10.1.1

παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ... πρὸς τοσοῦτον δὲ: note the parallelism strengthened by anaphora; at the same time Heliodoros has tried to achieve as much variety as possible, a) by using a different preposition in each limb of the antithesis and b) by adopting the formula τοσοῦτον ... κινδύνου, which is not significantly different from a straightforward accusative.

δι' <ἑνὸς> εὐνομίαν ἀνδρὸς : cf.10.3.3, ... τοῦ Ὑδάσπου θυμηδούντων, ἀνδρὸς δι' εὐνομίαν ... πατρικόν τινα ἔρωτα τοῖς δήμοις ἐνστάξαντος. After the Syene episode, in which Hydaspes' virtues of leadership and clemency were paramount, Heliodoros is now concerned to establish a new set of characteristics, emphasised in at least two cases by a close verbal similarity (compare also 10.2.2 with 10.3.3.)

Coraes' insertion of ἑνός seems inevitable if the emphases of the sentence are to be at all clear. For similar ideas and phrasing cf.9.7.2, Plut.Lys.11 and Plut.Dion 11.

10.1.2

καὶ <τῆς> παραποταμίας ἐχόμενος : RL have added τῆς, finding it difficult to take the two expressions τοῦ Νείλου and παραποταμίας as both qualifying τῆς ὄχθης. Stephanus' Thesaurus quotes the phrase παραποταμία ὄχθη without naming a source, and I have been unable to find it used outside this passage. There seems an even stronger consideration in favour of adding the article which RL do not mention, the parallelism

between τῆς παραποταμίας ἐκόμενος here and τῆς μεσογαίας μᾶλλον ἔχετο later in the sentence. Although ἡ παραποταμία usually denotes the area around the Euphrates in Syria (thus Strab.16.2.11), it is found in connection with the Nile at Diod.3.8, as RL point out in their note.

βύσσῳ τῷ Νείλῳ καὶ θεοῖς ἐνορίοις : Bonneau (op.cit.p.320) compares OGIS 130.11, an inscription recording a sacrifice to unnamed σύννεοι θεοί at the first cataract, and suggests that the Nile was one of these deities. For the divinity of the Nile see my notes on 9.9.3 and 9.22.7.

The θεοὶ ἔνόριοι are more perplexing, and I have not been able to find the phrase used elsewhere. It seems accepted to interpret the phrase as referring to tutelary powers residing on the border of Egypt and Ethiopia. This, however, does violence to the normal usage of ἔνόριος , which refers to something enclosed by boundaries. Thus ἡ ἐναρία χώρα means the "land within the boundaries" (Poll.9.8), and ἡ ἐνορία by itself comes to mean "territory" (thus P.Oxy.1101.5), and in Christian writers "parish or diocese" (eg.Euseb.Hist. Eccl.7.17 = PG.20.249b). So the ἔνόριοι θεοί will be the gods of the country that Hydaspes is now leaving. Although Meroitic religion was actually based on Egyptian cult, we must remember that in the Aithiopica Ethiopia has its own ancestral deities. Hydaspes makes the last pious gesture of sacrificing to the gods of Egypt before leaving their jurisdiction. With the ἔνόριοι θεοί compare the ἔφοροι

βοσί of 1.30.5, the νύκιοι βοσί of 3.4.11 and the ἑνάλιοι βοσί of 5.20.2.

τὴν μεσογάιαν μᾶλλον εἶχετο καὶ εἰς τὰς Φίλας etc.: Heliodoros' geography is here at its worst. As noted before (see notes on 9.6.5, 9.7.1, 9.7.3, 9.11.2), Philai was an island in the Nile, close to Syene. It therefore could not be reached by following the inland road. Attempts to excuse Heliodoros' geography by claiming textual corruption (as Z.Glava: A Study of Heliodorus and his Romance, reviewed by Rattenbury in CR 1939) are a little sanguine in the face of such consistent ignorance. It is certain that Heliodoros had no first-hand knowledge of Egyptian topography, but is merely conjuring with famous names.

At the same time, Rattenbury's attitude in the review referred to is quaintly puritanical. He calls Heliodoros "a writer to whom effect was more important than truth", and clearly intends this as a serious criticism. But, on reflection, I feel that Rattenbury's words sum up a novelist's aim fairly accurately; he has no obligation to truth in the narrow factual sense here intended, and indeed the whole concept of fiction is a rejection of historiographical truth as a primary aim. Geographical and historical details can only serve a decorative function at the most, by relating the fictional occurrences of the novel to the real world, and to achieve verisimilitude of this kind effect is more important than strict accuracy. At its most radical the conflict between "Art" and "Truth" can be seen in a work

like Jean Anouilh's "Becket", where much of the drama arises from a situation which the author acknowledges as far from historical fact. The case of Heliodoros is of course less extreme, and it does not make a great deal of difference to our assessment of him as a novelist whether he has the position of Philai right or not. Rattenbury seems to perpetuate the classical belief that there is inherently something unworthy in literary fiction; I feel it is time that we moved away from this attitude, and stopped viewing the romances merely as rather odd source-books for religious and anthropological data.

The superiority of the reading μεσογαίας over Z's μεσογείας is confirmed by 9.5.5. αὐθις δὲ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ πλήθους προαποστείλας : although Hydaspes is never actually said to catch up with the bulk of his army, it is clear from the events in Meroe that he does not arrive after it, and in fact only arrives a day after the two horsemen despatched in 10.1.3 (cf.the gymnosophists' reaction at 10.4.4.). This illustrates further Heliodoros' lack of concern with the niceties of geography. According to Hdt.2.29 and 2.31, the journey from Syene to Meroe took two months, and even this is optimistic in comparison with Aristides' estimate of four to six months (Or.36.55 K). Heliodoros intends his readers to telescope the pasage of time, and the similarity between the dreams of Hydaspes and Persinna (9.25.1ff. and 10.3.1, with my notes on 9.25.1)

contributes to this effect; remembering, for instance, the apparition of Calasiris to both Theagenes and Charicleia in Arsace's dungeon (3.11), the practised reader will assume a degree of synchronisation, and certainly will not treat the dreams as nearly six months apart. In a six months' journey fast horsemen would build up a lead of more than one day over a slow-moving army. Even if Heliodoros were aware of the distances involved (and his references elsewhere to Herodotos make it likely that he had come across the lower estimate at least), he might still have felt some compunction in slowing down the pace of the action to such an extent when he has succeeded in compressing the plot into little more than a month altogether (cf.Hefti op.cit.p.127), and he has smoothed over the problem skilfully by means of a scene-change which enables him to dispense altogether with a description of the army's journey from Syene to Meroe.

10.1.3

Δύο δὲ ἱππεῖς etc.: the messengers invite comparison with the famous Persian system described by Herodotos (8.98) and Xenophon (Cyr.8.6.18). This involved a prearranged relay of riders, each going at top speed for a day or a night and then handing the message over to the next one. Possibly the considerations outlined in the previous note deterred Heliodoros from a system which requires a distance

of at least several days' fast riding to be at all effective. Besides, any digression here would be otiose, and positively harmful to the change of scene, which depends on a continuity as unbroken as possible between the despatch of the message and its being received.

τὴν νίκην εὐαγγελιζόμενος : for the direct object with εὐαγγελίζομαι cf.2.10.1, 10.3.1 and Alciphr.3.12.

10.2.1

οἱ γυμνοσοφισταὶ κέκληνται: the true gymnosophists were the ascetic sages of India, and were later identified with Brahmans. The first Greek encounter with them seems to have been Alexander's, which exists in several versions, the most important in this context being that which took on an anecdotal form and entered popular literature. The sources of the incident are discussed by U.Wilcken in Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1923 p.150ff. See too R.Merkelbach: Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans; Zetemata Heft 9 p.113, who prints a composite text of the episode. Wilcken traces the tradition back to a cynic writer who was not Onesicritos; Onesicritos' version (quoted by Strab. 15.1.63ff.) is considerably more complimentary to Alexander, as we should expect from a man who was his close friend. The popular version, however, portrays Alexander as an out-and-out tyrant, trying to trick the wise men into giving false answers. It exists in two different forms; the first is represented by Plut.Alex.64.1, P.Perlin 13044 (published by Wilcken op.cit., and dated by him to the beginning of the first century BC), the Metz epitome 78ff. (=Thomas p.27f.) and Clem.Alex.Strom.6.4.382; the second is found in the Alexander Romance 3.6.1ff. and in Julius Valerius 3.11ff., while an earlier stage of this tradition appears to be reflected in the Talmud (Tamid fol.31b-f; this influence is also

discernible in the letter of Aristeas to Philocrates - see O.Murray in JTS 1967 p.343-9).

The Onesicritos version is significant in that he praises the gymnosophists for esteeming φύσις above νόμος, and explicit criticisms are aimed at Pythagoras, Socrates and Diogenes for failing to do so (Strab.15.1.63); the connection of their thought with φύσις recurs in Nearchos' account (Strab.15.1.66). This kind of wisdom is very close to that involved in the last book of the Aithiopica, where the ritual of human sacrifice is presented in terms of a conflict between νόμος and φύσις.

By the time of Heliodoros literature on the gymnosophists had proliferated; the references are conveniently collected in Proloer and Pömer's Fontes Historiae Religionum Indicarum. The extent to which they had become a conventional type of the philosopher may be indicated by the strange essay of Ps.Palladios (edited by J.D.M.Derrett in Class.et Med.1960 p.64ff.), which preserves an earlier treatise said to be a youthful work of Arrian. It was perhaps inevitable for such a widespread tradition to become to an extent delocalised, and to some writers (eg.Ps.Arist. quoted in Diog.Laert.Proem.1.1) the gymnosophists were simply "barbarian philosophers."

It is nevertheless slightly disconcerting to find them at Meroe, but Heliodoros was not the first to effect the change. It is quite clear that in this point he is following the lead of Philostratos, his dependence being strikingly

confirmed by the detail of a black man blushing (Philostr. Vit.Apoll.6.12 cf.Hld.10.24.2), and it also appears that readers of late antiquity were not very surprised to find Ethiopian gymnosophists in Philostratos; they are referred to without comment by Sidonius Apollinaris (Epist.8.3.4) and Jerome (Epist.53.1.4 = CSEL.54.1910, and 107.8.3 = CSEL.55.1912), both of whom differentiate between the gymnosophists of Ethiopia or Egypt and the "Pragmanes" of India. Confusion is increased by a passage of Damascios' life of Isidore (Epit.Photiana 67 = p.96 Zintzen) which talks of Brahmans resident in Alexandria. It does rather look as if the originally precise names are wandering and becoming applied to any vaguely oriental sage or priest, at least of an ascetic type.

I have already discussed the literary tradition of Ethiopian piety (see my note on 9.6.2). Some writers went so far as to link Ethiopian wisdom with the gymnosophists of India, for example Luc.Fug.6ff.:

Ζεύς· τοὺς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς λέγεις etc.

φιλοσοφία· μετὰ δ' οὖν τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν εὐθύς, εἶτα εἰς Αἴγυπτον κατέβην....,

while Philostr.Vit.Apoll.6.16 (p.228K) actually claims that the Ethiopians were ἄποικοι of the Indians. The identification became all the easier because there does appear to have been an earlier tradition of native sages in Ethiopia: Diog.Laert.9.7.35 talks of Democritos visiting the gymnosophists

in India, and then going on to Ethiopia, and Plin.Nat.Hist.25.13 reports that both Pythagoras and Democritos visited the "magi" of Persia, Arabia, Ethiopia and Egypt.

This terminological vagueness seems to me sufficient to account for the Ethiopian gymnosophists in Philostratos and Heliodoros, without recourse to a formula as drastic as that of Rohde, that the ancients did not know the difference between Ethiopia and India. There was of course confusion between the two, and instances of details proper to Ethiopia finding their way into descriptions of India, or vice versa, are not uncommon (see A.Dihle: Der fruchtbare Osten;Rh.Mus. 1962 p.100 n.6; id.Umstrittene Daten p.65ff. and especially A.Lesky: Aithiopika; Hermes 1959). But,granted the dependence of Heliodoros on Philostratos, there is no lack of ability to differentiate between Ethiopia and India in the authors concerned. Philostratos is clearly aware that they are two different places and even attempts to explain similarities by a theory that the Ethiopians are Indian colonists; Heliodoros for his part is working with a reasonably accurate geographical source in his description of the Island of Meroe (see notes on 10.5.1ff.), and so we may guess that he was fairly conversant with accepted geographical data, even though in an unguarded moment he could let slip a remark which seems to regard Indian and Ethiopian amethysts as identical (5.14.1 - although this does not logically prove that he had identified Ethiopia with India, any more than his comments in the preceding

chapter prove that he thought that Spain and Britain were the same place)

συνέδρια τε καὶ σύμβουλοι ... τῷ βασιλεῖ γινόμενοι : compare Nearchos' account (Strab.15.1.66), where the Brahmans are said to ... πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς βασιλέως συμβούλοις, and that of Megasthenes, also preserved by Strabo (15.1.49): ἑβδόμους δ' εἶναι σύμβουλοι καὶ σύνεδροι τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἀρχεῖα καὶ δικαστήρια καὶ ἡ διοίκησις τῶν ὅλων; cf.15.139: κοινῇ δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην λεγομένην σύνοδον etc.

For the respect which Hydaspes shows the gymnosophists - for example the adjective θειοτάτῳ earlier in this sentence - compare the statement of the scholiast on Hom.Il.1.340 (=Dindorf Vol.3 p.55, derived from Porphyrios) that even kings perform proscynesis on meeting a Brahman, echoed by Jerome (adv.Iovinianum 2.14).

ἀλαζονευόμενος τὸ κατόρθωμα : for ἀλαζονεύομαι with a direct object cf.Arist.Oec.1344a19, where, however, the sense is different. I have not been able to find another example of this construction when the verb means "boast about"; it usually occurs either with περί + Gen. or ἐπί +Dat.

τὸ μὲν ἄῤῥητον τῆς τύχης : this is no more than a conventional pious formula and tells us nothing about Heliodoros' conception of τύχη. For the role of τύχη in the Aithiopica see the examples quoted by Rohde p.436/464 n.2 and my Introduction § 2, on the religious background of the work.

τῇ γράμματι προδεξιούμενος : a rather strange phrase; Maillon ducks the difficulty. Hydasnes is explaining his motives in sending the letter; it is not because he is proud of his success, but he wishes to salute the gymnosophists by letter, that is before he arrives and greets them face to face. From his phrasing we may deduce that the gymnosophists had prophesied his victory (ἀεί τε καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἐπικληθεύουσαν).

The reading προδεξιούμενος occurs only in Z; all the other MSS have προσδεξιούμενος. Neither word is found anywhere else, but Z's gives a clearly preferable sense. The phrase is consciously paradoxical and the compound was coined specially.

εἰς τὸν εἰωθότα Τόπον : the implication here and throughout the following chapters is that these Ethiopian victory celebrations were a frequent event; we may wonder why, for example, the gymnosophists had never voiced their opposition to blood sacrifice before.

παρακαλῶν καὶ δυσωπῶν: for δυσωπέω in the sense of "entreat" compare 10.34.4 (and my note); the sense is fairly common in later Greek, although represented only by the present passage in LSJ; compare Euseb.D.E.7.1 (=PG.22.533c), Bas.Ep.174 (=PG.32.652a), Eus.Al.Scrm.8 (=PG.86.357b), Malalas Chron.5 p.124 (=PG.97.217d).

10.2.2

πρὸς δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα Περσίννην οὕτω : the difference in tone between the letter to the gymnosophists and the letter to

Persinna should be noted. For instance a plain imperative form is employed towards the queen (εὐτρέπιζε ... σύσπευδε), whereas to the gymnosophists Hydaspes uses a polite and verbose formula (καὶ παρακαλῶ καὶ δυσωπῶ), and some flattery (θυσίας εὐκλεεστέρας ἡ παρουσία ... ἀποδανοῦνται). Is the absence of an address at the head of Hydaspes' letter to his wife a mark of the informal tone he uses towards her or is Heliodoros simply avoiding what would be a rather lame repetition ?

τοὺς πατρίους ἡμῶν θεοὺς etc.: Heliodoros' list of the traditional gods of Meroe does not agree with that provided by any other classical author. Herodotos (2.29) gives the names of Zeus and Dionysos as the only gods worshipped in Meroe. Diodoros (3.9) lists three different sets of divinities: a) the sun, moon and the universe as a whole b) Isis, Pan, Heracles and Zeus, while c) some Ethiopians do not believe in any gods at all. Strabo (17.2.3) is clearly using ultimately the same source; he has b) and c) as Diodoros except that Zeus in b) is replaced by "a barbarian god". He does not include the cosmic religion of Diodoros, but has instead a belief in the divinity of the king and their benefactors. Apart from the three divinities described as πάτριοι, Heliodoros perhaps includes an oblique reference to Pan at Meroe in that the gymnosophists live in the Paneion (10.4.1 and note.)

This is not the place to enter into a discussion of

Meroitic religion. As far as can be seen from the archaeological remains, it was a modified form of Egyptian religion, and the temples so far identified appear to belong to three Egyptian trials. We may guess that the main gods were Amen-Ra and Osiris (thus Sir E.A.Wallis Budge: History of Ethiopia Vol.1 p.95), which would translate into Greek fairly well as Zeus/Sun and Dionysos. The pyramid inscriptions show a doctrine of the afterlife like that of the 18th. dynasty, and the temple decorations seem rather to reflect the styles of Ptolemaic Egypt. For fuller discussion on Meroitic sun cult, see U.Monneret de Villard: Il culto del sole a Meroe; Rassegna di studi etiopici 2 (1942) p.107ff. A temple of Amen-Ra has been discovered on the site of Meroe, a description of which may most easily be found in P.L.Shinnie's Meroe: A civilisation of the Sudan, p.81ff. Interestingly, it seems that there was some connection between the temple and victory celebrations, because engraved scenes of captives have been found with their nationalities in cartouches. That, however, is as far as any resemblance between Heliodoros and the actualities of Meroitic cult goes, and in view of the long-standing connection in Greek thought between Ethiopia and the sun, there is not a lot to be gained from trying to find more. For instance, Diodoros (3.2) preserves the idea that the Ethiopians were the first autochthonous people because they inhabited a region closest to the sun, which promoted the spontaneous creation of life, and the

tendency to set Ethiopians in the east, at least in early literature, can be explained in terms of an ancient near-eastern world picture which put dark-skinned peoples in the far east where the sun rises; the history of this motif is analysed by A.Lesky op.cit., who is undoubtedly right in seeing the fabulous Table of the Sun in Herodotos as an attempt to rationalise a kind of fairy-tale. It will thus not be useful to look for altars of the sun at Meroe, especially as there is good reason for thinking that Herodotos' Meroe is in fact the earlier Ethiopian capital of Napata, far to the north. Nevertheless, for Heliodoros, the existence of the tradition would have been as good as the existence of the facts. I must confess that RL's note (p.76 n.2) baffles me: "il n'est pas raisonnable de supposer avec Coray qu'Hérodote dans son récit de ἡ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου se soit fondé sur la plaine sacrée de Meroé." That is true as far as it goes, but if its implication is that there is no connection between Herodotos and Heliodoros, I find it difficult to accept. It is especially worth noting that Herodotos' description of the Table of the Sun as λειμών ... ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ fits Heliodoros' πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως ὀρυγάς very well. The motif was taken up extensively by classical writers: for example Pomponius Mela starts his description with "est locus..." (i.e. the Table is more than just an altar), and Pausanias was confident enough of his readers knowing the story to be able to introduce the Table of the

Sun in a comparison (7.26.2). It might be argued that Heliodo os nowhere refers to this ὀρμή as τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου, but it would not be characteristic of him to be so explicit in his allusions; certainly we should not expect to find an authorial intrusion to the effect that "this is the famous Table of the Sun you have all read about in Herodotos". Other references which are certainly drawn from Herodotos are introduced just as casually and the reader is left to make his own comparisons; compare the courtesan Rhodopis introduced to motivate Calasiris' flight from Memphis at 2.25.1, or the χρυσῆν τὴν μυρμηκίαν brought as a gift by the ambassadors of the Trogodytes at 10.26.2.

The linking of Selene with Meroitic sun-worship is not to found in any other author. The reason for her inclusion here is likely to be literary rather than a reflection of any cult practice. It is desirable that a female deity forms part of the Meroitic triad. The moon-cult supplies such a deity to whom Charicleia may be sacrificed and also allows the office of priestess to be filled by Persinna. The symmetry which this creates with Hydaspes as priest of the sun and the neat pairing of the final tableau which it allows are clear.

Dionysos' inclusion is perhaps a little stranger; he fades out of the novel once the recognition sequences are under way and does not feature in the religious climaxes at the end of the work. Heliodoros must be playing his

favourite trick of linking his fictional background to a familiar world by the inclusion of recognisable detail. The Dionysos recorded by Herodotos may have some foundation in actuality: a Meroitic vase has been found in the cemetery at Karanog (Woolley/Randall-MacIver op.cit.p.55 and pl.45 No.8216 G112), which shows a Dionysiac scene. It has been suggested that there was a native god of strong drink, of such a nature that Herodotos could identify him with Dionysos.

10.4.1

τεύχων κομιστῆρσιν ἐν γραμμάτων etc.: the sophistication with which this change of scene is effected is worth a brief analysis. The technique is rather similar to that of the cinema where we have a character beginning a letter, usually read aloud as he writes, while the end is read aloud by the recipient, or the writer's voice continues as the recipient reads the letter. Apart from providing a convincing transition between two scenes, this method also achieves a certain economy of narrative time by obviating the necessity to state the contents of the letter more than once, or to have one scene where the contents are not revealed at all. Thus, in our present passage, 10.2 is without a precise setting in time or place; 10.1 ends with Hydaspes sending a letter and 10.3 begins with Persinna receiving it. The greater part of 10.3.1 is taken up with Persinna's dream, but at the end of the sentence she turns to address the messengers who brought the letter, who thus form another link between the two scenes. I have already discussed the more specific advantage gained by Heliodoros, namely the telescoping of time and distance, which prevents any flagging in the pace of the narrative.

