected. This sentence, with the facts seen entirely through the eyes of the Syenians, plays an important part in building up to the climax of his clemency in 9.12. In fact, it might also be held to constitute an "editorial" distortion by Heliodoros; common sense tells us that the Syenians' experience of Hydaspes so far would have led them to believe that he would show clemency to the innocent; they have not been ἄπιστοι in any real sense, and most certainly have not helped in the Persians' escape; their actions could hardly be described as ἀδικήματα. The suspense created before Hydaspes' second show of mercy is therefore unreal, in so far as it is permissible to use such a term in the criticism of fiction. This would have been an obstacle had Heliodoros continued at this point in his guise as omniscient and objective narrator. But by taking us inside the thoughts of the Syenians,

he is able to convey their fears without the danger of their appearing unfounded.

τὸν θρασμὸν ... συνεργήσαντες: LSJ give this occurrence of συνεργέω the meaning "facilitate", but it is not necessary for it to have any sense beyond the normal "work together with on". The Syenians are, as it were, drawing Hydaspes' conclusions for him; they imagine how events will appear to him and put the worst possible complexion on them for themselves. Hydaspes, they say, will not believe that the Persians escaped without their knowledge and will accuse us of having helped them to go. Thus it is necessary that συνεργεῖν be given its strongest meaning, "collaborate".

9.11.4

ἀθροίσαντες οὖν ...: a characteristic sentence-type with six participial cola preceding the first main verb ἐκάθηντο. Cf.Mazal Die Satzstruktur in den Aithiopika p.124-5.

κηροῦς τε καὶ δᾷδας: for κηρός in the sense of "candle", cf.Euseb.de vit.Const.2.5 (=PG.20.984b), Nil.Epist.2.205 (=PG.79.309a), Soz.Hist.Eccl.8.8 (=PG.67.1537a); cf.also Malalas Chronogr.18 (=CSHB.18.467) and Chron.Pasch. (CSHB.28.530, and 605).

τὰ ἱερὰ γένη: this is the unanimous reading of the MSS, and is retained by Colonna and other editors, apart from Hirschig, who excised the words γένη καὶ, and RL, who discuss the problem in a note (p.53 n.1). γένη is not as inexplicable

as they suggest, and in fact Heliodoros himself later hints that the priests led the suppliant procession; cf.9.12.3, τοὺς ἱερέας μόνους μεταικαλεσάμενος καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τῶν θεῶν ὡς συνεπήγοντο ... προσιωνήσασθαι. What is surprising is the plural ηένη; for the singular ἱερὸν γένος we may compare 7.3.3, πρεσβυτικὸν δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν ἅπαν γένος ἐθαυμάζετο τὸν Καλάσιριν, and 7.11.5, προφητικόν τε καὶ ἱερατικὸν γένος.

So it appears that the question is not whether we should read instead of ηένη some word in parallel with ἔθη such as Lumb's τέλη or Rattenbury's βρέτη, but whether the plural ηένη is permissible. It may perhaps be acceptable as a "stylistic" plural; that is to say that although the meaning would naturally suggest a singular, the patterns of the sentence demand a plural to parallel ἔθη. A plural is also more impressive.

9.11.5

διὰ τῆς ἀνυπόπτου καὶ ἀνυπαιτίου μοίρας: note the carefully chosen assonantal pair of adjectives. ἀνύποπτος is relatively common, ἀνυπαίτιος much less so and clearly chosen by Heliodoros to balance ἀνύποπτος; it was a favourite word of Philo's, but does not seem to have been used by any other author before Heliodoros; cf. the index verborum in vol.8 of Cohn/Wendland's edition of Philo (compiled by Leisegang).

τὸ θυμούμενον τῶν Αἰθιόπων: Heliodoros frequently uses the rather Thucydidean diction of a neuter adjective in place of an abstract noun. This is similar to the phenomenon discussed in my note on 9.1.3. τὸ θυμούμενον is equivalent to θυμός, as τὸ ἀιδούμενον at 4.6.1 is equivalent to αἰδώς.

9.11.6

τοὺς ... φύντας: οἱ φύντες is written consistently but incorrectly by Heliodoros for φύσαντες; φύντες is properly a passive participle and so refers to the offspring, not the parents. Examples are collected by Cobet in Mnemosyne 6 (1857) p.454 with the few omissions made good by Naber (op.cit.p.151). The same mistake is made by Xenophon of Ephesos (1.10.9) and by Photios (see Bekker's note on p.17 of his edition of the Bibliotheca).

τὴν ἄπειρον ἀποτρεπόμενα βάσιν: the accusative with ἀποτρέπομαι is occasionally found in late prose where one would have expected the genitive; cf. Plut.Cleom.9, Plut.Fab.16.

ψελλιζόμενα τὴν βάσιν: ψελλίζομαι is usually used to denote faltering speech, as of a child (eg.Plat.Gorg.485b-c, Arist. PA.666a26) or of someone speaking hesitantly in a foreign language (eg.Heliodoros himself at 8.15.3). The metaphor is a natural one, and rather vividly conveys the way in which a toddler walks. The word had already been used figuratively by Philostratos of Achilles (Heroic.19.2), ψελλίζομενος ἐς τὰ πολεμικά; cf Vit.Apoll.2.11, where the same phrase

occurs. These examples show that Coraes' prosaic conjecture τὴν βάξιν is unnecessary. Heliodoros is writing consciously vivid and poetic prose; apart from this metaphor, we should note his use of colourful words such as ψελλίζομενα and κλαυθμυρίζομενα and the stage metaphor of the final genitive absolute.

σκευωρούσης ... τὴν ἱκεσίαν τῆς τύχης: the idea of τύχη as the playwright of the universe appears again at 10.16.3. Although the idea is not applied consistently, it does seem rather difficult to reconcile with a belief that Heliodoros is a missionary for an omnipotent eastern sun god; see the Introduction, where it is argued that Heliodoros' inconsistency in casual references like this one makes any coherent interpretation of his religious views impossible.

9.12.1

ὁ δὲ Ὑδάσπης etc: cf.9.11.3. This is further use of a shifting point of view. By viewing the approaching Syenians through Hydaspes' eyes and through his ignorance of the Persians' escape, Heliodoros is able to maintain the suspense leading up to his display of clemency. Because he does not yet know that Oroondates has fled across the mud and suspects no such thing, he obviously cannot have formulated an attitude towards the Syenians' complicity or otherwise. Thus the reader can be given no clue to how he will react.

This building of a climax I take to be the ultimate function of the οἰηθείς clause; typically, Heliodoros is not content simply to tell us that Hydaspes did not know of the escape; he dramatises the revelation by telling us what Hydaspes thought was happening.

τὴν πάλαι ἱκεσίαν: ie. that of 9.5.3.

εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἐξωμολογεῖσθαι: rather difficult to understand: the Syenians have already accepted complete defeat - cf.9.6.4, Συηναῖοι ... ἀπεκρίναντο σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐπιτρέπειν Ὑδάσπῃ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ὅ τι βούλοιτο. Hydaspes' suspicions could possibly be applied to the Persians: in 9.6.5-6 Oroondates refuses to surrender his army to Hydaspes for fear of the punishments that he would incur from the Great King. But if it is a total surrender of the Persian forces that Hydaspes now suspects, it is odd that Heliodoros specifically makes him realise that the Syenians

alone are making the supplication.

In fact the αὐτοὺς must refer to the people that Hydaspes can see, and he realises that he can see only the Syenians. What are we to make of this inconsistency ? I would suggest that it arose from Heliodoros' effort to build a climax of mercy, as discussed above. Hydaspes' ignorance of the Persian escape is presented dramatically by means of the incorrect surmises that he makes. This is subtle writing with a sure feeling for effect, but the device is marred a little by one of Hydaspes' guesses being unsuited to the previous narrative.

εἰς τὸ παντελές is found fairly frequently in late Greek prose instead of παντελῶς: cf.Philo leg.ad Gaium 144, Ael.Nat.Anim.17.27, Jul.Or.2.61c.

9.12.2

τὸν θρασὺν τῶν Περσῶν etc: this type of asyndetic list serving as a recapitulation is almost a topos in Greek romance. Compare for example Xen.Eph.2.9.4, 3.5.2, 5.9.12, 5.10.11; Ach.Tat.8.5.1, 8.17.2; Char.3.9.11, 8.5.7; and in the Aithiopica 2.2.1, 2.14.3, 5.10.2, 6.2.3. The matter is extensively discussed by T.Hägg: Narrative Technique in Ancient Greek Romances, p.253ff. (for Chariton), p.267ff. (for Xenophon), p.278ff. (for Achilles Tatius), and p.330f. (for the romance in general).

τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἀνυπαίτιον: for ἀνυπαίτιος cf.9.11.5. This is not the only occasion when Heliodoros appears to have had an

unusual word stuck in his mind after using it once.

τὴν πάτρων ἑορτήν: cf.9.9.1ff.

ὡς πρὸς θεραπείαν τῶν κρειττόνων ὄντας: the accusative θεραπείαν is read by all MSS except B, which has the expected dative θεραπείᾳ. B's reading was first upheld by H.Richards in CR 20 (1906) p.111; it is certainly Heliodoros' normal practice to use the dative in such circumstances (cf.9.10.2, 9.22.2 etc.), but we should observe that at 3.5.7 the accusative occurs after πρός, with no variant reading. Richards emended this also to the dative, but the two examples tend to confirm each other.

Wifstrand: ΕΙΚΟΤΑ V p.35/103 took Richards's point but suggested instead that we read θεραπείας: this produces uniformity with 9.22.2, but I do not understand Wifstrand's remark "erklärt sich der Fehler leichter, wenn der Plural dastand..."

On balance, I would follow RL's lead and retain the accusative; when the tradition has successfully transmitted datives in nearly every other case, it is unlikely that it would have corrupted two examples only into the accusative with such apparent unanimity. B's θεραπείᾳ should be seen as a scribal attempt to reassert pure classical style.

πρὸς θεραπείαν ... πρὸς τῆς εὐωχίας: although the two πρός's differ in meaning and case, the anaphora is hardly accidental.

πρὸς τῆς εὐωχίας ἀφυπνωμένους: cf.9.10.2: πρὸς ὕπνον βαθὺν τῶν ξυηνείων ὑπὸ τῆς εὐωχίας τετραμμένων. I have not been

able to find another example of this use of ἀλυπνόομαι, be it middle or passive. M's ὑλυπνόομαι is from a non-existent verb, where the active ἀλυπνόω is commonly found.

9.12.3

ὑποτοπήσας ὅστερ ἦν: cf.9.7.2-3, where Hydaspes said that he did not care if the two Persians he allowed out of Syene τι πρὸς ἀντίστασιν βουλεύσειεν. This now seems to be forgotten, and 9.12.3 presents the impression that Hydaspes only now realises that he has been tricked and that Oroondates has gone to join his troops in Elephantine.

This discrepancy betrays an inability to make the material of the plot fit the attitudes which Heliodoros is trying to convey. The basic pattern of the plot demands that Oroondates should get out of Syene and mount a surprise attack on Hydaspes; this is how most romancers would have left it. Heliodoros was trying harder, and, as we have seen, in the note on 9.7.2, was concerned to avert the charge of stupidity from Hydaspes. In the same cause, the Ethiopian king's former braggadoccio is now missing, and the emphasis is shifted away from allowing the two Persians to ride to Elephantine towards Oroondates' ἀπάτη in reopening hostilities during a truce. In other words Heliodoros has realised that his characterisation of Hydaspes is not borne out by the events dictated by the story-line, and although he has not yet reached the stage of the true novel where

action arises from character, he appears to have recognised a difficulty which was beyond the scope of other romancers.

It is clear that Heliodoros felt that this episode was becoming confused, since in9.13.2-4 he presents a detailed retrospective summary of these events, a device which he seldom uses.

τῆς ἀγάλματος τῶν θεῶν etc: Feuillâtre (Études sur les Éthiopiques d'Héliodore, p.139) compares here the piety shown by Cyros at Xen.Cyr.3.3.21, but there is really very little in common. Although both kings are characterised by almost superhuman piety, Hydaspes is here conducting a public relations exercise πρὸς τὸ μᾶλλον καταιδέσαι, whereas Cyros' reverence to the gods has no motive beyond itself and is completely spontaneous and genuine.

καταιδέσαι: the active καταιδέω appears only in late Greek; cf.4.18.4, Themist.Or.15.191b.

τῆς ... ἀγάλματος ... προσκυνήσαι: Heliodoros uses προσκυνέω with an accusative at 9.27.2. For the dative compare Dio Cass.67.13, Jos.Ant.Jud.9.267.

9.12.4

εἰς τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην : cf. on 9.11.2.

τοῦ πλείστου στρατοῦ κατ' ἐκείνην συνειλεγμένου : cf. notes on 9.11.2 and 9.13.2.

τοῖς καταφράκτοις ἵπποις : cf.9.15 and notes.

ἱππῶσιν ἐπανέχοντος : for this use of ἐπανέχω (rely on)

compare Artem.1.12.

9.13.1

ταῦτα ἐπόνουν etc: note the well dramatised psychology of the situation. The Syenians do not realise that they have told Hydaspes anything of particular importance and are still more concerned to placate his imaginary anger (cf.9.11.3). Hence their entreaties, which Hydaspes recognises would waste crucial time, and his polite refusal to indulge in a ceremonial entry into Syene until after the defeat of the Persian army.

δύο δὲ φάλαγγας: according to Asclepiodotos (2.7) a hoplite phalanx consisted of 16,384 men (ie.2^{14}). Heliodoros is probably using a technical term loosely to give his narrative a somewhat superficial authenticity. He cannot be meaning to say that Hydaspes sent a detachment of nearly 33,000 men to do guard duty.

χρηστὰς ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν: this arrangement of adjective, article and noun is frequent in Heliodoros. Wifstrand (op.cit. p.40/108) used it as evidence for a late date; see the examples adduced by Wifstrand from fourth-century writers such as Basil and Libanios. As with all of Wifstrand's linguistic evidence, this is not of itself conclusive of a fourth-century dating for Heliodoros; the predicative placing is found also in Lucian, for example (See the review of D.Fokkinga's work on the subject by H.Ammann in Gnomon 6 (1930) p.439ff.). But we may at least draw the conclusion that there is nothing in Heliodoros' use of language which

would make a date in the middle of the fourth century difficult to maintain.

ἢ δεξόμενος ἐπιόντας ... ἢ καθυστεροῦσιν ἐπελευσόμενος:

note the elegant arrangement of the participles: the nominatives applying to Hydaspes are placed chiastically, but the second participle in each colon is similar in meaning although applied to different people (ἐπιόντας ... ἐπελευσόμενος).

9.13.2

ὁ μὲν Ὀροονδάτης etc: a detailed retrospective summary.

We are now in a position to ask why Heliodoros has included one at this particular juncture, when in comparison with the other romancers he uses the device so sparingly; cf. perhaps 5.4.3, which introduces some new material, and also 5.8.2; most comparable is 10.11.1; see Hägg op.cit.p.327ff. In the notes on 9.7.2 and 9.12.3 I have discussed the discrepancy between the dictates of the plot and the attitudes that Heliodoros is trying to convey, and analysed the slight confusion arising from it. Before the plot is allowed to continue, Heliodoros must clear matters up, not merely the factual events but the reader's attitudes. Thus Oroondates again becomes ἀκριβέστατος ἀνθρώπων. This is almost like a clearing of the ground for the coming battle, and ensures that the reader's sympathy will lie on the right side.

RL's note ad loc. (p.55 n.2) seems to me exceptionally ingenuous in the face of what is really a surprisingly

clever piece of manipulation of the reader's sympathies. We should not in any case anticipate the events of 9.21, because to do so would rob them of their surprise effect. RL's quaint implication that Heliodoros did not know his own attitude towards the character he had himself created (calling him ἀπιστότατος here but later allowing a plausible and rather noble excuse) is an odd notion by any standards. Whether we choose to regard this summary as written from Hydaspes' point of view (in which case ἀπιστότατος can be said to be the adjective the Ethiopian king would have applied to the Persian satrap), or from that of an omniscient narrator, it seems to me quite clear that Heliodoros was aiming at a powerful reversal of the reader's sympathies in 9.21. Until then Oroondates scarcely has a redeeming feature, especially if we remember all his misdeeds against Theagenes and Charicleia before this commentary begins. Indeed, it is necessary for the forward movement of the plot that Oroondates be presented as a villain; but by the simple device of revealing his "deux devoirs divergents de fidélité", Heliodoros both humanises his character and makes his actions credible, without being forced to sacrifice the motive power that his villainy had given the previous part of the plot.

Besides any such structural considerations, the effect is a fine one in itself, making the reader modify all the judgements he had formulated.

τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην etc: not actually what Heliodoros had said before. Compare 8.15.7, where Bagoas fails to reach Oroondates before he leaves Thebes, and learns that he is mustering his army at Syene.

ὅτε τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἐπιόντας ... κατώπτευεν etc: from 9.1.1.

τοῖς χώμασιν ἀποτειχισθέν: as related in 9.3ff.

σωτηρίαν τε αἰτήσας: in 9.5.2. Heliodoros has subtly shifted the emphasis to make Oroondates an even worse villain. In the earlier passage Oroondates is described as δῶλος καὶ ἄκων τῆς τύχης γινόμενος, but now he is presented more simply as a cynical breaker of treaties and scorner of mercy.

9.13.3

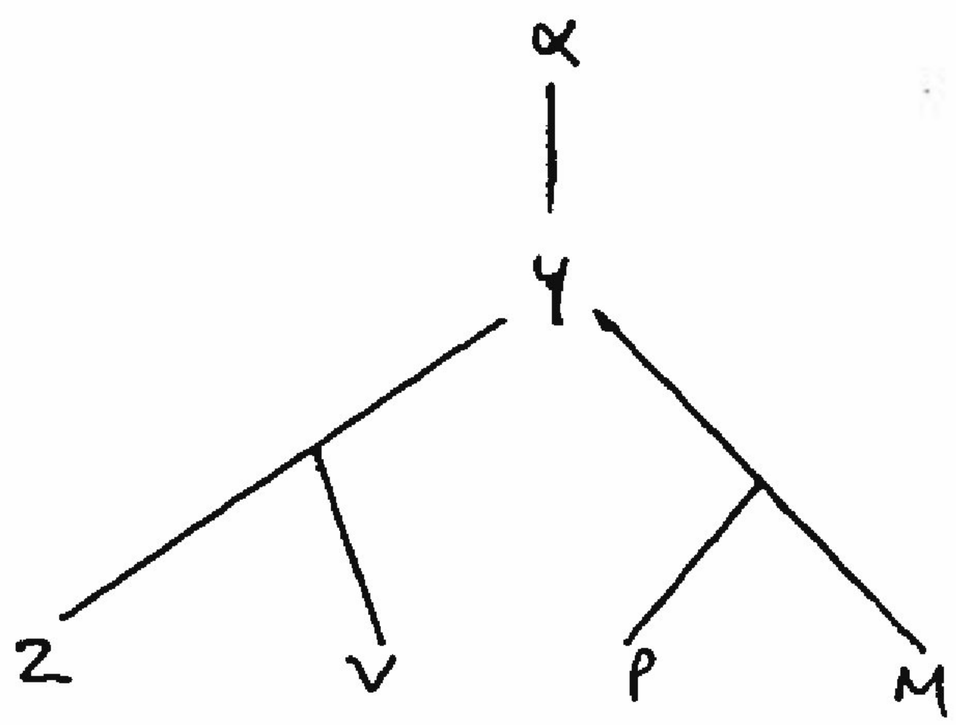
καὶ δύο Περσῶν etc: from 9.7.1ff., although, to be pedantic, the two Persians were not sent to find out on what terms the army at Elephantine would be prepared to conclude a truce, but rather to find out whether they would be prepared to surrender, in which case Oroondates himself would not hesitate.

πεφασθῆναι παρασκευάσας: for the infinitive construction with παρασκευάζω cf.1.15.3, 1.15.8, 1.25.6, 4.15.1, 6.7.2, 6.14.5, 7.21.5, 7.27.1, 8.5.5, 8.11.5.

τὸ δ'ἀληθές: we did not learn this until after Oroondates had escaped (9.11.2). One of the advantages of the retrospective summary is that it can put into a chronlogical order events

which were not originally thus presented.

παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς μάχην: at this point the manuscript B comes to an end. RL argue convincingly that the sub-archetype β from which BCPZ derive also ended here: C terminates at 7.7.1, and after 9.13.3 PZ appear to be much closer to the manuscripts descended from the sub-archetype γ, namely VM. In fact it seems that P had begun copying from a γ manuscript a few sentences earlier; there are four occasions in the first three sections of 9.13 where MP agree against the other MSS, a pattern which will continue from this point to the end of the work. On this question see RL's introduction Vol.1 p.xxxviii ff. The stemma from 9.13.3 to the conclusion is as follows:



9.13.4

φὺτρεπισμένους ... καταλαβών: as we should have expected. But if Elephantine was full of Persian troops ready for battle, and awaiting only the satrap's arrival, all the rigmarole of 9.11.2 seems even more incongruous, with the

two Persian messengers watching from the walls like traitors and opening the gates at a prearranged signal; cf.my notes on 9.11.2.

ὑπερθέμενος ... ὑποτελωνόμενος: the typical participial structure reinforced by end-placing producing disyllabic rhyme, and, in this case, strengthened further by the assonance of the prefixes.

9.14.1

κόμπῳ .... περσικῷ: κόμπος has moved away from the purely verbal idea of "boasting", and by the fourth century has come to cover visual ostentation as well; cf.Chrys.Hom,3.3 in 2 Thess. (=PG.62.484), where it is used of the ostentaion of a well dressed man in church.

ἀληθῶς τε καὶ ἐπιχρύσους τοὺς ὅπλους : obviously no army was ever equipped with gold and silver weapons, but the wealth of the Persians became such a legend that Heliodoros probably felt that he was doing no more than indulging in legitimate licence by inventing this example of Persian κόμπος. Compare 7.3.2, where Arsace's bodyguard are ἐν ὅπλοις ὑπιχρύσοις .

At the battle of Plataia, the Persian general Masistios wore a gold breastplate (Hdt.9.22) and his horse had a golden bit (ibid.20); the breastplate was later shown to tourists in Athens (Paus.1.27.1). The most famous example of Persian finery was the clothing worn by the Ten Thousand Immortals; this was lavishly decorated with gold; see Hdt.7.83, Quint.Curt.3.13.3. The best thousand of the Immortals appear to have carried a device of a golden pomegranate at the butt-end of their spears, while the other nine thousand had silver pomegranates (Hdt.7.41).

By the time of the Empire, we find Xerxes' wealth become so legendary that even his baggage camels are caparisoned in gold, and he has a portable gold tree to give him shade

(Aristid.Or.13.129 D). It is to this train of thought that Heliodoros belongs.

τὴν πεδίων καταστράπτων: the image appears to be derived from Eur.Phoen.110-1: .... κατάχαλκον ἅπαν/πεδίων ἀστράπτει. Note how Heliodoros has altered the syntax but retained the phrase πεδίον (κατα)στράπτων. Heliodoros' usage is in fact rather odd, but it is guaranteed and probably explained by his reminiscence of Euripides. If we take καταστράπτων (with LSJ) to mean "making it gleam", then this is unique, as KL say. But the primary sense in which the verb can be used transitively is "to strike with lightning", and this does not seem to me an unacceptable metaphor in this instance, although perhaps a somewhat elliptical one. The sense would be that the flashing of Oroondates' weapons looked like lightning flickering about on, or striking, the plain. Note also how the original striking metaphor is expanded and made clearer by what follows.

ἦρτι γὰρ ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου: this comes as a good reminder of the compression of fictional time in Heliodoros. The dawn rose at 9.11.3, and all the events since then must be imagined as occupying, say, a little over an hour.

διερριπίζετο : cf.10.30.4 and 10.32.1. Heliodoros uses ῥιπίζω as if it were synonymous with ῥίπτω. His use of διαριπίζω, both here and at 3.7.3, is similar.

τῆς παννυχίδος ... ἀνταναγαζούσης: Coraes sees here a reference to Hom.Il.2.455ff., but neither the sense nor the wording

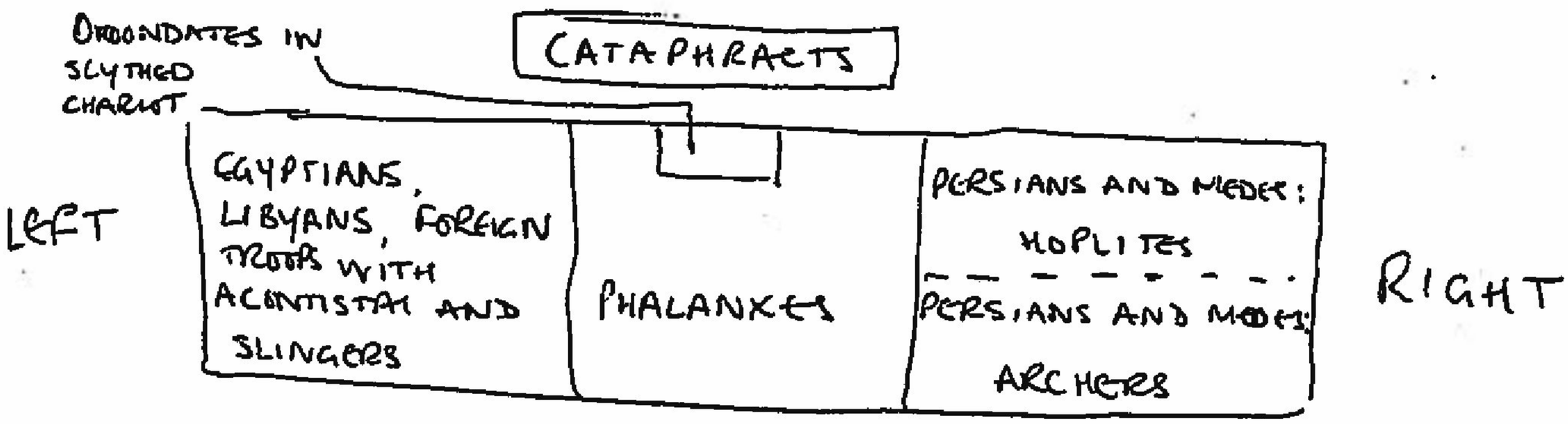
seems to me close enough to be a certain reminiscence of Homer.

For ἀντωμάζω cf.1.2.5. The word is elsewhere used only by Philo (de spec.leg.1.321), with a quite different meaning. The form ἀντωμέω is more frequent, and is found as early as Euripides (Orest.1519) with a cognate accusative similar to the one in the passage under discussion.

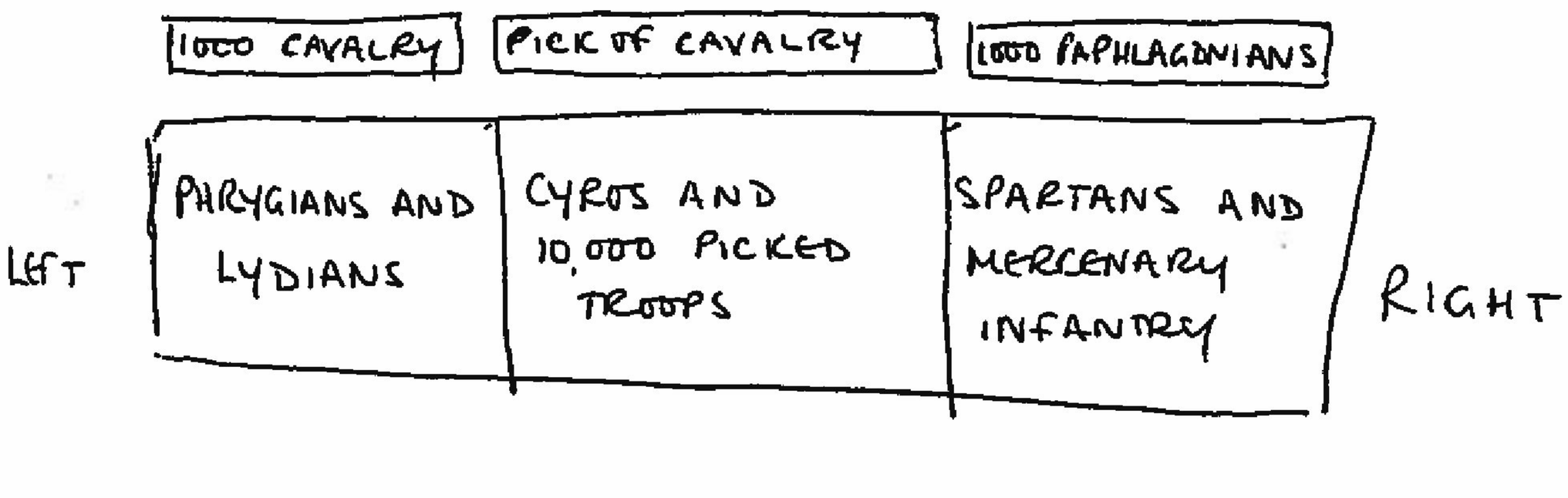
9.14.2

τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν κέρας etc: these dispositions are close enough to common practice not to be startlingly inaccurate. The Persian king was always in the centre of the fighting. Coraes, followed by RL, suggested that behind Heliodoros' description lies the account of Cyros' army which we find at Diod.14.22.

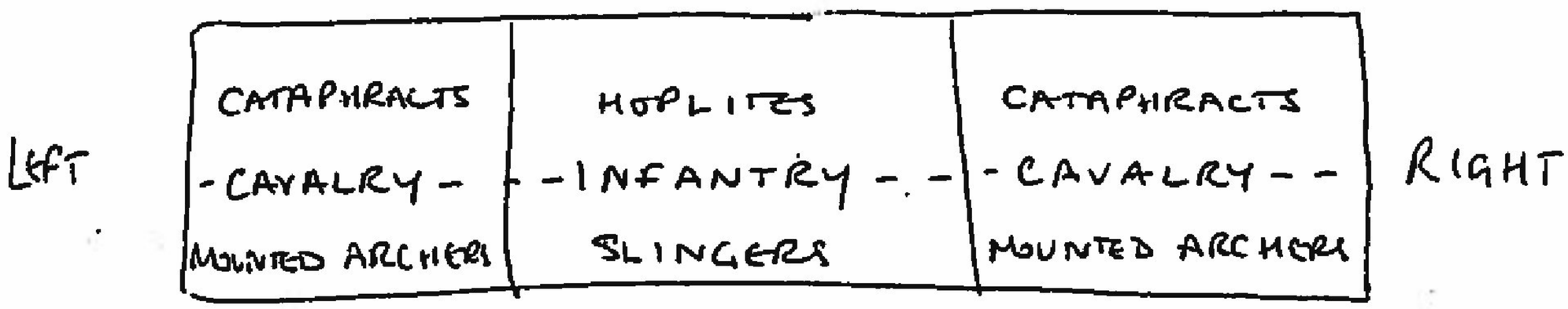
Oroondates' dispositions are thus:



There are certain obvious similarities with Cyros' army:



There are also some features in common with Constantius' dispositions at the battle of Mursa, described by Julian (Or.2.57b ff.), but the basic scheme is so different (with the cavalry in the front instead of on the wings) that there seems little point in looking for further parallels between Heliodoros and Julian in this context. The idea of putting archers behind the more heavily armoured troops is so much a matter of common sense that we need see no relationship between the two authors; it must have been common military practice:



τὴν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Λιβύων χεῖρα: for this use of χεῖρ compare 9.20.1. It appears to be an extension of the usage found in Herodotos (eg.1.174, 5.72, 7.157, 7.20).

9.14.3

ἅρματά τε δρεπανηφόρα: compare 9.20.4, where more scythed chariots appear; only one is mentioned in the description of the Persian battle-line. When properly used in mass, they performed much the same function as that which Ordondates clearly expects of his cataphracts: that of the preliminary disordering charge which opens up the enemy's ranks and

enables the conventional troops to move into the gaps. This may be seen in Xen.Anab.1.8.10, and the proper effect of scythed chariots is described at Xen.Cyr.7.1.31.

λαμπρῶς ἐπιβεβηκώς : λαμπρῶς looks very suspicious in view of the identical ending of the following word. It is found in all MSS except Z, which has λαμπροῦ. I would feel inclined to follow Rattenbury's suggestion λαμπρός. The point seems to be that Oroondates is taking up a prominent position, albeit a well protected one.

ἧς ἑκατέρωθεν φάλαγγος : Heliodoros is rather loose in his use of the word φάλαγξ; cf.9.13.1, and my note, and also later in this section where it is used simply as a collective noun for a number of soldiers, in this case cavalrymen; there is no connection with the classical infantry phalanx.

εἰς δὴ καὶ πλέον βαρήσας : cf.9.12.4, καὶ πλέον τοῖς καταφράκτοις ἵππευσιν ἐπανέχοντος .

τὴν μάχην ἀπετόλμησε : for ἀποτολμάω with a direct object compare Jos.Ant.Jud.7.178.

9.15.1

Τρόπος δὲ αὐτοῦς πανοπλίας etc: this description of the cataphracts is discussed in detail by R.M.Rattenbury: An Ancient Armoured Force; CR 56 (1942) p.113ff.; much of what follows derives from that article. See also Altheim: Literatur und Gesellschaft p.108ff., who gives useful references to archaeological publications.

Armoured cavalry was an early invention and was used by Cyros (Xen.Cyr.6.4.1, 7.1.2). The true cataphract is first found in Antiochos' army (Polyb.16.18.6, and an uninformed description at 30.25.9), and is usually associated with the east (thus Prop.3.12.11-12 and Virg.Aen.11.768ff.), whence it was imported by the Seleucids (Polyb.31.3.9 and Liv.37.40). Cataphracts were probably incorporated into the Roman army by Alexander Severus (Hist.Aug.56.5), who took foreign troops into service (Hdn.6.7.8). Although this passage shows that in the third century Romans thought they were doing well if they could overcome a force of cataphracts, fourth-century authors are not so enthusiastic about their merits (esp.Veg.3.23), and both Ammianus and Claudian appear to rate them higher as a showpiece than as an effective military unit.

Despite Julian's claim that Constantius was responsible for their introduction into the Roman army (Or.1.37b), it seems certain that he did no more than reorganise an existing force, although he did go on to make extensive

use of them.

Heliodoros' description is the most detailed to be found in any classical author, but most of the motifs in it can be paralleled.

κράνος ... ὑπέρκειται: cf.3.3.5, τὸ δὲ κράνος οὐχ ὑπελθὼν... Compare Bas.Hom.1.2 (=PG.31.165b), ὑποκριτής ἐστιν ὁ ἐν θεάτρῳ ἀλλότριων πρόσωπον ὑπελθών.

κράνος ... συμφυές: Maillon translates as "casque compact", although quite what that is meant to mean he does not explain. συμφυής is an unusual adjective to find applied to a helmet. I think that it is best taken here as meaning "close-fitting" (cf.Philostr.Vit.Apoll.6.27), understanding that it is συμφυής to the wearer's head; for the close fit of the helmet cf.Amm.Marc.25.1.12.

μονήλατον: the word occurs nowhere else.

ὄψιν ἀνδρὸς σοφιζόμενον: the face-shaped mask is also described by Amm.Marc.25.1.12 (humanorum vultuum simulacra) and 16.10.8 (personati), as well as Jul.Or.1.37c (τὸ δὲ κράνος ... ἀνδριάντος λαμπροῦ καὶ στίλβοντος παρέχει τὴν ὄψιν). See too the graffiti from Dura Europos illustrated in the report of the fourth season of excavations there (plate 22.3 and p.215f.); the fit of the helmet is not as close as the literary descriptions might have led us to expect.

For this use of σοφίζομαι cf.10.5.2, ἤπειρον ἐν νήσῳ σοφιζομένην.

πάντα πλὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν: perhaps a verbal reference to Xen.Cyr.6.1.29, τοὺς δ' ἥκιστα ἐθωράκισε πάντα πλὴν τῶν

ὀφθαλμῶν. These eye-slits are also mentioned by Amm.Marc. 25.1.12 and Liban.Or.59.69.

τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν κοντῷ: the κοντός was the special weapon of the cataphract. Compare Plut.Luc.28 (quoted ad loc. by RL), also Plut.Crass.27, Tac.Hist.1.79 (not true eastern cataphracts but Sarmatian heavy-armed cavalry, naturally called "cataphracti" by Tacitus), Arr.Tact.4, and Amm.Marc. 25.1.13. The κοντός is presumably behind Julian's description of them as αἰχμοφόροι (Or.2.57c).; cf. Liban.Or.59.70, where they are said to need both hands to wield the αἰχμή. The Asian cataphract is always found armed with a weapon of this kind, but the Sarmatian type carried a bow; they are so depicted on Trajan's Column (see Rossi's Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars plates 27 and 33), and are probably the "cataphracti sagittarii" mentioned in Not.Dign.Occ.6.67 (= Böcking Vol.2 p.31 B14.).

τὴν λαιὰν δὲ εἰς τὸν χαλινὸν ἀσχολεῖ: as shown on Trajan's Column; compare Julian's comment that they do not need to carry a shield, but contrast Liban.Or.59.70, who says that instead of a χαλινός they use their voice. The κοπίς hanging beside the rider is not mentioned by any other author.

κοπίδα ... παρηρτημένος: cf.Ael.Nat.Anim.5.3, παρηρτῆσθαι μάχαιραν and Hdn.3.14.8, ξίφος παρηρτημένου γυμνοῦ σώματος.

οὐ τὰ στέρνα μόνον ... τεθωράκισται: this is of course the essential feature of the cataphract, and (not surprisingly) is mentioned in nearly every description; cf.Plut.Luc.28, Sall.Hist.Frag.4.66, Serv.ad Virg.Aen.11.768ff., Claud.

in Ruf.2.357, Jul.Or.1.37d, Amm.Marc.16.10.8 and 25.1.12, Liban.Or.59.69. The cataphracts on Trajan's Column are represented with small circles all over their bodies to signify the plates of the armour.

9.15.2

σκυτάλας χαλκᾶς etc.: the process described is rather difficult to follow. The problem arises from the fact that what follows makes it clear that Heliodoros is talking about plate-mail, but there is no justification for taking σκυτάλας etc. to refer to plates of metal (as do Maillon and Hirschig); a σκυτάλη is properly a staff or cudgel, but when applied to materials such as ivory or metal we should expect it to retain the idea of something long and thin, not square and flat. The answer I would suggest is that Heliodoros is describing the making of the armour from the very beginning; ingots or rods of iron and bronze are beaten into flat squares (for this use of ἐλαύνω compare Hom.Il.12.296, 20.270, Plut.Cam.41). The phrase ὅσον σπιθαμιαίας etc. will have to be taken with what follows, rather than as a measurement of the σκυτάλαι; the finished plates are a span square.

Plate-mail is the type referred to by most classical authors: cf.Claud.in Ruf.2.358, Amm.Marc.16.10.8, Tac.Hist.1.79, Quint.Curt.3.11.15, and 4.9.3. Only Julian (Or.1.37d) describes chain-mail.

ὡς τῇ κατωτέρᾳ τὴν ὑπερκειμένην etc.: note the exact parallelism of this short section, totally characteristic of the author, with the heavy rhyme produced by the two compounds of κεῖμαι (ὑπερκειμένην ... παρακειμένῃ).

τὴν συμπλόκην ἀγκιστρώσαντες: "hooking the construction together with stitches under the flaps." ἀγκιστρόω is used nowhere else in exactly this way; indeed LSJ do not list the active at all. The usage is not too far distant from the idea of a fish caught on a hook (cf.the metaphorical example at Lycophr.67).

χιτῶνα ... φολιδωτόν: φολιδωτός is frequently used to describe plate-mail; cf.Arr.Tact.3.5, Poseidipp.26.8.

προσπίπτοντα ... τῷ σώματι: the close fit of the armour is reflected in the means of representation employed by the sculptor of Trajan's Column (see above), and is mentioned by Amm.Marc.16.10.8 and 25.1.12.

προσπίπτοντα μὲν ... περιγράφοντα δὲ: the arrangement of participles within the μὲν ... δὲ antithesis is subtly managed. Each limb begins and ends with a participle, an active at the start and a middle or passive at the end. At the same time, Heliodoros has contrived to juxtapose the two περι- compounds περιλυομένων περιγράφοντα, and this pair is echoed by the two συν- compounds συστελλομένων τε καὶ συνεκτελνομένων, which are syntactically parallel to each other.

πρὸς τὸ ἀκώλυτον τῆς κινήσεως: cf.Amm.Marc.16.10.8; Jul.Or.1.37c

says that the armour was so supple that it even followed the bending of the wearer's fingers.

9.15.3

χειριδωτὸς : for the sleeves compare Jul.Or.1.37d: ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων καρπῶν ἐς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους.

ἀπ'αὐχένος ἐς γόνυ : cf.Curt.3.11.15, where the tunic is said to extend as far as the knee.

μόνοις τοῖς μηροῖς ... διαστελλόμενος : ie. the tunic formed a kind of skirt which was divided. This left the cataphract vulnerable on the inside of his thighs when dismounted. Cf.Plut.Luc.28. The cataphracts on Trajan's Column do not have skirts at all, and their armour appears to take the form of romper-suits; this is no doubt due rather to the stylised method of depiction than to any real form of armour; Jul.Or.2.57b seems to talk of separate pieces of thigh-armour.

ἀντίτυπόν τι βελῶν χρῆμα : this is stressed in Amm.Marc.25.1.12. The other authors appear to take the protection offered by the armour for granted, and only in Veget.3.23 is it explicitly mentioned (a vulneribus tuti).

ἡ κνημίς: mentioned specifically only by Jul.Or.2.57b, although presumably included in the several passages which talk of the rider being clothed in armour from head to toe. Plut.Luc.28 says that the rider's shins were unprotected.

ἀπ'ἄκρων ταρσῶν : an odd expression, supported by ἀπὸ ... ἄκρων καρπῶν in the passage of Julian quoted earlier in the

notes on this section. The sense seems to be "from right down by the ankles".

2.15.4

παραπλησία δὲ σκευὴ καὶ τὸν ἵππον etc: the horse's armour is not usually included in these descriptions. No other writer mentions the κνημίδες of the horse or says anything about the horse's movements not being impeded. The head-pieces and flank-pieces are mentioned in Xenophon's descriptions of Cyros' earlier armoured cavalry (Xen.Cyr.6.4.1 and 7.1.2), where suggestively similar words are used; and in Claud.in Ruf.2.361-2: par vestitus equis: ferrata fronte minantur
ferratosque levant securi vulneris armos.

τὴν κεφαλὴν ... σφηκοῦντες: this is not as painful as it sounds. Heliodoros is very free in his use of σφηκόω and far removed from the idea of "wasp-waisted"; compare 3.3.2 and 10.31.3. The Etymologium Magnum glosses σφηκῶσαι as τὸ δῆσαι· οὕτως Φρύνιχος; compare perhaps Ael.Nat.Anim.13.17.

σκέπασμα σιδηρόπλοκον: the adjective σιδηρόπλοκος occurs nowhere else.

ἀπαωροῦντες: the active form ἀπαωρέω occurs only in late Greek; cf.3.1.4, 3.4.3, Alciphr.3.55; Jos.Ant.Jud.11.234 uses the word in the quite opposite sense of "lift up".

λαγαρότητι: the word occurs only here, in an anonymous writer preserved by the Suda (sv.λαγαρός) and in Eustathios' commentary on the Odyssey (p.1464.63), where it is used metaphorically of a verse.

Note the structure of the sentence; it begins with the main clause, whose substance is repeated and elaborated by a series of participial cola. For this general scheme, compare, for example, 1.1.6.

9.15.5

οὕτως ἐσκευασμένον καὶ οὕτω ἐμβεβλημένον: this is RL's text; all the MSS read the two participles in the nominative. RL's alteration obviously arose from a feeling that οὕτως should refer back to what immediately precedes, in this case the description of the horse's armour. Their emendation, however, leaves περιβαίνει without a subject and seriously disrupts the thought-sequence. It is because the cataphract is so equipped that he has to be lifted onto his horse. The manuscript reading should be retained, despite the looseness of οὕτως.

ἐμβεβλημένος is odd; the consensus of commentators is to take the meaning as "encased", presumably as an extension of the more normal usage. But there is no parallel example, and the sense would be better conveyed by περιβάλλω. If ἐμβεβλημένος is the correct reading, I must admit that I cannot see the point of it; the idea of the cataphract being squeezed into his armour appears to contradict what Heliodoros has just said about its suppleness. Compare, howver, Plut.Luc.23, where cataphracts ἐγκατῳκοδομημένους ἑαυτοῖς.

οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐφαλλόμενος: this is not mentioned by any other

writer, and the practice reminds us of the cranes used to lift the knights in armour of a later age onto their horses. The weight of the dismounted cataphract was a source of vulnerability; see the note on 9.18.2.

ἐφεὶς τὸν χαλινὸν τῷ ὕππῳ: despite Trypanis's defence of the manuscripts' τῷ χαλινῷ τὸν ἵππον (in his review of the final instalment of RL's text in CR 60, 1946, p.110), RL's correction seems to be certain. The sense would appear to demand it, and it explains the peculiar ἐφέντες τοῖς ἵπποις at 9.17.3. The manuscript reading is not really supported by 8.16.5: καὶ δυνάμενος ὅσον ἦν καὶ τάχους ἀνέτοις τοῖς χαλινοῖς ἐφιέντες.

σιδηροῦς τις ἀνὴρ ... ἢ καὶ σφυρήλατος ἀνδριὰς κινούμενος: this simile is common to almost all the descriptions of cataphracts, which suggests that we are here dealing with a rhetorical topos. Van der Valk (Remarques sur les Éthiopiques; Mnemosyne 1941) put forward the idea that this striking comparison was derived, along with the siege methods used at Syene, from Julian's accounts of the siege of Nisibis; but in view of the multiplicity of other occurrences, this now seems an uncertain conclusion (thus Weinreich), and I argue elsewhere that we should view Heliodoros and Julian as literary brothers rather than as father and son - in other words that they share a common source.

Other occurrences of this topos are found at Amm.Marc.16.10.8, Jul.Or.1.37c and 2.57b, Claud.in Ruf.2.359 and de VI cons.Honor. 572-4, Liban.Or.59.70.

The presumption that the simile did not originate with Heliodoros seems to be strengthened by his inclusion of the word σφυρήλατος. According to LSJ, this denotes a technique of metal sculpture where the bronze is struck with a hammer rather than being cast; compare Theocr.22.47, and Gow's note; σφυρήλατος is also used by Philostr.Imag. p.374.26 Kayser. Now it is clear how well this applies to a cataphract: each scale of the armour is like the mark left by the falling hammer, whereas a cast statue would be completely smooth. But despite the good observation and thinking behind this detail, it is not central to the simile; the point is that the man was completely hidden inside his armour, and so stiff that he looked like a metal statue; to particularise further is both unnecessary and faintly ludicrous. Thus there are what might be called internal grounds for thinking that in its first incarnation the simile did not include the idea of σφυρήλατος, and the external grounds are furnished by the fact that no writer apart from Heliodoros has this detail.

The simile is extended in a similar way by Amm.Marc.16.10.8, but here the taste is much worse than Heliodoros', and bears no relation at all to what cataphracts must actually have looked like: " ut Praxitelis manu polita crederes simulacra, non vivos..." This seems a conventional particularisation, a stock response to the thought of metal sculpture, although in fact Praxiteles worked less in bronze than did other

major Greek sculptors, and his work has a softness, almost feminine, which is quite an unsuitable comparison in a context such as this.

9.15.6

ὁ κόντος etc: this instruction manual for the use of the κόντος is found only in Heliodoros. Nowhere else can I find mention of these two loops holding the lance in place. One detail in this paragraph can be paralleled, and that is the final one of two men often being transfixed by one lance; this is derived from Plut.Crass 27 (quoted ad loc. by RL). The technique is illustrated by a graffito from Dura-Europos (Fourth season plate ??.2 and also see F.E.Brown in Sixth season p.444ff.) Note that the lance is not held by loops but is carried in the hand, even after allowance is made for the crudity of the drawing.