Note also the heavy irony at work in Persinna's account of her dream - irony in the sense that the reader is aware of the true meaning of the dream, which escapes the character herself. Persinna's dream is obviously to be linked with

that of Hydaspes in 9.25.1. Se my notes on that earlier passage for the rôle played by dreams in romances.

10.3.2

τὰς ... κεφαλὰς τῷ Νειλώῳ λωτῷ κατασ τέψαντες etc.: I have been unable to find any parallel for the behaviour of these Ethionian messengers, and it seems likely that Heliodoros intended their actions to have an exotic flavour. The lotos was extensively used in Egyptian cult, symbolising the regeneration of the land with the Nile flood; all that is appropriate here are the generally joyful connections of the flower. The palm was of course a symbol of victory at the games and this is perhaps the connection that Heliodoros is trying to exploit with φοινίκων στόμα.

Note the parallelism of the two participial cola, reinforced by the similar formation of the two participles κατασ τέψαντες ... κατασ τέλλοντες.

καθιππεύοντο : an irregular usage. καθιππεύω normally has an aggressive meaning. I have not been able to find it used elsewhere in the middle.

10.3.3

κατὰ γένη καὶ ἡλικίας καὶ φατρίας : the universality of Meroe's rejoicing at the return of Hydaspes is emphasised by having sacrifices organised on three entirely different bases: those of family, geographical, and political groupings.

οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ etc.: there seem to be two verbal reminiscences in this section from the two preceding chapters. οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου reminds the reader of Hydaspes' letter to Persinna (10.2.2), and, as earlier remarked, ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐνομίαν is a very close reference to 10.1.1. This is a device, admittedly a rather crude one, for establishing salient features of Hydaspes' personality before the action of the last book really gets under way. Although the reference to his safety in his own letter may sound a little pompous, it is clearly included to show his capacity for inspiring affection and respect.

The πατρικόν τινα ἔρωτα which Hydaspes inspires in his subjects is a cliché in descriptions of the ideal king, although Heliodoros is later to make piquant use of its non-metaphorical significance (cf.10.17.2). A few examples of the motif are Plat.Rep.568e, Xen.Cyr.8.1.1, 8.1.44, 8.8.1, 8.2.9, Xen.Ages.7.3, Philo Joseph.14, Dio Chrys. Or.1.22. Homer's πατὴρ δ' ὣς ἤπιος ἦεν (Od.2.47, 2.234) is often quoted by later writers to define how a king should be; cf.the examples collected by O.Murray in JRS 55 (1965) p.168. The motifs used by various writers on ideal kingship are collected and compared by G.Barner: Comparantur inter se Graeci de regentium hominum virtutibus auctores. Hydaspes is very close to the ideal character which emerges as the standard Greek type (see esp. Barner p.8), but most of the characteristics involved are so basic and so obviously

desirable and necessary in a competent monarch, that it would be unwise to base on them any theory of Heliodoros' dependence on any of the earlier writers. The most we can say is that they shared some currents of thought.

πατρικόν τινα ἔρωτα ... ἐνστάξαντος is an odd phrase that may be identified as an allusion to some previous writer. The motif of love dripping is usually an erotic one, although ἐνστάζω may be found used metaphorically of a number of emotions; cf.Hdt.9.3 (longing), Plut.Ages.11 (ἔρως), Paus.4.32.4 (hatred). Also ἔρως is not the word which one would normally choose to define the feelings of a child for its father or of subjects for their king.

If these words seem to be taken from another type of context, they are awkwardly adapted to their new one by what appears to be an unparalleled objective use of πατρικός ; Heliodoros himself always uses it elsewhere to mean the feelings of a father for his child; not vice versa (e.g.10.16.2).

ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ .... θυμηδούντων : for θυμηδέω cf.10.38.3, where it occurs with a direct object.

10.4.1

ὀρύγων: RL give this as Bourdelotius' correction of the ὠρύγων of VZAT and the ὀρτύγων of MP. Colonna conjectured ὠρύγγων, comparing a passage from Oppian (Cyneg.1.316ff.), apparently the only other place where the word occurs. From this it appears that the ὠρυγγες are zebras, although the more usual Greek name for that creature was ἵπποτιγρις: cf.Dio Cass.77.6, Philostorg.Hist.Eccl.3.11. Palaeographically, there is little to choose between ὀρύγων and ὠρύγγων, but ὀρτύγων is clearly wrong; quails would be very much out of place in company such as this. However, it is more likely that a rare and unfamiliar word like ὠρύγγων should be corrupted than the comparatively common ὀρύγων, and we should note that the beast in question, whatever it is, is coupled closely with the gryphons in Heliodoros' list. For this reason I would choose the more exotic of the alternatives, and accept Colonna's conjecture.

γρυπων: cf.10.26.2, where ambassadors from the Trogodytes bring a pair of gryphons as a gift to Hydaspes. Belief in gryphons as real creatures existed until a fairly late date; they were usually located in India. Cf.Philostr. Vit.Apoll.3.48 and the Latin Letter of Alexander to Aristotle p.54 Boer. Although neither of these works has the standing of a scientific historian, there is every reason to suppose that the information which they contain was intended to be believed.

ἄλλων ζώων παντοίων : this is the reading of all MSS except V, which has πατρίων. RL comment that this may be correct; but the παντοῖα ζῶα occur again at 10.6.5, a passage which secures the reading of ΣΜΡ here.

τὴν περαίαν ὁρμάδα : the ὁρμάς was on the other side of the Astaboras from Meroe; this information is introduced casually here and sustained by the description of people crossing the river in 10.4.6.

σέβεσθαι τὸ Πανὸς πεποιημένους : the worship of Pan at Meroe is attested by Diod.3.9 and Strab.17.2.3, whose accounts derive from the same source(see my note on 10.2.2). Pan in this case will have to be identified with the Egyptian god Min; there is some archaeological evidence for the worship of Min, identified with Pan, in Nubia during the Roman period: compare U.Monneret de Villard: Un santuario di Min-Pan in Nubia; Aegyptus 13 (1933) p.42ff. If we accept the temple of Pan in Heliodoros, it will be another example of his favourite trick of gaining verisimilitude by linking his fictional world to the real one familiar to his readers from historians and geographers.

This may be sufficient explanation; but we should note that nowhere else does Heliodoros refer to the worship of Pan, and that Pan is not included in the canon of Ethiopian gods. I can see no relation between Pan and the ascetic gymnosophists who are said to live in his temple; in fact

it seems totally out of character. Possibly the only explanation is to suppose that Heliodoros is playing on the etymological similarity between Pan's name and τὸ πᾶν ; this connection was first made by Cornutus but never seems to have gained wide currency in the ancient world. Some idea of the kind presumably lies behind the statement of Lydos (de mens.4.117) that Pan's parents were νοῦς καὶ ὑγρὰ οὐσία. This does seem rather far-fetched, especially as Heliodoros goes no further towards connecting the gymnosophists with any belief in the Universal.

Perhaps we should emend the text and read Πανθείων instead of Πανείων. Heliodoros nowhere mentions separate temples, and there is nothing in his narrative to rule out the possibility of all the Ethiopian gods being housed in one temple. Pantheia were not common in the Greek world, but presumably the one at Rome would have been known at least by reputo. The residence of the gymnosophists in the Pantheion would be a general affirmation of piety.

κόσμων τῇ πανηγύρεως τῇ παρουσίᾳ γινομένους : compare Hydaspes' words in his letter to the gymnosophists (10.2.1): τὰ ... θυσίας εὐαγεστέρας τῇ παρουσίᾳ ... ἀποφαινοῦντας.

10.4.2

εὔχεσθαι : a very unclassical use of the infinitive to indicate purpose.

προκαθηγητής : the word occurs only here. A form προκαθηγέτης

is found on some inscriptions used as an epithet of gods; see LSJ for the references.

Σισιμίθρης: the first time that the name has occurred, although, as we learn later (10.11.1), this was the man who rescued Charicleia as a baby and entrusted her to Charicles, as related in 2.30ff. The name is actually a Persian one; an historical Sisimithres, a Persian satrap, is mentioned by Plut.Alex.58 and Curt.9.2.19.

Βόρυβον δέ τινα etc.: Sisimithres' prophecy serves two functions: i) it alerts the reader to a certainty that something will happen at the ceremony without disclosing exactly what form it will take, thus generating suspense of anticipation; ii) it further exploits the irony inherent in the situation; it takes very little intelligence to link the predicted disturbance with the recognition of Charicleia, but the reader knows more than Persinna, who shrugs the warning off with a polite formula (10.4.3). This effect will be a continuation of that produced by the two dreams (9.25.1 and 10.3.1).

καταστρέψουσαν: Coraes' certain correction of the MSS καταστρέφουσαν. Note the chiastic arrangement of the two future participles ἐσομένην ... καταστρέψουσαν.

ὡς μέλους ... ἢ μέρους: this particular play on words was also used by Heliodoros at 2.23.4 and 7.10.2, where Coraes argued for the deletion of one of the pair. Wilstrand defended that passage by quoting three instances of the pun from

Philo (de Jos.27 and 137, de vit.Mos.1.128), but seems to have overlooked the other occurrences in Heliodoros himself.

In this instance the assonantal pair should be seen as an element in the oracular style given to Sisimithres. This consists of very short cola in a paratactic arrangement. There are no subordinate clauses in Sisimithres' six lines of Pudé text, but three main verbs and four participial cola. There are also three μέν ... δέ pairs in the one sentence.

τοῦ πεπρωμένου: cf.2.25.3, 8.16.7. There is no consistent attribution of the plan of the narrative to impersonal fate or beneficent divinities.

εἰς τότε τό: this is the reading of Z; other MSS exhibit various degrees of confused nonsense. εἰς τότε is used from classical times of the future: see Plat.Laws 830b (quoted by RL), Dem.14.24 and compare Heliodoros' own use of εἰς ὕστερον at 3.12.1.

10.4.3

ὑμῶν παρόντων: there is continual stress on the fact that the mere presence of the gymnosophists will enhance and sanctify the proceedings; cf.10.2.1, 10.4.1.

οὐδὲν δεῖ ... σημαίνειν: an example of the anecdotal tone which often attaches to gymnosophists and their sayings. The clearest parallel is from Philostratos, and it appears that Heliodoros has modelled this scene on the earlier

writer. In the Vita Apollonii (3.16) Iarchas anticipates Apollonios' business and knows who he is without being told. This was naturally part of a seer's armoury to establish his credibility, and is parodied by Lucian in Pseudomantis 19ff., where he describes the lengths to which Alexander goes in order to make it look as if he is answering questions which he cannot have seen.

10.4.4

γυναῖξὶ δὲ ἀκκυορεύουσιν etc.: the whole of this passage about the exclusion of women from the sacrifice is very puzzling, not least because Heliodoros has thereby made an unnecessary difficulty for himself. He immediately has to make exceptions to his rule and explain how it is that Persinna and Charicleia are allowed to take part; that they are present is of course necessary for the plot, and thus we need not look for any religious significance in the fact that the queen is priestess of the moon. The point that needs explaining is the general exclusion of the female sex.

There is no obvious literary reason for this. The plot does not demand that no woman should be present, and in fact there are more than Heliodoros makes allowance for here: at 10.34.5ff. Charicles is allowed to examine nine other girls who had been brought for sacrifice.

In general terms Ethiopia is presented as the antithesis to the moral laxity of Athens and the Persian satrapy.

Indeed there is no other reason for the prolongation of Cnemon's story in the early books except that it helps, by contrast, to point up the moral tone of the rest of the romance. In both earlier episodes disaster arose, or at least threatened, from the wanton behaviour of the central female characters, Demainete and Arsace. Of themselves these episodes may be thought to argue a certain pessimism on Heliodoros' part about the moral standards of the female sex, which is not outweighed by the somewhat frigid chastity of his heroine. If one of his aims is the glorification of chastity as part of an ideal ethical code, and his method of illustrating this is by contrasting Athens and the satrap's palace with the holier atmospheres of Meroe and Delphi, then the exclusion of women from the Ethiopian sacrifice would make some sense as a part of the ethical colouring of his picture of the Kingdom of the Sun.

But there are difficulties in an interpretation along these lines. Firstly, it involves Heliodoros immediately in the rather lame exceptions referred to earlier. Secondly, there is no similar restriction at Delphi, and indeed the reaction of the women in the crowd is used to bring out the beauty and nobility of Theagenes (3.4.8). Thirdly, it is rather simplistic to see Ethiopia as a Utopia where all virtues are current when in fact the tenth book centres around the abolition of human sacrifice.

In the absence of any convincing explanation on literary

grounds, it appears that the answer should be sought in religious practice. In the fourth century various ascetic ideas were in circulation, and for the pagan Greek these found a philosophical justification in the teachings of the neoplatonists. Their attitude to women was ambiguous: they seem to have allowed a theoretical equality of the sexes, so long as the sexual characteristics of neither were prominent. At the same time they felt a strong revulsion against the physical nature of sexual relationships, which tended to equate female emancipation with free love (see Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum sv.Frau col.210.). Neoplatonist teaching on this subject can be summed up by a passage from Porphyrios, (de abstin.4.20): ἐγγενέων γὰρ ἐτίθεντο οἱ ἱεροὶ [τὴν] πρὸς τοὐναντίον ἀμιξίαν, μολυσμὸν δὲ τὴν μῖξιν ... διὸ καὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια μιαίνει· σύνοδος γὰρ θήλεος καὶ ἄρρενος .

This asceticism arose out of a belief in a duality of matter and spirit which also received a welcome from the Christian church. The whole movement is discussed by E.R.Dodds in the first chapter of "Pagan and Christian etc." Applied to women it seems to have linked up with various late Jewish trains of thought (see RAC col226). A belief in the physical and spiritual inferiority of the female sex was used to justify the gnostic teaching that a woman was only capable of salvation by becoming like a man (col.242 with refs.). Even the mainstream of the early church entertained

the idea that the fall of man was to be blamed on Eve (thus 2.Cor.11.3 cf.1.Tim.2.13f. and Tert.Or.22.5, Firm.Mat.de err.prof.rel.25.1, Jerome Ep.52.5, Dio Chrys.regul.fem.9), and played upon the ancient belief that woman was the root of all evils; thus we find her called "Satan's stirrup" (Aphraat.hom.6)and "ianua diaboli" (Tert.cult.fem.1.1.2), while Ambrose asserts " peccatum a mulieribus coepit". Difficulties arose over the sacraments and women in pregnancy or menstruation; cf.Bede Hist.Eccl.1.27.8 - these questions are put by Augustine,but it would be surprising if they had not been asked before, stemming as they do from various Old Testament injunctions.

While it is tempting to link Heliodoros with these currents of thought, especially in the strong emphasis he places on the desirability of chastity, they cannot account for what he actually says in the passage under consideration. The phrase τὸν μή τινα καὶ ἀκούσιον ποτε γενέσθαι μολυσμὸν τοῖς ἱερείοις strongly suggests that it is not the mere fact of femininity which makes a woman pollutant, but that sometimes some women can bring impurity to a religious ceremony without meaning to (καὶ ἀκούσιον), and the Ethiopian νόμος is designed to prevent this risk. It is not possible in the particular circumstances involved to see the μολυσμός as a sexual contact: although women might come dangerously close to causing sexual impurity in male victims, the Ethiopian sacrifice consists of equal

numbers of males and females, and yet no precautions are taken to prevent Charicleia undergoing any kind of μολυσμός from the males watching the sacrifice. Thus, although all victims are subjected to a trial by fire to test their virginity before they can be sacrificed to the sun (10.7.7ff.), there is no need to link the ordeal of the brazier with the present passage, since a) the brazier detects only virginity or its absence, and the exclusion of women from the sacrifice does nothing to protect the virginity of the female victims, and b) in any case the episode with the brazier is surrounded by heavy irony and a certain amount of moral ambiguity (compare Theagenes' reaction at 10.9.1: καλὰ ... τἀπίχειρα παρ' Αἰθίοψι τῶν καθαρῶς βιούντων), which seems to render the later incident dramatically independent of the present passage, where the discrepancy between virtue and its rewards is not touched upon.

In traditional Greek paganism there were a number of cults which were forbidden to women, and an equally large number forbidden to men. In normal cases this has nothing to do with sexual pollution, although obviously if a sacred rule were infringed, purification rites would be performed. For instance, certain cults had a specifically masculine content, and here the exclusion of women was probably meant to prevent the contagion of effeminacy: for example the cult of Ares in southern Laconia described by Paus.3.22.6 (cf.Teles 24.11f. ed.Hense), and various

cults of Heracles, especially that of Heracles Misogynes in Phocis (Plut.Mor.404a, cf.Sil.Ital.3.21ff., Macrob.Sat. 1.12.28, and the restrictions on the cult of Heracles at Erythrai in Paus.7.5.8). Other cults might have been considered inappropriate for female eyes (perhaps the cult of Aphrodite Acraia in Cyprus - Strab.14.6.3 - and the goings-on in the Prytaneion at Naucratis, where only a flute-girl was allowed - Athen.4.150a). Others still appear to have a mythical reason, such as that of the hero Eunostos at Tanagra (Plut.Mor.300d etc., where pollution is clearly involved after a woman set foot in the sanctuary), or the island of Leuce in the Black Sea (Philostr.Heroic.p.215k).

Other cult prescriptions exist, but do not specify reasons: thus the oracle of Delphic Apollo (Plut.Mor.385c), the Artemision at Ephesos (Artemid.Oneirocr.4.4, although women were allowed in on certain feast days, as shown by Dion.Hal. Ant.4.25.4), Cronos (Ioh.Lyd.de mens.4.154), Rhea on Mount Lycaion (Call.Hymn 1.10ff.), the precinct of Apollo at Cirrha (Ziehen leges sacrae 75.23f.), of Poseidon on the island of Myconos (Dittenberger Sylloge 373), of Themis at Erechs (Ziehen op.cit.117.18ff.), the shrine of Hermotimos at Clazomenai (Apollon.Hist.Mirab.3 = scr.rerum mirabil. ed. Westermann 105), the sanctuary of Orpheus described by Conon (45.36 ed.Höfer), the temple of Hypatos on Paros (Ziehen op.cit.105) and of Anaces at Elateia (Collitz Dial. Inschrif.1531). Women were not allowed into the higher grades of the Mithraic religion, although no similar restriction

seems to have operated within the Helios cult which Heliodoros is alleged to be propagandising; see Cumont: Les mystères de Mithra p.133 with the references to his Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra; all Cumont's evidence appears to be negative.

An interesting case which may be relevant is that of the altar of Zeus at Olympia. According to Paus.5.13.10, only men were allowed to τὸ ἀνωτάτω τοῦ βωμοῦ, and women were not permitted at the Games (Paus.5.6.7 cf.Menandr.Τ. ἐπιδεικτ. ed.Walz Rhet.Graec.9.205); but from Paus.6.20.9 it appears that this restriction only applied, at least at a later date, to married women. Discussing the passage, T.Wächter (Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult p.125ff.) suggests that the limitation might have been due to a basic fear of pregnancy and the malignant influences thought to surround a pregnant woman or one who had just given birth. The main pollutant occurrences in Greek cult were birth and death (cf.Eur.Iph.Taur.331ff., and M.P.Nilsson: Geschichte der griechischen Religion Vol.1.p.93ff., and Vol.2 p.78 - this last a reference to an inscription from Cos to the effect that the priest of Zeus Polieus was banned from entering a house where a person had died or a woman had given birth, until a substantial period had elapsed.) The specifically female phenomena which could lie behind Heliodoros' restriction are menstruation, pregnancy and birth.

Menstruation does not figure at all in pure Greek

pollution beliefs; inscriptions from Sounion and the temple of Asclepios at Ptolemais (see Wächter op.cit.p.36) have strong influences from oriental religions, as do the literary references from Porphyrios (de abstin.2.50) and Philo (de opif.mund.124). Wächter distinguishes from these religious prohibitions of contact with menstruous women a Greek belief in hurtful spirits attached to them : this can be found as early as Hesiod (Op.753ff.) and is made specific by the scholiast on this passage: μὴ δεῖν συναπολυμαίνεσθαι ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ἀσκήμονι καὶ ἀπορροαί τινες ἐκ τῶν γυναικείων σωμάτων καὶ περιττωμάτων χωροῦσι ἐν ἀναπίμπλασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας μολυσματώδες ἔστι. Two passages from the Geoponica illustrate what is clearly a folk-belief in the malignant power of menstruous women (12.20.5 and 12.25.2).

Pregnancy does not often appear as a pollutant, although Wächter suggested that the restrictions on married women attending the Olympic Games may have been connected with a primitive fear of the evil spirits surrounding a pregnant woman. There is one important literary reference: Censorinus de die nat.11.7, who in discussing the significance of a forty-day period in Greek cult says "praegnans ante diem quadragensimum non prodit in fanum", and then goes on to say that a woman is considered profane for forty days after childbirth. The traditional interpretation of this was that the second clause was an expansion of the first, and "praegnans" was used in the sense of "newly delivered mother." Linguistic

difficulties seem to rule this out of court, and W.H.Roscher (Berichte der königl. sächsischen Akad. der Wiss., 1909 p.28ff.) linked Censorinus' statements with various scientific theories about childbirth. Besides, there are parallels to the restriction, in an inscription referring to the cult of Despoina in Lycosoura: μηδὲ μύεσθαι κύουσαν μηδὲ θηλαζομένην (Eph.Arch. 1898 p.249), in the Iphigeneia Taurica of Euripides (1226ff.) and in Callimachos' Hymn to Demeter (130ff.).

It seems that there must be a motive of this kind behind the passage under discussion, and the pious wish to avoid accidental pollution from a menstruous, pregnant or newly delivered woman could result in a total ban on the female sex. But we still have not explained why Heliodoros should have gone out of his way to include such a rule in the Ethiopian sacrifice.