We are now in a position to summarise. Heliodoros' description is very much a set-piece, like the other occurrences of this topos. The following details are included by him but not by any other writer: the cataphract has great bodily strength (9.15.1); his helmet is in one piece (9.15.1); his left hand is free to control the horse (backed up by Trajan's Column); he carries a κοπίς by his side; the horse's armour includes greaves (9.15.4) and does not hinder the animal's movements; in battle he lets the horse have its head (9.15.5) and spurs it on; the κόντος protrudes far in front and is held by loops on the horse's neck and flank;

the rider lunges forward with it, and merely needs to direct the blow.

The following details are found in other descriptions but not in Heliodoros: they wear iron belts (Amm.Marc.16.10.8); they have armoured gloves (Jul.Or.1.38a, backed up by Trajan's Column); they have no need of a shield (Jul.Or.2.57c); they wear knee-plates (Jul.Or.2.57c). Note, by the way, that most of these omitted details are from Julian, which would be strange if Heliodoros was copying him.

Finally there are some cases where other writers disagree with Heliodoros : the armour is made of rings not plates (9.15.2 cf.Jul.Or.1.37d); they are ἐγχειρίδιοι (Jul.Or.2.57d, but cf. note on 9.15.1); they have bare shins (Plut.Luc.28 cf.9.15.3); they need both hands to wield the αἰχμή (Liban.Or. 59.70 cf.9.15.1); they use their voice instead of reins (Liban.Or.59.70 cf.9.15.1).

We should also note how anachronistic these cataphracts are: the story is set under the Persian occupation of Egypt, and yet cataphracts were not a force of any account before Carrhae. For Persian cavalry of the time see Hdt.7.84.

We must now deal with an argument advanced by Altheim (op.cit.p.111ff.), which uses the description of the cataphracts as evidence for the date of the Aithiopica. He begins with the assertion "Heliodors Beschreibung der Kataphrakten... war nur dann sinnvoll, wenn ihr Verfasser in der Lage war, mit ihr etwas besonderes zu sagen." He refutes the suggestion that Heliodoros' description was inspired by the sight

of the Palmyrene cataphracts in the army of Zenobia by pointing out that in the battle fought at Emesa there were no Blemmyes and no elephants; he finally links the description with the Sasanid cataphracts encountered in Alexander Severus' eastern campaigns of 232-3, hence providing a date for Heliodoros not long afterwards, at some point before cataphracts became familiar in the Roman world.

However, the whole of Altheim's argument is based on a misconception. The lengthy and detailed description of the cataphracts does not entail the conclusion that they were a novelty. In fact, as we have seen, in the fourth century writers like Julian and Libanios were still professing astonishment at cataphracts and their description had become something of a rhetorical commonplace (cf.my notes on 9.15.5). Altheim also shows a degree of critical naivety in approaching Heliodoros which we shall have occasion to remark on again. Why, we could ask, is Heliodoros not allowed the capability of inventing elephants and Blemmyes even if he were influenced by the Battle of Emesa ? And why should we assume that an erotic novelist was the first with the news about cataphracts, especially in view of his very bookish inspiration at other points during the work ? I have argued in the Introduction that Heliodoros and Julian had read the same source on the siege of Nisibis; if this source contained an ecphrasis on Constantius' cataphracts, it would not be surprising that so striking a feature was taken over by both Julian and Heliodoros.

9.16.1

ἐπὶ ἀντιμέτωπος κατὰ νώτων ἀεὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ποιούμενος :

I do not see how such a manoeuvre could be possible. If Oroondates were coming straight towards Hydaspes, he would either have the river on one side or be marching away from it. The only way he could keep the river constantly in his rear would be to advance along it, as it were, sideways; but he is explicitly said not to do this (ἐπὶ ἀντιμέτωπος). We must simply accept that Heliodoros has not always taken the trouble to visualise and understand the military manoeuvres. Compare 9.20.3 and my notes, and the confusion over the Syenians' tunnel during the siege (9.8.2 and my note.).

The word ἀντιμέτωπος is discussed by Paumgarten (op.cit.p.12); it is first used by Xenophon (Ages.2.16, Hipp.3.11, Hell.4.3.19), and later taken up by several historical writers of the empire (cf.Jos.Bell.Jud.5.56, App.Pun.125, Dio Cass.71.7, Poll.2.46.2.)

9.16.2

τῆς καταλλαττούσης χειρονομίας : LSJ give the meaning of χειρονομία as "shadow-boxing" or "pantomime" (cf.4.1.1 and RL's note Vol.2 p.2 n.3). Coraes compares Hesychios' definition of χειρόνομος as ὀρχηστής ; he suggests that Heliodoros is talking of a kind of war-dance. I am sure, however, that RL are right in taking the meaning to be "hand to hand fighting"; there is no certain parallel but the cumulative

evidence is suggestive. The passage from 3 Macchabees 1.5 quoted by HL is listed by LSJ with a variant ἐν χειρῶν νομαῖς instead of ἐν χειρονομίαις. However, the phrase ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ and variations on it are common enough: cf.Hdt.8.89, 9.48, Aischines 1.5, Polyb.1.34.5, 5.111.6, Arist.Pol.1285a10, Dion.Hal.6.26 etc. The conflation of a common phrase into a single word is rather reminiscent of Heliodoros' use of χρονοτριβεῖν (cf.9.2.3 and my note).

The pleonastic form καταστυστάδην is found in no writer earlier than Heliodoros; it is used in the seventh century by Theophylactos Simocates (Hist.2.4 = CSHB.46.73.8), and also in the Acta of the Council of Chalcedon 14 (= Hardouin 2.597a).

τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Τρωγλοδυτικῆς : for a fuller description of the Trogodytes cf.8.16.4-5. We know from numerous Ptolemaic papyri that the name was correctly spelled without the lambda, but there is no reason to suppose that Heliodoros did not fall into a common error.

The name was applied to cave dwellers all over the known world, but especially to those Nubians living on the coast to the south of Egypt (cf.for example Strab.17.1.2 and especially 17.1.53, Diod.3.31ff., Hanno Periplous 7, Agatharch.de mar.Erythr.61-76 passim, Ael.Hist.Anim.9.44 and 17.45, Plin.Nat.Hist.6.164-173 passim). These are the people to whom Heliodoros is referring, although no greater precision is possible on which ethnic group was called

Trogodytai.

Hdt.4.183 talks of Ethiopian Trogodytes who are the fastest of mankind, ate snakes and squeaked like bats; they lived next to the Garamantes. This Herodotos passage is echoed by Mela 1.44 and Plin.5.43.

Mela 1.23 and Plin.Nat.Hist.5.43 put some Trogodytes next to the Angilae, who lived in Aoudjila some 300 kms, SSE of Benghazi and to the east of the Garamantes; these are probably the same as those of Plin.Nat.Hist.2.228, connected with Ammon in Cyrenaica.

Plin.Nat.Hist.5.34 talks of some more Trogodytes 7 days' march to the SSW of the Amantes who traded in carbuncles from Ethiopia.

By the period of the empire the Trogodytes had accumulated a lot of mythology around themselves; recurring features are the squeaking language, the diet of snakes, and the swiftness of foot. It is to this world of mythology that Heliodoros' Trogodytes, and also his Blemmyes, belong, as is confirmed by his calling them ποδώκεις. This belongs to the tradition as far back as Herodotos (4.183); cf.also Hanno Periplous 7, Solin.70, Leo Africanus p.13 (de Rucheis nomadis), and Hld.8.16.5, where the tradition is put to practical use and the Trogodytes overtake some Persian horsemen.

τοὺς τῇ κινναμωμοφόρῳ προσοίκους: the κινναμωμόφορος χώρα was around Cape Guardafui in modern Somalia (thus Strab.2.5.35).

Some sources put the cinnamon producing areas in the hinterland of this region (thus Strab.16.4.14 and Ptol.4.7.10, who puts them in central Ethiopia to the north of the sources of the Nile.) In a more general sense the name was applied to the whole southern part of Ethiopia, from Meroe to the uninhabitable equatorial zones (see Strab.2.1.13, 2.2.2, and 2.5.34). Despite the classical tradition placing production of cinnamon either in east Africa or in Arabia (cf.my notes on 10.26.1) the spice actually came from the far east; see J.I.Miller: The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, p.153ff.

These people are here called "neighbours of the cinnamon-land", but during the battle at 9.19.2, Heliodoros calls them οἱ ἐκ τῆς κινναμωμοφόρου. This indicates that he was not thinking of any precise peoples. There is further discussion in my note on 9.19.2.

τοὺς κατὰ τὸ λαιὸν τῶν ἐναντίων σφενδονήτας etc: cf.9.14.2.

9.16.3

τὸ μετεῶρον: cf.9.3.2 and note.

μεγαλαυχούμενον: not the word we would have expected; it expresses the arrogant confidence that Oroondates places in his cataphracts; cf.9.14.3 οἷόνει τεῖχος ἀρραγὲς τοῦ πολέμου.

πυργοφόρους ἐλέφαντας: for the towers on elephants see my note on 9.18.5.

According to Arrian elephants were first used in war by the Indians and Ethiopians (Tact.2.2 and 19.6), but, surprisingly, it looks as if this is not true of the Ethiopians. Indian elephants were certainly domesticated early on; it was during Alexander's campaign on the Hydaspes in 326 BC that elephants were first introduced to Greeks with any effect (Arr.Anab.5.15.4 etc.). From that date onwards, elephants played an important rôle in Greek tactical thinking and all the epigonoi were desperate to have them in their armies. The elephants that Alexander had used himself will have lasted some 50-60 years (for the animal's longevity cf.Arr.Ind.14). Seleucos, of course, could import new elephants from the east, but the other princes were dependent on him for elephants, either by trade or by capture in battle. About the middle of the third century the growth of Parthian power began to make the trade route from the east increasingly difficult. In 245 BC, however, Ptolemy invaded Asia with African elephants in his army, and at the Battle of Raphia in 217 BC Indian and African elephants faced each other in battle for the first time; the African came off very much the worst (Polyb.5.84.1).

By the time of Ptolemy the elephant was extinct in Lower Egypt, although it survived as a hieroglyph (Horap.2.84-3). Ivory was imported from Nubia as early as the time of Herodotos (3.97). There were, however, abundant supplies of the beasts in Ethiopia, and Ptolemy began to organise elephant hunts; cf.CIG.5127.A.10ff., P.Hib.110 verso, Strab.p.769-70, Diod.3.18.4,

and 6.3; see Fraser's Ptolemaic Alexandria p.178f. for full details of other elephant expeditions and their leaders.

The very fact that the Ptolemies had to organise elephant hunts in Ethiopia is significant. If the Ethiopians had already mastered the art of elephant warfare, it would surely have been easier to buy them from Meroe, but in fact ancient sources tend to agree that Africans hunted elephants for ivory and for their flesh, but, by omission, not for their use in war. There is no mention of elephants in all the records of the Nubian invasion of Egypt under Piankhi (see on 9.6.2), and the first trace of Ethiopian war-elephants is a relief on the NW outer wall of the Lion Temple at Musawwarat es Sufra. This temple is described by F.Hintze in Kush 10 (1962). It was built by Arnekhamani, whose dates Hintze estimates as 235-218 BC. The relief on the NW outer wall shows the king in front of Apedemak (the principal god of Meroitic peoples) standing on two war-elephants decorated with carpets and rugs (plate LIIa). On the inner back wall of the temple is a relief of an elephant being led on a rope (plate LVa). Certainly, after the Ptolemies had organised their elephant hunts, elephants appeared in Meroitic armies (Plin.Nat.Hist.6.181ff. and Sen.Nat.Quest.6.8.3.).

Rome imported her elephants from Numidia rather than Ethiopia. The numbers of elephants declined during this period, and by 200 AD the emperor's permission was needed before they could be hunted (Ael.Nat.Anim.10.1), and after

this time Rome was forced to go east for elephants. They persisted in Ethiopia a little longer: in 531 the ambassadors of Justinian saw a herd of 5000, but it is significant that they were in a kind of reservation; in 570 elephants were included in the Abyssinian army which fought against Yemen and Persia.

For a study of Heliodoros, it is important to note that in the novel the Ethiopians have elephants but the Persians do not. This is exactly the reverse of contemporary fact (and indeed of that prevailing under the Persian occupation of Egypt.) It seems that he is relying again on a literary tradition, as found in Arrian, associating elephant warfare with Ethiopia, and has stronger links with the world of Hellenistic times than with contemporary reality.

Βλεμμύων: useful discussions on the Blemmyes may be found in: J.Desanges: Catalogue des tribus africaines de l'antiquité classique; L.P.Kirwan: The Oxford University Excavations at Firka, Appendix I; C.L.Woolley and D.Randall-MacIver: Karanòg, Vol.1 p.85ff.

The Blemmyes are similar in status to the Trogodytes, in that they present a strange blend of mythology and history. We first meet them in the third century BC in Theocr.7.113f., where they are in an indeterminate location close to the sources of the Nile. Eratosthenes, referred to at Strab.17.1.2, had them as a subject of Meroe on the border with Egypt. In the second century BC they figure in Ptolemaic documents: cf.Griffith: Rylands Papyri III.139, which refers to "a

Belhmē born in Egypt" and a contract from the time of Ptolemy Philopator from Edfū describes one party as "a Mhbr born in Egypt" and later as "a Belhemmow born in Egypt" (Spiegelberg: Die demotischen Papyri Hanswaldt No.15, quoted by Kirwan.)

Despite this contact, a tradition arose (cf.Mela 1.4.23 and 8.43, Avienus Orb.Desc.329ff., Plin.Nat.Hist.5.46, Solin.31.5, Mart.Cap.6.674, Isid.Etym.11.3.17) placing them in Libya and making them fabulous creatures without heads.

Ptol.4.7.10 places them on the right bank of the Nile between Meroe and Axum, but this may be due to influence by a poetic tradition.

In reality the Blemmyes were a nomadic tribe. Strabo had visited the area (2.5.12) and suggests that nomadic tribes, including Blemmyes, were slowly moving northwards along the Nile valley; he lists them among tribes near Syene and Lower Nubia. They seem to have left the area of Meroe at some time during the first two centuries BC. It seems that at a fairly early date the nomadic tribes of the eastern desert were beginning to acquire importance in Roman eyes; Augustus appeared to be making efforts to gain their friendship by building a temple of Mandūlis at Kalābsha (Talmis). Kirwan suggests that Mandūlis' eastern connections hint that this move was aimed at the eastern desert tribes, of which the Blemmyes were the most important opponents of Roman rule in Nubia. Kirwan also suggests

that the divergences of location found in classical authors confirm the Blemmyes' nomadic way of life; he refers to Mela 1.4, Plin.Nat.Hist.8.43, Ptol.4.7.31, Dionys. Perieg.GGM.2.32, Anon.in GGM 2.498, and concludes that "Blemmyes" became a generic name for the whole collection of tribes to the east of the Nile.

Very relevant to Heliodoros is the fact that, from the third century AD, the Blemmyes presented a serious threat to the Roman province (Chron.Pasch.PG.92.669) and in 261 they were expelled from the Thebaid by the Roman prefect (Hist.Aug.30 Tyr.22.6). In 280 Probus drove them back from Ptolemais (Zos.1.71, Hist.Aug.Prob.17-19) and in 336 they sent an embassy to Constantine (Euseb.Vit.Const.4.7.)

During the fourth century they crept slowly northwards; under Gallus, Ammianus (14.4.3 cf.22.15.24) puts them close to the southern frontier of Egypt. Claudian (Id.4.19) evokes a position vaguely along the banks of the Nile between Meroe and Syene. Julius Honorius (B.45 GGM p.50) puts them 310 miles from Oxyrhyncos, which is very nearly at Syene. Under Theodosius II (408-50) Philai was attacked. There is no hint of this trouble in Heliodoros, unless we are to agree with Lacombrade that concern for the southern frontier was a prime reason for having the war with Ethiopia at all.

For an account of the continuing Blemmyan pressure, see Desanges and Woolley/Randall-MacIver.

From this summary of the situation around Syene it

should be clear that Heliodoros' Blemmyes and other tribes owe nothing to contemporary events.

For the Blemmyes as a subject people of Ethiopia, cf. Σ Theocr.7.113, Eustath.ad Diony.Perieg.220, Strab.17.1.2.

Σηρῶν: it is surprising to find Seres fighting in the army of the king of Ethiopia. Cf.also 10.25.2, where an embassy from them takes its place among the subject peoples offering congratulations to Hydaspes on his victory. It is worth remembering that the gift they bring is silk, which would appear to confirm that Heliodoros is intending that these Seres should be identified with the eastern silk-producers.

The passage is discussed by A.Dihle (Umstrittene Daten p.74 n.79), who compares Paus.6.26.6ff. (esp.6.26.9); the geography of the Pausanias passage is extremely confused, but, strictly, does not talk of Dihle's "ostafrikanischen Serer". Pausanias calls the Seres Ethiopians, but this need mean no more than that he thought them to be dark-skinned, and his alternative suggestion that they are a mixture of Scythian and Indian stock would seem to place them farther east. Dihle's suggestion (taken over from Conti Rossini and Ullendorff) that an Arabian name has been assimilated to "Seres" has no connection with known fact. Any theory which attempts to explain such aberrant passages in general terms (for example, that Seres were identified with the Arab merchants who actually sold the silk into the Greco-Roman world) founders on the fact that by and large classical authors were well aware that the Seres lived in the far east.

It is difficult in this case to argue that we are faced with another example of the common confusion between Ethiopia and India; Heliodoros is sure as to the position of Ethiopia, and Indian features do not appear in his novel, except when taken over from his sources, for example the Ethiopian gymnosophists found also in Philostratos.

We may compare Lucan 10.293, who says that the Nile rises among the Seres; I can find, however, no constant tradition to this effect. Virgil places the source of the Nile among "colorati Indi" (Georg.4.293), although this is usually taken as a poetic periphrasis for Ethiopians. From Arr.Anab.6.1.2ff., we learn that Alexander thought that the rivers Hydaspes and Acesines were really the upper reaches of the Nile, until he was disabused by Nearchos. The idea of the Nile rising in the east was clearly an attractive one (it recurs as late as Procopios, de aed.6.1.6), and probably similar romantic ideas are at work in Heliodoros' decision to include Seres in the Ethiopian army, along with the equally exotic and picturesque Trogodytes, Blemmyes and Arabs. Hydaspes' army thus includes mysterious peoples from south and east, a fact which emphasises his power - truly the "brother" of the Persian king (9.26.3).

The theory advanced by E.de Saint-Denis (REL 28, 1950, p.204ff.), that the confusion in Virgil and Lucan arose from knowledge of a race of light-skinned people who once lived along the Nile above Meroe, is to be rejected. It

depends on the supposition that a body of anthropological knowledge could have come down to Virgil's and Lucan's times, and yet have left no trace in our extant scientific sources.

ἐν χρὴ πράττειν : note this use of a postponement technique. Heliodoros does not tell us what Hydaspes' orders were, but allows them to emerge through their fulfilment. Compare Calasiris' instructions to Theagenes and Charicleia while planning their escape from Delphi at 4.17.2. As Hefti remarks (op.cit.p.78ff.), there is something primitive about the device; but that does not rob it of its purpose, which is to preserve the dramatic force of the following action: in the earlier case the excitement of the escape, in this case the unexpected method of dealing with the enemy cataphracts.

9.17.1

τοῦ μὲν Περσικοῦ διὰ σαλπίγγων βόμβας δὲ καὶ τυμπάνους τῶν Αἰθιόπων : note the chiastic arrangement, bringing all the musical instruments together and so presenting a vivid impression of the din of battle. Note also how Heliodoros has achieved the maximum variety of expression.

All the MSS read βόμβους, except M, which has ῥόπτρους ; this is clearly a step in the right direction, since we need another musical instrument here, rather than simply an unspecified booming noise. In view of the strong MSS support for βόμβους , however, KL are right to print Amyot's ῥόμβους . A ῥόμβος is either a bull-roarer, swung round on a piece of cord, or a kind of drum associated with Corybantic worship; in this last sense it is synonymous with ῥόπτρον.

ὁρόμῳ τὰς φάλαγγας ἐπῆγε : Feuillâtre sees here a parallel with Xen.Cyr.3.3.61, where the tactic of an accelerating phalanx is described. This seems to be overstating a rather tenuous case; but note a possible reminiscence of Xen.Cyr.3.3.61: συνεφέπετο δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ φάλαγξ ὁρόμῳ. Note that Oroondates is leading the charge from the rear; cf.9.14.3.

τῶν τε ἐλεφάντων ἕνεκεν : for the slowness of elephants cf.Curt.8.14.18: tardum et paene immobile animal equorum velocitatem aequare non poterat.

προυπεκλύων : i.e. the further the cataphracts have to charge, the less force they will have when they meet the Ethiopians.

The compound προυπεκλύω is found nowhere else. Rattenbury's

suggestion τοῦ μεταξὺ προϊππεκλύοντος has little to recommend it; the reading of Z communicates far better the sense that this result of the slow advance is part of Hydaspes' strategem, and also explains better V's τὸ and MP's τῶν.

9.17.2

τὰ προστεταγμένα: cf. on 9.16.3. Note how explicit Heliodoros makes the fact that he is now picking up what he had postponed from the earlier passage.

ὥστερ πρόκωλυμα εἶναι etc: this purposive infinitive is another example of Heliodoros' unclassical looseness of syntax with the infinitive.

The noun πρόκωλυμα occurs nowhere else; it was chosen here as a balance to the following προαστίζειν. The whole context is saturated with compounds in προ-: πρόκωλυμα... προαστίζειν ... προσηλήσαντες ... προεξορμήσαντες.

μανίᾳ ἐμφασιν ... παριστάντες: note the change of point of view as the Blemmyes' trick builds towards its climax. The whole point is that the strangeness of the trick should be totally unexpected; hence the postponement discussed above. The unexpectedness is here further emphasised by the comparison with madness, which obscures the Blemmyes' motives.

προεξορμήσαντες: the compound προεξορμάω occurs nowhere else. Compare the note on πρόκωλυμα above.

9.17.3

ἐξέντες τοὺς ἵππους : cf.9.15.5; and my notes there, and also

10.30.1, ὅσον εἶχε τέχνους ἕλεις ἢ ὅπως χρήσασθαι.

9.13.1

τότε δὲ Βλέμμυες etc: for the Blemmyes' method of fighting compare Xen.Cyr.7.1.37, where the action is not fully intentional: a wounded infantryman being trampled by Cyros' horse strikes upwards with his μάχαιρα and Cyros' horse rears and throws him to the ground (ἀποσείεται, cf. ἀποσειομένων in 9.18.2.) Also Plut.Crass.25, where Gauls fighting under Crassus at Carrhae deal with Persian cataphracts in much the same way; note especially ὑποδυόμενοι τοὺς ἑκείνων (scil. ἵππων) with ὑπεδύοντο τοὺς ἵππους in Heliodoros. At Amm.Marc.16.12.22 this is presented as the standard German way of tackling Roman cataphracts. See too Caes.Bell.Gall.4.12.

Woolley and Randall-MacIver (op.cit.Vol.3 p.90) add that these "have been regular Dervish tactics down to the present day." They do not quote a source for this statement.

ταῖς αἰχμαῖς ἐγχρίμπτοντες: a rather unusual use of the verb ἐγχρίμπτω; the idea of "approach" is normally conveyed by the passive. Compare, however, the active used with the dative in this sense at Hom.Il.23.334, Hdt.9.98, Ap.Rhod.2.398, Opp.Cyn.3.313.

ὑπώκλασάν τε καὶ ὑπεδύοντο: note the assonantal effect produced by the repeated prefix, and also the curiously indiscriminate use of past narrative tenses.

κεφαλὴν δὲ καὶ νῶτα †ταῖς μὲν ἀυδὲν ἢ †μόνον οὐ παπούμενα: this is called by RL "la corruption la plus évidente de tout le texte des Éthiopiques" (Vol.1 p.lxxx) No satisfactory cure has yet been proposed. Scaliger's εἰς ἓν οὐδενὶ μόνον

οὐχ ὑπωθούμενον is incomprehensible, and Toup's οὐ μὲν οὐδὲν οὐ δὲ μόνον οὐ πατούμενον is nonsense. Mitscherlich's μόνον ὄνυξι does not even begin to explain ταῖς μὲν οὐδὲν ἧ; Coraes excised the offending words, but it is difficult to see how they could have found their way into the text; Huet and Colonna both postulate a lacuna, Huet after νώτα, which still leaves ταῖς unexplained, Colonna after οὐδὲν, which leaves the odd phrase ταῖς μὲν οὐδὲν unassailed. Hirschig offers a Latin translation which bears not the slightest resemblance to the Greek text: "caput vero et tergum equis subiicientes sine ullo detrimento, nisi quod calcationem sustinere cogebantur."

The reading is substantially the same in all manuscripts, MP having μόνον οὐ for μόνον οὐ. The unanimity indicates that the corruption was present in γ, the only subarchetype containing the final section of the novel.

Rattenbury plausibly suggests that what is needed is a participle to express the hunching up of the Blemmyes to avoid being trampled by the cataphract's horse; he suggests καμπτόμενον or κυρτούμενον, but the range of available words is too great to permit a conjecture to be made. The missing word could just as well have meant "protecting". The "ductus litterarum" does not suggest an obvious solution.

In view of the existing and acknowledged corruption, it appears that KL accept μόνον οὐ too easily; the phrase occurs only three lines earlier, and so must be called into suspicion in the present confusion.

9.13.2

καὶὰ τὴν διεξέλασιν : for this unusual word cf.Plut.Sull.18.

οὐκ ὀλίγοι, τῶν ἵππων : with this punctuation there is no need to change the MSS reading. Coraes and Bekker did not have a comma after ὀλίγοι , and so adopted the clumsy locution οὐκ ὀλίγοι ⟨τῶν ἱππέων⟩, τῶν ἵππων . Colonna and RL both print a comma after ὀλίγοι , and they are certainly right.

τῶν χαλινῶν ὑπερορώντων : this is the reading of VZ. MP have τὸν χαλινὸν . ὑπεροράω is frequently found both with the genitive and with the accusative. Thus there is nothing to choose between the readings; RL follow VZ on the basis of their usually containing the reading of γ where there is a divergence (cf.Vol.1 p.xxxviii.)

κορμηδόν : "like logs". This is the only occurrence of this word, but it is well chosen to describe the armoured riders lying stiff and immobile on the ground, helplessly waiting for their death. We may compare the similar adverbs βιαζηδόν (at 1.29.2), ὡρηδόν (at 1.30.2 and 9.24.1) and ἀγεληδόν (at 5.14.3).

It was on the ground that cataphracts were most vulnerable. Heliodoros has already told us that they had to be lifted onto their horses (9.15.5), and later in this sentence he remarks that they cannot move without someone to lead them (ἀκίνητος ... ἀμαυρήσας). For the disadvantages of their weight cf.Veget.de re mil.3.23 (propter impedimentum et pondus armorum capi faciles); Plut.Luc.28 and id.Crass.25 (τῇ βαρύτητι τοῦ ὁπλισμοῦ δυσκινήτους ὄντας); Livy 37.42.4

where Antiochos' cataphracts "propter gravitatem tegumentorum armorumque oppressi sunt"; Tac.Hist.1.79, referring not to eastern but to Sarmatian cataphracts (impetu hostium provolutis inhabile ad resurgendum). Presumably on the same line is Amm.Marc.16.12.22, where cataphracts thrown from their horses (after Germans have stabbed the horses in their bellies) are "levi negotio trucidandum." Curtius calls them simply "graves" (3.11.15).

ἧπα τοὺς μηροὺς : the only place where the cataphract was not fully armoured; cf.9.15.3 μόνους τοὺς μηροὺς ... διαστελλόμενος.

τοῦ χειραγωγήσοντος ἀμοιρήσας : for Heliodoros' use of the rare word ἀμοιρέω compare 2.17.4 τοῦ ... ἄρχοντος ἀμοιροῦσιν.

9.18.3

ἕωθεν μόνον ἐπλησίαζον : μόνον is disregarded or misinterpreted by translators. It is to be taken closely with ἕωθεν, not with ἐπλησίαζον (cf.Lamb's "when they were only approaching"). The context makes clear that the Seres wait until the last minute before running back to the elephants; the confusion among the cataphracts could easily have been avoided if the riders had had time to rein in their horses; it is the effect of the elephants suddenly revealed at close quarters which so frightens them. The strategem simply would not work if the horses saw the elephants from a distance.

This tactic of keeping the elephants hidden and then revealing them suddenly is also described in Luc.Zeuxis 9ff.;

the effect is equally overwhelming.

9.18.4

σὺ τε γὰρ ἵπποι etc: it was the stock response of horses to be afraid of elephants, and wherever horses and elephants come into contact it occurs. It is not only the appearance of the creature but its trumpetings and its smell which horses appear to have found so upsetting. The ancients exploited this fact, and sometimes even added to the elephant's naturally awesome looks by daubing its hide with brightly coloured paint (Plut.Eumen.11) or even gold and silver (Flor.2.8).

For descriptions of the panic caused by elephants, see, for example, Curt.8.14.22, Luc.Zeux.9ff., Plut.Pyrrh.17, Polyain.Strat.4.21, Ampelius 16, Liv.44.5, Amm.Marc.25.1.14, Flor.1.18, Arr.Anab.5.11.4, Veget.3.24.

[ξενίζουτι τῆς θέας] : these words are deleted by RL, presumably because as they stand they appear to present a hopeless tautology. However, they are unnatural words for a scribal gloss, and it is difficult to see how else they could have come to be interpolated into all extant manuscripts. It is in fact necessary to emend τῆς θέας to τὴν θέαν ; compare 6.14.4 βαρβάρους τε καὶ ξενίζουσι τὴν ἀκοὴν ὀνόμασι. It is easy to see how τὴν θέαν could have been attracted into the genitive by the neighbouring participle ἐπαφερούσης , especially if the scribe had become lost in the ramshackle structure of the sentence.

As for the tautology, it would be difficult to argue that Heliodoros is never pleonastic, and in any case it may be possible here to glimpse a distinction between the horrible aspect of the elephants and their sheer bulk, which combine to scare the horses. The sentence is admittedly rather rambling, but it is syntactically correct and I can see no cogent reason for making RL's excision.

9.13.5

ὅτι τε ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων κατὰ τοὺς πύργους etc: these towers are discussed by Armandi (Histoire militaire des éléphants, p.259ff.). Different classical authors present different totals for the number of men on each tower: Heliodoros has six, Aelian three plus a driver (Nat.Anim.13.9 cf.Strab. 15.1.22), while the Amarâ-Cocha has four (quoted by Armandi loc.cit.). This figure receives backing from Plin.Nat.Hist.8.22, where it is implied that twenty elephants were carrying sixty fighters. According to Liv.37.40, the Syrians normally had four men per tower. Statements putting the total of men higher seem impossible. Philostratos (Vit.Apoll.2.6) gives a figure of ten or fifteen men, and 1 Macc.6.37 of thirty, perhaps through a corruption of Δ to Λ; it is significant that Josephos, while copying from Maccabees, does not take over that figure (Ant.Jud.12.371).

Armandi solves the problem by the application of Gallic common sense (p.262). He estimates that the maximum load an elephant can carry is between 2000 and 2500 lbs. Allowing

for the armour on the elephant itself (Hld.9.18.8), and for the necessity of preserving the animal's mobility, this would fix a practical weight of around 1000-1200 lbs., that is about four to six men. More modern accounts support this figure (again quoted by Armandi): in 1507 Vicenzo talks of three or four men on an elephant in Calcutta, and in 1570 Federici gave the same number; at the end of the fifteenth century Louis Barthema talks of six, and in the middle of the seventeenth two Dutchmen, van Schouten and van der Hagen, talk of four with a maximum of six; after the introduction of firearms, Mandelslo and Vincent le Blanc have only three or four on each beast. Besides the weight consideration, the warriors on the elephant's back must have enough room to manipulate their weapons.

Exactly what these towers looked like is not clear. Snowden (op.cit.p.224 pl.82) shows a Pompeian terracotta of an elephant with a tower roughly the same height as the elephant and held in position by three chains. The scale of the model is very inconsistent and the tower is unmanned, and does not look large enough to carry more than one man. Snowden also refers (p.297 n.9) to a Villa Giulia vase showing a tower-bearing elephant ridden by two warriors and a driver (C.Q.Giglioli: CVA, Italia: Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia in Roma; Fasc.III, IV B.9, plate3, 1-3, no.23949).

<u>νέφους φαντασιών</u>: one is reminded of Hdt.7.220, where the

Persian arrows are said to be so numerous as to hide the sun. Eustathios cites the passage with νέφος instead of πλῆθος. We do not know when this reading came into being, or whether it was just a slip of Eustathios' memory, but there remains a possibility that Heliodoros intended his echo of Herodotos here to be stronger than it actually is.

9.18.6

οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων πολεμοῦντες : ie the Ethiopians were not fighting as if the enemy presented any danger to them; they were completely secure in their towers, and able to treat the battle as if it were an archery contest.

καθάπερ αὐλοὺς τοὺς ὀστοῦς : it is hard to assess the tone of this bizarre and somewhat gruesome simile. I suspect that Heliodoros intended it as a comic touch. It certainly serves no defining function, no simile being necessary to put across the author's meaning, and it does nothing to increase the stature of the action or to give it a general application . Possibly, then, the incongruity of the homely simile and the object of its application was humourously intended. The point of the simile is that the Greek αὐλός consisted of two tubes held at an angle to each other, and played with one hand on each barrel; see for example the fluting satyr on the Cleophrades Painter's great pointed amphora showing Dionysos with satyrs and maenads, Munich Museum 2344. The arrows sticking out of the cataphract's

eyes are conceived as being aimed like the two barrels of a flute.

τοὺς ἱστοὺς ... προβεβλημένους : for the perfect passive of προβάλλω with this accusative, compare 9.19.3, Diod.17.100, Luc.Dial.Mort.27.4.

9.13.7

εἰ δέ τινας etc: this sentence needs a comma after ἐνέβαλλον; the conditional clause ends here and κατακηλίσκοντο is the main verb. Heliodoros is talking of those cataphracts who have not been shot in the eyes by the Ethiopians: they are killed in one of two ways, either by the elephants, or by the soldiers who have been protected behind the elephants. With this punctuation, Hirschig's alteration of ὑπεξαγαγόντες to ὑπεξήγαγον becomes unnecessary, besides the fact that it upsets the sense of the sentence.

It is difficult to see the force of the double prepositional prefix of ὑπεξαγαγόντες; it must mean "out from under" the hail of arrows, but nevertheless in the direction of the elephants.

κατανηλίσκοντο : for the compound καταναλίσκω in the sense of "kill", cf.Euseb.Vit.Const.4.11 (=PG.20.1160b) and Malalas (CSHP.23.466.6). The simple form ἀναλίσκω is more commonly used with this meaning; cf.Thuc.3.65, Eur.Electr.681, etc.

ἀνερευγόμενοι καὶ πατούμενοι: the classic ways in which elephants killed were by trampling, goring or tossing.

Thus Diod.2.19.5ff., describing the rout of Semiramis' army by a force of Indian elephants: τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑποκυπτόντων, τῶν δὲ τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἀναστκιζομένων, ἐνίων δὲ ταῖς προβοσκίσιν ἀναρριπτομένων. The considerable MSS divergence revealed by RL's apparatus indicates that there was some doubt early on about the reading here. ἀνερευγόμενα, the reading of Z as printed by both RL and Colonna, cannot be right; LSJ define ἀνερεύγω as "throw up, disgorge" or "discharge itself (of a river)", and I cannot see how in any of these senses it can be applied to an elephant dealing with a cataphract. We must look for a word to denote tossing; this was the solution of Coraes, who suggested ἀνερεκτόμενα (by which he presumably meant ἀνερειπτόμενα), but this does not convey any sense of injury necessary to make the parallel with πατούμενα.

The problem is also tackled by Wifstrand (op.cit.p.36/104); he suggests that ἀναιρούμενα of V and ἀνατρεπόμενα of MP are scribal attempts to correct an incomprehensible tradition. His solution is to read ἀναρρηγνύμενα, which could easily have been corrupted into ἀνερευγόμενα.

The most obvious solution would be ἀναρριπτούμενα, but it is hard to see why such a straightforward verb should have presented so much difficulty. For this reason I am inclined to support Wifstrand's conjecture as the best available remedy.

ὑπό τε τῶν Σηρῶν ὑπό τε τῶν Βλεμμύων: if we allow the text

to stand we must convict Heliodoros of a serious lapse. The Blemmyes have already performed their function by stabbing the cataphracts' horses from beneath (9.18.1-2). They are not therefore in a position to join the Seres in making sallies from behind the elephants. The fault is more than usually serious because it is clear that otherwise the author has taken some pains to assign each of the exotic peoples a clear and distinct rôle in the battle. However, the necessary emendation would require a complicated explanation of how the error arose. It is easy enough to suppose that a scribe wrote Βλεμμύων instead of Σηρῶν out of sheer absent-mindedness, that the error was solemnly noted as a variant and later introduced into the text; the difficulty lies in the two τε's. Excision of ὑπό τε τῶν Βλεμμύων leaves the first τε as it were suspended. One would have to suppose that both particles were added when the variant was incorporated into the text, but the simple mind of a scribe capable of such a thing would surely have preferred the more common form τε ... καί.

I must confess that I can see no way around the difficulty, but I should dearly like to see the Blemmyes removed from a context to which they do not belong.

τοὺς μὲν ... ἐώσαχούντων, τοὺς δὲ ... ᾠθούντων: note again how the parallelism of participial cola is reinforced by a pronounced rhyme.

καὶὰ συμπλόκων: another common way of dealing with cataphracts

was to knock or pull them off their horses and then finish them off on the ground. Thus Vegetius describes them as "laquois frequenter obnoxii" (3.23), and in the passage of Plutarch (Crass.25) which furnished a parallel to the Blemmyan method (cf.my note on 9.18.1), we find a significant phrase, συμπλεκόμενοι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἐώθουν. It therefore seems clear that Heliodoros was acquainted with Plutarch's description of the battle of Carrhae.

9.18.8

πέφρακται μὲν καὶ σιδήρῳ etc: according to Armandi (op.cit.p.25(ff.), elephants were often given some armour-plating, and were occasionally completely covered. He refers to Hist.Bell.Afr.72 and 96, and to a passage in Arrian's Tactica which I have been unable to trace, as well as to the elephants depicted on Caesarian coinage.

πρὸς τὴν φύσεως τὴν δορὰν ἐστόμωται: compare Cassiodorus' Var.Lib.10 Epist.30 (=PL.69.319) "cutis huius ulcerosis vallibus exaratur (a qua transportantorum nefanda passio nomen accepit), quae in tantam duritiam solidatur, ut putes esse osseam cutem. haec nulla vi transmittitur, nullo ferri acumine penetratur, ideoque Persarum reges hanc beluam ad bella traxerunt, quae et nullis ictibus pulsata cederet, et adversarios sua mole terreret."

στερεμνίων φολίδος: the elephant is not of course covered in scales, as Coraes also noticed. The question is whether

Heliodoros really thought that it was, or whether he is using the word loosely to describe the wrinkled and hard skin of an elephant. Corsee appears to opt for the second solution, but I can see no reason why we should not take Heliodoros' words at their face value. Cassiodorus, quoted above, found it quite possible to describe an elephant's hide without importing the idea of scaliness. I think that Heliodoros was genuinely mistaken here, and perhaps thought that an elephant's skin was like that of, for example, a crocodile, to which his words would certainly be more applicable. This argument is not affected by the fact that Heliodoros uses φολίς of a giraffe's spots at 10.27.1.

I have not been able to find any other instance of this error in classical authors, but the terracotta statuette of a tower-bearing elephant from Pompeii (see my note on 9.13.5) is covered with a lozenge pattern scratched into the clay. Whether this is a stylistic representation of armour or an attempt to render the animal's skin I am not sure. If it is the latter, it is certainly more reminiscent of a scale pattern than of wrinkles.

τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐπιτρεχούσης : for ἐπιτρέχω with the accusative, cf.10.21.2; M reads ἐπιφανεῖ - cf.1.2.5 for the dative.

τῷ ἀντιτύπῳ; cf.9.15.3, ἀντίτυπόν τε βελῶν χρῆμα καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν τροπὴν ἀπομαχόμενον.

9.19.1

τὸ μὲν ἅρμα etc: this incident could be expected to recall to the reader the flight of Dareios at the battle of Gaugamela; compare for example Plut.Alex.33.8: Δαρεῖος ... ἀπολέίπει μὲν τὸ ἅρμα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, θήλειαν δ'ὡς φασι νεοτόκον ἵππον περιβὰς ἤλαυνεν. The battle of Gaugamela is described by Arrian at Anab.3.14-5, and here too Dareios is the first to flee (3.14.3), and later his chariot is captured, together with τὰ χρήματα and ἡ κατασκευὴ πᾶσα (3.15.5). This resemblance to the Alexander historians is more than coincidental: Heliodoros has actually modelled this motif in his narrative on the Gaugamela episode. We must be careful, however, not to overstate the case and see, with Feuillâtre, a sustained pattern of borrowing motifs from the histories of Cyros and Alexander (see esp.p.136ff. of Feuillâtre's book). Most of the correspondences adduced by Feuillâtre are on minor or general points which could have been found in many sources; compare my notes on 9.12.3.

In the present case, Heliodoros' reliance on the Alexander histories may be confirmed by the appearance of another motif found in Arrian's description of the battle of Gaugamela, that of half of the battle-line continuing to fight in ignorance of its leader's flight (Arr.Anab.3.14.4-5 cf.9.19.1.)

ἵππου δὲ τῶν Νισαίων: this is certainly the correct reading, as against M's Νυσαίων (printed by Colonna) or P's Νησαίων There is an extensive list of the occurrences of Nisaian

horses in classical authors. Nisaia was the name of a plain in Media where these fine horses roamed wild: compare Hdt.3.106, 7.40, 9.20; Arr.Anab.7.13.1; Steph.Pyz.sv.Νησαῖον πεδίον. They were used by Antiochos (Polyb.30.25.6). Aristotle clearly knew of them as the best type of horse, because he chooses a Nisaian horse to compare with a camel in terms of speed (Hist.Anim.632a31); compare Dio Chrys.3.130, where it is said that Nisaian horses surpass the Thessalian kind. According to Dio Chrys.26.41, the Magi had a team of Nisaian horses sacred to Zeus which were the finest horses in all Asia, and Photios (Bibl.cod.243) records that the inhabitants of the Nisaian plain sacrificed these horses to the sun. Polyb.5.44.1 talks of royal horses in the care of Medes, no doubt a reference to Nisaian horses; see also Polyb.10.27.1. According to Arr.post Alex.Frag.22, Nisaian horses headed Alexander's funeral procession. Of especial interest here is a fragment of Iamblichos' Babyloniaca (Frag.1 Habrich), which describes Nisaian horses in the procession of the king of Babylon.

The breed had come to be considered as the type for fine horses. Thus Chariton (6.4.2) has the Persian king riding one to court; Luc.Quomodo hist.conscrib.sit 39 says that an historian cannot hope to be factual if he is receiving a Nisaian horse as payment (a jibe at Ctesias); Themistios twice uses the name as part of the archetypal trappings of richness: having a chariot drawn by Nisaian horses does

not make a man a god (Or.19.22(a), and he would prefer friendship to a Nisaian horse or a Celtic dog etc. (Or.22.266a); compare Jul.Or.2.50d.

The exact position of Nisaia is unclear. Hesychios (sv.Νησαίους ἵππους) places it between Susiana and Pactria; the Suda (sv.Νισαίον) says that some place it in Persia and others in Media. Strab.11.3.7 places it below the Caspian Gates, but adds that some say that the horses were bred in Armenia (cf.11.14.9). Max.Tyr.33.4a (=p.384 Hobein) says that they came from Media. The problem is discussed at some length by Hanslick in Pauly-Wissowa, who suggests that Nisaia should be identified with the Nisaja of the Behistun inscription (30).

9.19.2

ἐξ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κινναμωμοφόρου: cf.my note on 9.16.2.

W.Capelle (Rheinisches Museum 96, 1953, p.166ff.) argues that these people are the same as the Ascitae of Plin.Nat.Hist.6.176 and Juba Frag.42M. This becomes part of a larger argument that in such matters of anthropological detail Heliodoros shares a source with several other classical writers. This source, he argues, is Artemidoros, who is in turn using Agatharchides. However, as regards the people of the land of cinnamon, I think that Capelle is overstating his case. We should note that the natives in each case do not even have the same name. Moreover, the people that

Pliny (and therefore his source) is describing are pirates at sea, and the only ethnological detail they have in common with Heliodoros' men from the land of cinnamon is that they use poisoned arrows. This is not sufficient for us to agree with Capelle in postulating a common source. This whole passage of Heliodoros is a rather "romantic" one; the battle includes Ethiopians, Trogodytes and Seres, and one wonders whether these soldiers from the κινναμωμόφορος are not just another item of the exotic furniture. In fact, Heliodoros' description of their fighting technique does not imply a very deep knowledge; they fight in the archetypal barbarian fashion (ἀπεστραμμένοις εἰς τοὐπίσω τοὺς τόξοις), for which we may compare a host of classical references: Virg.Georg.3.31, Hor.Od.1.19.11f., id.2.13.18, Plut.Crass.24 etc.

It may be that I am doing Capelle an injustice: in the article referred to he promised a forthcoming study on the ethnographical motif of poisoned arrows, but, as far as I can discover, this was never published.

There seems little point in here quoting a long list of passages where reference is made to the use of poisoned arrows. Such a list may be found in F.Lammert's article in Pauly-Wissowa (sv.Pfeil col.1427). Most of Lammert's references are to various botanical poisons, but the use of snake venom is attested by ps.-Arist.de mirab.ausc.845a1, where Scythians are said to mix it with human blood plasma; see also Ael.Hist.Anim.9.15, Plin.Nat.Hist.11.53.

Theophrastos (Hist.Plant. 9.15.2) talks of Ethiopia:
ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ γὰρ ἡ τοὺς ὀιστοὺς χρίουσι ῥίζα τίς ἐστι θανατηφόρος.
According to Hort ad loc. in the Loeb edition, this is accurate and the poisonous root is Somali arrow-poison or Acokanthera Schimperi. Thus Heliodoros is not totally accurate even by the canons of ancient knowledge.

Finally, in view of Capelle's theory, it is worth quoting a passage of Agatharchides (de mar.erythr.1.19). It will be apparent that there are several points of similarity to Heliodoros but none to Pliny apart from the poisoned arrows. Note also that Agatharchides talks simply of Ethiopians, not of men from the Κινναμωμοφόρος (though this of course might be a detail lost in the abridgment), and that the poison is not specified as snake venom. Thus, while Capelle's conclusion that Heliodoros is here relying directly or indirectly on Agatharchides is probably true, he is not correct in his notions of Heliodoros' relationship to other authors, at least in this instance: χρῶνται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κινδύνων τῶν πολεμικῶν Αἰθίοπες τοῖς μὲν τόξοις μεγάλοις, βραχέσι δὲ τοῖς ὀιστοῖς· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ καλάμου κερκίδος ἀντὶ τοῦ σιδήρου παραμήκης τῷ τύπῳ λίθος ἀνεστήρικται, νεύροις ἐσφιγμένος, ὀξὺς μὲν ὑπερβολῇ, φαρμάκοις δὲ θανασίμοις βεβαμμένος.

θεινῶν πλεξοῦντες : the form πλεκῶ is found in Homer and Herodotos, and appears with some frequency in late Greek; cf.Polyb.3.74.2, 11.33.3, Plut.Thes.6, id.Alc.2.

ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος προσθάνοντες etc: it is noteworthy that in the description of the battle Heliodoros nowhere mentions the Trogodytes said to be positioned on the left of Hydaspes' army together with οἳ τῇ καννααμωμοφόρῳ πρόσουκοι at 9.16.2. The tactics adopted by the tribesmen anpear to utilise characteristics of the Trogodytes, notably their speed, for which compare my notes on 9.16.2.