One tempting solution would be to connect it with the misogyny of a man who later enforced celibacy on the Thessalian clergy, but, as we have seen, the restriction does not represent a belief in the inherent uncleanness of all women. Certainly the effect achieved is to emphasise the thoroughness with which Ethiopian νόμος upholds piety. Meroe is presented as a state very strongly governed by νόμος, and the sacrifice is an instance of νόμος acting contrary to φύσις. In this sense, the ban on women is a way of further characterising the Meroitic state.

10.4.5

τῷ μὲν Ἡλίῳ τοῦ βασιλέως etc.: the qualifications for holding the priesthoods are not consistently presented. When Charicleia asks later to be allowed to sacrifice Theagenes with her own hands, Hydaspes tells her that this can only be done by the priest and priestess and these must be married people (10.21.2). This alteration is to permit irony and ambiguity in the later passage (see my notes ad loc.). This flexibility suggests that there is nothing particularly significant about the arrangement, except that it provides a pleasing symmetry. Heliodoros rather labours the point because he must explain why Persinna is present at a sacrifice from which the female sex is excluded.

10.4.6

ἐπεραιοῦντο κατὰ τὸν Ἀσταβόρραν ποταμὸν etc.: περαιόομαι usually takes a direct accusative of the thing crossed (as at 10.6.1), and the construction with κατά is without parallel. Although Heliodoros is full of unusual idioms, we must at least allow for the possibility that the preposition here is a dittography of the κατά in the next line.

For the rivers around Meroe see my note on 10.5.1.

κάλαμοι γάρ ἔστι etc.: for the giant reeds compare the royal pavilion in 10.6.2. I have not been able to find them described in any other author, but botanical theorists suggested that vegetation larger than normal was to be found in Ethiopia:

cf.Arist.de plant.820al. It may be that Heliodoros invented the detail for himself, but, without wishing to suggest that he had no imagination, I do not feel that such an invention would have been quite in his manner. He uses historical and geographical fact as a decoration to relate his fictional plot to a world familiar to his reader: if the detail of the reeds and the boats made from them was not taken from some source which claimed to purvey accurate information and so does not serve to mingle reality with fiction, its inclusion here is otiose.

10.5.1

ἡ μὲν δὴ Μερόη etc.: the first classical writer to mention Meroe is Herodotos, and in 2.29-30 he gives an account of the journey upstream. His distances are difficult to reconcile with the known location of Meroe, and it has been pointed out (by C.Préaux in Chronique d'Égypte, 1957, p.295ff.) that they accord perfectly with the modern village of Merawi on the site of the early Ethiopian capital, Napata. Thus Herodotos' Meroe should be considered identical with Napata, the similarity of names being suggestive. Préaux' theory fits in nicely with the archaeological evidence extracted from Meroe by Garstang and others; nothing was recovered which could be dated with certainty before the first century BC, a fact which led Budge (History of Ethiopia, Vol.1 p.32) to question whether Meroe could possibly have been the centre of an important Ethiopian empire any earlier.

Accurate geographical knowledge of Meroe is first found in Ptolemaic times, and there are indications that some writers had actually visited Ethiopia. Pliny (Nat.Hist.6.183) records that Simonides the Younger lived in Meroe for five years while writing a work on Ethiopia (dated tentatively by Jacoby to the third century BC), and also that Dalion sailed far to the south of Meroe (dated c.300 BC by Jacoby). Works entitled Αἰθιοπικά are known to have been writen by Charon of Lampsacos, who presumably had no more information available to him than that used by Herodotos (5th. century BC),

and by Bion of Soloi and Philon (both third century BC). The Ptolemies organised elephant hunts which took them into Meroitic territory (Strab.16.4.5, Plin.Nat.Hist.6.168ff.), and the account by Eratosthenes (preserved by Strab.17.1.2) contains accurate detail, including the first description of Meroe as an island.

The fullest surviving description is that of Diodoros. He devotes the whole of his third book to Ethiopia, but a more significant passage for our present purpose is the Geographical account of the Island of Meroe at 1.33. This clearly shares an ultimate source with Strab.17.2.2.

Acquaintance with the Meroitic empire continued to increase under the Romans, and in 24-2 BC there was military contact (Strab.17.1.53-4, Dio Cass.54.5, Plin.Nat.Hist.6.181-2), which is the most likely source of a bronze head of Augustus discovered at Meroe and now in the British Museum (see P.L.Shinnie op.cit.p.48). After the campaign continued diplomatic relations between the two empires are attested by inscriptions. A Greek inscription of 13 BC (CIG.III.5080) records the embassy of a certain Harpocras, while a stele from Karanòg mentions an ambassador "of Rome" (Karanòg Vol.6 no.112, cf. AJA 67, 1963, p.217). For other examples of Ethiopian embassies see F.L.Griffith's Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoinos vol.1 p.11, 114-9; CIG IV.4915c; traces of Roman embassies to Meroe may be found in J.Paillet's Inscriptions grecques et latines des

tombeaux des rois ou syringes (French Archaelogical Institute of Cairo 1926) no.1094. CIL III.83 has been interpreted as the testimonium of a pilgrim from Rome to Meroe for the temple of Isis (see F.M.Snowden op.cit.p.328 n.137, and perhaps compare Juv.6.526ff.).

Nero showed a great interest in Ethiopia. Pliny says that his information came from a group of Praetorians sent out by Nero in about AD 61, and Seneca (Quaest.Nat.6.8.3) tells of two centurions sent to discover the sources of the Nile. These reports include some fairly accurate detail, but they do not agree in all respects, notably in the absence of the Candace from Seneca's account.

All this indicates a fair degree of knowledge about Meroe current in the Roman empire, not all of it of course available to Heliodoros. Among other classical writers Meroe took on an almost mythical significance as a distant and romantic place (thus Prop.4.6.78), and that the name Meroe was used for coloured slave-women is implied by Ausonius (Epig.41.9-10).

The Island of Meroe is the tract of land bounded by the River Atbara, the Blue Nile, and the Nile between its junctions with the Blue Nile and the Atbara. It is not a true island, although the Blue Nile rises in Lake Tana, not far from the sources of the Atbara. The term νῆσος does not imply that the course of the rivers nearer their sources was known, since we also find it applied to the

modern El Gezhira between the Blue Nile and the White Nile above Khartoum; this seems to be the Island of the Sembritai mentioned by Eratosthenes (Strab.17.1.2); El Gezhira is in fact Arabic for "the Island."

The citation of Eratosthenes given by Strabo is very garbled, and it seems that Strabo was trying to reconcile it with other theories and accounts where the rivers were given different names. Basically, however, Eratosthenes described two rivers emptying into the Nile, and so appears to have got it right.

Strabo also relates the account of Artemidoros (16.4.8), and this also seems to involve two river junctions: that of the Astaboras and the Astápous, and that of the Astasobas with the Nile. This is confused, but not irredeemably so, as we shall discover when we try to identify the rivers concerned.

Most significant for the present passage of Heliodoros is the unattributed account given in Strab.17.2.2, which is closely linked with the description at Diod.1.33 by the island being called Βυρσοειδής / βύρσῃ τοιαύτῃ and having identical measurements in both, the same as recur in Hld.10.5.2. The Strabo passage oddly describes the island as being bounded in the west by sand dunes, in the east by continuous precipices, in the south by the conjunction of three rivers, the Astaboras, the Astapous and the Astasobas,

and in the north by the next course of the Nile. Diodoros on the other hand cites Meroe as one of the islands encircled by the Nile, and does not name the rivers, presumably because he envisaged it as being surrounded by the waters of the Nile. The relationship of Diodoros and Strabo will clearly be of significance for an explanation of Heliodoros.

The question of Diodoros' source at this point is discussed by A.Burton in her commentary on the first book of Diodoros. She qualifies the confident attribution by H.Leopoldi of the whole passage from Diod.1.32-41 to Agatharchides. The section from 1.37 is of a piece and is critical of Ephoros, which would fit in well with an attribution to Artemidoros. It is not so easy with the earlier chapters. Diodoros' description of Ethiopia in his third book is based on three sources: Agatharchides, Artemidoros, and Ethiopian ambassadors to whom he talked in Egypt. However, there is no detailed description of Meroe in Book 3, although we should have expected one. Moreover, none of Strabo 17.2.2 can be related to Diod.1.33 apart from the geography of Meroe. Another oddity is that there is nothing in Diodoros' first book about Egypt being built up from alluvial deposits washed down from Ethiopia, although this theory does occur in the third book. Therefore it is to be doubted whether Diodoros was using the same source for his first and third books.

Strabo's source was probably not Artemidoros. The

discrepancies between the account at 16.4.8, specifically drawn from Artemidoros, and that at 17.2.2 could be put down to confusion on the part of an unintelligent epitomator, but a tell-tale detail is that the genitive of Ἀστάπους has a different form in the two passages: Ἀστάπου in 16.4.3 and Ἀστάποδος in 17.2.2. It is not safe to hazard a guess at his source in 17.2.2, except to add that the similarities with Diod.1.33 and the arguments outlined above make it unlikely to have been Agatharchides either. The measurements of the Island of Meroe would belong well in a purely geographical writer.

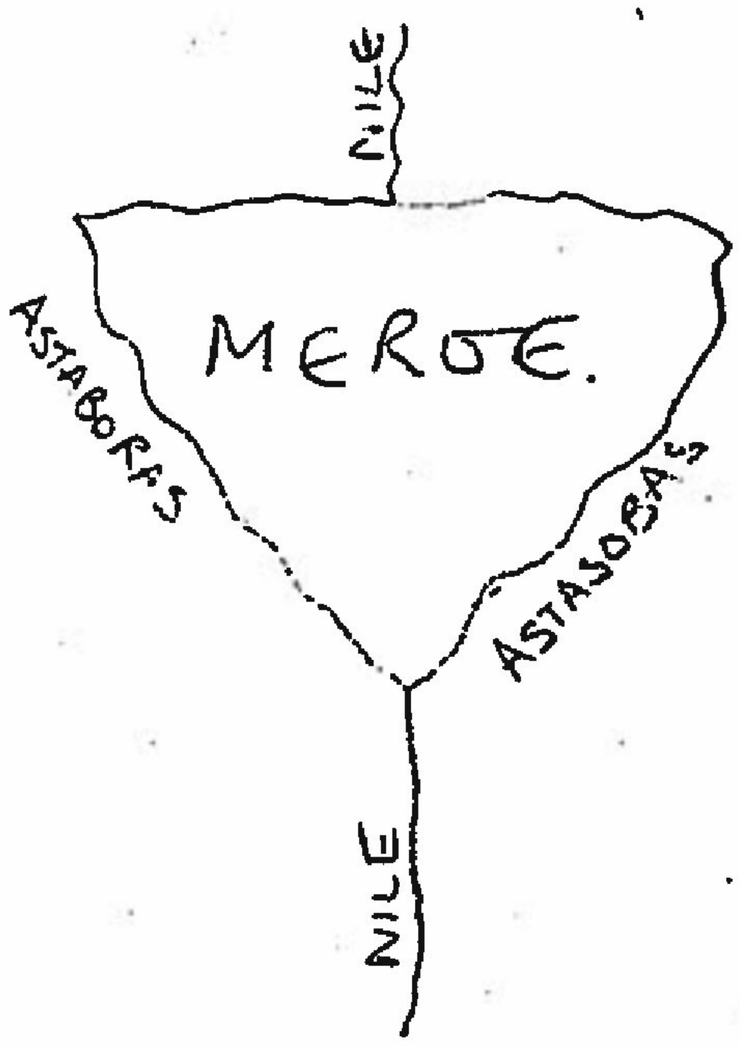
Later authors known to be working from Artemidoros through Juba (see W.Capelle op.cit.) are not much help in clarifying the picture, because they all have the idea of the Nile splitting to surround a massive island, and incorporate the other river names by applying them to the channels of the separated Nile: thus Vitruv.8.2.6, Mela 1.50, Plin.Nat.Hist.5.53, Solin.32.7.

Heliodoros stands apart from the rest of the tradition. He is the only author to have a three-sided island, which raises further problems over his exact relationship to the Dioderos/Strabo tradition, who describe the island as oblong. He also has the island surrounded by the Astasobas and the Astaboras, but strangely omits the Astapous; it is dangerous to pin anything on this, as the river names are obvious targets for manuscript corruption, but it does

appear to link him with the family of writers taking their information from Juba; Pliny and Solinus have the same two rivers, but lack the triangular scheme, Vitruvius names the Astasobas and the Astapous, Mela the Astaboras and the Astapous.

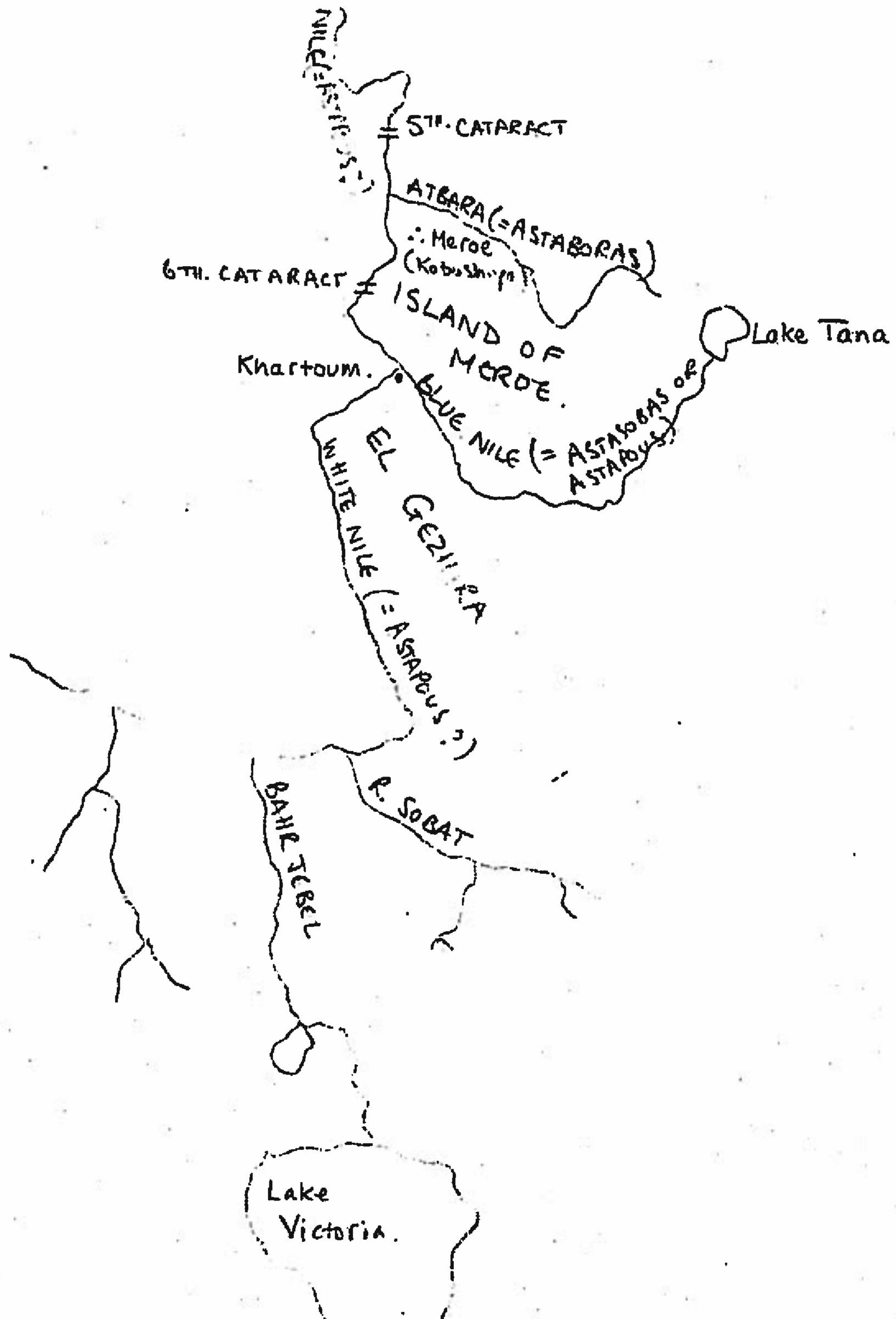
Whatever the common source behind Diodoros and Strabo, it was confused in its geography, as shown by the fact that Diodoros can conceive Meroe as an island (perhaps simply by careless selection of detail) whereas Strabo produces a scheme that I have found impossible to reproduce as a map, but which involves water on only two sides. The only details which were clear were the shape of the island and its measurements. The latter Heliodoros reproduces correctly, but the shape he has wrong, possibly because he did not understand the phrase βυρέως τετραπλησίαν. The triangular shape could be his own deduction from the fact of there being three rivers, but curiously the description that follows does not present a picture of the island with each side bounded by one river. The Nile is said ἐμπίπτειν κατὰ κορυφήν, which means at the apex of the triangle (cf.Plat.Tim.21e). It splits into two channels, which are called the Astaboras and the Astasobas; at the centre of the base of the triangle these join again and take on the name of the Nile, another link with the writers working from Juba (cf.Mela 1.50 - "ubi rursus coit, ibi nomen hoc (ie. Nilus) capit", and Plin.Nat.Hist.5.53 - "nec ante Nilus quam se totus aquis rursus concordibus

iunxit". Heliodoros gives no clue as to which of the branches of the Nile is which, nor as to the position of the city of Meroe within the island, except that it must be close to the River Astaboras (10.4.6). His version of the Island of Meroe is far from the truth, and the similarities with other writers confirm that his inspiration, if such we may call it, was bookish rather than first-hand. A plan of the island as he describes it would be thus:-



It is difficult to attempt a precise identification of the rivers concerned in view of the prevailing confusion, but the names do betray a native origin (see H.Schäfer in Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache 33, 1895, p.97f.) and so must have a reasonably exact application when used properly. The Astaboras is the easiest, and is always identified with the modern Atbara. According to Diodoros (1.37.9), Astapous signified water ἐκ τοῦ σκότους (cf.Plin.Nat.Hist.5.53), and Pliny says that Astaboras meant "ramus aquae venientis e tenebris". These derivations have been linked with the

alluvial deposits in the Blue Nile, giving the water a dark colour, but this leads to difficulties, and it is surely easier to refer the names to the obscurity surrounding the sources of the Nile. The Astapous will then be a native version of the Nile itself. The name is applied fairly indiscriminately to the Blue and White Niles, depending on which one the writer considered to be the main stream of the Nile. The Astasobas is more of a problem: Pietschmann (in Pauly-Wissowa) identifies it with the Blue Nile, and in view of its persistent association with the Island of Meroe this must be right; but Strabo's remarks concerning his citation of Eratosthenes add confusion: he has two rivers rising in lakes to the east - thus evidently the Atbara and the Blue Nile - which he calls the Astaboras and the Astapous; he then goes on to say that others call the Astapous the Astasobas (thus seeming to confirm it as the Blue Nile), and say that the Astapous is another river flowing from lakes in the south. Préaux (loc.cit.) tried to cut the Gordian Knot by identifying this river from the south with the modern river Sobat, but it is easier to explain Strabo's perplexity as confusion over which branch of the Nile was the main one. A map may help to make things clearer.


5TH. CATARACT
ATBARA (= ASTABORAS)
∴ Meroe
(Kabushiya)
6TH. CATARACT
ISLAND OF MEROE.
Khartoum.
Lake Tana
BLUE NILE (= ASTABORAS or ASTAPUS)
EL GEZIRA
WHITE NILE (= ASTAPUS.)
R. SOBAT
BAHR JEBEL
Lake Victoria.

μητρόπολις οὖσα τῶν Αἰθιόπων: f. Hdt 2.29 λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἡ πόλις (sc. Meroe) εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων Αἰθιόπων. It is clear that Heliodoros specifically wishes to recall Herodotos at this point.

νῆσον τριγωνίζουσα: this is the only instance of τριγωνίζω being used intransitevely. Normally the passive would have been employed; cf.Plot.2.6.2.

τῷ Ἀσταβόᾳ: thus all manuscripts. In the tradition of Strabo the name is spelled Ἀστασόβα (16.4.8, 17.2.2, 17.1.2); cf.Vitruv.8.2.6, who has "Astansobas" and Plin.Nat.Hist.5.53, with "Astusapes".

τό τε ῥεῦμα τό τ'ὄνομα ἐκνικωμένων: this is RL's conjecture for the manuscripts' τό τε ῥεῦμα τοὔνομα. RL's solution is along the lines of Casaubon's τό τ'οὔνομα, but abandons an Ionicism which Heliodoros would hardly have used. Nevertheless, I find it difficult to understand why RL have not adopted the simpler solution of supplying καὶ before τοὔνομα, as is in fact done by the late manuscipt T, followed by editors. The corruption seems much easier.

10.5.2

τρισχιλίους γὰρ τὸ μῆκος etc.: in Z the scribe has incorporated someone's comment, ὅλον ψεῦδος ἐὰν ἀκριβῶς ψηφίσῃς, but the laugh is actually against him. Although the measurements would be incredible for an island in the Nile, they are not too desperately wrong for that area which is referred to as the Island of Meroe. The note is not in X, Z's close

relation.

ζώων τε παμμιγεθῶν etc.: this is further indication of a close relationship with the source of Strabo 17.1.2; Strabo has the island inhabited by elephants, lions, leopards and δράκοντες οἱ ἐλεφαντομάχοι. He also mentions the rich plant life and lists ὁ φοίνιξ καὶ ἡ περσέα καὶ ὁ ἔβενος καὶ ἡ κεράτια. This is not an inaccurate detail, and was also observed by Pliny's centurions (Nat.Hist.6.185):"herbas circa Meroen demum viridiores silvarumque aliquid et rhinocerotum elephantorumque vestigia." Elephants are not now to be found in this area, but the frequency with which they occur in Meroitic art indicates that in ancient times they were well known.

It is important to note the discrepancies between Heliodoros and Strabo. These make it impossible for Strabo to have been his source. I have been unable to trace the additional details which Heliodoros includes in his account; there are two possibilities: a)that he found them in the source which he shares with Strabo; b) that they are his own invention. If b) is the case, we should remark the further possibility that he has emphasised the rich flora around Meroe to give it a Golden Age colouring and make it something of an earthly paradise. He misses out some unpleasant details which Strabo includes, such as the lions, snakes and marshy places.

παραλλάττοντα ἢ etc.: παραλλάττοντα is here treated as if it were a comparative adjective; there is in any case

nothing in the sentence which could serve as the direct object. The difficulties presented by παραλλάττω ἤ ... are not great enough to necessitate anything along the lines of Lumb's ridiculous parenthesis.

φύσικες : for the Ethiopian palms compare Theophr.Hist.Plant. 2.6.10 and Plin.Nat.Hist.13.43f. It is especially interesting that Theophrastos also uses the adjective εὔστομος in the unusual sense of "palatable."

τὴν μὲν αὔξησιν ὥστε ... τὸν δὲ καρπὸν ὥστε etc.: note the parallelism of structure strengthened by the anaphora of ὥστε καὶ and the rhymed end-placing of the infinitives κωλύεσθαι ... ἐκφέρειν.

τοῦτον τὸν ἔμπυρα : ie. in the description of the dug-out canoes in 10.4.6.

10.6.1

τότε δ' οὖν δὴ πάσης νυκτὸς etc.: picking up the situation before the digression beginning in the second part of 10.4.6. Note, however, how Heliodoros avoids tedious and exact repetition. The digression in fact conceals a small time jump, and in 10.6.1 we find ourselves in the next day (the ὠρίων ὄρθρος of 10.4.4); Hydaspes has already arrived, and is being greeted (note in this context the rather unexpected imperfect tenses of this passage). One effect of this is that Heliodoros loses the opportunity of describing the approach of the victorious army, and he seems to carry this restraint further by a notably sparse account of the welcome afforded Hydaspes. This is because a lengthy account of a pageant at this stage would detract from the impact of the following religious ceremonies and the events that take place during them. Heliodoros twice rises to the occasion of pomp and circumstances, at Delphi and at Meroe, and in a sense the two festivals represent the emotional climaxes of the romance. Thus, apart from any considerations of excessive length, Heliodoros will have instinctively avoided heightening the drama so soon. Perhaps we have here an explanation for the introduction of massed discursive material in 10.4.6ff; it certainly is not organically relevant to the plot, and Heliodoros usually avoids rhetorical and sophistic set-pieces; compare the relatively small number recorded in Heliodoros by Rommel: Die naturwissenschaftlich-

paradoxographischen Exkurse et.

δεξιάς τε ἐνέβαλλον καὶ φιλήμασιν ἠσπάζοντο: a characteristic Greek gesture; compare for example Soph.Oed.Col.1130f., Ar.Frogs 754f., Clouds 31, Plut.Mor.508e; also Dio Cass.48.37, Plaut.Amphit.716. For the kiss alone as a gesture of welcome on returning home cf. Cat.9.9, Hor.Od.1.36.6, Mart.12.59. Thus there is nothing unusual in the welcome which the gymnosophists give Hydaspes.

10.6.2

εὐχὰς ... ἐτέλεσαν: ie. they fulfilled their vows. Maillon misses this sense; it is more than a simple prayer of thanks.

ὑπέρ τε τῆς νίκης etc.: τε is omitted by all editors except RL and Colonna. The omission seems to be more through oversight than conscious choice, since it is not even recorded as a manuscript reading. Its position is slightly unexpected since ὑπέρ governs both νίκης and σωτηρίας, but I see no reason to doubt the tradition.

ἐπλήρουν: however we translate this, it does not conform with any usage of πληρόω that I have been able to discover. The sense is clear enough, and as no obvious emendation suggests itself, it is safer to keep the manuscript reading, merely noting its oddity.

10.6.3

Μέμνονός τε καὶ Περσέως καὶ Ἀνδρομέδας: compare 4.8.3, where the same three legendary characters are listed as

the πρόγονοι of the Ethiopians.

The history of the location of these myths is illustrative of the way in which an early tendency to identify the extreme east and the extreme south was later adapted to fit known geographical data. Memnon is called the king of the Ethiopians by Hesiod (Theogon.985), although there is no clue given here to the location of Ethiopia. The Aithiopis of Arctinos which formed part of the epic cycle is, of course, lost, but it has been argued (by G.Goosens in Chronique d'Egypte 14, 1939, p.336ff.)that a possible indication survives to show that Memnon was depicted as coming from the east; Strabo (15.3.2) says that Aeschylus called Memnon's mother Cisseia, which, Strabo says, means Susian; Aeschylus would probably have based the plot of his lost play Memnon on Arctinos, and thus we have grounds for supposing that the earliest references to Memnon placed him in the east, where indeed we should expect to find the son of the Dawn. This is confirmed by a cluster of passages, apparently from the same source, which concur in the eastern location: Paus.10.31.7, Ael.Nat.Anim.5.1, Sud.sv.Μέμνων, Steph.Byz.sv.Σοῦσα, Hyg.Fab.223, Isid.Etym.15.1.10, Lucan 3.284; Herodotos also connects Memnon with Sousa (5.54, 7.151).

The earliest occasion on which Memnon seems to be located in Africa is Curt.4.8.3, where Alexander wants to make a detour to see the famous kingdom of Memnon and Tithonos. The historicity of this story is of course very dubious,

but it bears a strong resemblance to the λόγος stories found in Arrian, which are usually taken to be from an almost contemporary source; Curtius speaks of Alexander being "avidus" to see the palace.

Agatharchides had heard claims that Memnon was an African (de mar.Erythr.29), while Diodoros (2.22) shows an awareness of both traditions: Memnon was sent to Troy by Teutamos, king of Assyria, "with an army half Ethiopian and half Susian, and there was a palace called the Memnoneion built at Susa; this was disputed by the Ethiopians above Egypt, who also adduced a palace named after Memnon as evidence for their claim.

In later sources, however, Memnon is increasingly associated with Africa. Thus Dio Chrysostom at one point (Or.11.114) has him coming from Ethiopia, and at another (Or.31.92) talks of a statue of him in Egypt. Athenaios 15.680b says that when the Ethiopians learned of the death of Memnon at Troy they hung wreaths in the acacia trees at Abydos in Egypt. Plin.Nat.Hist.6.182 is an attempt to compromise between the two traditions, using the evidence of the Andromeda saga, by supposing a great Ethiopian empire at the time of the Trojan War, which under Cepheus included Syria. A great number of sources mention the famous vocal statue of Memnon at Thebes. Goosens (loc.cit.) argues that this was a purely touristic tradition of which true historians were sceptical; the statue was really of Amenophis III.; thus Pausanias (1.42.3) says that the Thebans themselves

claimed that it was a statue of "Phamenoph". This statue achieved a wide fame during the empire and is mentioned by Plin.Nat.Hist.36.58, Juv.15.5, Luc.Toxar.27, Luc.Philops.33, Paus.1.42.3; Callistratos (Desc.1.5 and 9) places the statue actually in Ethiopia. According to Philostratos (Heroic.p.167-8K) sacrifices were made to Memnon at Meroe and Memphis when his statue sang at dawn. This same passage is another attempt to explain the existence of two divergent traditions: the Ethiopian Memnon never went to Troy but died in Ethiopia after ruling for five generations; it was a Trojan Memnon that was killed by Achilles and placed upon the funeral pyre of Antilochos.

A similar process may be seen with regard to the colour of Memnon's skin. (On this see Dihle, Umstrittene Daten p.69). According to Paus.10.31.7, a painting by Polygnotos depicted Memnon as white-skinned, but there was a naked Ethiopian (i.e. negro?) boy beside him, to show that he was king of Ethiopia. If Pausanias is to be trusted, this is very early evidence of a tradition of an African Memnon, but classical vase painters continued to portray him as non-negroid, even when accompanied by negro attendants. Philostratos, however, describes (Imag.2.7.2) a painting in which Memnon was clearly black-skinned: "before Memnon's time black men were only a myth." By the time of the late Roman republic and early empire, Memnon was nearly always black; thus Cat.66.52, Sen.Agam.212, Virg.Aen.1.489, Ov.Am.1.8.3,

Manil.1.767; Gellius 19.7.6 quotes Laevius' description of Memnon as "nocticolorem."

The Ethiopian tribe called Memnones first appears in the first century BC in a reference by Alexander Polyhistor preserved by Steph.Byz.sv. Μέμνονες. It is difficult to believe that Polyhistor did not connect them with Memnon. They were certainly used, much later, by Eustathios, to elucidate Homer (ad Iliadem 1.423), and Eustathios derives their name from that of Memnon. They are also mentioned by Plin.Nat.Hist.6.190 and Ptol.Geog.4.7.34, who places them μεταξὺ ... τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τοῦ Ἀστάπους ποταμοῦ πρὸς ... τῇ Μερόῃ νήσῳ.

The Andromeda myth on the other hand shows no such dichotomy between early and late sources. Any shift of location was both earlier and less definitive. One branch of the tradition localised the legend at Joppa in Phoenicia. Josephos (Bell.Jud.3.420) says that the impressions of Andromeda's chains were still being shown to tourists on the cliffs there; other sources favouring Joppa include Plin.Nat.Hist.5.69, Strab.16.2.28, Paus.4.35.9, Jerome in Johann.1.3, Tzetz.Lyc.836, Conon Narrat.40.

We have already noted Pliny's attempt to reconcile discrepant traditions by postulating an extensive Ethiopian empire. Tacitus (Hist.5.2) tries another approach by suggesting that the Jews were descended from Ethiopians who fled the tyranny of king Cepheus, Andromeda's father.

Euripides appears to have set his "Andromede" in Ethiopia. Nauck Frag.147 comes from a corrupt passage of Bekker's Anecdota (p.339.6), but certainly included the word Αἰθίοπες; Nauck wanted to emend the text to produce a reference to the mythical Ἡλίου πρόσοψα, which would give a firm identification with the Herodotean Ethiopia. The story is set in Ethiopia by both Apollodoros (Bibl.2.4.3) and Ovid (Met.4.663ff.), and the Ethiopian setting is referred to by Lucian (Dial. Mar.14.323). Propertius (4.6.78) talks of Cephean Meroe and its "dark realms", and derivations of Cepheus became virtual synonyms for Ethiopia: cf.Ov.Met.4.669, 764 and Frankel's suggested alteration of "Cephalio" to "Cepheno" in "Ovid" p.178.

There is rather less confusion over the colour of Andromeda's skin. Only Ovid seems to regard her as dark, and much depends on how we are to interpret Heroid.15.35f:

"candida si non sum, placuit Cepheia Perseo
Andromede, patriae fusca colore suae."

Otherwise even those writers who set the scene in Ethiopia have a white Andromeda. Thus Philostratos (Imag.1.29) stresses the Ethiopian setting and describes a picture in which Ethiopians (negroes) were depicted, ἡ κόρη δὲ ἡδεῖα μέν, ὅτι λευκὴ ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, and Achilles Tatius, describing a painting of Andromeda, says ὠλένας τῆς κόρης ἄκρατον ἔχουσαι τὸ λευκόν. Heliodoros stands close to this tradition in that he too is concerned with a picture in which an Ethiopian

Andromeda is shown as white; see the account given by Persinna in 4.8, and the notes on 10.14.7, where the theory of "maternal impression" involved will be discussed.

The transference of the Andromeda myth to Ethiopia on the upper Nile involved an implausibility in that there was no convenient sea or cliffs for the monster to infest. This objection is not raised by any classical writer, but the stress placed on the cliffs at Joppa by those who favoured that location perhaps indicates that the lack of a neighbouring coast was what prevented Andromeda's migration to Ethiopia being as complete as that of Memnon.

It is perhaps worth adding as an afterthought that the σφραγίς at the end of the Aithiopica says that Heliodoros was a native of Phoenicia. It is a little strange then to find him accepting a version of the Andromeda myth at variance with that told to tourists not far from his home town. However, he could not have introduced the Phoenician version without an uncharacteristic authorial intrusion, and the picture of Andromeda is firmly written into the plot of the Aithiopica and could not have been omitted.

10.6.4

τὸ μεσεῦον ἀνενόχλητον ... παρασκευάζουσα: a carefully included detail which becomes relevant later on when Theagenes recaptures a runaway bull (10.28) and wrestles with an Ethiopian giant (10.31). At an earlier stage, however, the lack of contact

between the crowd and the king makes the understanding they have for each other slightly implausible, though this need not be stressed; note especially the conversation between the king and Sisimithres, which is said to be in Greek ὥστε μὴ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκκλίειν (10.9.6 and note).

ἀνενόχλητος is here used in a slightly unusual sense; normally it means "undisturbed" of a person, but here it is used of a space to mean "free of people."

μικρὰ ... προδιαλεχθείς: for the passive aorist of the middle προδιαλέγομαι cf.Isoc.12.199, μικρὰ πάνυ προδιαλεχθείς.

10.6.5

Ἠλίῳ τε καὶ Σελήνῃ .... τῷ Διονύσῳ: cf.10.2.2, where these same gods are named as the πάτριοι θεοί RL's note points out that the earlier reference at 4.8.3 naming Helios, Dionysos, Perseus, Andromeda and Memnon as πρόγονοι of the Ethiopian royal family omits Selene, who is constantly present in Bk.10. Without entering into a full discussion of the religious interpretation of the Aithiopica advanced by Kerényi and Merkelbach, we may at least query whether such inconsistencies do not rule out a sustained allegory as the underlying motive of the romance.

ἰδιάζοντες: cf.7.12.4, τὸ δωμάτιον ... ἀνακεχωρηκός πως καὶ ἰδιάζον and 7.25.3, μόνος πρὸς τὴν Χαρίκλειαν ἰδιάσας.

διὰ τὸ παύδημον, σῖμαι: a nice touch, suggesting authorial uncertainty and so enhancing the historiographical plausibility

of the narrative. This is a common device in Lügenerzählung; cf.D.Fehling: Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot, p.90ff.

Ἡλίῳ μὲν ... καθοσιοῦντες, τῇ Σελήνῃ δὲ ... καθιεροῦντες : note how the parallelism of the two participial cola is characteristically strengthened by the similarity in form and position of the two participles.

τέθριππον λευκὸν ... ξυννηΐδα βοῶν : cf.10.41.3, the final tableau where Hydaspes and Theagenes ride in a chariot drawn by horses, while Persinna and Charicleia are drawn by white oxen.

τῷ ταχυτάτῳ θεῶν, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ τάχιστον καθοσιοῦντες : this is based on Herodotos' account of the Scythians (1.216) who, he says, τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δικέονται. It is important to note the desperation with which Heliodoros seeks stylistic variation here; we find two different forms of the superlative of τάχυς, separated by only four words; and the parallel phrases ὡς ἔοικε and ὡς εἰκὸς (accepting RL's correction of VZ's ὡς ἔοικεν) are scrupulously differentiated the one from the other. Herodotos is also taken up by Ovid (Fasti 1.385ff.) in describing the Persian rite (cf.Paus.3.20.4 and Philostr. Vit.Apoll.1.31). The sacrifice of horses to the sun appears to have been general in the ancient world; thus Xenophon attributes it to both the Persians (Cyrop.8.3.24) and the Armenians (Anab.4.5.35); it was practised by the Rhodians (Festus sv.October equus p.190 ed.Lindsay), the Spartans (Paus.3.20.4), idolatrous Jews (2 Kings 23.11) and the

Nisaians (Himer.Ecl.13.36). Fraser, in his note on Ov.Fast.1.385, suggests that this is connected with the belief that the sun rode in a horse-drawn chariot, and RL go further by suggesting that Heliodoros was influenced to specify white horses by a belief that these were the fastest; see Hom.Il.10.437, Virg.Aen.12.34, Hor.Sat.1.7.8. Whatever the primitive beliefs that gave rise to the custom, a team of four white horses was something very special for an ancient writer; the most explicit expression of this is Plut.Camill.7, καὶ τέθριππον ὑποζευξάμενος λευκόπωλον ἐπέβη καὶ διεξήλασε τῆς Ῥώμης, οὐδενὸς τοῦτο ποιήσαντος ἡγεμόνος πρότερον οὐδ' ὕστερον. ἱερὸν γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄχημα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πατρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐκπεφημισμένον.

In view of the close relationship to Herodotos, we may suggest that the symmetry of Heliodoros' sentence could be increased if the antithesis were made as explicit as it is by Herodotos. Thus we should read: τῷ ταχυτάτῳ θεῶν <ἑωθινῷ>, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ τάχιστον καθοσιοῦντες.

διὰ τὸ περίγειον: περίγειος is a common epithet of the moon in Greek astronomy; for example Vett.Val.55.23. I have not been able to parallel the symbolism suggested here by Heliodoros, but the idea of description of cattle as ἡμερόβια συνεργά is common enough; cf.Ael.Var.Hist.5.14, Varro de re rust.2.5.3, Σ.Arat.132.

10.7.1

ξυγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων : the phrase is modelled on Thuc.7.5.4, εἰ μὴ ἀξιώσουσι Πελοποννήσιοί τε ὄντες καὶ Δωριῆς Ἰώνων καὶ νησιωτῶν καὶ ξυγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων κρατήσαντες etc. Heliodoros has not quite understood the Thucydides passage, where ξυγκλύδων etc. indicates a crowd composed of different nationalities; here there is no hint that anyone but the Ethiopians is present at the sacrifice (the subject nations are represented by ambassadors), and the idea behind the words is that a large crowd of people all shouting at once is bound to be indistinct.

τὰ πάτρια τελεῖσθω : from this point onwards several details about the sacrifice become blurred. Does the crowd's intervention here mean any more than that they are becoming impatient? Or is this the first hint that the sacrifice, although customary, is not mandatory but dependent on the popular will? Cf.10.7.6, and the scene where Charicleia is finally reprieved due to the pressure of popular outcry.

Note too that the sacrifice is still presented as a simple offering of ἀπαρχαί (cf.9.1.4, πρῶτοι λαβόντες εἰς ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου σωζέσθωσαν), although this description applies only to Theagenes and Charicleia, not to the other young men and women selected at 9.26.1.

λοιπὸν : this use of λοιπόν , as equivalent to ἤδη , was taken by Wifstrand as evidence for a late dating of the Aithiopica on linguistic grounds: compare e.g. 2.4.3, 4.3.4, 4.13.2, 4.19.6, 5.1.1, 5.1.3, 6.6.2, 6.7.8, 6.8.5, 7.9.4, 7.16.3, 7.20.1, 7.24.1, 7.25.4, 8.9.8, 8.17.1, 10.29.4, 10.29.5. There is an extensive discussion of the idiom by A.Cavallin in Eranos 39 (1941) p.121ff., from which it emerges that, although it was common in the third and fourth centuries, examples can be traced as early as Polybios, which makes it very insecure evidence for dating Heliodoros; cf.Polyb.1.17.1, 2.41.5, 1.19.4.

10.7.2

τὴν ἀνθρωποκτονίαν : for this rare word cf. Porph.de abstin.2.55, Clem.Prot.3 (=PG.8.125a), Greg.Naz.Or.28.15 (=PG.36.45b).

ταῖς κατὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων νίκαις μόναις : cf.10.11.3, where Charicleia begins her plea by a statement that she is a native Ethiopian and therefore cannot be sacrificed. That seems to be the only reason for the inclusion of this motif; the corollary implied, that sacrifices were not to be offered for victories over Ethiopians, seems hardly appropriate, indeed hardly comprehensible in the context of an ideal, unified Ethiopian theocracy.

εὐώδεσιν etc.: perhaps it is pedantic to point out that they cannot have been in the habit of offering these sacrifices at all frequently (cf.10.2.1 and note). An Ethiopia content with its natural boundaries (9.26.2) will have had little

cause to celebrate victories over foreign enemies, and the gymnosophists' opposition to the practice of human sacrifice comes unexpectedly to the king. In making criticisms of this kind we should always bear in mind that we are discussing fiction, not history, and that therefore we should not be too strict in detecting implausibilities. Even with this proviso, however, it is beginning to emerge that Heliodoros has none too clear a conception of the details of the sacrifice.

ἀποκεκληρωμένους: the overtone of choice by lot which is etymologically fundamental to this word is completely lacking here, as elsewhere in Heliodoros. Compare 10.7.4, ὅταν κάρηνα εἰς τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιλέξω. It is difficult to reconcile either of these words with the idea of simply sacrificing the first booty of the war (as at 9.1.4 and 10.7.1).

10.7.3

φαιδρὸν πρὸ προσώπου: Achilles Tatius uses exactly the same phrase of his heroine Leucippe at almost exactly the same stage of the plot (8.14.3), when she is about to undergo a trial by ordeal to prove her virginity. There is probably nothing significant in the verbal coincidence, but it does emphasise how similar the narrative structure of Greek romances tends to be.

ὥστε κἀκείνην παθεῖν τι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν etc.: this is the working of Persinna's μητρῴα βούλησις as Charicleia promised Theagenes in 9.24.8. Note the subtlety with which the irony

of the situation is conveyed. The reader has the parallel of Hydaspes' reaction to his first sight of Charicleia (9.1.3 cf. 10.7.6) to help him to the conclusion that Persinna's emotion is aroused by μητρώα φύσις , but this conclusion is not confirmed by any heavy-handed authorial statement. Persinna herself does not know the causes of her feelings (nor does Hydaspes cf.10.7.6), but is made to describe them in a suitably puzzled tone - thus the string of exclamations with anaphora of ὡς δὲ καὶ: οἵαν κόρην ... ὡς δὲ καὶ εὐγενῆς ... ὡς δὲ καὶ μεγαλόφρων ... ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐλεεινὴ . The description culminates in the most ironic sentiment of all, which clearly demonstrates to the reader, but still not to Persinna, the cause of her πάθος: εἰ περιεῖναι συνέβαινεν ἡμῖν τὸ ἄπαξ μοι κυηθὲν etc.

However psychologically implausible the events described, Heliodoros seems to me to exercise a superbly delicate control over his readers' emotions at this point.