οἱ μὲν ταῖς σφενδόναις ... οἱ δὲ μικροῖς ... βέλεσιν ... ὀξύν τινα καὶ ἀκότομον θάνατον ἐπέφερον: note that the main verb ἐπέφερον syntactically belongs with both wings of the οἱ μὲν ... οἱ δὲ contrast, but its sense is confined to those shooting poisoned arrows. The slingers are no doubt doing their share of killing, but the description of an ὀξύν τινα καὶ ἀκότομον θάνατον unmistakably conveys the effects of poison.

9.19.3

οἱ τῆς καννααμωμοφόρου etc: here Heliodoros seems to be more in accord both with Greco-Roman belief and with actuality. Lucian (de salt.18) ascribes both the σατυρικὸν σκίρτημα and the head-band for holding arrows to Ethiopians in general. There is clearly a common source behind these two authors, and the likelihood is that it is once more Agatharchides, probably via Artemidoros. Note especially the similarity between τοὺς δὲ ἀκίδας οἷον ἀκτῖνας (Hld.) and περιδέοντες ἀμῇ (sc. τῇ κεφαλῇ) ἀκτινηδὸν τὰ βέλη (Lucian). The head-dress

also occurs in two passages of Claudian. In one (de tertio consulatu Honorii 13ff.) it is Meroe that is said to practise this method of fighting: ... et positis numen confessa pharetris

ignavas Meroe traxit de crine sagittas.

This I take to be no more than a poetic synonym for Ethiopia. In the other passage (Nilus 20-3) a "gens compositis crinem velata sagittis" is mentioned as one of a list of peoples who drink the Nile's waters. Thus Heliodoros is the only author who fixes these tribesmen actually in the κινναμωμοφόρος, and it rather looks as if this was his own touch of exoticism. In 10.26.2 the ambassador of the Blemmyes presents Hydaspes with a gift of τόξα τε καὶ βελῶν ἀκίδας ἐκ δρακοντείων ὀστῶν εἰς στέφανον διαπλέξασα, and this is clearly part of the same tradition that is manifest in the present section. But the fact that Heliodoros can apply the same traditional material to two peoples, the difference between whom he had made quite clear during the course of the battle, suggests that the original tradition had a much less specific application, and that Heliodoros is using it not as a means of instructing his readers but in order to give a dimension of verisimilitude to his romantic world.

Troops are represented wearing this type of head-band on the frieze on the south side of the Arch of Constantine in Rome. (The best photographs are in A.Giuliano's Arco di Costantino p.37-8) There is a discussion of these by H.P.l'Orange (Symbolae Osloenses 13, 1934, p.105ff.). They

are clearly depicted as Africans, their tufty hair being a very individual feature within the somewhat restricted stylistic vocabulary of the arch. From l'Orange's historical discussion it emerges that these African archers are Severus' Mauretanian troops who went over to the rebel Maxentius; thus in AD 312 Maxentius had Mauretanian soldiers in his army in Italy, and this was strengthened by reinforcements from Africa after the fall of Severus and Alexander (see Lactant. de mort.persec.44). After Constantine defeated Maxentius, soldiers from the beaten army were taken over into Constantine's own army, and thus they will have been present, as shown on the frieze, at the siege of Verona and the battle of the Milvian Bridge. The greatest geographical precision about their land of origin is that they were Mauretanians, but this is too vague and need not be incompatible with the earlier literary tradition about Ethiopia. Snowden (op.cit.p.143) suggests that Diocletian's settlements on the southern frontier of the province of Egypt would have facilitated the recruitment of auxiliaries in the area.

τὰς δὲ ἀκίδας ἕδον ἀκτῖνας : note the deliberate jingling effect.

2.19.4

θαυμαστὸν σκίρτημα: for the dancing in battle compare the Lucian passage (de salt.13) quoted ad loc. by RL. The phrase is intended to denote a very wild and frenzied type of

movement. Compare 10.17.3, where an almost identical phrase is used.

λυγιζόμενός τε καὶ καμπτόμενος: for the conjunction of these words compare Ael.Nat.Anim.2.11. The accusative σκέρτημα stands in a cognate relationship to these two passive participles.

ἀπὸ γυμνοῦ τοῦ σώματος etc: this is reminiscent of remarks made about the Blemmyes by Mamertius (XII.Paneg.Lat.11.17.4): Blemyes illi, ut audio, levibus modo adsueti sagittis adversus Aethiopas quaerunt arma quae non habent et paene nudis odiis proelia interneciva committunt. If we may make the connection, this is further evidence of the confusion surrounding the attribution of these ethnographical details.

ὀστοῦν γὰρ ὄφεως : cf. the gift of the Blemmyes to Hydaspes at 10.26.2, where only the tips of the arrows are said to be made of snake bone. Heliodoros' idea that snake bones could be a cubit in length would produce some rather inflexible snakes. In the passage of Agatharchides quoted as a parallel in my note on 9.19.2, the arrows are not made of snake bone but from reeds. Assuming, as argued, that Agatharchides was Heliodoros' ultimate source for his anthropological information, the snake bone arrows would seem to be an exotic touch of his own, perhaps suggested by (rather than suggesting) the etymology put forward at the end of this section.

τὸ μὲν ἄλλο εἰς τὸν πῆχυν τοῦ βέλους ἀπευθύνει: note the somewhat recherché word order: τοῦ βέλους belongs closely with τὸ μὲν ἄλλο.

The text would be rather easier if πῆχυς could be used of the shaft of an arrow. Unfortunately there are no other examples of such a usage, although the part of a bow on which the arrow rests was so called: cf. Hom.Od.22.419 with the scholiast.

τὰ δὲ ἄκρα πρὸς τὸ ἀκμαιότατον ἀποξέσας : the assonance disposes Heliodoros towards using ἀκμαῖος in an unusual way, directly connected with the primary meaning of ἀκμή, "point, edge." I have been unable to find any other example of ἀκμαῖος meaning "sharp", but it is impossible to make sense of the present passage unless we allow the word that meaning.

Consciously or not, Heliodoros has used a great deal of assonance in this section: note all the ἀπο - compounds ἀφελών ... ἀπευθύνει ... ἀποξέσας ... ἀπεργάζεται. Compare 9.17.2 and perhaps 9.19.3 for such a saturation of a context by a single prepositional prefix.

αὐτογλώχινα : the word occurs only here.

τάχα που καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀστῶν οὕτω παρωνομασμένον : this extremely dubious etymology is found only in Heliodoros, and the tentativeness of the suggestion (τάχα που καὶ ...) indicates that it is his own. ὀστός is normally derived from ὀστέον (thus the Etymologium Magnum). Heliodoros' etymology is always fanciful; compare 3.14.3, where Ὅμηρος is derived from μῆρος, and 9.22.6, where a complicated number symbolism is discovered in Νεῖλος.

2.19.5

συνεστήκεισαν : Coraes corrected this to the more Attic form in -ῶσαν, but RL rightly choose not to force total Attic purity on Heliodoros. They compare 3.16.7, where κατεστήκεισαν is read by all primary manuscripts.

τῇ συναστιδίῳ: for the interlocking of shields used by Egyptian soldiers in battle, cf. Xen.Cyr.7.1.33. Their desperate bravery is also reflected in this same passage of Xenophon (see 7.1.41ff.). Feuillâtre suggests that there may be an element here borrowed from the Cyros legends, where it is again the Egyptians who hold out against the victor in a hopeless situation. In general, however, the reminiscence does not seem to be strong or specific enough to recall the Xenophon passage to a reader's mind.

ἀντέκοντο : the middle form as found in the generally more reliable VZ is not impossible; RL, in their apparatus, compare Plat.Rep.578b. See also Diod.4.49.

κένοδοξοῦντες : the word is frequently found in patristic writers; cf. Tat.Or.12 (=PG.6.832c), Orig.in Cels.3.74 (=PG.11.1629a), and other references, especially from St.John Chrysostom, in Lampe's Patristic Lexicon.

τιμωρίαν ὑποταξίου : cf. Plat.Laws 943d, Dem.21.103 (γράφη ὑποταξίου); also Lys.14.5.

Note too how Heliodoros has renounced authorial omniscience; his affected uncertainty as to the Egyptians' motives underlines his historiographical pose.

The possibility of severe punishment accords well with Groendates' reluctance to make an unconditional surrender at 9.6.5-6.

9.20.1

τὴν μεγίστην τοῦ πολέμου χεῖρα : this use of χείρ seems the same as that found in 9.14.2; see my notes ad loc. The expression in this case will be something of a zeugma; μεγίστην denotes not purely physical size, since the cataphracts would have been outnumbered by the infantry, but strategic importance.

It is tempting to see a more abstract sense in χείρ, making an easier pair with ἐλπίς, but the only possible parallel I have been able to find for such an expression (ἁπλῆσιν διανοίαις χερί at Euseb.Hist.Eccl.10.4.26'=PG.20.837a) does not really justify such an interpretation here.

τούς τε Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν πολυθρυλήτους ὁπλίτας : a very eloquent use of a shift in point of view, which conjures up all the attitudes of a subject people towards their conquerors. For the Medes and Persians see 9.14.2: they are not said there to be πολυθρύλητοι; it is only when viewed through the jealousy engendered in the Egyptians that they become so.

οὔτε τι ... ἀλλ' ἐλάφα : thus all manuscripts except the unimportant T. The unclassical arrangement is supported by an identical one at 4.3.3. (Note that this reference is given wrongly in RL's apparatus.) Bekker's atticising emendation οὐ or οὐδέν is unnecessary.

τῶν ἐκ Μερόης etc: cf.9.16.2.

οὔτοι προτροπάδην : a variant reading occurs in two late manuscripts, the fifteenth-century F and the sixteenth-century

T. For F and its relationship to T see R.M.Rattenbury: Codex Laurentianus Graecus lxx.36; CQ 23 (1929) p.100ff. Rattenbury argues that both of these manuscripts derive from an annotated manuscript, and have incorporated into the text marginal comments, conjectural emendations, "parallels or embellishments" which they found in their common parent. The present variant would presumably be classified as an embellishment. It is difficult to make much sense of the extra words presented by FT, and the fact that they differ from each other (ἐναύλων F, ἐναντίων T) suggests that we are here dealing with an obscure marginal note or superscription. It certainly has no place in the text of Heliodoros, involving as it does the emphatic καὶ αὐτὸς being taken as a merely conjunctive phrase.

9.20.2

ἀπὸ σκοπῆς τοῦ πύργου : as HL suggest, this is intended to be the tower on one of the elephants. They compare 9.16.3, ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πυργοφόρους ἐλέφαντας and 9.22.2, ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἅρματος τοῦ ἐλέφαντος.

τοῦ μὲν φονεύειν ἀπέχεσθαι ... καὶ πρὸ πάντων τὸν Ὀροονλάτην : this order serves a double purpose. Hydaspes' humanity is revealed in action, and a chain of motivation is laid preparatory to the capture of Oroondates at 9.20.5.

9.20.3

παρεκτείνοντες γὰρ ἐπ' ἀσπίδα etc: this ought, of course, to mean "to the left", but in the context this would be nonsensical. It is directly contradicted by what follows (εἰς μῆκος ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπαιωρούντες), and in any case it is obviously impossible to surround an enemy by extending one's own line only to the left. Although one is justified in not having a great deal of confidence in Heliodoros' knowledge of strategy, such an immediate contradiction is rather too blatant to be accepted, although no editor appears to have seen any difficulty.

A most interesting solution was suggested to me by Mrs.S.R.West, namely that Heliodoros wrote ἐπ' ἀσπίδας (s x), where x represents a numeral that has fallen out of the text. Such a phrase would fit nicely with παρεκτείνοντες cf.Polyb.1.26.15, ἐπὶ μίαν παρεκτείνοντες ναῦν. The passage would then mean "stretching out their line until it was x shields deep."

τὰ ... κεραίας ἐπιστρέψαντες: κεραία is not regularly used as a substitute for κέρας in the sense of a wing of a battle-line. I have been unable to find any other example earlier than the Byzantine historian Theophylactos; cf. Theophyl.Hist.2.3 (=CSHB 46.70) and ibid.2.5 (=CSHB.46.74)

ὑπέλειπον: KL's own conjecture. The MSS agree on ὑπελείποντο, which Coraes suggested should be read ὑπελίποντο. Since all the MSS are descended from one sub-archetype, their unanimity

does not present too much of a problem; we have already had occasion to remark on Heliodoros' loose use of past narrative tenses, and there is no need to produce an aorist to match συνήλασαν earlier in the sentence. The one criterion should be whether the middle is objectionable or not. Given Heliodoros' freedom in the use of tenses and voices, I would not have thought the middle impossible here.

9.20.4

ἁρπαγηφόρων ἁρμάτων: these have not been mentioned before; compare 9.14.3, where only Oroondates himself is said to be in a scythed chariot. The implication of the description of the Persian line of battle in 9.14.2-3 is that apart from the cataphract cavalry it is composed entirely of infantry, apart from Oroondates' solitary chariot. The inconsistency is easily forgiven; it results from a habit of constructing successive situations as vividly as possible. Thus Heliodoros is concerned to make the Persian confusion as chaotic as he can, and so introduces chariots.

σὺν πολλῷ: this phrase is discussed by Rattenbury in CQ 21 (1927) p.53f. It occurs also at 2.3.5 and 10.9.5. It is the reading of the best MSS in each case, and where a word is added to expand the sense there is no unanimty as to what that word should be. The reading is secure: if there had been another word in the archetype to complete the phrase, it is strange that it has been omitted by all families

of MSS in three cases; if there was no explaining word in the archetype, we must either believe that the archetype made the same mistake all three times that the phrase occurs - which is incredible - or that the phrase τὸν πολλῷ is acceptable as it stands. Its status is shown most clearly at 10.9.5, where it is obviously an adverbial phrase parallel to εἰς καιρόν. Rattenbury concludes that the phrase "is practically equivalent to the adverbial use of πολύ" and "takes colour from the context". He was unable to cite any parallels for this use of σὺν πολλῷ from other writers, but explains the formation by reference to a) the common practice of making an adverbial phrase by combining σύν with a noun (thus eg. σὺν δίκῃ = δικαίως), the use of πολύ as a noun making this easier; b) the similar use of σὺν μεγάλῳ at Hom.Il.4.161.

πρὸς ἐναντίου σφίσιν : Coraes' obvious correction of the MSS πρὸς ἐναντίους. For πρὸς ἐναντίου cf.6.15.5.

τὸ μὴν κυκλωθῆναι ... ἀποτειχίσαι: note the recurrence of this rather unexpected vocabulary from 9.16.1, where Oroondates' stratagem is described.

κατὰ νώτων ποιήσαι: queried by Coraes, who thought that the normal Greek would have been πεποιημένος, especially after 9.16.1, κατὰ νώτων ἀεὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ποιούμενος . The active form could well have been chosen from Heliodorus' love of parallelism reinforced by rhymed participles: καταδείσαις ... ποιήσας ... ἀποτειχίσας .

3.20.5

Ἀχαιμένους τοῦ Κυβέλης παιδὸς : this is certainly the correct form of his name despite Nicetas Eugenianos 6.339, where he is referred to as Archemanes, perhaps to fit the metre. The correct form is given by Philippos (Theophanes Cerameus) in his Commentatio ad Charicleam , no.XIII in Colonna's Testimonia (= p.365ff. of his edition).

This incident shows a scrupulousness in literary construction which is curiously at odds with the author's carelessness in technical detail. Achaimenes was necessary to the plot only for a short while in the seventh and eighth books, and once Theagenes and Charicleia had escaped from Arsace and were on their way to Ethiopia, Achaimenes no longer had any germane part to play. The situation at Memphis can no longer have any effect on the fate of the central pair. There was, however, a narrative situation which was not fully completed, Achaimenes' machinations against Arsace, involving informing Oroondates of his wife's misdoings. Heliodoros shows remarkable structural economy in disposing of this subplot, by making Achaimenes' death a crucial factor in the more immediate concern of Oroondates' capture and self-justification. He clearly felt that more was needed than the bald statement that Oroondates was taken prisoner, in fact that he needed to explain how this took place. There is nothing forced about his solution: Achaimenes has the motive to try to assassinate his satrap, and the

Ethiopian soldier is furnished with a motive to prevent him from doing so.

ἅπαντα ... τὰ κατὰ τὴν Μέμφιν etc: Achaimenes loves Charicleia and wants to have her for his wife; when his desires are thwarted by Theagenes (7.26.4ff.), he rides off to Oroondates and tells him of Arsace's infatuation with Theagenes, and inflames him with passion for Charicleia, hoping to have her for himself later (8.2.2). Oroondates sends Pagoas to Memphis, and Theagenes and Charicleia are removed. What Achaimenes has learned and what has caused him to change his plans is that Arsace has committed suicide (8.15.2). We must presume that Achaimenes is afraid either that Oroondates will hold him responsible for Arsace's death, or that the satrap will take Charicleia to wife in her place (cf.8.15.4), thus depriving Achaimenes of all hope.

τῶν ἐλέγχων προδιεφθαρμένων: the evidence was destroyed not only with the death of Arsace but with that of her servant, Cybele (8.7.7-8.3), and with the capture of Pagoas, Theagenes and Charicleia by the Ethiopians (8.16.1ff.).

τρῶσαι δὲ καιρίαν ἀποτυχόντος : note yet another example of Heliodoros' freedom with infinitive constructions.

For καιρίαν compare 5.32.2, καιρίᾳ (καιρίαν, Hirschig) βεβλημένος. The feminine noun omitted would be either πλήγην or τρῶσιν. RL suggest in their note on 5.32.2 (Vol.2 p.30 n.1) that there is a reminiscence of Aes.Agam.1343-5; but there is nothing very close, and similar phrases may be found

at Hdt.3.64, Xen.Cyr.5.4.5, Di d.4.16, Polyb.2.33.3, Hdn.1.15.6, 4.13.2 etc.

For the cognate accusative with τιτρώσκω see eg.Eur. Phoen.1431, id.Supp.1205.

9.20.6

περισώζειν, ὡς προὐτέτακτο, βουλομένου: cf.Hydaspes' orders at 9.20.2.

χαλινακτήσαντος ... τὸ ἄδικον: χαλιναγωγέω is found in a large variety of constructions, but rarely with a direct object, and then nearly always with a neuter pronoun; cf.Plat. Phaid.63b, id.Euthyph.4d, Luc.Prom.13, id.Dial.Deorum 15.1, id.Timon 17, id.Nigrin.24.

τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τύχης εἰς ἐχθροῦ ἄμυναν ... θηρώμενος: a rather muddled expression; the idea is that Achaimenes is making use of a general calamity (τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τύχης) to settle a private quarrel. θηράομαι here, then, has the idea of "catch, seize upon" rather than "search out, pursue". For ἄμυνα meaning "vengeance" compare Philod.de ira p.66W, Plotin.4.4.17, 6.7.10.

2.21.1

τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀχθέντα etc: Feuillâtre suggests that this incident is a reminiscence of Xen.Cyr.3.2.12ff., where Cyros shows humanity to some captured Chaldaians and has doctors treat their wounds. However, although it is tempting to add another example to our list of historical allusions, I do not feel that there is any real relationship at work here. The humanity which Cyros exhibits is of a very much more generalised and less striking kind than that of Hydaspes, and Xenophon makes little of the treatment of wounds (in fact it occupies only half of a μὲν ... δὲ antithesis, whereas Heliodoros devotes several lines to a description of Oroondates' condition.)

ψυχορραγοῦντα: originally a poetic word (cf.Eur.Alc.20, id.Her.324, Apoll.Rhod.2.333), ψυχορραγέω is found several times in prose writers of the empire: compare Dion.Hal.Ant.Rom.4.67, Plut.Mor.337a, id.Crass.27.

πολλῷ αἵματι ῥεόμενον: the hiatus is most uncomfortable. The suggestion πολλῷ ⟨πῷ⟩ αἵματι made by M.D.Reeve (CQ NS 18, 1968, p.287) should be adopted.

ἐπῳδῇ: PL compare here Hom.Od.19.457f., where the sons of Autolycos treat the wound of Odysseus with spells as well as with bandages. Pindar (Pyth.3.51) attributes the practice to Asclepios. Soph.Ajax 582 appears to imply that incantations are a quack remedy compared to the knife, and there is straightforward scepticism about their effectiveness in Hippocr.de morbo sacro 2 and Luc.Philops.9. Plato (Rep.426b)

suggests that spells were fairly common practice, at least in fifth-century medicine, but he does not seem confident of their value. See also Plin.Nat.Hist.28.21.

Belief in such remedies will have been persistent in less sophisticated social strata; compare the spell to stop the flow of blood preserved on P.Berlin 9873, printed in Preisendanz's Papyri Magicae Graecae Vol.2 p.146f. But we should not seek to link Heliodoros with any contemporary practice: the use of magic in medicine is simply one more exotic element in his romantic picture of Ethiopia.

I cannot see that RL have any justification for their final statement: "D'après Héliodore les magiciens apportent une première assistance: le traitement et les soins sont laissés aux médecins." The natural reading is that the ἰατρεύοντες of 9.22.1 are the same people who said spells over Oroondates' wounds in 9.21.1.

It is interesting that all MSS transmit the poetic form ἐπαοιδῇ rather than the more usual ἐπῳδῇ . Heliodoros perhaps intended there to be a direct reminiscence of the Homeric passage mentioned above; cf. ἐπαοιδὴ δ' αἷμα κελαινὸν / ἔσχεθον with τοῦτο ... ἐπαοιδῇ ... ἔπεσχε.

τῶν τοῦτο ἔργον πεποιημένων :"those who had made this their business"; for the perfect participle compare 9.24.5, and my notes there.

τὸ μὲν σώζεσθαι etc: compare Hydaspes' proclamation to the people of Syene at 9.6.2f.: ἔχων τε τὸ ὑμᾶς εἶναι καὶ

μὴ κατ'ἐξουσίαν . The same sententious display of clemency is present in both passages: compare 9.6.2, πολεμίους τε ἐκπορθεῖν σῖδε καὶ ἱκέτας οἰκτείρειν πέφυκε, τὸ μὲν ἀνδρεῖον τὸ δὲ φιλάνθρωπον δοκιμάζων. Compare also the sententia advanced through the author's own persona at 9.5.4: ὑπαγορεύει γὰρ τοῖς κρείττοσιν φιλανθρωπίαν πολέμιος ὑποκίπτων . In all cases the sententia is used to establish clemency as a leading feature of Hydaspes' character.

Note the characteristically parallel arrangement of the sentence with the antithetic perfect participles ἑστῶτας and πεπτωκότας each at the start of its colon, and the dative plurals providing an end rhyme μάχαις ... εὐπορίαις .

9.21.2

ὁ δὲ "πρὸς σὲ ," ἔφη, "⟨ἄπιστος⟩ πιστὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην : RL have added ἄπιστος to make the sense clear. Compare the addition of γε by Naber: πρός ⟨γε⟩ σὲ (op.cit.p.351), and by Colonna: πρὸς σέ γ', and T's rather lame insertion of μὲν ,

RL's suggestion is perhaps the most elegant, and fits in best with the very antithetical flavour of the passage, for which compare Maillon's note (p.65 n.1). The omission of ἄπιστος is palaeographically plausible, with πιστὸς following it immediately.

9.21.3

ἐ βασιλεύς πς ἐστιν ἀληθὴς καὶ μὴ τύραννος : the implication is, however, that the Persian king is a tyrant and not a true king (cf.8.4.1). Oroondates fully expects Hydaspes to execute him (made explicit at 9.6.6), and is most impressed and surprised when Hydaspes spares his life. By the same implication, Hydaspes is characterised as the βασιλεὺς ἀληθής ; compare 9.6.2-3, esp. οὐ ... τυραννεῖ τὴν νίκην. In 9.21.2 Oroondates refers to his king as his δεσπότης , which contrasts with the affection that Hydaspes' subjects feel towards him (see, for example, 10.3.3). We learn at 9.21.4 that Oroondates' actions were motivated as much by fear of a hideous punishment as by true loyalty, though this is not to deny the real nobility to which his resignation attains; see my notes on 9.13.2 for the powerful emotional peripeteia so produced.