10.7.4

στενάξασαν ... εἶπεῖν : all the main manuscripts except P read the accusative στενάξασαν , which is sufficient indication that the accusative and infinitive construction of κἀκείνην παθεῖν is being continued, although all manuscripts except the late AT read the finite εἶπεν instead of the infinitive εἶπεῖν .

τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμῆς : the genitive is dependent on ἐλεεινὴ ; there is no direct parallel for such a construction,

but cf. Xen.Eph.5.4.7, τῆς τύχης κύτην ἠλέεε.

ἐν ὅσοις τοῦ τοιούτῳ τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐξητάζετο : cf.10.10.4, where Sisimithres also points out the similarity of ages of Charicleia and the child he rescued. This seems to be a common motif in scenes of recognition; cf.Hom.Od.19.358ff., where Eurycleia is told to wash the feet of one σοῖο ἄνακτος ὁμήλικα.

H.Richards (op.cit.p.113) points out that ἐξητάζετο needs an ἄν, but this is not even recorded in the apparatus of RL and Colonna.

10.7.5

πολλὴν ἂν ἔσχεν παραψυχήν : because Charicleia would remind her of her daughter.

οὓς λέξει τὸ παρόν : referring back to 9.25.4, where Charicleia told Hydaspes πρὸς τοῖς βωμοῖς ... ἐμέ τε καὶ τοὺς ἐμὲ φύντας γνώσεσθε, and says her parents πάντως ἱερουργουμένης παρέσονται. Hydaspes' present scepticism further increases the irony of the situation. The reader will remember that Charicleia has said that her parents will be present at the sacrifice; as RL punctuate the text, Hydaspes remembers this too, and discounts the possibility: "She will tell us who her parents are, but they won't be around for us to see. How could they ? But she said they would." For the rhetorical πόθεν cf. 4.11.4.

10.7.6

τεθνᾶσι κἀκεῖνοι : as described in 9.1.3, when Theagenes

and Charicleia were first brought before him.

ὁ νόμος: in this passage a contrast between νόμος and φύσις is beginning to emerge. Both Persinna and Hydaspes are feeling the demands of their φύσις as Charicleia's parents. νόμος is exactly contrary to their natural feelings, and as they come to recognise their daughter the νόμος will become morally untenable.

ἀπαράιτητος ἂν γένοιτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἡ ὑπέρθεσις: can this mean anything but that Hydaspes would have been able to save Charicleia from the sacrifice were it not for the popular outcry that this would cause ? (cf.10.7.1 etc.) This conception sits uneasily with the νόμος earlier in the sentence, but Heliodoros has introduced the idea of popular demand so as to facilitate the poignant scene (10.17) where Hydaspes offers to continue the sacrifice of his newly recognised daughter, and the populace shouts that he should save her. In fact, Heliodoros has made an effort to make the popular decision acceptable here by differentiating between the νόμος which merely demands that a sacrifice of one male and one female be made, and popular acclaim, which would not assent to the ὑπέρθεσις of one set aside as being τῆς ... πρώτης ἀλιμαλώτου μου προσαχθείσης. Although this device eliminates the discrepancy in the present passage, it does not make for concurrence with earlier references including the very first mention of the sacrifice at 9.1.3; πρῶτον ληφθέντες εἰς ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου σωζέσθωσαν κατὰ τὰ ἐπινίκιους θυσίας, ὡς ὁ πάτριος Αἰθιόπων βούλεται νόμος.

ἀπαιρέτης is here used in an unusual sense, meaning "unpardonable". The closest parallel to this that I have found is Polybios' use of the word with ἁμαρτία and ἁμάρτημα to mean "an unforgivable sin " (30.4.14 and 33.10.5). "To ask for pardon" is a reasonably common meaning of παραιτεῖσθαι.

Note the pomposity of Hydaspes' diction here, as if to reassure himself of the correctness of his position.

10.7.7

ἓν μόνον ἂν βοηθήσειεν: in fact it would not help her at all to be found a non-virgin on the brazier. In 10.8.2 those who fail the ordeal are allocated to Dionysos and the othergods. This is an extraordinary oversight on Heliodoros' part, and is only to be explained by his interest in wringing the utmost poignancy from each successive situation without giving much thought to consistency of details between them. Thus in the present case, in exchange for logical cohesion, we gain the paradox of Persinna wishing for Charicleia to be found impure, and a certain amount of suspense in the writing: although the reader knows that both Theagenes and Charicleia have successfully kept themselves pure, he will be wondering whether this is the way in which Charicleia's rescue will be brought about by supernatural agencies.

From this point onwards concern for the purity of the victims overrides the motif of their being the ἀπαρχαί of the war. The two elements are not of course mutually exclusive, but a rule that victims had to be both virgin

and the first captured would be unworkable in real life. Hydaspes has picked out ten young men and ten young women (9.26.1), of whom only Theagenes and Charicleia can be said to be ἄκραχαί. Yet in this passage it appears that the impurity of sexual contact is sufficient to make even the first captured unacceptable victims.

ἦν ἐσχάρας ἦν σῶμα : note Heliodoros' dramatic style of introducing new motifs, postponing the authorial description until 10.8.2.

τὸν <τῷ> Ἡλίῳ : RL's correction of the confused testimony of the MSS, V having τῷ ἡλίῳ and MP τὸν ἥλιον, while Z combines them to give τὸν ἡλίῳ. Both articles are needed to produce the required sense.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Διονύσου φυσίας διαφορούντος : cf.10.6.5, where Dionysos is said not to mind what animals are sacrificed. However, it seems unlikely that even Heliodoros could have contradicted himself so soon after saying that detection as a non-virgin would save Charicleia from being sacrificed, and then have reverted to that idea again immediately afterwards (ἀλλ' ὅρα etc.). I therefore propose the excision of the clause ἐπὶ ... διαφορούντος as a gloss introduced by a scribe who felt offended at the omission of Dionysos and drew the inference from the earlier passage concerning animal sacrifice and the later statement in 10.8.2 that the impure were allotted to Dionysos.

μὴ τινὶ εὐκρατεῖ ἢ etc.: RL rightly remark (p.83 n.2) on the high moral tone maintained by the Ethiopian court.

Persinna in the ταινία which she exposed with the infant Charicleia had propounded chastity as the outstanding female virtue (4.8.7 - σωφροσύνην ἢ δὴ μόνη γυναικείαν ἀρετὴν χαρακτηρίζει). Emphasis on this lofty morality at the present juncture serves to stress the strength of feeling aroused in Persinna.

10.7.3

φωραθείη, ἔδη , καὶ σωθείη μόνον : the excision of καὶ is advocated by J.Jackson (op.cit.p.103). He points out that when a similar idiom occurs at 6.8.4 one manuscript, P, tries to clarify the sentence by adding εἰ.

Notice again Heliodoros' conversational trick of having one speaker pick up a key word from the other.

αἰχμαλωσία καὶ πόλεμος ... ἀνέγκλητον ποιεῖ τὴν προαίρεσιν : a similar idea occurs at Ach.Tat.8.6-7, where Leucippe is about to undergo a form of trial by ordeal to establish her virginity; both her father and the priest find it difficult to believe that such a beautiful girl could have retained her virginity through so many desperate adventures.

τῆς ἐνεγκούσης ἐξοικισμὸς : ἡ ἐνεγκοῦσα is used persistently by Heliodoros to mean "homeland" (1.14.1, 2.4.1, 2.23.3, 2.25.4, 2.29.5, 2.30.1, 3.11.5, 3.14.4, 3.15.3, 3.16.5, 4.9.2, 4.12.3, 4.19.7, 4.19.8, 6.2.3, 7.14.7, 9.3.7, 10.16.4, 10.16.6, 10.16.9). A purely verbal usage had been current for some time (eg.Philostr.Vit.Soph.1.9, Σικελὰ Γοργίαν

... ἡνεγκεν), but the participial form favoured by Heliodoros cannot be paralleled before the third century. It is found in Men.Rhet.p.393.21 Spengel, but most occurrences come from the fourth century: Bas.Hom.18.58 (=PG.31.493b), Synes, Ep.73, 94, 103 and later in Theodoret.Hist.Eccl.p.74.1 Parmentier. The frequency with which this word occurs in Heliodoros is used by Wifstrand (op.cit.) to support a fourth-century dating for the Aithiopica. This can only be made conclusive by dating Menander Rhetor in the fourth century, a dating contary to that of most authorities. However, as there are good non-linguistic grounds for dating Heliodoros around the middle of the fourth century, Wifstrand's linguistic evidence can be regarded as supplying additional support for that conclusion.

Heliodoros here uses the rare word ἐξοικισμός in a sense different to that attested by LSJ. They record only one certain instance, from Symmachos' version of Ezekiel (3.11), to which we may add Cyr.Zach.78. In both of these cases, as well as at Phil.in Flacc.62, where it is found as a variant reading, it means "expulsion from one's home". Here in Heliodoros it means the state of being an exile.

ἐν τῷ κάλλει τὴν καθ' ἑαυτῆς βίαν: a beautiful girl would be more likely to have lost her virginity by force. Thus in 10.9.4 the Ethiopians are amazed that Charicleia has kept κάλλος οὕτως ὑπεράνθρωπον καὶ τὸ ὥριον τῆς ἡλικίας ἄθικτον.

10.3.1

τὴν ἐσκάρων : this is discussed by R.M.Rattenbury in Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical & Literary Society 1 (1926)p.59ff. The closest parallels in romance are two from Achilles Tatius, although these are purely secular in their aim, with Leucippe fighting for a legal position. Similar religious trials by ordeal are to be found at Paus.7.25.13, where an incoming priestess has to drink bull's blood to prove that she has not had intercourse with more than one man before taking up the priesthood, ἡ δ'ἂν αὐτῶν τύχῃ μὴ ἀληθεύουσα, αὐτίκα ἐκ τούτου τὴν δίκην ἔσχεν , and perhaps at Strab.12.2.7, which is closest to Heliodoros in external form; the priestesses of Artemis at Castabala are said to walk barefoot over red-hot coals without being burned, but it is not certain that this is to be interpreted as a chastity test; similar occurrences are to be found in modern ecstatic religions.

παιδάρια ... μόνους γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀβλαβῶς θιγγάνειν ἔνεστιν : the rôle of these παιδάρια is the same as that of the παρθένος ἱέρεια of Ach.Tat.8.6.14, who can enter the cave of Pan, where the ordeal takes place, without any risk. It was only with small children who had not yet reached puberty that the Ethiopians could be assured of virginity. Any non-virgin who touched the brazier was burned (10.3.2), apparently even before a fire was lit beneath it.

The use of small children in cult for exactly this

reason was widespread; cf.E.Fehrle: Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum, p.112ff. Examples are in the cult of Athene at Tegea (Paus.8.47.3), of Athene Cranaia at Elateia (Paus. 10.34.8), of Artemis Hecate at Aigeira (Paus.7.26.5), of Isis (Xen.Eph.3.11.4), of Zeus at Aigion (Paus.7.24.4), of Poseidon at Calaureia (Paus.2.33.2), the ἀρρηφόροι of Athene at Athens (Ar.Lys.641f., cf.Bekker Anec.Graec.p.202) and of Artemis Brauronia at Athens (Σ.Ar.Lys.645).

10.8.2

τὸν μὴ καθαρὸν καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιορκοῦντα: this sudden widening of the scope of the test is not explained and is nowhere followed up. It strongly suggests that the original form of the trial by ordeal was that the subject had to take an oath to the effect that he or she was a virgin; if this oath, or any oath that he had made, was untrue, then he would fail the test. The fact that Heliodoros has only a hint of this original form implies that he was working from a source where the details of procedure were more explicitly described, and that he has either not fully understood or not fully integrated the material into his own plot.

ἀπ' ἐναντίας: the correct reading is preserved only as a superscript correction in P, perhaps a conjecture made by the scribe.

τῷ τε Διονύσῳ: there are several recorded instances of human sacrifice to Dionysos. These are listed by F.Schwenn: Die

Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern, p.71ff., and include the sacrifice of a substitute calf dressed as a child to Dionysos Anthroporrhaistes in Tenedos (Ael.Nat. Anim.12.34), and true human sacrifices to Dionysos Omadios in Chios (Porph.de abstin.2.55) and in Lesbos (Clem.Alex. 3.42 = p.33 Stahl), before the battle of Salamis to Dionysos Omestes (Plut.Aristid.9, Plut.Pelop.21, Plut.Them.13), and at the Agrionia at Orchomenos (Plut.Quaest.Graec.38).

ἄλλας θεοῦς : I find this quite incomprehensible and can only suppose that there has been some inadequate integration of his sources by Heliodoros, perhaps another trace of a source used for information about the trial by ordeal,

δυό που καὶ τριῶν : the affectation of uncertainty adds credibility to the account.

παρθενεύειν: for the active form cf.2.33.4, 7.8.3, 10.22.3, 10.33.1. In classical writers the active usually carried a transitive meaning (eg.Eur.Suppl.452, Luc.Tim.17, Luc. Dial.Mar.12.1), and the middle or passive was used to express the sense "be a virgin" (eg.Hdt.3.124, Aes.Prom.648, Eur. Hel.290, Eur.Phoen.1631, Polyain.8.1, Hdn.5.6.3, Dio Cass.48.5). Patristic writers, however, provide almost contemporary parallels for Heliodoros' intransitive active: cf.Just. Fr.Res. (=PG.6.1577a) from the second century; Meth.Symp.3.14 (=PG.18.85a) and 9.4 (=PG.18.198a) and 11 (=PG.18.216b) from the end of the third century; St.Dio Chrys.Hom.62.4 (=PG.7.624c) from the fourth century. See also other instances recorded in Lampe's Patristic Greek Lexicon.

10.9.1

ἐπεὶ ... θεαγένης .... καθαρεύων ἐφαίνετο: such a strict conception of male chastity was not normal in the ancient world. The passage of Achilles Tatius (8.5.7) adduced by RL is not really a relevant parallel since the crucial phrase εἴ τις ἄρα ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς παρθενία is making a linguistic not a conceptual point; that is it does not dispute the possibility of sexual abstinence in a male but only whether the word παρθενία can properly be applied to a man.

According to A.D.Nock (Essays on Religion and the Ancient World, p.10) perfect voluntary chastity was not in general regarded by the Greeks as possible for a man. He points out that there is no male equivalent to Artemis in the Olympian pantheon. Complete sexual abstinence remained something "involving a peculiar sanctity", as in the Thracians of Strab.7.3.3, or as in the case of Apollonios of Tyana, or the Mithraic devotees described by Tertullian (de praescr. haer.40). Christianity of course took over this admiration of total continence (eg.Jerom.adv.Iovin.1.34 = PL.23.257). Although Nock perhaps underplays the incidence of male virginity, which was, after all, enjoined by mystery religions from Orphism onwards, it is clear that the onlookers in Heliodoros feel some surprise at the fact that Theagenes is ἀπείρατος τῶν Ἀφροδίτης; likewise with Charicleia in 10.9.4. Their behaviour is consistently portrayed by Heliodoros as exceptional; they contrast strongly with other characters

and their moral strictness is highlighted by the laxity of Cnemon's Athens and Arsace's palace. Of the ten young men and ten young women who undergo the ordeal of the brazier, only two or three of the girls are shown to be virgins (10.8.2), and Heliodoros' pessimism extends so far that the only virgins available to carry the brazier out into the centre of the sacrificial area are παιδάρια.

τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ κάλλους : as Charicleia throughout the romance is described as being of superhuman beauty, so Theagenes is persistently characterised by the attributes of μέγεθος and κάλλος ; cf.2.34.4, 4.5.5, 6.13.1. On two occasions Charicleia too is said to be of outstanding μέγεθος and κάλλος (8.13.3, 9.24.1). Although this seems rather unladylike to modern tastes, compare Hdt.1.199.5, where those Babylonian ladies who are εἶδός τε ἐπαμμένας ... καὶ μεγάθεος are the quickest to perform their ritual prostitution.

καλὰ ... τἀπίχειρα παρ' Αἰθίοψι τῶν καθαρῶς βιούντων : Theagenes' sarcasm does contain a serious point, which is an addition to the cluster of motifs centring on the idea that the Ethiopian νόμος of human sacrifice is contrary to natural morality. This would be true even without the emphasis placed on the moral rectitude necessary to make a victim acceptable to the sun-god, but the unnaturalness is increased by the fact that only the most virtuous are allowed to be butchered; this motif is made explicit for the first

time here, and is complementary to the earlier one placed in Hydaspes' mouth (10.7.7) that only by being found morally unworthy even to serve as Persinna's handmaid can Charicleia be rescued from the knife.

Theagenes' observation is echoed later in this chapter by Persinna, καὶ θάνατον τῶν πολλῶν τούτων ἐπαίνων ἀλλαττομένη (10.9.5).

10.9.2

ἀλλ' ὦ φιλτάτη etc.: compare 9.24.3, where Theagenes suggests that Charicleia should reveal herself to Hydaspes. At that earlier stage she postponed her identification until her mother was present, as she was the key to the problem (ἐξ ἧς ἡ σύμπασα πλοκή τε καὶ ἀνεύρεσις ἤρτηται). Theagenes now takes up the theme again; Persinna is at hand, and her μητρῴα φύσις has already had its effect; the danger of death by sacrifice is getting nearer and Theagenes is now understandably alarmed.

We should note briefly the structural importance of the echo: in effect we were told at 9.24.4 that we should have to wait for the dénouement; at 10.9.2f. we are told that it is at hand (cf.10.9.3 πλησίον ὁ ἀγών). By putting into Theagenes' mouth a question that every involved reader must by now be asking himself, Heliodoros is signalling the start of a new section of the plot, whose leading theme is introduced in this expository question and answer. This is the beginning of the

recognition sequence which culminates in 10.16.1-2.

ἴσως μὲν καὶμὲ περιῳώσεις : a carefully introduced preparation for what will come. Up to this point we have assumed, more or less without question, that the recognition of Charicleia would automatically entail the salvation of Theagenes as well. (It is instructive to compare 9.24.3 ἑρεῖς. ... τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς with 10.9.2 οὐχὶ φράσεις σαυτήν ... μήνυε τὴν σαυτῆς τύχην .) By differentiating between Charicleia's recognition and Theagenes' rescue, Heliodoros is now throwing the suspense forward, as it were, beyond the climax of the recognition scene, which is now seen not to be the solution to all of the pair's misfortunes. The advantages gained by the differentiation are obvious: first and most important the prolongation of the interest and suspense, and secondly the opportunity to introduce exciting and colourful narrative which allows Theagenes to come into his own for the only time in the whole romance.

10.9.3

πλησίον ὁ ἀγὼν etc.: note Charicleia's oracular diction, indicating a moment of great significance; compare my notes on 10.9.2.

ταλαντεύει τὰ καθ'ἡμᾶς ἡ μοῖρα : a straightforward metaphor deriving ultimately from the Homeric psychstasia (cf.Hom.Il. 8.69, 16.658, 19.223, 22.209). The history of the motif is discussed by G.Björck in Eranos 43 (1945) p.58ff., who gives useful references to further material. It is worth pointing out the differences between the original Homeric conception

and that of Heliodoros. Homer's involves the weighing of two fates against each other, one in each pan of the scales; in Heliodoros the point of the metaphor has shifted its emphasis to the indecision inherent in a balance: the fates of Theagenes and Charicleia are not being compared with those of anyone else, but their day of reckoning has come, and now it is a matter of waiting to see on which side the balance comes down. This is exactly parallel to the English usage. Greek examples of the metaphor used in this way are Aes.Agam.439, id.Pers.346; id.Supp.822 is rather vague, and perhaps refers to a weighing of the Danaids against the Aegyptids.

ἐκ πηριδίου τινὸς .... προκομίσασα: cf.F.11.3 as quoted by RL (p.85 n.1): πήραν ὑπὸ μάλης ... ἧς ἱερᾶς ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν στεμμάτων τῶν τε συνεκτεθέντων μητρῴων κειμηλίων καὶ ἀναθημάτων εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἔχῃτο ; also 5.5.4: ἐνθεμένη ... πηριδίῳ τινὶ τούς τε ὅρμους καὶ τὰ στέμματα καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα.

χρυσοειδῆ τε ὄντα καὶ ἀκτῖσι κατάλαμπτον: Charicleia's Delphic robe reappears throughout the romance, often in impressive visual tableaux such as this one. An attentive reader may be expected to recall the very opening of the work (1.2.5), where Charicleia appears for the first time: χρυσοειδοῦς δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος πρὸς τὴν ἥλιον ἀνταυγαζούσης, and the scene of the lovers' first meeting at Delphi, where Charicleia appears χιτῶνα δὲ ἁλουργῆ παλίμπρη χρυσαῖς ἀκτῖσι κατάστικτον

(3.4.2), and the dramatic moment that resumes the opening tableau (5.31.2).

ἀκτῖσι [κοκκοβαφέσι] : it is difficult to excise so pleasing a word as κοκκοβαφέσι, but I believe that RL are right to do so. It is found only in P, and this suggests that a marginal note has been incorporated into the text of P but ignored by the ancestors of the other MSS (thus RL p.85 n.2). It is puzzling that the reminiscence of the earlier description of the robe (3.4.2) is not exact, the colours being apparently reversed, but perhaps a sufficient explanation may be found in the fact that a colour contrast with χρυσοειδῆ is required.. Another subjective argument against κοκκοβαφέσι is that it upsets the isocolia of χρυσοειδῆ τε ὄντα against ἀκτῖσι καταλάμπουσι. More serious is the relationship between the additional material in P here and that at 10.13.5, which I believe to be demonstrably an intrusion. If P or its ancestor was capable of producing one expansion, we must query the validity of the other.