The contrast between the tyrant and the true king is something of a commonplace among Greek writers on kingship. See the contrast between the βασιλεύς and the τύραννος at Dio Chrysost.Or.3.39ff., which is close to Heliodoros in thought; cf. also Plut.Comp.Thes.et Rom.2.

For the dialogue between Hydaspes and Oroondates, compare perhaps that between Agesilaos and Pharnabazos, recorded by Plut.Ages.12 and Xen.Hell.4.1.32ff.: Agesilaos praises Pharnabazos for his loyalty to his own king, although this means that he will be fighting against him. The moral

tone and anecdotal colouring of the two scenes are remarkably similar.

πρὸς τοσαύτας μυριάδας etc.: for the strength of the Ethiopian army compare 9.1.2, 9.16.1,

παρατόλμως: the adjective παράτολμος is used only by Plutarch before Heliodoros; see Plut.Demetr.11, Pomp.32, Mor.661b.

9.21.4

πλέον τιμωρεῖται etc.: for the awful severity of Persian punishments cf.8.3.2 and 8.9.9, and see my note on 9.6.6.

τιμωρεῖται ... τιμᾷ: the epigrammatic quality of the antithesis is reinforced by the choice of verbs sharing their first syllable. Compare the similar use of the two verbs at Philostr. Vit.Apoll.6.21.

τοὺς ὅπλων ἐν πολέμῳ δειλούς: Oroondates means that it would have been cowardly of him not to have offered battle to Hydaspes. As he is explaining how he has avoided the charge of cowardice, we must presume that Heliodoros has forgotten that Oroondates was the first to run away, leaving his chariot behind (9.19.1). We are confronted with the problem of a novelist unable to present a consistent characterisation in different episodes of his plot; as I have argued above, Heliodoros does achieve a fine effect of reversal of sympathies, but the immediate emotional effect could not be sustained by a rational judgement based on the evidence of Heliodoros' own narrative.

ἐι τοῦτο συμβαίνοι: this is the only hint of the third possibility, namely that Croondates might die in the battle.

9.22.1

ἐκήνει τε καὶ ... ἐῴκεσμεν: note the narrative imperfects, which cannot be explained here by the vividness of the description.

τῆς ἰατρεύσεως: see my note on 9.21.1. These are the same people as those who sang the incantations over Oroondates' wounds.

διὰ πάσης ἡλικίας: the same phrase occurs at 7.8.3, where the population of Memphis welcomes Thyamis, Theagenes, Charicleia and Calasiris. The motif recurs at 9.3.8, when Heliodoros is describing the effort of the Syenians to forestall Hydaspes' stratagem. It seems like a stock response in descriptions of a whole city doing anything: cf. Xenophon's description of the welcome given Cyros by the Armenians (Xen.Cyr.3.3.2): οὐδεὶς ἔμεινεν ἔνδον Ἀρμενίων οὔτ' ἀνὴρ οὔτε γυνή, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὑπήντων ἡδόμενοι τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ φέροντες καὶ ἄγοντες ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἄξιον εἶχε. Several of the details (such as strewing the way with flowers, and singing encomia to the victorious general) can be paralleled from Curtius' description of Alexander's entry into Babylon (5.1.20ff.), and probably derive from Curtius' Greek source: "magna pars Babyloniorum constiterat in muris avida cognoscendi novum regem, plures obviam egressi sunt. Inter quos Bagophanes ... totum iter floribus coronisque cumulaverat ... magi denique suo more carmen canentes, post hos Chaldaei Babyloniorumque non vates modo, sed etiam artifices cum fidibus cui generis ibant; laudes hi regum canere soliti ... ipse (Alexander)

cum curru urbem ac deinde regiam intravit." Compare also the accounts in the gospels of Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday (Matth.21.8, Mark 11.8).

9.22.2

ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἅρματος τοῦ ἐλέφαντος: at first sight it is difficult to see how it is possible to ride an elephant as if it were a chariot. The meaning, however, is made clear by a phrase in the Curtius passage quoted in the last note; Alexander enters Babylon "cum curru", and it seems that the normal way for a victorious general to enter a captured city was riding in his chariot at the head of a triumphal procession. Hydaspes was directing the battle not from a chariot (as Oroondates at 9.14.3), but from the tower on the back of his elephant (see note on 9.20.2), and stayed there for his entry into Syene; so in this case ὥσπερ carries the connotation "instead of" rather than "in the same way as".

βάσματος ἢ βεβάσεως: note how the words are chosen, as so often in Heliodoros, to produce a jingling effect; cf.9.11.5, 9.19.3, 10.4.2, 10.11.2, 10.23.4, 10.28.5.

9.22.3

τὴν φρεατίαν τὸ νειλομέτριον: the close similarities between the whole of this passage and Strabo's description of the Nilometer at Elephantine (17.1.48) have long been remarked. It will be as well to set them out in tabular form:

STRABO	HELIODOROS
καὶ νειλομέτριον καθάπερ Μέμφις ...	τῷ κατὰ τὴν Μέμφιν παραπλήσιον
... ξυννόμῳ λίθῳ κατεσκευασμένον ...	ξυννόμῳ καὶ ξεστῷ λίθῳ κατεσκευασμένον
... ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἀναβάσεις τοῦ Νείλου σημειοῦνται ...	τάς τε αὐξήσεις τοῦ Νείλου καὶ ὑπονοστήσεις τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις διασημαίνει
εἰσὶν οὖν ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ τοῦ φρέατος παραγραφαί...	... γραμμαῖς δὲ ἐκ τετυπωμένου διαστήματος κεχαραγμένον.

Heliodoros' account has a greater degree of plausible detail than Strabo's, which precludes the possibility of Strabo being Heliodoros' source. There is no indication of any borrowing from Strabo elsewhere in the Aithiopica. Further, we should remember that although both authors are obviously describing the same instrument they assign it to different locations. W.Capelle (op.cit.) argues that Strabo's information was derived from Agatharchides via Artemidoros; Heliodoros, being a novelist, stupid and not a proper Greek, is unlikely to have gone back to Agatharchides when the scientific Strabo was content with Artemidoros. Although I would not wish to be associated with Capelle's opinions on Heliodoros' literary merit (the introductory paragraphs to his article offer especially good entertainment value), I think that his conclusion is most probable.

For the Nilometer at Memphis mentioned by Heliodoros

and Strabo, compare Diod.1.36.11, who calls it a νειλοσκοπεῖον. The Nilometer was a very important piece of agricultural equipment in a country whose agriculture was entirely dependent on the Nile floods. The passage of Diodoros referred to tells us that the level of water was accurately measured in cubits and fingers, and that when the recession of the waters began people were relieved and were able to predict the size of the coming harvest by comparing the figures with previous records. P.Mich.Inv.5795 (quoted and discussed by O.M.Pearl in TAPA 1956 p.52f.) is an official record of the recession of the flood, measured in cubits and fingers, exactly as described by Diodoros.

D.Bonneau (op.cit.p.380) says that Nilometers were attached to many sanctuaries and temples. They took various forms, the simplest being a flight of steps descending into the river or a stone column emerging from the water. They came to acquire a religious significance and the reading of the Nilometer became part of the ritual surrounding the Nile festivals.

In fact the Syene/Elephantine type of Nilometer was a relatively complicated and sophisticated one. We can gather more of its workings from Strabo, who says that the water in the well rises and falls in step with the river. For the physical remains of the Elephantine Nilometer, see L.Borchardt in Abh.Berlin Akad.1906, p.13ff.

Of the many types of Nilometer discovered by archaeologists

there is one that works on the same principle as that described by Strabo and Heliodoros, although it is even more ambitious. This was discovered at Edfu, 111 kilometers north of the cataract, and is described and illustrated with photographs by Borchardt (op.cit.p.25ff.): "ein runder, aus Sandstein gemauerter, oben mit niedriger Brüstung umgebener Brunnen, der durch Fenster mit der ihn schraubenförmig umgebenden Treppe in Verbindung steht. Die Fenster vermitteln den Zutritt von Licht und Wasser zur Treppe, an deren Wänden die Skalen angebracht sind .... (p.28) Der Brunnen wird natürlich im Altertum durch einen unterirdischen Kanal mit dem Nil in direkter Verbindung gestanden haben." In the Nilometer described by Heliodoros this underground channel is replaced by natural seepage of water from the river into the well-shaft (τὸ ποτάμιον ὕδωρ ὑπὸ γῆς διηθούμενον). Strabo does not explain why the water in the Nilometer keeps level with that in the river. There is some confusion in the manuscripts at this point, MP reading διαθούμενον. This seems a little violent for the process being described. For διηθέομαι in the sense of "percolate" compare Arist. Meteor.354b18, Alex.Aphrod.Problem.1.55 (in Ideler's edition of Physici et Medici Graeci Minores). See too Hdt.2.93, where the active form διηθέω is used in an intransitive sense.

P.Oxy.43 verso col.v.1, as referred to by RL, mentions the "smaller Nilometer" at Oxyrhyncos, which implies that

there were at least two there. But that does not seem immediately relevant to the present passage of Heliodoros. More significant perhaps is the enigmatic text preserved on P.Michael 4. S.R.West argues that this is a description of a Nilometer from a novel (Zeit.für Pap.u.Epig.10, 1973, p.75ff.)

γραμμαῖς .... κεχαραγμένον, εἰς ἃς τὸ ... ὕδωρ ... καὶ ταῖς γραμμαῖς ἐμπῖπτον : the phrasing here is extremely clumsy; the relative εἰς ἃς should be governed by ἐμπῖπτον, but instead the sense is made clearer by the insertion of ταῖς γραμμαῖς. Since there is no obvious emendation which would produce a text any more elegant than what we have, we must accept that the clumsiness is the author's own. Perhaps it arose from the very closeness with which he was following his source.

τάς τε αὐξήσεις : a standard word in describing the Nile floods; see my note on 9.9.2.

ὑποστάσεις : another word which frequently occurs in this context; compare P.Ory.2182; ὑποστέω is found in Ael.Nat.Anim. 10.43 and Joh.Lyd.de mens.4.107, while the cognate ὑποστρέφειν occurs in the same passage of Aelian.

τὸ ποσόν : has a distinctly philosophical flavour to it; compare Plat.Phileb.24c, Arist.Metaph.1020a7, etc.

τῆς πληγμύρας ἢ τῆς λειψυδρίας : not "the rising and falling of the water level", as in Maillon's translation or Bonneau op.cit.p.111 n.3, but "the degree of highness or lowness of the flood"; a small flood would produce a serious shortage

of water; compare P.Ryl.243.3 and Sammelbuch 4416.14, which are used by Bonneau as examples meaning "retrait des eaux". A glance will show that in both cases λειψυδρία has its normal meaning "shortage of water".

πλήμμυρα occurs also at Philo Vit.Mos.3.24, Σ.Apoll.Rhod.1.757, Σ.Theocr.7.114a, P.Lond.3.294, Σ.Pi.Olymp.5.20, Horap.Hier.1.21 and 34, P.Oxy.1409.17, and Theodoret.Therap.4.62. The verb πλημμυρεῖν occurs from the first century AD; cf.Ael.Nat.Anim.11.40, Plut.de Is.et Osir.38,id.plac.philosoph.4.7 and de esu.carn.1.3.1, Σ.Arat.Phaen.232, P.Oxy.1796.20, Horap.Hier.1.21.35, Himer. Or.9.3 and 14.8, Lyd.de mens.4.117 and especially see Hld.2.23.1.

μετρουμένων: I can see no way in which this word can be correct. RL's apparatus points to the anacolouthon of 9.9.3, where the object of the sentence appears in a genitive absolute, but there is no other genitive there that the participles could be taken with. As the text of 9.22.3 stands, μετρουμένων must be taken with χαρακμάτων; but the sense demands, as RL concede, that it agrees with ἐγχωρίους. We must therefore accept Bekker's correction μετρουμένους. For a similar corruption, with a word being attracted into a case which dominates its immediate context, compare 9.13.4, where τὴν θέαν should be read instead of the MSS τῆς θέας.

9.22.4

γνώμονας ἀσκίους etc: found in very closely similar words at Strab.17.1.43: ἐν δὲ τῇ Συήνῃ καὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶ τὸ διατημαῖον

τὰς θερινὰς τροπάς, διότι τῷ τροπικῷ κύκλῳ ὑπόκεινται ἐπὶ τόπου οὗτοι καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἀσκίους τοὺς γνώμονας κατὰ μεσημβρίαν. The shadowless sundials and the illuminated well are frequently referred to in classical literature, and are often fixed at Syene, although of course the phenomenon is general in tropical regions. For the sundials cf. also Eustath. ad Dion.Perieg.222: ὅθεν καὶ ἄσκιοι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν εἰσὶν οἱ ὡρολογικοὶ γνώμονες, διὰ τὸ ὑποκεῖσθαι τοὺς τόπους τούτους τῷ τροπικῷ. Eustathios seems to have known his Heliodoros well; he also has the Nile etymologies and isopsephia which come later in this chapter. Heliodoros' description of the way in which shadows are not cast is the fullest I have been able to find.

The well occurs in even more authors, and I suspect that confusion existed between the Nilometer and the well. (The well might quite possibly have been a Nilometer, the more famous example actually being in Elephantine; cf.Borchardt op.cit.p.23) Strabo says that there is a well διασημαίνων τὰς θερινὰς τροπάς, and we can see how this worked from a more detailed description by Aelius Aristides: ἐν δὲ Συήνῃ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τε καὶ ὥρας μέσης ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ φρέατι ὁ κύκλος τοῦ ἡλίου φαίνεται, ὥσπερ ἐπίθημα, ἴσον πανταχόθεν πρὸς τὸ χεῖλος ἐλλείπων (Or.36.59 K). Pliny (Nat.Hist.2.133) says that in Syene (his phraseology suggests that he thought that such phenomena were purely local occurrences and in no way general) no shadows are cast on the day of

the solstice, "puteumque eius experimenti gratia factum totum inluminari, ex quo adpatere tum solem illi loco supra verticem esse." This well, then, was designed to indicate the exact day of the summer solstice, and in view of the dating of the beginning of the Nile flood to that day (see 9.9.2 and note) the connection with the floods is strengthened. No Nilometer at Syene has survived, but as Bonneau (p.330) says that these instruments came to take on a religious significance and were often attached to temples and sanctuaries, it is not unlikely that the Nilometer was in a temple, and was in fact the well which Aristides describes. It is, of course, impossible to be certain on this subject, but it would seem to be superfluous to dig a well to establish the date of the summer solstice when the same could be done with a sundial.

For similar phenomena in other tropical regions, compare Diod.2.35.2, who talks of shadowless sundials in southern India; and Arr.Ind.25.7, who is discussing a report of Nearchos to similar effect; this is especially significant in view of the last part of this section of Heliodoros: καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀπεικότα δοκέει μοι ἀναγράψαι Νέαρχος· ἔστι καὶ ἐν Συήνῃ τῇ Αἰγυπτίῃ, ἐπεὰν τροπὰς λάχῃ θέρεος ὥρη ὁ ἥλιος, φρέαρ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔστί· καὶ τοῦτο ἄσκιον ἐν μεσημβρίῃ φαίνεται· ἐν Μερόῃ δὲ πάντα ἄσκια τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρῃ. For Meroe in this connection cf.Plin.Nat.Hist.2.134.

καὶ τρόπας θερινὰς : ie. at the time when the events of

the plot are taking place. We are still on the day that starts at 9.11.3 when the Syenians discover that the Persians have escaped. The festivities were prompted by the proximity of the summer solstice (9.9.2).

τῷ περιφωτισμῷ : this is the only certain occurrence of the word; it is found as a variant at Strab.3.1.5.

τὴν παρέμπτωσιν: there is no exact parallel for this use of παρέμπτωσις in so physical a sense; closest perhaps is Arist.Resp.476b8.

καταυγάζεσθαι : καταυγάζω is used transitively by Heliodoros at 1.1.1, 6.14.2 and 7.26.1, and in the passive at 7.7.7.

συμβαίνειν γὰρ : the reading of VZ is to be preferred to MP's συμβαίνει ; this is indirect speech, reporting Hydaspes' reasons for not being particularly impressed with what he has seen.

9.22.5

ὡς δὲ τὴν ἔφηνεν ἐξεθείαζεν etc.: this is a kind of subheading covering the indirect speech containing the claims of the Egyptian priests down to the end of 9.22.6; the contents of this long and ramshackle sentence are then summarised by ταῦτα in Hydaspes' direct speech at the start of 9.22.7; this gives the effect of dialogue, half in oratio obliqua.

ῥεῖν τε καὶ ζείδωρον : ζείδωρος has two meanings: i) zea-giving, from ζεία ; ii) life-giving, from ζάω, an etymology given by Hesychios and found, as RL point out, in Empedocl.Frag.151, and Nonn.12.23. It seems to me that the word in the present

context requires the most forceful meaning possible, and thus I would translate ζεώωρος as "life-giving"; cf.P.Berlin 9873.10 (=PGM Vol.2 p.147), which hints at ζεώωρος as an almost mystical word. But RL are undoubtedly right in suggesting that it was chosen to make an assonantal pair with Ὄρον rather than to give much further depth to the meaning of the passage.

It is not difficult to find parallel references for the life-giving properties of Nile water. Strab.15.1.22 calls the river γόνιμος ; Dion.Perieg.Orb.Desc.227ff. talks of it fattening the land and increasing the wealth of the earth, and in 221 calls the Nile πότνιος, which Eustathios interprets as πολύνοντος τὴν ἐκεῖ γῆν. Athenaios (2.41e) cites Theophrastos, who called the Nile πολυγονώτατον, and the adjective "fetifer" is twice applied to the river by Latin authors (Plin.Nat.Hist.7.33 and Solin.1.51). This connects with Seneca's statement (Nat.Quest.3.25.11) that the water of the Nile makes women more fertile, and Strabo's (15.1.22) that Egyptian women sometimes have as many as four children. For other references to the water's fertilising properties cf.Aes.Supp.355 and Anth.Pal.1.100. Diodoros has an Egyptian creation myth involving the Nile: πολύγονον ὄντα καὶ τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοφυεῖς παρεχόμενον ... τῆς δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς ζωογονίας τεκμήριον περιφέρεται φέρειν τὸ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὴν ἐν Θηβαΐδι χώραν κατά τινας καιροὺς τοσούτους καὶ τηλικούτους μῦς γεννᾶν (1.10.1).

Pomponius Mela (1.52) calls the Nile "efficax", which is almost as obscure as Heliodoros' ζεώωρος and is probably intended to mean much the same.

The identification of the Nile with Horos comes rather oddly after saying that the Nile was Osiris in 9.9.4, but there was an enormous variety in the ways in which the Isis legend and Egyptian myth were assimilated by the Greeks. Horos is generally identified as Apollo, which is much more plausible, as both were connected with the sun. Compare, however, Plut.de Iside 40 (367b), where Horos is identified with the rains that cause the Nile flood.

ζεώωρον : compare Headlam's suggestion (Journal of Philology 23, 1894-5, p.265) that τὸν be read before this word; he implies that it is found in some manuscripts but this does not appear to be the case. It certainly is not desirable in the text.

τῇ μὲν ἄνω σωτῆρα, τῇ κάτω δὲ καὶ πατέρα etc.: nothing would grow in the Nile valley without the annual flooding. The distinction between Lower and Upper Egypt is common enough, and it is clear that Heliodorus here has reason for writing as he does. The distinction between σωτήρ and πατήρ corresponds to the division between the two Egypts. The Nile was called σωτήρ by Plato (Tim.22d), in the sense of "preserver", not "rescuer", because the agricultural life of Upper Egypt was so dependent on the river.

The river is the father of Lower Egypt because of the belief that the land was originally formed from silt deposited

by the river in its lower reaches; the earliest occurrence of this is Hdt.2.5, where Egypt is called δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ; Herodotos seems to have this information from some other source, and the phrase is attributed to Hecataios by Arrian (Anab.5.6.5). See too Arist.Met.352b, τούτων (ie the Egyptians) ἡ χώρα πᾶσα γεγονυῖα φαίνεται καὶ οὖσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔργον, and Philostr.Vit.Apoll.6.23. Diodoros 3.3.2 has a similar idea and says that it can be proved by what is happening around the Nile delta: καθ'ἕκαστον γὰρ ἔτος ἀεὶ νέας ἰλύος ἀθροιζομένης πρὸς τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ καβορᾶται τὸ μὲν πέλαγος ἐξωθεύμενον τοῖς προσκώμασιν, ἡ δὲ χώρα τὴν αὔξησιν λαμβάνουσα.

Note too the by now familiar stylistic devices of Heliodoros' expression, beginning with these two parallel cola; similar features are present in his list of the seasons, and the last colon is lengthened beyond the rhyme in each case.

νέαν ἰλὺν ... καὶ Νεῖλον ἐντεῦθεν ὀνομάζομενον: the words νέα ἰλύς occur in authors long before this fanciful etymology was suggested, for example Diod.3.3.2 quoted above, and it is difficult to see when the etymology first became current. It is found, besides Heliodoros, at Σ.Theocr.7.114a, Serv. ad Virg.Aen9.31 and ad Georg.4.291, Joh.Lyd.de mens.4.107.1, where it is rejected, Isid.13.21.7, Eustath.ad Dion.Perieg.222, Sud.sv.Νεῖλος, Σ.Lycophr.p.601.20 ed.Scheer, Choer.Orth. (=Cramer Anecdota Oxoniensia II.240.27), Etym.Magn.602.9

and in almost all the other late etymologia.

There are also some rival derivations: Diodoros (1.19.4 and 1.63.1), the scholiast to Theocritos (7.114c) and Johannes Lydus (de mens.4.107.1) have references to a mythical king Neileus from whom the river took its name. The Theocritos scholiast also advances a third theory, namely that the Nile is so called because of its gentle flow - νέειν λείως. The Suda also has a kind of compromise suggestion, that the name derives from νέειν ἰλύν; the derivation from νέειν alone is found in Choiroboscos' Orthographia (in Cramer Anec.Oxon.2 p.240), while the Etymologium Magnum suggests one from νέος alone.

All of these theories are very late, and it rather seems that someone found the phrase νέα ἰλύς in an existing text, noticed the similarity to Νεῖλος and drew his deductions from there.

τά τε ἐτησίους ὥρας φράζοντα etc.: the Egyptian year was divided into three seasons: a) Flood, or Akhet; b) Sowing, or Peret; c) Harvest, or Shemou. The Greeks had the problem of assimilating the three Egyptian seasons to their own four. By and large it was autumn that found no correspondence in Egypt. The question is discussed in some detail by Bonneau (op.cit.p.33ff.), and it emerges that the period of floods is generally called θέρος, naturally enough as it was the hottest time of the year. The sowing season was mostly called winter, because it was contemporaneous with the

true Greek winter, and similarly the season of harvest tended to be called "spring". Heliodoros seems to be the only classical author to call one of the seasons μετοπωρινή; there is no obvious reason for his doing so, and one must presume that he was merely keeping to the Greek cycle, where autumn followed summer, omitting winter altogether since the weather in Egypt was never cold enough to merit the name. He does in fact keep the seasons in the order in which they occur in the Egyptian Sothic calendar, but he distinguishes them not by references to the agricultural activities of each season, but by picturesque and exciting details linked with the river.

9.22.6

τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄντικρυς εἶναι τὸν Νεῖλον etc.: the arithmetic works as follows: Ν+ε+ι+λ+ο+ν = 50+5+10+30+70+200 = 365. The only other author who makes use of this particular coincidence is Eustathios (ad Dion.Perieg.222); compare my note on 9.22.4, where it appears that Eustathios was acquainted with the Aithiopica. Although such number symbolism is closely connected with mysticism, notably Pythagorean and Judaic, it was so widespread in the ancient world that it is not possible to assign Heliodoros to any particular movement, such as Neopythagoreanism, on the strength of his using it (as does Lacombrade op.cit.p.76f.).

The question of number symbolism is fully discussed by F.Dornseiff: Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie, especially pp.91-113. He divides it into three groups: a) isopsephia, that is when two words have the same total if their letters are added up; this is found in profane Greek literature as well as mystic; see Anth.Pal.12.6 (πρωκτός = χρυσός) and 11.334 (δακμάρας = λοιμός) and Suet.Ner.39 (Νέρων = ἰδίαν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε); b) when the figure produced by adding together the letters is in some way of itself significant. This is the category to which 9.22.6 belongs. The figure 365 is also produced by Ἀβράξας and Μίθρας ; cf.Jerome's Commentary on Amos 1.3.9-10 (PL.25.1018), quoting from the gnostic Basilides, and P.Lond.122 (= Preisendanz PGM.Vol.2 p.45ff., esp.p.47). Other examples are Ἰησους = 888, a perfect number, and, most ironically for Heliodoros, Χαρικλείᾳ = 777, ἀριθμὸς μυστικος ... καὶ παρθένος καὶ σεσιὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς (Philippos' Commentatio in Charicleam = Colonna Test.XIII) c) various riddles, the earliest in Greek being that where Sarapis reveals his name to Alexander in the Alexander Romance (1.34 Γ), in a way also used by Lucian's false prophet Alexander (Luc.Alex.11). Riddles can also take the form of having to deduce a name from a number; the famous instance of the number of the Beast in the Apocalypse (13.18) is probably of this kind.

προστιθέντων : in order to keep the syntax of this very long sentence correct, we should read προστίθεντες, parallel with ἄμφοτες in 9.22.5. If we follow Colonna's punctuation and put a full stop after συναχθήσονται, the genitive προστιθέντων becomes possible, but the long ὡς clause of 9.22.5-6 is left suspended with no main verb. Manuscript unanimity is no argument in favour of προστιθέντων ; it could be another case of attraction into the wrong case (cf.my note on μετρουμένων in 9.22.3), or a scribe may have lost his bearings and decided to punctuate strongly after συναχθήσονται and start again, as it were, from scratch. Heliodoros' style is too conscious for such anacolouthia to be tolerable. There are indeed very few instances in the Aithiopica, which are all justifiable on psychological grounds; for instance 2.14.2, where the speaker is in full flood but is pulled up by his lack of knowledge, or 1.1.3, where the anacolouthon is a vivid and subtle expression of the shock felt by the third-person reflectors at what they see on the beach. In the set pieces there is no anacolouthon at all.

9.22.7

εἴτε καὶ καθ'ὑμᾶς θεόν : for references to the Nile as a god cf. OGIS.168 and 666, P.Aberd.18 (revised by Youtie in AJP 1940), and Σ.Pi.Pyth.4.99. Compare also 9.9.3, θεοκλυστοῦντες τὸν Νεῖλον, and my note on that passage.

Other references to the worship of the Nile include

Sext.Emp.adv.Math.9.13, quoting Prodicos of Ceos; later we find simple statements that the Nile was worshipped as a god at Max.Tyr.2.24b, Cosmas of Jerusalem ad carm. Greg.Naz.2.7.267-8, Ampel.8.24 and 8.35, Philostr.Vit.Apoll.6.1 and 6.26, Euseb.Vit.Const.4.25 (= PG.20.1172b) and Lib.Epist.1183. The worship of the river is also implied by references to sacred images; for instance Paus.8.24.6 says that such images were always made of black stone, and Plin.Nat.Hist.36.58 talks of a statue of the Nile dedicated by Vespasian in the temple of Pax at Rome.

ὅτι σὲ σωτῆρα ἡμῖν καὶ θεὸν ἀνέδειξεν: despite the displeasure which Hydaspes shows at this fulsome praise (9.23.1), his own people welcome him back to Meroe in a similar fashion at 10.6.1, προσκυνοῦντες τε καὶ ἴσα καὶ θεὸν εὐφημοῦντες.

9.23.1.

εἰς τὴν σκηνήν: intoduced here with no word of explanation. Again Heliodoros has not fully visualised the scene; we might have expected Hydaspes to stay in Syene, which he has just entered for the first time (9.22.1). Instead, he seems to leave the city and go back to a tent, presumably one which he had been using during the siege. Or are we to suppose that his tent has been pitched within the town ? It is really senseless to ask such questions, since Heliodoros has not provided the answers.

πολλὰς μὲν ἀγέλας βοῶν etc.: a reminiscence of Hom.Il.11.678ff., although the order of the list has been altered and the Homeric πώεα οἰῶν has been replaced by πρόβατα προβάτων. RL (p.68 n.1) suggest that this change was made to help Heliodoros' readers, and their theory receives support from the fact that, in quoting the similar passage from Hom.Od.14.100, Strabo (10.2.10) substitutes μήλων for οἰῶν ; it seems that later Greeks found the Homeric words hard to understand; compare the Homerising cook and his puzzled master in the fragment of Straton in Page's Greek Literary Papyri p.264ff. Strictly speaking, αἰγῶν ἀπόλια and συῶν συβόσια are pleonastic expressions, but Heliodoros obviously enjoyed the archaic and ritualistic effect given by the pleonasm.

Note too the way in which the list is arranged, the first two items closely bound together by the anaphora

πολλὰς μὲν ... πολλὰς δὲ, the second pair held together by the shared πλεῖστα and by the parallelism of their forms.

κατ' ἀγοραστάν: thus VZ, while MP read πρὸς ἀγοραστάν. It seems more appropriate to choose VZ's reading, which gives an idea of the process of buying and selling, and so provides a better contrast with ὠνῆ. ἀγοραστά is a late word, as Cornes remarks; compare Diog.Laert.2.78, Dio Cass.68.2 etc.

9.23.2

τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν etc.: a careless piece of writing and rather surprising after Heliodoros had gone to such pains to establish Hydaspes' philanthropy and magnanimity towards Syene. Obviously there will have been spoils taken during the battle, but no reprisals were taken against the city. It could be, of course, that Heliodoros is thinking of Persian property within the town, but even this explanation cannot absolve him from the charge of carelessness. In the first place, he nowhere else mentions anything like a Persian treasury in Syene, or gives any hint of possession being taken of anything kept within the city; and in the second place, he said explicitly in 9.13.2 that Oroondates was trying to make Elephantine when he was forced to take refuge in Syene by the Ethiopian advance. It is thus out of the question that Syene is conceived even as the normal Persian garrison point.

The truth seems to be that Heliodoros has been carried

away by a desire to make the description a little grander and fuller into including an impossible detail.

2.23.3

ὁ ζωγρήσας τὸν Ὀροονδάτην etc.: for the capture of Oroondates see 9.20.5-6. This little anecdote has a somewhat moralistic feel about it, and is not completely relevant to its context in Heliodoros. The outlines of the story suggest that its original form was a fable pointing out the advantages of honesty. In Heliodoros' version, the point is not the soldier's honesty but the king's generosity, although a different emphasis seems to shine through in the last words of 9.23.5, ὃ καὶ ἀκόντων ἔσχον ἂν ῥᾳδίως ἀποκρύπτων.

Moreover, the motive force of the tale, the presumption that gold is worth having, is denied in this particular context. In 9.1.5 for instance it is said that gold is used in Ethiopia as iron is in other lands, and in 9.24.1 gold and jewels are called πρᾶγμα κατ' Αἰθιοπίαν εὔωνον.

I conclude that Heliodoros has taken over an existing story or story-type and inserted it into his narrative as a further illustration of Hydaspes' character. (In that case, we should hope to be able to parallel the story-pattern from some other source, though the nearest that I have been able to find is the story of Belesys and Arbaces in Diod.2.28.)

προστάγματι τῷ σῷ διασωσάμενος: for Hydaspes' order cf. 9.20.2 and 6.

9.23.1

τὸν ξιφιστῆρα : RL suggest that it was common for "barbarians" to have valuable sword-belts. According to Plut.Pomp.42 Mithridates had one that was worth 400 talents.

ὥστε πολλοὺς τῶν περιεστώτων ἐκβοᾶν : the reaction of these bystanders seems designed to point up the virtues of Hydaspes, and to set his response apart from that of ordinary men. In other words, they serve as a foil to his generosity.

ὑπὲρ ἰδιώτην εἶναι καὶ τῶν βασιλικὸν τὸ κεκμήλιον : compare Mitranes' message to Oroondates at 5.9.2, where he says that Theagenes is ὑπεραίροντα τὴν ἐμὴν δεσποτείαν καὶ θεῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ μείζονι μόνῳ καὶ ἀδύνεσθαι καὶ διακονεῖσθαι ἄξιον.

The word κεκμήλιον is Homeric; cf.Hom.Il.23.618, 6.47, Od.2.75, 1.312. It occurs in other poets, but is rare in prose (eg. Hdt.3.41, Luc.Prom.Esur.4). Heliodoros is very fond of it, presumably for its elevated tone; see 1.28.1, 1.33.1, 4.8.7, 4.15.2, 4.17.2, 5.5.3, 6.11.3, 9.24.7, 10.20.2.

9.23.5

βασιλικώτερον : Heliodoros is rather good at making conversations realistic, usually by the simple device of having one speaker echo a key word from the previous speaker. Here βασιλικώτερον picks up βασιλικόν at the end of 9.23.4. Compare the similar devices in 1.25.2, 2.29.1, 2.30.4, 2.31.3, 3.1.1, 3.2.3, 4.6.4, 4.16.8, 6.9.1, 7.23.7, 7.28.4, 9.22.7, 9.24.7.

9.24.1

σωρηδὸν : the word is used by Heliodoros also at 1.30.2. He is fond of adverbs in this formation; cf. my note on 9.18.2.

<ἐν> τοῖς βασιλέως : the ἐν was added by Hirschig, and is necessary for the sense; it could easily have dropped out of the text due to its similarity to the end of σωρηδόν. The ἐναποκείμενον printed by Colonna and Rekker is a conjecture made by Coraes on the basis of 5.5.3. RL should at least have acknowledged its existence in their apparatus.

ἀδελφοὺς μὲν καὶ Ἕλληνας: nowhere are Theagenes and Charicleia said to have told the Ethiopians this story. The fiction has featured so prominently in the earlier portions of the plot (eg. 1.21.3ff., 1.25.6, 5.26.3, 7.12.7ff., 8.3.1 etc.) that the reader, and no doubt the author too, is taking it for granted. The deceit has now served its purpose (originally to avoid the robber chief Thyamis feeling jealousy towards Theagenes with possibly fatal consequences for the latter), but it is not unreasonable that the pretence be maintained. Charicleia's position is socially unconventional, and much of the motive force in the tensions in the second half of the last book derives from her reluctance to divulge her relationship with Theagenes. In that sense at least the pretence continues to serve a structural purpose, but it is not of itself implausible. Even in present-day Greece a similar story can save embarrassment.

An extraordinary idea is advanced by K.Reyhl in his dissertation on the lost novelist Antonius Diogenes (p.134):

in the Ἄπιστα of Antonius Diogenes the hero and heroine of the travel story were brother and sister, not lovers; Reyhl suggests that the extensive use which Heliodoros makes of the brother/sister fiction is a sign of influence exerted by Antonius Diogenes. Such a suggestion involves an untenable view of the way in which a literary mind may be influenced: Heliodoros would not be unconscious of any borrowing, and certainly would not prolong the device beyond its useful limits simply because he had found it in an earlier writer. In fact the pretence does so obviously serve a purpose in the Aithiopica that it is perverse to assume that it must have come from anywhere other than Heliodoros' own imagination.

μεγαλοδωρεᾶς : the form μεγαλοδωρεά is not listed by LSJ. It is attested, however, by Luc.Anach.9 and Luc.Dial.Mort.16.4 (Loeb); see too Euseb.Praep.Ev.1.1 (=PG.21.25a). There is no difference in meaning between μεγαλοδωρεά and μεγαλοδωρία, but the evidence is that both are valid forms.

9.24.2

ἐν παρέργῳ ποτε etc.: ie. at 9.1.3.

οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων : it is not clear who these prisoners are supposed to be. In 8.1.4 Hydaspes captures Philai, φίλους τῶν ἐναντίων λυμηνάμενος, and at 9.1.4 he says that Theagenes and Charicleia are the first prisoners taken on this campaign, a fact which seems to qualify them for

the victory sacrifices at Meroe. During the period that follows the capture of the hero and heroine Hydaspes can only have acquired prisoners from two sources: either from Syene, or from Oroondates' army. His clemency towards the Syenians seems to rule out the first possibility, and no mention is made of his taking hostages. The second possibility cannot account for all the prisoners, because at 9.26.1 Hydaspes picks out ten young men and ten maidens to be part of the sacrifice, and obviously there could not have been any women serving in the Persian army.

This sort of inconsistency is not of course very important, and is not apparent to the cursory reader. The fact that several such criticisms can be levelled at this portion of the plot (cf.9.23.2, 9.26.1 and notes) is indicative of a structural join. Heliodoros is moving from the section of his plot centred on the siege of Syene and the ensuing battle to that concerning the final ordeals and salvations of his two main characters. We caught him slightly modifying the situation once before in the retrospective summary included in 9.13, and something of the same nature seems to be taking place here. Hydaspes is no longer the generous commander; he is becoming the victorious returning hero, and as such will naturally have booty and prisoners. The booty is not organic to the plot, but it does make possible the inclusion of the fable in 9.23. The prisoners are necessary partly to furnish a further vindication of Hydaspes' benevolence,

in 9.26.1, but more to illustrate the exceptional virtue of Theagenes and Charicleia when the time comes for their trial by ordeal. This fault, if fault it really be, is to my mind a result less of episodic structure than of a tendency to think in stock types, attributes and situations. Lest I seem too strict with Heliodoros, I must point out how vastly superior he is in this respect to the other romancers, especially Xenophon of Ephesos and Achilles Tatius. Inconsistencies avoided do not lend themselves to comment as readily as the few cases where the author has not taken sufficient care.

οἱ δὲ μιξέλληνά τινα τῶν φυλάκων: among the various considerations of realism, Heliodoros seems to have been particularly conscious of the implausibility of different nationalities being able to converse with each other. We may contrast television science fiction, where beings from other worlds speak nothing but English.

Since this motif is of such importance, I include a summary of places where it may be found in the Aithiopica. 1.3.2: the Egyptian robbers do not understand Charicleia's Greek. 1.4.1: Charicleia does not understand Thyamis' Egyptian. 1.4.2: Thyamis understands Charicleia more by her gestures than her words. 1.7.3: Charicleia and Theagenes are put in the care of a young Greek, Cnemon, τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἕνεκεν. At 1.19.3 Cnemon has to interpret Thyamis' words into Greek (cf.1.21.3, ἑρμηνεύοντος τοῦ Κνήμωνος). At 2.12.4 Thermouthis

calls out to Thisbe, μέχρι τοῦ ἀνόμαστος ἑλληνίζων. At 2.13.3 Cnemon again is acting as interpreter; Calasiris at 2.21.5 is surprised to find a Greek-speaker at Chemmis. At 2.30.1 Charicles tells of the Ethiopian ambassador ἑλληνίζων ὡ βεβαίως and at 2.33.1 emphasises that the young Charicleia could not speak Greek. At 5.8.4 we find Nausicles talking in Greek expressly so that the Persian Mitranes cannot understand what he is saying to Charicleia. At 6.12.3 Calasiris speaks Egyptian to the old woman of Bessa and at 6.14.1 has to interpret her reply to Charicleia. Similarly at 7.19.3 Arsace speaks to Theagenes through an interpretor. At 8.13.5 the eunuchs understand ἠρέμα what Theagenes and Charicleia say in Greek, and at 8.15.3 attention is drawn to the eunuch Pagoas' faltering Greek, although his direct speech is not noticeably solecistic. At 8.17.2 Heliodoros carefully provides a small party of Ethiopian scouts "with a man who can speak both Greek and Persian. At 9.1.5 Theagenes and Charicleia are provided with a mysterious μάραν ἀὐτάρκη τῶν ὁμογλώσσων, and it is presumably from them that Charicleia has learned that her mother is still alive (cf. 9.24.4 and note). At 9.25.3 Heliodoros introduces an explanation of how it is that Hydaspes can speak Greek to Charicleia. The consciousness of the language barrier continues into the last book. At 10.9.6 Sisimithres speaks in Greek so that the Ethiopian crowd should not understand what he says, and at 10.15.1 they are said to have understood only slightly

what has been said. At 10.31.1 when Hydaspes turns to Theagenes, he is specifically said to be talking Greek. At 10.35.2, when the crowd is desired to react at last, Heliodoros gets round the difficulty by explaining τὰ μὲν ῥήματα οἱ σωιζέντες τὰ ὁρώμενα δὲ οἱ λαοὶ θαυμάζοντες ; compare the final jubilation at 10.38.3, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα τῶν λεγομένων οὐ σωιζέντες . At 10.39.1 Sisimithres addresses the crowd, and now is specifically said to be speaking native Ethiopian; at 10.40.1 his example is followed by Hydaspes.

This constant awareness is an important strand in Heliodoros' quest for naturalism.

τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ὑδάσπου γνωρίσαντες: Hydaspes' name was mentioned in the τελετή exposed with the infant Charicleia and quoted in 4.3.1ff.

2.24.3

τὰ μεγάλα τῶν πραγμάτων μεγάλων δεῖται κατασκευῶν: note the rhetorical device of polyptoton, where the same word recurs in different cases.

2.24.4

ἓν μὲν πολυπλόκους τὰς ἀρχὰς etc.: this passage is discussed by V.Hefti (op.cit.p.97f.) in a chapter dealing with possible allusions made by Heliodoros to the problems of his narrative technique. Hefti comes to the not altogether surprising conclusion that more is to be learned about Heliodoros'

narrative technique from study of the actual plot than from investigation of so-called allusions.

In this section Persinna is promised as the key to the whole narrative, and we must take this as the author's own opinion, despite the words being put into the mouth of one of his characters. But this does not constitute any kind of literary commentary; it merely provides a not altogether convincing excuse for not curtailing the events of the tenth book at this early opportunity. Hefti sees this as an apology for the length of the tenth book, but I do not believe that Heliodoros felt any apology necessary; he has clearly seen that there is a logical possibility here for Charicleia to reveal her identity, and he has felt obliged to furnish her with a reason why she should not do so.

There are other considerations at work also. By hinting at further complexities to come and naming Persinna as the central figure in the achievement of the ultimate solution, Heliodoros is able to propel the reader's interest forwards with a certain amount of suspense of anticipation; that is to say, the reader knows <u>what</u> is going to happen, but his interest is aroused as to <u>how</u> it will be accomplished.

Surprisingly, the same section also serves a recapitulatory purpose, furnishing the inattentive reader with a summary of the present situation and the issues at stake. Thus, apart from being reminded of Persinna's central rôle (she has not been prominent in the narrative since the discussion

of the τελετή and its significance in the fourth book), he will be reminded of the fate which Hydaspes is reserving for the heroes, and the tokens.

We should not press the interpretation of πολυπλόκους and the following πλοκή too far, as Hefti seems tempted to do. He discusses the possibility that this is a reference to the temporal inversions of the plot and the complexity of the narrative order (ἀναστροφὴ τῆς τάξεως). He wisely rejects this notion; there is no need not to take the words at their face value: Theagenes and Charicleia have suffered much, and Charicleia is saying that they will have to go through more to reach their goal.

συμπεράνεσθαι: in the simple sense of "conclude", compare Xen.Cyr.6.1.31, Galen 6.15 Kühn.

τῆς...καθ'ἡμᾶς ὑποθέσεως: a metaphor from the drama; compare Plut.Mor.712c, οὐκοῦν ... μιμοί τινές εἰσιν, ἓν τοὺς μὲν ὑποθέσεις, τοὺς δὲ πράγματα καλοῦσιν· ἁρμόζειν δ'οὐδέτερον ἅμα συμποσίῳ γένος, τὰ μὲν ὑποθέσεις διὰ τὰ μήκη τῶν δραμάτων.

σῳζεσθαι δὲ καὶ ταύτην etc.: Naber (op.cit.p.149) says that Charicleia "splendide mentitur"; she cannot have learned this from anyone. This is not necessarily true. In my note on 9.24.2 I discussed Heliodoros' care in handling different languages and pointed out that the pair were assigned Greek-speaking guards (9.1.5). We must presume that these were intended as the source of Charicleia's information, just as it is from their guards that they have learned of their coming

immolation (9.24.5). But this explanation does help to point up Heliodoros' difficulties: if he had said nothing here, we might perhaps have passed by without noticing anything, but he is concerned to give his narrative plausibility and so must furnish Charicleia with evidence for what she says about the sacrifice. The device is excessively disingenuous, however; Heliodoros seems to want it both ways: in 9.24.2 it is suggested that the heroes had not heard the name of Hydaspes mentioned, and it is Theagenes' hearing the name for the first time that prompts him to suggest Charicleia's self-revelation, and this in turn motivates the whole of this conversation. Never to have heard the king's name mentioned but to have talked with the guards about the sacrifice he was going to perform on his arrival in Meroe, and even to have heard mention of his wife, Persinna, is straining credibility. But I do believe that the resulting clumsiness arose from a wish on the author's part to make the details of his narrative more coherent. He did not think deeply enough about his solution, and ended by creating an improbability greater than the one he was originally trying to avoid.

9.24.5

προβύσηται : the middle future is found as early as Aristophanes (Thesm.38).

ἀχμάλωτον δῶρον : Heliodoros uses ἀχμάλωτος as an adjective

in place of the more usual αἰχμαλωτικός at 8.17.5 and 10.16.6 in the phrase αἰχμάλωτος τύχη. The present passage is taken to mean "a gift consisting of prisoners", which would not be conveyed by the normal adjective. Coraes tried to solve the problem by reading αἰχμαλώτους; as RL point out, the assimilation of the inflexion to that of the preceding word could easily have occurred. However, I feel that the text produced by Coraes' conjecture cannot be correct. ὡς is to be taken with δῶρον not with αἰχμαλώτους, and so the only way in which the adjective can justify its position is by being taken closely with δῶρον. I do not see any objection against understanding αἰχμάλωτον in the most literal sense and translating "as a gift captured by the spear." The whole of the clause is difficult to understand: what process is this that Theagenes is envisaging? If it is that the couple should be bestowed as gifts with the other booty, why should that prevent their reaching Ethiopia? One is driven again to the conclusion (cf. notes on 9.24.4) that Heliodoros is trying to discount all logical alternatives to the course of his plot, albeit unconvincingly.

πρὸς τῶν φυλάκων ἀκήκοα πολλάκις : cf. 9.1.5, where Theagenes and Charicleia are allotted a μοῦρα ... τῶν ὁμογλώσσων to attend them, and 9.24.2 where a μιξέλλην is mentioned. For Heliodoros' conscientiousness over questions of languages see my notes on 9.24.2.

ὡς ἱερεῖα τρεφόμενα etc.: cf. Hydaspes' orders in 9.1.4:

σωζέσθωσαν κατὰ τὰς ἐπινικίους θυσίας ... θεοῖς τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις εἰς ἱερουργίαν φυλαχθήσομένου.

ἐκτετιμηκότων : the perfect is unexpected. The sense must be something along the lines of "who have made it their practice to ...".

9.24.6

τῶν καὶ γνωρίζειν ταῦτα ... δυναμένων οὐ παρόντων : Charicleia is at the moment talking only of the story which she would tell the king. Here, however, she seems to anticipate the question of the γνωρίσματα which Theagenes raises in 9.24.7. Note also the vague plural; Charicleia is referring only to her mother, but the plural is employed to give the flavour of a sententious appeal to general legal principles. Compare the similarly indefinite τὸν ἀκούσοντα in the next line.

ἠμησάμενον : this is the reading only of V. Z has ἠμησαμένους and MP ἠμησομένους. Colonna's apparatus (so called) suggests that Pekker read ἠμησομένου , but in fact he followed MP. Colonna himself suggests ἠμησόμενον , but this does not accord with the sequence which the actions would follow, and I can see no reason to prefer it to the reading of V, which is generally of a high quality.

ἀλχμάλωτοι καὶ δουλεύειν ἀποκεκληρωμένοι : this is quite incomprehensible. Charicleia has only just proved to her own satisfaction that their sacrifice is certain. There can be no question of their enslavement. Heliodoros appears

once more guilty of careless writing, although in this case the pressures which led him into the pitfall are readily apparent. Some phrase was necessary to emphasise the lowly status of the two in relation to the king, and the stock response to this need would be to place them in a servant/master relationship.