προσέδραμέ τε καὶ ἐφήλατο τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ : the scene with the brazier perhaps inevitably recalls the picture of Charicleia at Arsace's stake (8.9.11ff.), but Heliodoros has made sure that the earlier instance is called to mind. Firstly, there are verbal reminiscences such as ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπαθὴς ἑστήκει (8.9.13)/ἑστήκει πολὺν χρόνον ἀπαθής (10.9.3). Secondly, there is the idea of Charicleia running forward voluntarily: ἐπέβη προλαβοῦσα τῆς πύρας etc.(8.9.13)/προσέδραμέ τε καὶ

ἐφήλατο (10.9.3). Then in both instances her beauty is stressed and even enhanced: περιαυγάζεσθαι μόνον καὶ διοπτεύεσθαι παρέχοντα ἐπαλλαττομένην εἰς τοῦ περιαυγάσματος τὸ κάλλος καὶ οἷον ἐν πυρίνῳ θαλάμῳ νυμφευομένην (8.9.13) cf. πῷ τε κάλλει τότε πλέον ἐκλάμπουσα καταστράπτουσα (10.9.3). Lastly, there is the reaction of the onlookers (8.9.15 cf. 10.9.4).

πῷ κάλλει ... καταστράπτουσα: a commonplace to stress the extreme beauty of romantic heroines; cf. 1.21.3, 2.4.3; Ach.Tat.1.4.2, 6.6.3, Char.4.1. The same metaphor is applied to Theagenes at 7.10.3; it is found as early as Plat.Phaedr. 254b: εἶδεν τὴν ὄψιν τὴν τῶν παιδικῶν ἀστράπτουσαν.

ἀγάλματι θεοῦ πλέον ἢ θνητῇ γυναικὶ προσεικαζομένη: to convey both her beauty and her immobility. Compare 1.7.2, where Thyamis' bandit troop has the same initial reaction. The comparison of a beautiful woman to a statue of a god is something of a topos in Hellenistic literature: cf. K.Jax in Wiener Studien 54 (1936) p.47.

It is worth noting that Heliodoros nowhere attempts a direct description of Charicleia's beauty and we are not told what she looks like. On the other hand there is a description of Theagenes at 3.3.4ff., which though not strongly visual is more specific than anything we are given about Charicleia. Heliodoros is adopting the same technique as Homer used for Helen, and her beauty is all the more ideal for being suggested only by the reactions of onlookers.

For an example of what Heliodorus was anxious to avoid, cf. the description of Anthia at Xen.Eph.1.2.5ff.

10.9.4

Βοὴν μίαν etc.: this is the first instance of a phenomenon which we shall note repeatedly in the course of the tenth book. The Ethiopian crowd is used as a kind of emotional lens to focus the reader's own reactions. The reactions of the fictional audience echo very closely the tensions felt by the real audience, and manipulate them in the required direction. Thus here we share the crowd's relief that Charicleia has survived the ordeal of the brazier, but are then made to realise that this in effect condemns her to sacrifice, and hope that some μηχάνη can be found to rescue her. Cf.10.16.3, 10.17.3, 10.30.5, 10.32.3, 10.35.2, 10.38.3, 10.41.1.

ἄλυκτον ἐτήρει καὶ ἔχειν ἐνεδείκνυτο : ἐτήρει is an ingenious emendation by Coraes for ἐγείρει found in all MSS except P, which omits the phrase ἐγείρει καὶ altogether. This is clearly due to scribal editing in P, but is followed by Colonna.

The articulation of the sentence is open to doubt; is Κάλλος the subject or object of ἐτήρει ? Although there is no syntactical objection to supplying Charicleia as the subject of the verb and taking the καὶ before τὸ δρᾶν as conjunctive, the balance of the sentence is far more

elegant, and the verbal repetition ὥρων ... ὥρᾳ acquires more point, if κάλλος is taken as the subject.

I can see no necessity to follow Naber (op.cit.p.167) in running the ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον of the codices into one word, as do RL. Compare Xen.Eph.1.12.4, where the phrase ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον occurs in a similar sense, but would have to be altered to ὑπεράνθρωπος if the single-word adjective were read.

10.9.5

καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἄλλων : although the variant of V is tempting in presenting an ἄλλως ... πλέον contrast (cf.3.18.2, 10.11.1) the fact that the reading of ZP is found in both branches of the tradition seems to guarantee its authenticity. For the unexpected plural cf.10.3.3, 10.17.3.

ἐκ τινος μηχανῆς : cf.9.24.6 and my note.

σὺν πολλῷ : cf.9.20.4 and my note.

θάνατον τῶν πολλῶν τούτων ἐκείνων ἀλλαττομένη : the same thought as expressed by Theagenes earlier in this chapter; see 10.9.1 and my note.

10.9.6

ἐλληνίζων ὥστε μὴ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπλήττειν : as we have seen, this is an unlikely reason (cf.10.6.4 and note). This is more likely to be another instance of the care which Heliodoros takes over foreign languages. The implausibility of Ethiopians

and Egyptians speaking Greek obviously worried him; cf.9.24.2 and my note there.

ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν εἰς τὸν νεὼν μεταστησόμεθα : this whole passage with the gymnosophists declining to take part in a sacrifice of which they do not approve is closely related to the episode described in Philostr.Vit.Apoll.1.31, where Apollonios withdraws from the king's sacrifice of a Nisaian horse to the sun (cf.10.6.5), after first making an offering of frankincense; this leads to an account of Apollonios' Pythagoreanism, including his injunctions on bloodless sacrifice. If Heliodoros is modelling this episode directly on Philostratos, he does so rather loosely; there is no specific or verbal reminiscence to link the two writers. But, as there is ample evidence that Heliodoros was acquainted with Philostratos' Life of Apollonios, there is nothing implausible in the supposition that he has simply taken over the pattern of the episode.

θυσίαν ... ἔκθεσμον : RL follow Colonna in comparing Plut. Pelop.21, where human sacrifice is called a βάρβαρος καὶ παράνομος θυσία, and it is similarly asserted that the gods can take no pleasure in it. It is not difficult to trace hostile attitudes to human sacrifice at all periods: they form one of the main themes of Euripides' Iphigeneia in Tauris (see esp.350ff.). We may also cite Eur.Hec.260ff., although purely dramatic considerations are at work here, and Curt.4.3.23, where the sacrifice of a free-born child

is called "sacrilegium verius quam sacrum " The attempt by the emperor Elagabalus to introduce the full Syrian ritual of the cult of the Emesan sun-god into Rome was greeted with horror in the capital, not least because it included the sacrifice of small children (Hist.Aug.Elag.8).

ὡς εἶθε γε ἦν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων θυσίας κεκωλῦσθαι etc.:

opposition to blood sacrifices was traced as far back as Pythagoras himself by some authors (eg.Diog.Laert.8.22, Philostr.Vit.Apoll.1.1), but there were those who thought that Pythagoras had made an exception to his rule against shedding blood in the case of sacrificial offerings. The first really intellectual opposition to the practice came from Theophrastos, whose work underlies much of the second book of Porphyrios' De Abstinentia (see esp. 2.11). Apollonios of Tyana was consistently opposed to animal sacrifice, mostly because he thought that a non-physical deity would be degraded by such offerings; his own words (doubtless from his treatise περὶ θυσιῶν) are preserved by Eusebeios (Praep.Evang.4.13); the same attitude is expressed more succinctly in his epistles nos.26 and 27, while no.43 enjoins his followers to abstain from meat. Philostratos attributed these same ideas to him, for example in Vit.Apoll.5.25, and most important in the long section 8.7, which is Apollonios' self-defence against charges of making human sacrifice; in § 12 he is made to derive his position from Pythagoras and κατ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ οὐ γυμνὰ καὶ ἐνδῶν οὐ σαφῆ, which

could be Heliodoros' grounds for making his gymnosophists opponents of all blood sacrifice; we have already seen the connection between Heliodoros' Ethiopian gymnosophists and those of Philostratos; later, in 8.7.12, Apollonios goes on to talk of frankincense: the gods were right τὰ λιβανοφόρα τῆς γῆς ἐν καθαρῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκλυτεύειν ἵν' ἀπ' αὐτῶν θύσωμεν, μὴ σιληροφοροῦντες ἐν ἱεροῖς, μηδ' αἷμα ἐς βωμοὺς ῥαίνοντες.

A.D.Nock (op.cit.Vol.2 p.580) says that not all neo-Pythagoreans would have agreed in their attitudes on blood sacrifices, but for Plutarch, at least, avoidance of bloodshed was one of the elements of Numa's religious outlook which could be held to connect him with Pythagoras: καλλὴ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἔχεται τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς ἀκριστείας· ἀναίμακτοι γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ μὲ πολλαί, δι' ἀλφίτου καὶ σπονδῆς καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων πεποιημέναι (Plut.Num.8).

The neoplatonist philosophers found difficulty with animal sacrifice: Porphyrios in the third century would have nothing to do with it, and devoted the whole of the second book of his De Abstinentia to an attack on the practice (cf.also his Epist.2.38b, Kyst.5.1, 6.1). At the same period the Corpus Hermeticum was extolling λογικαὶ θυσίαι (Corp. Herm.13.21). By the fourth century, however, paganism was under pressure, and the neoplatonists had come to regard animal sacrifice as a part of the heritage they were concerned to defend. Thus both Salloustios and Iamblichos offer an

intellectual defence of animal sacrifice by arguing that a life is a necessary intermediary between the human life of the sacrificer and the divine life of the god to whom he is making the sacrifice. Julian carried out enormous hecatombs (Amm.Marc.22.12.6 and 25.4.17). Merkelbach (Roman und Mysterium p.287 n.3) tries to fit Heliodoros into this pattern and argues that it would have been impossible for him to have taken up a stand against blood sacrifice if he was writing in the fourth century when all pagan religions were in difficulty, including the Emesan sun-cult; therefore this is additional proof of an early dating.

Merkelbach's reasoning is open to question on several counts: i) it is simplistic to talk of the decline of paganism as a phenomenon of the fourth century. It was a long and gradual process; the sun-cult, for example, was still flourishing in the fifth century, when Augustine felt it necessary to preach against its devotees (Serm.12, Ennar.in Psalm.25,2.3) ii) it is even more simplistic to imagine every pagan of the empire suddenly rallying round the banner of animal sacrifice. In fact, Julian's hecatombs were an embarrassment to Libanios and excited the disapproval of Ammianus. Thus even if Heliodoros were an ardent opponent of blood sacrifice, it would not be impossible to date him in the fourth century. iii) it is in fact clear that Heliodoros was not very much concerned with the question. The pious wish for abolition is made by a character, not the author, and although the gymnosophists are presented as paragons, their dislike

of animal sacrifice quickly fades from the novel. The sacrifice of horses and cattle does eventually take place, in the presence of Sisimithres, as if no objection had ever been made (10.41.3; cf.10.39.3 and my note). Thus it appears that the desire to abolish animal sacrifice is a purely literary motif to characterise the gymnosophists, perhaps borrowed with them from Philostratos.

καθ'ἡμέτερον νῶν ἀρκουμένους : MP's reading νῶν as printed by RL is impossible. There is no reason for the Ionicism; unless he were making an allusion, Heliodoros would have written νοῦν. VZ's readings are usually preferable, and RL have abandoned their normal practice to follow MP here.

If we read νόμων with VZ, we cannot follow RL's interpretation of the rest of the sentence. ἀρκουμένους will not now refer back to τὸ θεῖον but will be a participle in agreement with the unstated subject of κεκωλῦσθαι, to be included in the ὡς εἴθε construction. The sense will then be: "I wish that people would do away with blood sacrifice and be satisfied like us (καθ'ἡμέτερον νόμων) with prayers and incense." We should remember that a Greek author did not have brackets to make his text clearer, and should beware of using them when there is an alternative.

The reading ἀρκουμένους is preserved only by V, but the variants ἀρκούμενον and ἀρκουμένων have obviously been attracted by the cases of neighbouring words.

10.9.7

τὴν οὐκ εὐσεβῆ μὲν ... διὰ δὲ τὸ προκατειλῆφθος τοῦ Αἰθιοπικοῦ νόμου πάτρων ἀπαραίτητον : it is worth noting that we have here an antithesis between piety and custom (νόμος) - another example of the motif which plays such an important role in the first half of the tenth book.

For προκαταλαμβάνω in the sense of "to make provision" cf.Aeschin.3.11, τοῦτα οὕτως εὖ προκατειλημμένος τοῦ νομοθέτου. Heliodoros' use of the word is nevertheless startling and quite without parallel. The example from Origen (PG.11.437a) given in Lampe's Patristic Lexicon is from a passage discussing prescience and preordination, and seems to refer to precognition rather than prior ordination. The use of a neuter adjective or participle as an abstract noun, which gives the phrase such a Thucydidean quality, is characteristic of Heliodoros.

10.10.1

πρὸς τὴν μετάστασιν ἐρρυθμίζετο : a rather self-consciously grandiose phrase. I have not been able to find an exact parallel for this use of ῥυθμίζομαι meaning "to make oneself ready for."

τὴν εἰκοῖαν καρέιτησιν ... τοῦ θανάτου : the natural presumption for onlookers to make; compare 10.10.4 and Hydaspes' initial reaction to Charicleia's disclosures in 10.12.2: παραπόλμους πλάσματα τὸν θάνατον περιφυμένη διώσασθαι.

κρίσις προίσεται : the reading πρόκειται of VZ is confirmed by the unanimous τὴν κρίσιν τὴν νυνὶ προκειμένην in 10.11.3.

ὑμᾶς δὲ μόνους καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους δικάζειν νενόμικα : there is no indication of where Charicleia can have come by this information. The status of the priesthood in Meroe was very powerful; Diod.3.6 says that they could tell the king when to die, until their power was broken by Ergamenes in the time of Ptolemy II (ie. about 250 BC). The same source is shared by Strab.17.2.3, and perhaps lies at the back of Heliodoros' mind here. In general his gymnosophists appear as apolitical, although they are called σύνεδρόν τε καὶ σύμβουλον τῶν πραγμάτων τῷ βασιλεῖ (10.2.1). He never defines their powers, and the δίκη καὶ κρίσις is not actually a matter for a law-court. Their position is of course enormously influential, but I do not feel that Heliodoros meant it to be seen as formally constitutional; instead, they are the guardians of natural justice, bound only by the laws

of truth (cf.10.14.1). Thus in the present chapter Hydaspes' expostulations about the impossibility of a legal process between himself and a prisoner are not met with a reminder of constitutional positions and privileges, but with the Platonic observation τὰς ὑπεροχὰς οὐ δυσωπεῖται τὸ δίκαιον (10.10.3), and when Hydaspes remarks that ὁ νόμος only allows them to try cases involving native Ethiopians, they reply with an assertion of the universality of justice. The whole chapter is concerned with establishing the gymnosophists as representatives of an ethical code overriding constitutional forms.

10.10.2

τοῦτον ἴσον: for this use of ἴσος see RL's note (p.37 n.1). As they imply, Hydaspes is taking up an autocratic stance, but they are surely distorting when they say that Sisimithres "a des principes plus démocratiques". The gymnosophists are not really concerned with political and constitutional rights, and certainly would not agree to the central tenet of democracy, that the opinion of the majority should become law.

Note the scornful repetition of πᾶσι and the chiastic arrangement of the last two questions.

10.10.3

αὐτὰ δηλώσει τὰ λεχθησόμενα: this is an extension of the

common proverb αὐτὸ δείξει. It is found in this form at Plat.Hipp.Major 288b and Theaetet.200e. The Suda sv. αὐτὸ δείξει points out that there is an ellipse of τὸ ἔργον; instances where the thought is expressed in full are Eur. Andr.265, id.Orest.1128, Soph.Frag.388 P, Ar.Lys.375. Variations on the proverb are to be found at Eur.Phoen.623 (αὐτὸ σημανεῖ), id.Bacch.976 (τἄλλα δ'αὐτὸ σημανεῖ). Occasionally in very idiomatic usages the ellipse was carried a degree further and we have simply δείξει; thus Ar.Wasps 994, id.Frogs 1261, Plat.Phileb.20c. Closest to Heliodoros is Philostr.Vit.Apoll. 5.30, where the simple proverb takes the form αὐτὰ δηλώσει. ἧς ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεύων ἐν ταῖς κρίσεσιν: this closely resembles the famous Stoic dictum μόνος σοφὸς ὁ βασιλεύς, for which see Arnim Stoic.Vet.Frag.Vol.3 p.157ff. Such an echo of a philosophical catchphrase will have had a powerful effect on a mind acquainted with Greek culture. It has the result of connecting the gymnosophists with a theoretical system of values close to the reader's own heart.

10.10.4

πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους: note how the idea is introduced here preparatory to Charicleia's arguments in 10.11.3; cf.also 10.7.2 and note.

οὐ τοῖς πρόσωποι μόνον etc.: a figurative presentation of the universal principle that justice does not depend on appearances. However, the motif of πρόσωπα takes on an

extra dimension if we remember that the Ethiopians are black and Charicleia white. Thus Charicleia's foreignness is visible in her face.

10.11.1

διὰ τὴν προσδοκωμένην ... λύσιν: perhaps a lapse of judgement on Heliodoros' part. He seems for a moment to have conceded the recognition of Charicleia as almost certain in her eyes, which rather defuses the tension of the scenes that follow.

ἦν γὰρ δὴ οὗτος etc.: Heliodoros takes the opportunity to remind his readers of the episode narrated in 2.30ff., where Calasiris is telling Cnemon how Charicles told him how an Ethiopian entrusted a young girl to him. The complexity of the earlier situation was no doubt one of the reasons for a straightforward recapitulation at this point, but we should not forget that the retrospective passage is necessary here, since Sisimithres was not named in the earlier episode. It is essential that the reader should be made aware that Sisimithres is the same man, and while it might have been possible to convey this dramatically, a short authorial intrusion is by far the simplest and most economical way to achieve the desired end.

παρακαταθέμενος: cf.Char.3.4.5 τὸν ... υἱόν, ὃν παρακατατίθημί σοι ἐκτρέφειν τε καὶ παιδεύειν.

τῶν σμαραγδείων μετάλλων ἕνεκεν: cf.2.32.2, ἐπέταττεν ἐκτέχεσθαι τῶν σμαραγδείων μετάλλων ὡς Αἰθιοπίᾳ προσηκόντων.

τότε μὲν ἐξ τῶν πολλῶν γυμνοσοφιστῶν: cf.the detail introduced at 2.31.1 to explain why Sisimithres felt compelled to save the child's life, παράγγελμα τῶν γυμνῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σοφῶν

ἓν ἀκουστὴς εἶναι χρόνος ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν ἠξιωμαι.

10.11.2

τὴν μὲν οὖν ὄψιν ταλαὸς οὐκ ἀνέφερεν: this is a nicely realistic touch, and provides a happy explanation for the structurally necessary failure by Charicleia to recognise Sisimithres.

For ἀναφέρω in the sense of "remember" cf.Plut.Mor.126f and 607e.

νέα κομιδῇ καὶ ἑπτάετις χωρισθεῖσα: cf.2.30.6, ἑκτὰ ἔτη γεγονέναι ἔλεγεν . With the information that the exchange between Charicles and Sisimithres took place ten years before the time of the narrative (10.11.1), we may deduce that Charicleia is seventeen years old. This is later confirmed by Heliodoros at 10.14.4, if the text there is trustworthy. Her age has been cleverly chosen by Heliodoros to make various features of the recognition scene more plausible, such as the way she has forgotten what Sisimithres looked like while at the same time he is able to see resemblances to the child he gave to Charicles (10.14.4). It is interesting to note that Meroebos' age is the same as Charicleia's (10.23.4). There is no literary reason why this should be so, and the coincidence is best explained by the fact that the age of seventeen or so was considered the most attractive one, with a certain amount of latitude for personal taste. Thus Habrocomes in Xenophon of Ephesos is sixteen when the

story starts (Xen.Eph.1.2.2), Cleitophon is nineteen (Ach. Tat.1.3.3)and Asenath is eighteen (Joseph and Asenath, ed. Philolenko, 1.6). Ninos in the fragmentary Ninos Romance is also seventeen years old (A.ii.20 = p.17 of Zimmermann's Griechische Romanpapyri).

τοῦνομα δὲ ἀναμνήσασα περιχαρὴς ἐγεγόνει πλέον : an almost exact repetition of 10.11.1, πλέον ἐγεγόνει περιχαρὴς ὡς ... τοῦνομα ἐπήκουσεν. Note especially the elegant chiasmus which Heliodoros achieves. The function is to emphasise that the narrative is being resumed at exactly the place where it was left for the short explanatory digression.

συνήγορόν τε καὶ συνεργόν : for Heliodoros' inclination for jingles like this, see 9.22.2 and my note there.

10.11.3

"Ηλιε γενέαρχα προγόνων ἐμῶν etc.: cf.4.8.2. Heliodoros here manages to combine the particular case of the Ethiopian royal family with the conventional form of calling on the sun and other gods to witness; especially close is Hom.Il.3.276ff.

ξένους ἢ καὶ ἐγχωρίους : this was prepared for at 10.7.2. Charicleia starts with a statement that will prove irrelevant once she succeeds in establishing her identity as Hydaspes' daughter. This rhetorical trick allows the maximum effect to the later revelation.

ἐμὲ γὰρ Ἰμεδαστήν : thus Coraes for the unanimous Ἡμεδαστήν of the codices. The corruption would have been easy since

the two words were homophones. Nevertheless I am inclined to retain the MSS reading, a) because ἡμεδαπήν is so much easier that I do not think it likely that the word would have been altered and b) because there seems more rhetorical effect in ἠμεδαπήν. In her prayer to the sun Charicleia has adopted the status of an Ethiopian, especially in the phrases ἡγενέαρχα προγόνων ἐμῶν and ἡγένους ἠμετέρου καθηγεμόνες. This status she clinches emphatically by using an unexpected diction.

10.12.1

τὰ μείζονα δὲ ἐστὶν ἕτερα : Wifstrand (op.cit.p.36/104) suggested the deletion of τὰ on the analogy of Philo de vit.Mos.2.45 ἀπόχρη μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα πᾶσι ἔπαινος εἶναι τοῦ νομοθέτου. πλείων δ' ἐστὶν ἔτερος . This is attractive, but the Philo passage is not a really accurate model, since there is not the parallelism of the two comparatives τὰ μικρότερα ... τὰ μείζονα . The distinction applies to the fact that Charicleia is of Ethiopian birth (τὰ μικρότερα) compared with the fact that she is a member of the royal family (τὰ μείζονα). It would be out of place to emend with Wifstrand so as to produce a text which meant "That's not the half of it, there's more to come."

10.12.2

χλεύην τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὕβριν ποιούμενος : a close verbal reminiscence of 9.24.6, where Charicleia is telling Theagenes why she does not immediately reveal her identity; without proof a claim to royal blood would only serve to annoy the king, χλεύην, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ , καὶ ὕβριν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἡγησάμενον . This, together with the further similarity of the μηχανή simile, seems intended to link the passages, and thus to convey to the reader, without authorial intrusion, that Charicleia's earlier assessment of Kyrnaspes' likely reactions was accurate.

ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐξ ἀπόρων ἑαυτὴν καὶ ὅλον ἐκ μηχανῆς : the first part of this phrase seems to be a reference to

the type of plot common in Greek New Comedy (but also found in fifth-century romantic tragedy, such as Euripides' Ion), where intricate difficulties are resolved by the discovery of the true identity of a central character. It certainly comes rather oddly from the King of Ethiopia, supposedly in the sixth century BC. Heliodoros' language, however, is permeated by images from the stage; see Walden op.cit.

The allusion to the μηχανή picks up that in 9.24.6 καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς τῷ βασιλεύοντι παῖδας ἑαυτοὺς ἐσποιοῦσιν. ὁμοῦ τε ἀκηκοότος καὶ ἀποβαλόντος : referring back to 4.8.6, where Persinna, through the ταινία, tells Charicleia how she had pretended to Hydaspes that their child had died at birth, ἡ ἐνομένην τέ σε τεθνάναι παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα πλασαμένη. The epigrammatic turn of phrase makes the present passage rather difficult; strictly speaking the object of both participles is παίδων γόνην, but with ἀποβαλόντος the sense requires the object to be παῖδα. At first sight the position of τε is another alarming element, but it is supported by five other passages in the Aithiopica: 1.31.3, ὁμοῦ τε εἶδον καὶ ἔφευγον; 3.1.1, ὁμοῦ τε ἀνοίξας καὶ λύσας τὸ βέατρον; 3.5.4, ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ ἀλλήλους ἐώρων οἱ νέοι καὶ ἤρων; 4.7.1, ὁμοῦ τε εἶδε καὶ προσδράμων ἔφιλει; and 8.8.3, καὶ ὁμοῦ τε ἡ ὑραῖς ἀπέπνει καὶ ἡ Χαρικλεία δεσμῶτις ἔλυτο. We are therefore not justified in attempting to emend the text, despite the slight irregularity of logic mentioned above.

10.12.3

ὡὺὶς ἄξει σὐδεὶς ἀνεβόησεν ἡ Χαρικλεία : J.Jackson (op.cit.p.105) transposed σὐδεὶς and ἀνεβόησεν , so as to avoid the hiatus between ἄξει and σὐδεὶς . For the disjointed word order produced by the change cf.10.14.2. The subject of hiatus in Heliodoros and the other romancers is discussed by M.D.Reeve (CQ 1971 p.514ff.), who concludes that all the novelists tried to avoid it. Jackson's emendation therefore produces a result which agrees with Heliodoros' practice elsewhere. The corruption will have been caused by a scribe rearranging the sentence so as to produce what he felt to be a more logical order.

ξενοκτονεῖν ... τεκνοκτονεῖν : RL (vol.3 p.90 n.1) say that the verb τεκνοκτονεῖν is found only in Heliodoros and Chariton (2.9.3); this is not correct, as it is used of Medea by Clement of Alexandria (Str.3.9 = PG.8.596a).

Note the parallelism of structure in this sentence. The two unusual compounds ξενοκτονεῖν and τεκνοκτονεῖν are contrasted at the beginning of their clauses, while the final position in each clause is occupied by the verbs ἐκτρέπεις and ἔθηκεν , linked by having the same prefix.

Note also the recurrent motif that νόμος and φύσις are in conflict. It does not appear that the actual νόμος of sacrificing captives forbade the sacrifice of one's own children, since Hydaspes is later to offer to do exactly that (10.16.4ff.). Charicleia must therefore be using the

word νόμος to cover the whole body of law and not just the custom.

10.12.4

δύο τὰς μεγίστας ἀποδείξεις εἶδε etc.: written evidence and statements from witnesses do not figure as μέγισται ἀποδείξεις in any rhetorical textbook. They constituted ἄτεχνοι πίστεις, that is to say they left little or no scope for oratorical skill. Aristotle listed five forms of ἄτεχνοι πίστεις (Rhet.1.15.2); these were νόμοι, μάρτυρες, συνθῆκαι, βάσανοι, ὅρκοι. This list was varied considerably by later writers. For example, according to Rufus (Rhet. Graec.ed.Spengel vol.1 p.440,6) the ἄτεχνοι πίστεις consisted of ἔμφασις, νόμοι, συμβολαία and διαθῆκαι. Perhaps closest to Heliodoros is Apsines (Rhet.Graec.ed.Spengel vol.1 p.296.4) αἱ δὲ ἄτεχνοι πίστεις ἔμφασις, βάσανος ... μαρτυρίαι. The written evidence referred to by the rhetoricians consisted of contracts and pledges; Persinna's ταινία is a kind of birth-certificate; its authenticity is undoubted, but the question still remains, as Hydaspes points out (10.13.5), of how Chariclea has got hold of it.

The βεβαιώσεις ἐκ μαρτύρων are more than simply statements from witnesses: they are corroborations of the speaker's story. βεβαίωσις, like ἔμφασις, is a legal term (see LSJ βεβαίωσις 2) which Heliodoros is here misusing. This may be coincidental, but the passage has a rather rhetorical

flavour, be it an imperfect recollection of early training, or even an attempt by a man ignorant of the law to impart to equally ignorant readers a mock theoretical sententia. The proofs on which Charicleia is counting are, of course, the ταινία and the evidence of Sisimithres; the "theory" of rhetoric must clearly be moulded so as to include these and give them a prominent position.

τοῦ θυγάτηρ ὑμετέρα εἶναι: the text as printed both by RL and by Colonna gives a hiatus, and is not demonstrably superior to the versions of AT (which also involves hiatus) or V, θυγάτερα ὑμετέραν, which may count as an elision written out in full; see Reeve op.cit.p.519 on this.

μειότη δὲ ὦμαι etc.: the MSS all have μειότη δὲ σὶ καὶ. RL print Hemsterhuys' emendation and quote Coraes' ἔοικε in the apparatus. I should prefer Coraes' version, on the grounds that δ'ἔοικε and δὲ σὶ καὶ could have been homophones.

This quote is rather feeble. It says no more than that it is a great advantage to be judged by a man who knows that you are in the right. It can, nevertheless, be seen as part of the same pattern discussed in the last note of constructing theories and sententiae around Charicleia's situation which would have decidedly limited applications as general statements.

τύχης τῆς ἐμῆς τε καὶ ὑμῶν διηγήματα: cf.4.8.6, where Persinna (in the ταινία) says she has exposed the recognition tokens ταινίᾳ τῇδε ἐλεεινῷ διηγήματι πῷ σῷ τε κἀμαυτῆς ἐνελήσασα

As LL point out in their note (p.90 n.2), V's reading γνωρίσματα and A'' γνωρίσματα καὶ διηγήματα are clearly glosses.

10.13.1

ὑπὸ τῇ μαστρὶ φέρουσα : for the strange expression cf.8.9.8. Nevertheless, the phrase seems intrusive here, and we may contrast 10.9.3, where Charicleia takes her Delphic robe ἐκ παρώου πνὸς ἢ ἐπεφέρετο. Apart from the oddity of expression, the information conveyed is not really relevant at this moment, and presents a rather ungainly picture. The phrase is best removed.

ἀχανής τε καὶ αὖος ἐγεγόνει etc.: the description of Persinna's reaction may seem a little exaggerated but is in fact composed of elements which recur elsewhere in the Aithiopica. Thus αὖος is found at 1.12.3 (Cnemon's reaction at finding that the expected adulterer is in fact his father), and 5.2.1 (Cnemon's reaction to the name Thisbe).

ἀχανής occurs at 2.5.4, when Cnemon discovers the body of Thisbe; at 2.12.4, when Thermouthis finds the same corpse; at 2.30.6 (Charicles' first sight of the infant Charicleia); and also at 5.6.1 and 6.4.1.

The τρόμος motif occurs in the same passage from 2.5.4 (τρόμῳ συσχεθεὶς ἀχανὴς ἑστήκει), at 4.18.1; τάλμος at 5.3.3, where Cnemon thinks that Thisbe has come alive again. The same idea is expressed in very similar language at 10.29.2.

For the apparently unladylike idea of running with great, compare 4.11.1, which describes Charicleia's reaction to Calasiris' disclosure that he knows of her love for Theagenes, and to his advice that she think in terms of marriage: ὑπὲρ πολλῷ διεῤῥεῖτο . This motif appears to

go back to Sappho Frag.31 LP, a most influential precedent; see A.Turyn: Studia Sapphica (= Eos Supp.6).

χαίρουσα μὲν ... ἀμηχανοῦσα δὲ ... δεδοικυῖα δὲ: it is a feature of the psychology of the romancers that they try to render complex emotional conditions as a combination of, or tension between contrasting simpler emotions; compare again 4.11.1 χαίρουσα μὲν ... ἀγωνιῶσα δὲ... ἐρυθριῶσα δὲ, and 6.1.2, where Charicleia is λύπης τε ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ καὶ χαρᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλπιζομένοις ἐν μεταιχμίῳ σαλεύουσαν. See also my notes on 10.33.4. As examples from other romances we may give Char.1.9.3, 4.5.10; Ach.Tat.1.4.5, 2.29.1, 5.19.1; Ninos Romance A.v.1ff. (=Zimmermann p.23); Joseph and Aseneth 9.1; Xen.Eph.2.5.5.

Note too the rhetorical form used to heighten the emotion displayed by Persinna, beginning with two parallel clauses linked by parallelism of form, then three participial cola with participles occupying emphatic and parallel positions, the last leading into a list of Hydaspes' possible reactions expressed by simple nouns in polysyndeton.

δεδοικυῖα τὴν ἐξ Ὑδάσπου ... ὑποψίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἢ καὶ ὀργήν ... καὶ πικρίαν: all this seems out of character with the philanthropic and kingly Hydaspes we have come to know. We should remember, however, that the plot of the Aithiopica would never have got off the ground if Persinna had not been afraid of her husband's reactions to their white baby, and so exposed the child; cf.4.3.6. Heliodoros

is only being consistent in giving Persinna the same feelings when her deception is on the point of being revealed as induced her to commit the deception in the first place.

10.13.2

ἐνορῶντα εἰς τὸ βάμμος : ἐνοράω has two constructions: i) with an object and possibly a dative of person, meaning to "observe or notice something (in somebody)", a regular classical idiom found in Herodotos, Thucydides, Lysias etc., and also at 10.21.2; ii) with εἰς and the accusative, meaning to "look at" or even to "stare at", found at 8.9.16,;cf. Paus.4.3.2.

It is clearly the first of these two which is required here. Persinna's emotion is so strong that it becomes visible to her husband. As Heliodoros was aware of the difference between the two usages, I suggest the removal of the εἰς.

10.13.3

συνεπιλέγεσθαι: only here in the sense of "to read over with"; the compound is, however, perfectly regular. For the uncompounded ἐπιλέγεσθαι see 4.8.1, 10.34.2.

τὸν Σισιμίθρην ἐκτεθνηκέναι : this despite the fact that he had predicted the recovery of a limb of the royal house (10.4.2) and the disruption of the sacrifice (10.9.7). Either Heliodoros has not remembered the earlier passages or, more likely, we are not intended to conceive of Sisimithres'

powers of prophecy as being so precise that he could have expected the reappearance of the child he rescued ten years earlier.

συνεκές τε εἰς τὴν ταινίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν Χαρίκλειαν ἀτενίζοντα: cf., as KL ad loc., 10.7.3: συνεκές τε καὶ ἀτενὲς εἰς τὴν Πέρσιννάν ἀφορῶσα.

This is a good example of Heliodoros' avoidance of authorial statement; Sisimithres is obviously looking for resemblances between Charicleia and the child he entrusted to Charicles, but Heliodoros allows this to emerge dramatically from his actions.

10.13.4

τίς δὲ ὁ ἀνελόμενος καὶ διασώσας καὶ βρέφος ... ὁ διακομίσας: note the closeness with which Sisimithres picks up this string of verbs in 10.14.1: ᾧ ἀνελόμενος ... καὶ ἀναθρέψας ... καὶ κομίσας.

εἰς Αἴγυπτον, οὗ etc.: KL's text is much to be preferred to Colonna's incomprehensible punctuation εἰς Αἴγυπτον; οὗ ... ἔλῃται;

10.13.5

μή τις δαιμόνων ἡμῖν ἐκπαίζῃ etc.: these words, like κορκοβαδέσι at 10.9.3, are found only in P. If KL had had the courage of their stomma, they would have excised them. Even granted that the writer of P had access to an earlier version of

the text, it is inconceivable that the entire phrase should have vanished without trace from all manuscripts in both branches of the tradition. It is in fact perfectly possible to make good sense of the sentence without the reference to the δαίμων.

The decision therefore would be easy, except for the fact that the thing has an undeniably characteristic ring to it. Compare 2.25.3 . ὁ τότε ἐλλιχὺς δαίμων σὸν ἐκ προσωπεῖον αὐτὴν ὑπῆλθε , and 2.6.2 ἐκ μή τις ἡμᾶς παίζει καὶ νυνὶ δαίμων. However, the objective evidence afforded by the tradition is too strong to be rejected, and the insertion must be explained as a skilful fabrication from other passages of the novel; perhaps a marginal note comparing 2.25.3 for the use of προσωπεῖον was incorporated with extensive surgery to make it fit the context.

Other considerations, not of themselves conclusive, may be used to support the excision of μή τις ... ἐπαίξεν.

1) the compound form ἐπαίξεν occurs nowhere else in the Aithiopica.

2) if we retain the δαίμων, it is not easy to see how we should understand ἐπαίξεν; the δαίμων would have no purpose in the deception except malicious delight in mocking Hydaspes' desire for children; a criminal would actually benefit materially from the ploy, and the phrase νόθον ... διαδοχήν make sense only if the idea is that of a criminal conspiracy.

3) apart from this one hint of supernatural interference, the hearing is being conducted on points of fact and plausible conjecture. Hydaspes is asking for proof that this is not a criminal conspiracy; he is establishing fact, not discussing divine motivation.

With the δαίμων removed the text of the manuscripts may be retained. The object of περιβεῖς can be understood from τοῖς ἐκ τῆς τύχης in the previous clause. The alteration of περιβεῖς to περιτεβεῖς suggested by RL (vol.i. p.lxxxii) is less than cogent when talking of a human, not a divine agent. For this use of περιτίθημι cf.Theodoret.Quaest.in libr.Regum 2 Interrog.24 (=PG.80.625b), ... Δέβαν δ προφήτης κατηγορίᾳ περιβεῖς ἐπηρείας προσωπεῖον.

τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ περὶ τεκνοποιΐαν ἐπιθυμίᾳ: cf.4.9.5, where the period between Charicleia's conception and her birth is described as one of public celebration, and 4.12.3, τῆς ἐκ πάλαι διαδοχῆς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπροσδιορίστως λαμβάνοντα (sc.Hydaspes).

10.14.1

ὅτε με πρεσβευτὴν ἔστειλας : cf.2.31.3.

οὗτος ἐγὼ ἐμὶ ἐγώ: cf.6.3.1, where Nausicles explains himself:

ὁ γὰρ ἔμπορος ὁ Ναυκράτης ὁ θύσβης ἐρασθὴς οὗτος ἐγώ ;

and 7.7.2, where Calasiris reveals himself to his sons:

οὗτος ἐγὼ Καλάσιρις, οὗτος ἐγὼ πατὴρ ὁ ὑμέτερος .

οὐ θεμιτὸν ἡμῖν τὸ ψεῦδος : perhaps a reminiscence of Pi.Pyth. 9.42.

τοῖς βασιλείοις Αἰθιόπων γράμμασιν : cf.4.8.1: τὴν ταινίαν γράμμασιν Αἰθιοπικοῖς οὐ δημοτικοῖς ἀλλὰ βασιλικοῖς ἐσημμένην . Compare Hdt.2.36, who says that the Egyptians used two kinds of writing, sacred and demotic. Diodoros (3.3) says that in Egypt only members of the priesthood could understand the hieroglyphic form of writing. In Heliodoros the similarity between Egyptian hieroglyphics and the Ethiopian royal script enables the Egyptian priest Calasiris to read the ταινία (4.8.1). Diodoros adds, however, that in Ethiopia everyone could understand hieroglyphics, which Heliodoros appears to contradict with his distinction between royal and demotic scripts. Meroitic inscriptions are found in two scripts: one is a slightly modified form of Egyptian hieroglyphics, the other a cursive form, stylised from the hieroglyphs. The distinction between hieroglyphic and cursive is not one of usage, but simply one of date. Early royal inscriptions are actually in Egyptian, but as knowledge of that language faded in Meroe, the same letters were

used for the native tongue, the earliest datable Meroitic inscription being that of a Queen Shanakdakhete, found at Naqa, from c.180-170 BC. The latest is the name of King Tarekeniwal inscribed on the pylon of his pyramid, Beg.N.19, from the early second century AD. Although the phonetic values of Meroitic can now be read with reasonable certainty, the words themselves are not yet understood.

ἀμφιβολίαν ἀλλαχοῦ συντετάχθαι: the emendation ἀλλαχοῦ, apparently discovered independently by RL and Colonna, seems a certain remedy for the MSS ἀλλαχόσε (VMPT cf. ἀλλαχῶσε in Z). The confusion probably arose from a dittography of the first syllable of συντετάχθαι. The infinitive hanging on ἀμφιβολία seems odd, but Heliodoros' habitual looseness with infinitive constructions is a forceful argument against attempting to alter the MSS reading.

Περσίννης δὲ αὐτοχειρία etc.: cf. RL's note ad loc. In classical Greek the adverbial αὐτοχειρία usually occurs with a verb of killing (cf. 10.21.1). For its use with a verb of writing cf. Aristain.2.13. RL's distinction between the word's use as an adverb and as a dative of a noun is rather pedantic; there is a strongly implied sense of "ownership" in the Aristainetos passage, but it would have been otiose for him to repeat τῇ ἑῇ. The word does not mean "autographe" as RL suggest; the idea of writing (in this case by embroidery) is conveyed by the verb κατεστίχθαι. αὐτοχειρία simply means, as elsewhere, "by (Persinna's) own hand". The Greek

for "handwriting" is τὸ αὐτόγραφον, e.g. in Plut.Mor.1115c.

10.14.2

ἀνδρὶ Ἕλληνί ... καλῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ : this is Charicles. For Sisimithres assessment of his character cf.2.31.5 Ἑλληνικὸν ὄντα τῷ ὄντι.

πλέον ἡ Περσίννα ἀθοῦσα κατεπλάγη : the absence of a connective led Coraes to conjecture ⟨σὺς⟩ πλέον etc. This, however, makes nonsense of the sentence; the meaning is that at the sight of the recognition-tokens Persinna's amazement was increased, not that she looked at them further and was then amazed. V's insertion of καί is better, but still unnecessary.

10.14.3

ὁ δακτύλιος : for the courtship ring of Hydaspes cf.4.8.7, δακτύλιόν τινα ... ὃν πατὴρ ὁ σὸς ἐμοὶ παρὰ τὴν μνηστείαν ἐδωρήσατο βασιλείῳ μὲν συμβόλῳ τὸν κύκλον ἀνάγλυπτον λίθῳ δὲ πανταρβῇ καὶ ἀπορρήτῳ δυνάμει τὴν σφενδόνην κεκοσμημένον , and 8.11.8, δακτύλιος δωρῶν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦμοῦ τῇ μητρὶ παρὰ τὴν μνηστείαν δοθείς etc.; it is also referred to at 5.5.2. Maillon's note on the passage under discussion is stupid and should be disregarded: there is no reason to link this ring with that described at 5.13.3ff., which a) was given to Nausicles, and b) was set with an amethyst not a pantarbe. The pantarbe stone plays an important rôle in the plot, saving Charicleia from death by fire at Arsace's stake; cf.8.11.2, where

a vision of the dead Calasiris explains why the fire had not burned Charicleia.

Fire-proofing was not the usual property of the pantarbe. Ctesias (FGH.688.Fr.45) threw 477 precious stones into a river, let down a pantarbe after them and ἕως ἀνεώλκυσεν ἐχομένας ἀλλήλων. There is a fuller description at Philostr. Vit.Apoll.3.46. He confirms Ctesias' story, and adds a description of how the stone is created, and how difficult it is to catch; it shines at night, is flame-coloured, and during the day βάλλει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μαρμαρυγαῖς μυρίαις. It is not known what kind of jewel the pantarbe was, but its colour suggests that it may have been the ruby. It is mentioned as a by-word of excellence by Eustathios (Opusc. 23.73 = p.212.44f ed.Tafel).

μὴ ἄλλως ἐπιτυχοῦσαν etc.: cf.10.13.5 ἐπιτυχών τις ἀποκέχρηται τοῖς ἐκ τῆς τύχης.

χροᾶ ξένῃ τῆς Αἰθιοπίδος λαμπρύνῃ: the motif of Charicleia's skin-colour is very poorly handled, in such a way as to suggest that Heliodoros had not conceived a clear picture of the contrast between her white skin and the black skin of the Ethiopians. The most natural place for Hydaspes to have raised the difficulty would have been at 10.12.1, when Charicleia lays claim to Ethiopian nationality. After perusing the τοιαῦτα Hydaspes raises two objections: i) how was the child rescued and taken to Egypt ? and ii) how is he to know that Charicleia is actually the child referred to ? These are valid questions; i) is answered immediately

by Sisimithres, while ii) is restated by Hydaspes at 10.14.3, and then he adds the question about her colour. But by this time it is too late: he has already read in the ταινία that the child was born white (cf.4.8.5). Even now Sisimithres does not point out that the ταινία has already accounted for the problem, but gives an answer relying on the coincidence of age and on Charicleia's resemblance to the seven-year-old child he gave to Charicles (10.14.4). Hydaspes then asks how two Ethiopians can have had a white child, and only now, after a moralistic speech, does Sisimithres back up his opinion with a reference to the ταινία (10.14.7).