πεπλασμένοι καὶ ἀπάβαυοι : picked up in the next section by ὅτι μὴ πλάσμα ἦσμὲν μηδὲ ἀπάτη . This is another example of Heliodoros' ability to make speakers react to each other's words (cf.9.23.5 and my note).

C.L.Struve (Opuscula Selecta Vol.1 p.252) suggests ἀπατηλοί for ἀπάβαυοι in order to make the correspondence with the next section more exact, but such symmetry is not necessary. What Heliodoros is doing is not deriving an adjective from ἀπάτη but finding an abstract noun to pick up ἀπάβαυοι ; ἀπάτη is the obvious choice.

καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς: another of Heliodoros' stage metaphors (cf. Walden op.cit.). The μηχανή is commonly used by Heliodoros to signify a sudden or unexpected event: cf.2.3.3, 5.12.2, 7.6.5, 10.9.5, 10.12.2, 10.39.2.

9.24.7.

τὰ γνωρίσματα ... συλλήψεται: there is no justification for translating συλλαμβάνω as if it meant "prove", as do Maillon and Lamb. Hirschig captures the sense:"sed indicia ... nobiscum facient, ut non figmento uti, neque fraude, videamur."

ὅρμοι : cf.2.31.2: συνεξεκέκτο δὲ αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ παιδίῳ) καὶ λίθων ὅρμος ... καὶ ταινία ; the ὅρμοι and other tokens are kept constantly before the reader's attention; cf.4.15.4, 5.5.4, 5.11.5, 8.9.8, 8.11.8, and 10.14.2, where Charicleia finally produces her tokens, including these necklaces.

κλοπῆς ... καὶ λῃστείας ... ὑπόνοιαν προσάπτοντες : this and the next section foreshadow Hydaspes' actual reaction to the production of the tokens; cf.10.13.4-5. The reader, of course, is not to know this, but we may suppose that he is intended now to begin to realise that the process of recognition and salvation will not be as simple as he had perhaps assumed. From this point onwards, the tension of the plot is generated in successive greviously ignored complications; this section may be said to lay the way for the difficulties of Charicleia's recognition. Compare the way in which the reader is made aware that the rescue of Theagenes will not follow automatically on that of Charicleia (see my notes on 10.9.2).

ἐν ἑνὶ τύχῃ : oddly used twice in close succession. This appears to be a conventional formula to express an extreme possibility; cf. 1.26.5, 8.5.7 and 10.13.1.

8.24.8

τίς ... ἡ δεδωκυῖα ... τίς ... ὁ πείσων: an interesting stylistic structure. Heliodorus has succeeded in giving an appearance of symmetry where no syntactic parallelism exists. This is achieved by his repetition of τίς ὅτι at

the beginning of each colon, and by concluding each colon with a nominative participle with the article. In fact the second participle, ὁ πείσων , governs both ὅτι clauses and agrees with the two τίς 's, while the first, ἡ δεδωκυῖα , is part of one of the two subordinate clauses governed by ὁ πείσων.

ἀνανταίρητον γνώρισμα, ὦ Θεάγενες, ἡ μητρώα φύσις : this is borne out by 10.7.3f. When Persinna first sees Charicleia she is deeply moved, but rather cleverly Heliodoros allows the possibility of this being because of Charicleia's superhuman beauty rather than arising from an unknown bond between mother and daughter. φύσις becomes a key word during the recognition sequences of the first half of the tenth book, contrasted with the νόμος which demands the sacrifice.

Mrs. West points out to me that this sententia looks like a slightly reworked trimeter: γνώρισμ' ἀναντίρρητον ἡ μητρὸς φύσις. Perhaps we have here an allusion to a lost tragedy, or perhaps Heliodoros is merely trying to give that flavour to his sententia.

9.25.1

ὁ Βαγώας: this name is apparently authentic and was borne by several Persian eunuchs (see RE sv.Bagoas). The most famous among them was a commander under Artaxerxes Ochos. This was probably the Bagoas who owned the famous gardens in Babylon (Theophr.Hist.Plant.2.6.7). In connection with these gardens Pliny (Nat.Hist.13.41) remarks that Bagoas is the Persian word for a eunuch. Others known to history include Alexander's favourite (Plut.Alex.67), who was probably the same person as the Persian trierarch in the fleet in the Hydaspes (Arr.Ind.38); a party leader in Cappadocia who joined Mithridates (App.Mithr.10); and a victim of Herod the Great (Jos.Ant.Jud.17.44).

The name entered the literary tradition as a stock name for a eunuch. Apart from the Pliny passage referred to above, and the character in Heliodoros, we may cite the main figure in Lucian's Eunouchos, and the guardian of the bed-chamber in Ov.Amor.2.2.1.

ὁ ὑδάσπης ... ἀνήλατο etc.: cf.9.1.3; Hydaspes has already been unknowingly moved by his natural instincts. Compare his dream with that which his wife recounts in 10.3.1. For εἰς ἐκμὴν τοιαύτην compare Persinna's remark in 10.7.4 that if her own daughter had lived she would have been about the same age as Charicleia.

From this point onwards Heliodoros makes considerable use of dramatic irony; that is, he exploits situations where the whole truth is known to the reader but not to the characters

concerned.

ἐπὶ συννόως ἑαυτὸν ἤλαυνε : note again the unusual use of the imperfect tense in narrative. I have not been able to find ἐλαύνω used reflexively, as it is here, in any other writer. For the phrase ἐπὶ συννόως compare Alciphr.3.67.

ταυτὴν ... τετέχθαι μοι θυγατέρα etc.: Hydaspes' dream is to be taken with that of Persinna related, and misinterpreted with similar irony,at 10.3.1ff. The sole literary purpose of these dreams is to produce irony; they do not serve an anticipatory or motivating function (on this compare Hägg op.cit.p.221ff., 228ff.,237ff.), such as do the dream of Thyamis in 1.19.2ff., where Thyamis' false interpretation motivates the action, and the vision of Calasiris at 3.11.5ff. Heliodoros is in fact given to the device of using dreams to motivate and advance his narrative; compare also Calasiris' dream of Odysseus at 5.22.1ff., the prescient dream of Charicles at 4.14.2, which is exploited with ironic effect similar to the present example, the double vision of Calasiris which appears to Theagenes and Charicleia in Memphis, and the dream of Hydaspes which may be said to motivate the whole plot at 4.9.4. An odd instance is the apparently prophetic dream of Charicleia at 2.16.1ff., which turns out to be a red herring.

Romancers are fond of significant dreams appearing simultaneously to different characters; we may assume at least an approximate synchronisation between the dreams of Hydaspes and Persinna (compare my notes on 10.1.2).

Besides the example at 8.11.1ff., we may compare Ach.Tat.4.1.4ff., Char.1.12.5-10, and the specifically religious examples from the last book of Apuleius' Metamporphoses (11.1-3, 11.21-2, 11.26-7). On the phenomenon of double dreams in other literature, see A.Wickenhauser: Doppelträume; Biblica 29 (1948) p.100ff. On dreams in the romances and their significance see F.Weinstock: De somniorum visionumque in amatoriis Graecorum fabulis vi atque usu; Eos 35 (1934) p.29ff., a thorough if pedestrian study; also the discussion by Kerényi (Die griechisch - orientalische Romanliteratur p.165ff.), which is somewhat vitiated by his attempts to relate all possible evidence to an untenable central thesis, but which nevertheless remains a useful collection of material; and the examples from romances and related Christian narrative genres collected by R.Söder (Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten, p.171 ff.)

I feel that it is mistaken to "interpret" dreams from romances as if they presented a coherent corpus. Apart perhaps from the examples in the eleventh book of Apuleius, their function tends to be literary rather than religious, and they are capable of being employed to produce a number of literary effects: suspense of anticipation, motivation of a character, a riddling effect where the significance is not clear either to readers or to fictional characters but is revealed by the course of events, or irony arising from what is immediately discernible as an incorrect interpretation.

9.25.2

τὴν δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν εἰπόντων etc.: there is heavy irony at work in this explanation. The king's advisers are obviously much closer to the truth than they suspect. There is a noticeable implausibility in Hydaspes' lack of reaction to what they say; clearly, for the sake of the plot, he must not seek too deeply at this stage but be content with their explanation of his dream. Nevertheless we should have expected him to react in some way to the news that his dream of Charicleia as a daughter not a captive could be a prefiguration of the future. Heliodoros was faced here with a choice between two effects, and seems to have tried a compromise, not entirely successfully. He wanted an explanation of some sort to put a temporary halt to Hydaspes' curiosity, and at the same time he wanted further to exploit the potential irony of the situation by having the advisers say something quite close to the truth. He was much drawn to the irony, so that the explanation offered is not in fact an explanation at all, and is so phrased that it would excite any normal person to even greater curiosity. However, it still serves the same function as if it were a convincing, rational explanation of his vision, and Hydaspes is then made to put his dream out of his mind (ἐν παρέργῳ τότε τὸ ὀφθὲν ποιησάμενος).

(εἰς) ὤωλα: Bekker's insertion of εἰς appears necessary to extract any sense out of the Greek; without εἰς we would

be forced to take τὰ μέλλοντα and εἴδωλα together, but τὰ μέλλοντα εἴδωλα could not possibly mean "simulacra futurarum rerum" (Hirschig). We may add that ἐς could easily have dropped out of the text because of its similarity to the termination of the preceding word, πολλάκις .

προτυπουμένης : for the middle compare Luc.Par.40. The active form προτυπόω is extensively used of prefiguration by patristic authors.

τίνες καὶ ὁπόθεν εἶεν etc.: Hydaspes' memory must be very short ! In 9.24.1 the cantors of Theagenes and Charicleia announced ἡμῖν δὲ οὐ κρυστὸς οὐ λίβυς τὰ λάφυρα ... ἄλλα σοι κόρην καὶ νεανίαν ... ἀδελφοὺς μὲν καὶ Ἕλληνας . He does not seem to be asking for more detailed information, since he does not press Theagenes beyond his answer, which does no more than repeat what has already been said.

ἀνιωμένης δὲ τῆς Χαρικλείας καὶ τοῦ Θεαγένους ἀπόντος : compare 1.21.3, where Charicleia replies to Thyamis' proposal of marriage, but thinks that Theagenes should be doing the talking, πρέπειν γὰρ εἶναι γυναικὶ μὲν σιγὴν ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἀπόκρισιν ἐν ἀνδράσιν , and 10.13.2, where she expresses a similar reluctance The belief in the propriety of a woman's silence was common in fifth-century Athens, whence Heliodoros may have derived it as a literary affectation (although it is possible to see a hint of his own misogyny); cf.Soph.Ajax 293, Soph.Frag.61 N, Eur.Heraclid.476, Aes.Sept.232, Democrit.Frag.274 D.

εὐσύμβολα : cf.9.1.3-4: ἐφάνητο δὲ πλέον τῷ συμβόλῳ δεσμίων

προσαιρομένων . καὶ , εὖ γε , ἀνεβόησε , δεσμίους ἡμῖν σὺ θεοὶ
τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῶν πρωτολείων παραδιδόσαι .

9.25.3

ἀλλὰ πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ παῖς : RL question the use of παῖς here;
"l'emploi de παῖς , non accompagné d'un mot qui détermine
le genre, dans le sens de 'fils' par opposition à 'fille'
est étrange." However, the sense of the passage rules out
the use of a definite article to establish gender, and the
example quoted by RL themselves from 5.33.4 shows that
Heliodoros could use παῖς as a contrast to θυγατήρ. I would
conclude that he would have seen nothing objectionable
in constructing the same antithesis without the definite
articles. The sense is never in doubt.

Hydaspes returns to this question at 10.13.2, where
there are a few discrepancies with the present passage.
See my notes ad loc.

καὶ μὴν Ῥωμὴν ἑλληνίζων : despite the parallel from Philostratos
(Vit.Apoll.2.31) furnished by both Coraes and RL, I doubt
whether this really reflects anything other than Heliodoros'
concern for the plausibilities of "the language barrier".
The Gymnosophists and Hydaspes play large parts in the
final book, and it would be cumbersome and inconvenient
if they were not able to speak Greek and converse fluently
with Theagenes and Charicleia. For a fuller discussion
of Heliodoros' interest in this problem, see the notes

on 9.24.2.

It is interesting, but irrelevant, that the kings of Axum did in fact cultivate Greek; cf.Anon.Peripl.Mar. Erythr.5, and the inscription set up by the Axumitic king Aizanes (Ἐζανᾶ) in the ruins of Meroe (OGIS 200).

προεδωλοποιηθῆναι : the verb προεδωλοποιέω occurs nowhere else. The simple ἐδωλοποιέω is found, as Maillon points out, as early as Plato (Rep.605c).

τοῖς Γυμνοσοφισταῖς : for a full discussion see my notes on 10.2.1.

9.25.1

ἡ ἀνερμήνευτος αὕτη μου βυβάστης : ἀνερμήνευτος is a neologism, formed to give a play on words with the preceding ἀνερμήνευτον. I do not find this as offensive as Maillon appears to in his "Préface du traducteur" in RL's edition. See especially his strictures on Heliodoros' "mauvais goût" (Vol.1 p.xcii-iii).

There is increased irony through this section as Hydaspes fails to see the point of Charicleia's oracular utterances, which the reader understands perfectly.

σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ ἀφθονίᾳ τῆ συνήθει etc.: cf.9.1.5: σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ τῆ πάσῃ διδόντες καὶ δίκαιον ἄφθονον παρέχειν.

9.25.5

ὑπηρετουμένων : Heliodoros consistently uses the middle in place of the classical active; cf.7.19.6; also Alciphr.1.11.

τῶν Ὀροονδάπου κτῆμα τὸ τιμιώτατον: compare 3.17.4, where Bagoas is called κτῆμα τῶν τοῦ σατράπου τὸ τιμιώτατον, and different reasons are given for the zealous loyalty of eunuchs, that they have no children or family ties to seduce them from their allegiance to their masters.

Rekker was the first to print 3.17.4 in the form quoted above; the MSS all read κτημάτων τοῦ σατράπου ... In Rekker's version, however, 3.17.4 supports and is supported by the reading of the manuscripts at 9.25.5; Coraes' conjectural κτημάτων in place of κτῆμα is therefore unnecessary; it arose from a desire to purify Heliodoros' Greek.

πολλῆς διὰ τὴν ὥραν προνοίας δεομένης etc.: compare the amazement of the Ethiopian populace when Charicleia's virginity is proven by the ordeal of the brazier (10.9.4). Hydaspes seems to be prejudging the results of that test, but the motif of virginity does not really begin to play a significant rôle until the tenth book, when some confusion occurs over what qualifications are needed to become a sacrifice to the sun.

ἔχει τι ζηλότυπον etc.: cf.3.6.2: ὃ δὴ καὶ φύσει μὲν τὴν εὐνούχων ζηλοτυπίαν νοσῶν. The jealousness with which eunuchs performed their duties forms the central theme of Ov.Amor.2.3 (the second of a diptych showing a lover's altering attitude to the eunuch whom he at first tries to win over and then reviles for refusing him admittance.)

9.26.1

τοὺς ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους: compare my note on 9.24.2. There has been no action in which these prisoners could have been taken, and one must assume that Heliodoros has provided Hydaspes with prisoners of war because he felt them to be part of the accoutrement of a victorious general and a worthy object for the king's clemency and magnanimity.

τοὺς μὲν δωρούμενος etc.: this is standard procedure for the big-hearted conqueror. Even the brigand chief Thyamis allowed well born women to go free and distributed among his men only those who were used to slavery. The men, however, he kept as members of his band if they were strong enough (1.19.5). According to RL's note on this earlier passage, this was also customary behaviour in Algeria.

ὃν δούλους ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγνώριζεν ἡ τύχη: γνωρίζω here is used in the same sense as to recognise someone as king; cf.9.27.2 and Hdn.8.6.2; perhaps also compare two papyri (PGU.581.17 and P.Oxy.1024.18) where γνωρίζω is used in certifying a person's identity.

τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ ὥρᾳ διατρεφόντων: again the qualifications for sacrifice are becoming a little blurred (see my note on 9.25.5). Up to this point, the assumption has been that Theagenes and Charicleia will be sacrificed because they were the first prisoners taken in the campaign; cf.9.1.4. Now twenty other young people are chosen simply for their physical beauty. In the tenth book another qualification,

virginity, is added.

χρεὼν ἀνάγεσθαι : we should accept the correction χρεὼν [ἂν] ἄγεσθαι made by J.Jackson (op.cit.p.105). Heliodoros elsewhere uses the uncompounded ἄγειν in similar contexts; Jackson lists examples from 9.25.4 (misprinted as 9.15), 10.17.1, 10.33.4 and 10.34.6.

9.26.2

μετάκλητον : the only occurrence of μετάκλητος previous to Heliodoros that I have been able to find is at Apoll.Dysc. de synt.2.96; cf., from later writers, Agathias 1.20 and Const.Manass.Chron.5830.

τὰς προλάβεις ... ὑπ' ἐμαυτῷ πεποιημένος : for the capture of Philai cf.8.1.1, and for the cession of the emerald mines cf.9.6.5.

οὐδὲ εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκτείνω τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὴν νίκην : compare the similar sentiments expressed through a herald at 9.6.3.

ἐς ἔθετο ἐς ἀρχῆς ἡ Φύσις : cf.8.1.2 - the Ethiopians maintained the cataract as the natural border; Philai had been settled by Egyptians and so was claimed as legitimately captured territory. In fact (according to Kees in RE sv.Syene), the town of Syene was an Egyptian colony in an area whose indigenous inhabitants were Nubians. The frontier between Ethiopia and Egypt was previously at Gebel-Silsile, and it was with its advancement to the first cataract that Syene took on great strategic importance. For references to Syene as the southern frontier post of Egypt (which

implies the cataract as a dividing line) cf.Ezekiel 29.10.30, Strab.17.1.3, Eustath.ad Dion.Perieg.251; Aristid.Or.36.59 K places the boundary at Philai, adjacent to Syene. Under the Romans the frontier was pushed southwards; C.Petronius in 24 BC tried to establish the boundary at Primis, but Augustus revoked the settlement of his own general and drew the border back to Hiera Sycaminos (cf.Philostr.Vit. Apoll.6.2). The Meroitic peoples seem to have been weakened both by the Roman advance and by trouble with nomadic tribes, including the Blemmyes. About the end of the second century Septimius Severus extended the frontier formally to Primis, but in 297 Diocletian made the decision to withdraw from the Dodecaschoinos and tried to get the nomadic Nobatae to guard the frontier (cf.Procop.de bell.Pers.1.19). From this period onwards the Blemmyes began to make incursions, and there is a long history of Roman settlements. For a full history of the southern frontier of the Roman province, see the article on Syene in RE by Kees, and Woolley and Randall-MacIver op.cit. Chapter 12.

Where the "natural" boundary was to be drawn remained a matter of personal preference; Philostratos (Vit.Apoll.6.1) places it as far south as Meroe itself.

9.26.3

τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς σατράπευε: it was a policy of Alexander's to allow defeated Persian satraps to retain their positions,

for example Onyartes, as recounted by Curt.8.4.21. But I doubt whether we would be justified in regarding, with Feuillâtre, this action of Hydaspes as being based on the Alexander model. The situations, for instance, are vastly different: Alexander was building an empire, while Hydaspes actually seems to regard the acquiring of territory by conquest as πλεονεξία (9.26.2). Thus while Alexander's action is determined more by administrative convenience than by anything else, Hydaspes is acting out of pure benevolence.

ἀδελφὸς ὁ σὸς etc.: the actual text of the letter Oroondates is to send slips into direct speech; the second person now refers to the Persian king.

It appears to have been a form of protocol for kings to address each other as brother, presumably to emphasise the equality of their relationship; cf.Jos.Ant.Jud.13.45, OGIS.138 etc.

τῇ μὲν χειρὶ ...: note the stylistic form of the sentence, with the balancing cola, each introduced by a feminine dative singular and each ending with a third person singular verb, apparently chosen to produce a disyllabic rhyme (κεκράτηκε ... μεθῆκε).

τοὺς τεθνηκότας φόρους ἐπὶ δεκάδα ἐτῶν etc.: compare the identical treatment given to the Blemmyes as a reward for their services in the battle at 10.26.3. The similarity with the later passage helps to secure Z's reading δεκάδα here.

9.27.1

τὼν χεῖρε προτείνας etc.: this is not the usual form of proscynesis involving prostration, but it does seem to be authentic. Cf.Dio Cass.63.2 (= Loeb Vol.8 p.140): ἐς γῆν τὸ γόνυ καθεὶς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαλλάξας, δεσπότην τε αὐτὸν ὀνομάσας καὶ προσκυνήσας (Tiridates is making obeisance to Nero); and Plut.Luc.21: κεκυφότος δὲ καὶ χρηματίζοντι (sc.Tigranes) περιεστῶτας (sc.βασιλεῖς) ἐπηλλαγμένους δ' ἀλλήλων ταῖς χερσίν, ὅπερ ἔθους μάλιστα τῶν σχημάτων ἐξομολόγησις εἶναι δουλείας, οὓς ἀποδομένων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ κυρίῳ παρέχοντων παθεῖν ἑτοιμότερον ἢ ποιῆσαι.

Sittl (Gebärden p.149ff.) seems to be right in regarding this gesture of outstretched and crossed arms as a symbolic invitation to bind the hands of the person performing the gesture (compare the Plutarch passage quoted above). Thus it would be a very appropriate way for a satrap to signify his loyalty, and understandably disloyal for him to make the gesture to another monarch, as it would symbolise the transference of his allegiance from one king to another. This is the line taken by Heliodoros (see esp.9.27.2). His information appears to be reliable in this instance, although any attempt to guess at his source would be dangerous. It is worth noting too that he (or his source) has understood the significance of proscynesis better than most Greeks. As argued by E.J.Bickermann (Parola del passato, 1963, p.241ff.), the early Greek contacts with Persia misinterpreted a gesture

which, while the Greeks used it only towards the gods, the Persians used as a normal symbol of respect. The Greeks wrongly assumed that its use towards the Persian king involved his deification.

The entire subject of proscynesis is discussed thoroughly, if somewhat unimaginatively, by J.Horst: Proskynein (Gütersloh, 1932.).

9.27.2

καὶ, ὦ παρόντες, εὖ δοκῶμεν etc.: the whole of this section is most carefully constructed for rhetorical effect. It will be worth while to make a detailed analysis.

The main verb is δοκῶ and is placed at the start of the sentence: dependent on it are two infinitives linked by having the same prepositional prefix (παραβαίνειν ... παρανομεῖν). The second of these infinitive phrases includes a play on the idea of νόμος (παρανομεῖν τὸν ἐννομώτατον). Dependent on an accusative in the second infinitive phrase are four participial cola describing the benevolence of Hydaspes; these are divided, characteristically, into two μὲν ... δὲ pairs, linked by a central καὶ, each contrasting Hydaspes' possible cruelty with his actual benevolence. The first of these pairs is so arranged that each limb begins with an infinitive, although the second of these (τὸ εἶναι) is in fact used as an abstract noun; the second pair is more simply constructed, each limb consisting of

a participle directly governing an infinitive. The symmetry of the construction of these four cola is emphasised by the familiar rhyming pattern produced by placing each participle at the end of its colon. Heliodoros obviously enjoyed the effect this produces, although it sometimes seems rather monotonous to modern sensibilities; he could easily have rearranged his word order to avoid the rhyme, had he so desired. Moreover, he appears to have gone out of his way to choose middle forms in preference to actives to strengthen his rhyming scheme.

9.27.3

ἐι μὲν περιοιτεύην etc.: Oroondates echoes Hydaspes' words in 9.26.3. Thus ἐι μὲν περιοιτεύην picks up σὺ δὲ ἐι περιγένοιο ; and Oroondates then goes on to restate Hydaspes' themes of friendship between Ethiopia and Persia, and remission of tribute for the people of Syene.

ἐιρήνην ... βαθεῖαν: for this rather peculiar phrase cf. Luc.Tox.36.

ἐγγυῶμαι ... ἐμπεδώσειν: both εἰρήνην and φιλίαν are direct objects of ἐμπεδώσειν . The word order is rather recherché, the result of a desire to avoid the obvious.