The aim behind this arrangement is fairly easy to discern. The first proof which convinces Hydaspes is Charicleia's resemblance to the painting of Andromeda (10.15.1), and this has to be introduced by reference to the ταινία. Heliodoros also has to dispose of other objections before adducing the conclusive proof, and these considerations led to the postponement of the introduction of the painting and consequently of the traditional motif of Hydaspes' doubts over Charicleia's white skin.

These difficulties would not have been hard to overcome. If Sisimithres had given a connected answer to Hydaspes' two initial objections in 10.13.4f., without introducing the logically irrelevant question of the other recognition-tokens, there would have been no inconsistency, and the objection over Charicleia's skin colour would not have

arisen. Or if Hydaspes had made the objection at the most natural time, Sisinthres could have returned to the question after the reading of the ταινία, and so have effected the transition to the picture of Andromeda.

Nevertheless, by understanding Heliodoros' problems we are halfway to excusing his mistakes. There was strong aesthetic pressure to draw together the threads from the whole of the romance. The ταινία clearly has to be mentioned and so does the painting, but by the same token the ring which has played a not unimportant rôle cannot simply be passed over, even if its introduction cannot logically resolve the king's doubts that Charicleia really is the exposed baby. The fault of the episode lies then in the method of transition from the ring to the painting involving Hydaspes' appearing to have forgotten what he has only just read.

For the phrase χρυσῆ ξένῃ τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας λαμπρύνῃ, compare Persinna's words in 7.8.5: ἀκαρέσφυλον Αἰθιόπων χρυσὸν ἀναυγάζουσαν.

10.14.4

ἑπτακαίδεκα που τῶν πάντων ... πληρουμένων: for the seventeen years cf.10.11.2 and my note.

The text as it stands seems to present problems. The most pressing is τάνυη; while it is possible to take it as referring to τῆς κόρης ἡλικία, this is very unnatural and does not make much sense with πληρουμένων. The natural

reference is one to Charicleia herself, and this produces an awkward pair with τῇ ἐκθέσει . The idea behind τῶν πάντων also needs explanation: from Sisimithres' point of view, the period of seventeen years since Charicleia's birth is made up of two smaller periods, one of seven years between her birth and the time when he entrusted her to Charicles, and one of ten years between then and the time of the action; this is clear enough, but again sits uneasily with ταύτῃ etc.; there is little sense in saying "this girl's age is seventeen altogether." Furthermore, Sisimithres is trying to argue that the girl in front of him is the daughter of Hydaspes; he knows that the daughter would be exactly seventeen, but he is not entitled to say that the age of the girl is the same. It is no easier with τῇ ἐκθέσει ; the dative with πληρουμένων is peculiar and seems to suggest that the ἔκθεσις is a concrete object that can have an age. I therefore propose that the words ταύτῃ τε καὶ τῇ ἐκθέσει be removed. They may be ascribed to a copyist who wanted to make Sisimithres' logic preciser than it need be.

ἐμοὶ δὲ ... παρίσταται : thus RL for the MSS unanimous προίσταται . For παρίστημι cf.1.20.2, 7.12.4, 9.17.2, 9.18.5. παρίσταται was conjectured independently by Jackson (op.cit.p.106), who also proposed the alteration of ἐμοὶ to ὅμων , arguing that the termination had at some point been read as an accent. This is very attractive and much improves the sense; it should be accepted.

ὁμολογοῦντα etc.: this phrase is in apposition to τὸν ὅλον

... χαρακτὴρ καὶ τὸ ὑπερῴοὲκ etc., both the objects of ἀνωρίζω.

10.14.5

ταῦτὶ μὲν ἄριστα : Hydaspes wants objective proof that the young woman in front of him is the child that Sisimithres rescued. The subjective reactions of Sisimithres, in seeing a likeness of facial expression, are not enough to convince him. Hydaspes' comments about the judge's impartiality are not altogether without foundation.

δύδαμῶς ἀπαλύσασθαι τὴν ἐμοὶ συμβιοῦσαν ἔπαρον : i.e. the charge of adultery, fear of which led Persinna to expose the child in the first place; cf. 4.8.6, πεπεισμένη τὴν σὴν χροιὰν μοιχείαν ἐμοὶ προσάψουσαν; cf. also 10.13.1 and my note on that passage.

In the meantime, Persinna had commissioned Calasiris to look for her daughter, and had decided to tell the truth to her husband, εὐέπεια γὰρ αὐτὸν πεισθησόμενον χρόνῳ τε τῆς συμβιώσεως τὴν ἐπ'αὐτῇ δοκιμασίαν ἔχοντα (4.12.3). The psychology of this process is good; in the absence of any immediate danger, and out of longing for her child, Persinna has managed to convince herself that Hydaspes' reaction to the child's white skin would be favourable.

ὡς ἂν Αἰθίοπες ἀμφότεροι etc.: this idea is closely related to the rhetorical exercise about a white woman who gave birth to a black baby; an extant example is Calp.Flacc.

Declar.2, and there is a reference to a similar exercise by Quintilian (Jerome Hebr.Quaest.in Gen.30.32.33 = CCL. 72.38).

10.14.6

ἐρωνικὸν ὑπομειδίσας : cf.3.7.2, γελάσας ... εἰρωνικὸν, and 10.31.4. For the rare compound ὑπομειδιάω cf.4.5.4, σεσηρὸς ὑπομειδία and 7.10.5, σεσηρὸς ὑπομειδιάσασα. These examples illustrate that Heliodoros has a somewhat limited stock of descriptions, centring around a few favourite words. Cf. also my note on 10.31.4 and the examples quoted there.

δικαστὴν γὰρ ὁρίζομαι etc.: I cannot see that RL's text (the reading of V) is demonstrably superior to that of all other MSS, which have ὁρίζομεν. For ὁρίζω in the active meaning "define", cf.Plat.Charm.171a, Xen.Mem.4.6.4. We only have to remember how closely alike the two forms would have sounded to realise how easily the corruption in V could have occurred. It seems in character that Sisimithres should base his beliefs on the sententious teachings of his college, even if the sententia in this case is in fact an adaptation of his own immediate situation; compare my notes on 10.12.4.

10.14.7

ἀδίκως ὑπόλοιπον τούτου πλουμένων : a good Demosthenic phrase.

Compare for example Dem.25.66.

αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ καλὸν καγαθόν : this is Richards's emendation (op.cit.p.113) of the MSS τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καλὸν κἀγαθόν. Rattenbury's suggested τὸ δὲ αὐτοκαλοκαγαθὸν is a brave attempt to keep close to the MSS, but the form is found nowhere else and in the absence of material it is safer to follow RL in adopting Richards's correction.

ἑαυτοὺς πείθειν ἀγαπῶμεν : these words are difficult to understand. Most translators seem to take them in the sense "we are content to satisfy the dictates of our own conscience", which is not wholly justified by the actual Greek.

ἀγαπάω with the infinitive also occurs at 7.12.1, although this is not a classical construction. It is not unexpected to find Heliodoros using the infinitive in slightly odd ways.

The normal interpretation of ἑαυτοὺς πείθειν dates back to Coraes, who compares 7.26.9, where Theagenes says ἀρκεῖ μὲν ἴσως καὶ τὰ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ συνειδότα φαῦλον εὐμενείᾳ τῇ παρὰ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐξελαύζειν, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς συνόντας πείθοντα σὺν παρρησίᾳ τὸν †ἐπίκαιρον† πλοῦν βίον διάγειν. Coraes suggested that the phrase πείθειν ἑαυτούς corresponds to τοὺς συνόντας πείθοντα and interprets as follows: στέργομεν καὶ ἀρκούμεθα (οὕτω γὰρ ἐκληπτέον ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἈΓΑΠΩΜΕΝ ...) τῷ ΠΕΙΘΕΙΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ, τουτέστι τῷ συνειδέναι ἑαυτοῖς ἐναρέτως βιοῦν, κἂν εἰ μὴ πείθομεν τοῦτο τοὺς ἄλλους. (op.cit.Vol.2 p.338).

This does represent what the sentence clearly does mean, but not how the Greek words actually do so. It is unconvincing to have to use 7.26.9 to supply the full meaning of ἑαυτοὺς κεῖθεν, and Heliodoros was not entitled to expect his readers to do so. However, we may compare Philostr. Vit.Apoll.1.17, which shows the phrase already on the way to the use that Heliodoros makes of it: δεῖ γὰρ τὸν νομοθέτην, ἃ πέπεικεν ἑαυτόν, ταῦτα ἐπιτάγματα ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς τιθέσθαι. So ἑαυτοὺς πείθειν means to "draw our own conclusions", and the full sense is supplied by the earlier part of the sentence, οὐ ... πρὸς τὴν ἑτέρων ἀρέσκειαν βιοῦμεν.

ἐπακέειν τινὰ ἐίδωλα καὶ φαντασίας etc.: this doctrine of "maternal impression" was an old and widely held belief. It is discussed briefly by Rohde (op.cit.p.476 n.4). It is found as early as Empedocles (Plut.Mor.906e) τῇ κατὰ τὴν σύλληψιν φαντασίᾳ τῆς γυναικὸς μορφοῦσθαι τὰ βρέφη. Pliny (Nat.Hist.7.52) discusses the theory and describes how the embryo can be influenced not only by what the mother sees but also by her thoughts, and this idea occurs in a passage which bears a striking resemblance to Heliodoros: Elias, in his commentary on Aristotle's Categories (9a23 = p.231 e'.Busse), talks of a woman who gave birth to a negro μήτε Αἰθιόπι συγγενομένη μήτε Αἰθίοψ οὖσα, ἀλλ'ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς συνουσίας Αἰθίοπα φαντασθεῖσα. This is linked with the rhetorical exercise mentioned in my note on 10.14.5; Quintilian seems to have followed the

theory of maternal impression in his defence of a woman who had given birth to a black baby.

Another common tale is that of a man who was very ugly but who wanted handsome children; he achieved his ambition by making his wife stare at beautiful statues or paintings while he had intercourse with her - another similarity to Heliodoros. This story recurs in several forms: according to Dionysios of Halicarnassos (de vet.script.cens.1 = p.416 ed.Reiske) the man was a farmer; Soranos (Gynaec.39 = p.204 ed.Rose) calls him ὁ τῶν Κυπρίων τύραννος, while for Galen (de theriaca 11 = vol.14 p.253f. ed.Kühn) he was simply τῶν ἀμόρφων τις δυνατός. It is interesting that serious medical writers could accept the belief without question; Soranos gives the further example: οὕτως ἐν τῷ συνουσιάζειν κυθήκους ἴδιόν τινες κυθηκομόρφους ἐκύησαν, the implications of which are somewhat staggering ! Galen goes on to offer an admittedly obscure explanation of how the process works.

Another interesting passage is Jerome Hebr.Quaest.in Gen.30.32.33 (=CCL.72.37f.), where the controversia of Quintilian is referred to. Jerome offers an involved explanation of the agreement between Jacob and Laban; this was that Laban should separate off those of his sheep and goats that were either pure black or pure white; those of their offspring that were not pure in colour but piebald were to be Jacob's as payment for his labour. Laban thought that he had made a good bargain, but Jacob induced the sheep and goats to produce piebald offspring by fleeting

twigs with half the bark removed in their drinking-troughs, and allowing the males to mate with the females while they were drinking and could see the reflections in the water made dappled by the presence of the twigs. Jerome then adds, "nec mirum hanc in conceptu feminarum esse naturam, ut quales perspexerint sive mente conceperint in extremo voluptatis ictu quae concipiunt, talem suboles procreent, cum hoc ipsum etiam in equarum gregibus apud Hispanos dicatur fieri, et Quintilianus in ea controversia, etc. (There follows a description of the exercise mentioned above.)

Another Jewish example is from the apocryphal Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (Reuben 5.6 f.) discussing the evils of womankind: οὕτως γὰρ ἠθέλησαν τοὺς Ἐγρηγόρους τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ συνεχῶς ὁρῶντες αὐτὰς ἐμένοντο καὶ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ αὐτῶν, καὶ συνέλαβον τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν πρᾶξιν· μετεσχηματίζοντο γὰρ εἰς ἄνδρα καὶ ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν συνεφαίνοντο αὐταῖς. Κἀκεῖναι δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσαι τῇ διανοίᾳ τῆς φαντασίας αὐτῶν ἔτεκνον γίγαντας. ἐφαίνοντο γὰρ αὐταῖς οἱ Ἐγρήγοροι ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φθάνοντες.

See Heliodorus 4.8.5 for Persinna's account of how she saw the painting of Andromeda.

τἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν πρός σε ὁμιλίας δρωμένην:

this can hardly be correct as it stands. RL's note (p.94 n.2) says that "plusieurs arrangements sans importance ont été proposés, mais aucun n'emporte la conviction." That is a little hard on Trapp's emendation, adopted by Cornes,

which working from the reading of MF, ὁμιλίαν ἑρωμένης, rather than VZT's ὁμιλίας ἑρωμένην, produces perfect sense with a slight alteration of word order: ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας κατὰ τὴν πρός σε ὁμιλίαν ἑρωμένης. I do not see the point of RL's criticism when they say "La maladresse de la phrase par laquelle Sisimithrès ici tente de décrire la scène est à peine croyable."

Similar results were achieved by Naber (op.cit.p.352) with marginally less elegance: ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πρός σε ὁμιλίαν Ἀνδρομέδας ἑρωμένης; and by M.L.Earle (CR 1896, p.3): ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πρός σε ὁμιλίαν ἑρωμένης, excising Ἀνδρομέδας as a gloss.

A less attractive solution was proposed by R.Merkelbach (Jachmann Studien p.183), who suggested the excision of all words concerning Andromeda as the marginal note of a pedantic scribe; at some point the words ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας ἑρωμένης would have been written above the text, and in the end disjointedly incorporated into it. Merkelbach's text would run: ἑσπακέναι τινὰ εἴδωλα ... κατὰ τὴν πρός σε ὁμιλίαν. This strikes me as rather bald, and the thought of the passage seems to run more smoothly if the name of Andromeda is introduced before Sisimithres suggests the comparison of Charicleia and the picture at the end of this section.

RL's suggestion ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἑρωμένην πρός σε ὁμιλίας has nothing to be said for it. The word

ὁρωμένην [illegible] particularly awkward; it is hard to see what κατά is supposed to mean; and the ἔιδωλα etc. cannot be said to come from the act of intercourse itself, but from the picture that was seen during it.

In conclusion, I repeat that Toup's emendation seems elegant and faultless, and I do not understand RL's dismissal of it.

10.15.1

ὅσον καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν συνίεσαν τὰ λεγόμενα : further evidence of Heliodoros' concern over the plausibility of people understanding foreign languages; cf. my note on 9.24.2.

πρὸς τὰ ἀκηκριβωμένα : it would be pedantic to ask why Hydaspes had not recognised before Charicleia's resemblance to a painting that had been hanging in his bedroom for at least seventeen years. Note also that he appears to have forgotten the dream of 9.25.1, where he dreamed that a daughter of Charicleia's age and appearance had been born to him. The dream motif was introduced solely to exploit the possibilities of irony in the immediate situation, not to serve a function in the development of the plot, and so would not have figured largely in Heliodoros' mind when he came to write the recognition scene.

ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἅμα καὶ θάμβους : cf. Meroebos' reaction to Hydaspes' suggestion that Charicleia should be his wife ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τε ἅμα καὶ αἰδοῦς (10.24.2), and the Ethiopians' reaction to her recognition, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τε ἅμα καὶ ἐλέους δακρύοντας (10.16.3).

10.15.2

τῆς ... γνησίας διαδοχῆς : cf. 10.13.5, νόθον ἡμῖν καὶ ὑποβολιμαῖον ἐπαιρεῖ διαδοχήν. γνησία here is part of the same metaphor as νόθον in the earlier phrase. Hydaspes' wish for the perpetuation of his line is as strong a force as any love

he may have for his daughter; cf.4.8.5 and 4.12.3.

μέλαν σύνθημα : σύνθημα is a strange word to use of a birthmark. Elsewhere, it nearly always carries the idea of something that has been agreed. Perhaps the true reading should be στίγματα. This would avoid the repetition given by Ziegler σπάσματα (printed by Colonna as σπλώματα).

Recognition by birthmark apparently often featured in New Comedy, although I have been unable to find an example in any of the extant plays or Roman adaptations. Compare, however, Cic.Inv.2.13:"nunc quoniam totum me non nosse aliquo aut erroribus, sed corpore omni videris velle cognoscere", which assumes that physical marks of some sort appeared in recognition sequences.

οὐδὲν ἀπρεπὲς γυμνούμενον etc.: implying that it would have been indecent to bare her arm for any other reason ? Heliodorus' sense of decency is extremely strict. Of the other romancers, Xenophon of Ephesos comes closest to him in this respect, and furnishes an interesting parallel. In 1.3.2 Anthia is sick for the love of Habrocomes, ἦλθη δὲ καὶ τῶν παρθένων κρειττόνων καταφρονοῦσα· καὶ γὰρ ἐλάλησεν ἄν τι, ἵνα Ἀβροκόμης ἀκούσῃ, καὶ μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἐγύμνωσεν ἂν τὰ δυνατά, ἵνα Ἀβροκόμης ἴδῃ. Very shocking !

ἐλέφαντα τὸν βραχίονα μιαίνων: adapted from Hom.Il.4.141, ὡς δ' ὅτε τις τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικα μίηνῃ, which describes Menelaos' flesh stained with blood from a wound. This was also alluded to by Virgil (Aen.12.67f), in a simile describing

Leaving hunting : 'Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro

si quis ebur...".

The Homeric passage remained a favourite one for allusion-makers into Byzantine times; cf.Const.Manass.Comp.Chron. 1164 (=CSHP.15.52).

We should also note that the Homeric words do not seem perfectly integrated with their new context; μαίνων in particular gives the impression of a process as if the birth-ark were seeping visibly down Chariclea's arm.

10.16.1

ἀνήλωτο τοῦ θρόνου καὶ προσδραμοῦσα : compare the actions of Charicleia at 10.10.1, κἀκθήλατό τε τῆς ἑστίας καὶ προσδραμοῦσα . Heliodoros has a rather limited repertoire of emotional descriptions.

ἀνωρύετο : the verb is found elsewhere only at Anth.Pal.7.468, a sepulchral epigram by Meleager.

ὑπερβάλλη γὰρ ἡδονὴς etc.: quoted in the Gnomologium of Georgides Monachos (PG.117.1148), from the eleventh or twelfth century, without any ascription to an author. The idea of weeping for joy, which recurs later in this chapter (10.16.3), should be distinguished from that of pleasure never coming unmixed with pain or grief, originated by Plato (Phaedr.60b, Phileb.50b). It is this latter idea which finds a Heliodorean expression at 2.6.4, when Theagenes and Charicleia nearly die from joy at their reunion, ὥστε ἅμα καὶ τὸ χαρᾶς ὑπερβάλλον εἰς ἀλγεινὴν περιέστη πολλάκις . There is no hint of real grief in the present passage, and the gnome is introduced only to explain Persinna's seemingly funereal response; compare the sepulchral associations of ἀνωρύετο in the previous note.

RL point out that a little rearrangement will produce an iambic trimeter, and suggest that Heliodoros may well be copying a poet. We should make the reservation, however, that in the cases where Heliodoros is modelling himself on a surviving passage of a tragedian - almost invariably Euripides - he is more allusive than would be the case if RL are right here.

All possible (and a few impossible) reminiscences of Euripides are collected by Neimke in his Quaestiones Heliodoreae; see too Feuillâtre op.cit. p.115ff.

μικρῷ τε ἔδει συγκατενεχθῆναι τῇ Χαρικλείᾳ: this is in slight contradiction with the next sentence, where Persinna is said, without qualification, to be συγκατενεχθεῖσαν τῇ θυγατρί. This need not cause us any worry.

It is a cliché of the Greek romance that characters are liable to faint or collapse from deep emotion; compare 2.6.3, 5.3.1, and from other novelists, Ach.Tat.3.17.7 and 7.15.3, Xen.Eph.5.13.3, Char.8.1.8.

The manuscripts are unanimous in reading μικρόν, but RL's correction to μικροῦ seems logically irresistible. This is a mildly alarming phenomenon: in several instances the manuscripts present us with the illogical accusative, and occasionally the required emendation to the genitive introduces a hiatus; e.g. 2.6.3 μικροῦ ἔδει ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτούς; 6.1.2 ὀλίγου ἔδει καὶ ὑποφεύγειν; 10.27.2 εἰς δυτλάσιον ὀλίγου ὑπερφέρουσα. The tradition also records the accusative at 2.24.4 and 5.3.1. However, the expected genitive is present and unimpeachable at 2.4.3, 3.17.2, 4.3.3, 4.19.9, 7.8.7, 7.10.2 (accusative only in the late and insignificant manuscript T), 7.16.2, 8.9.9, 9.18.3, 10.19.1, 10.25.1, 10.31.6. What is one to make of this discrepancy The degree of unanimity exhibited by the tradition demonstrates at least that confusion arose very early. The existence of hiatus in three examples when the alteration to the genitive is

made may be a clinching argument; I am still not altogether happy with the accusative constructions, but it is obviously mistaken to introduce a rash of hiatuses into an author who shows every sign of consciously avoiding them, especially when the accusative can be paralleled from other examples in the paradosis where the question of hiatus does not arise.

10.16.2

ἠλέει μέν... τὸ ὄμμα δὲ σεῦτὶ κέρας etc.: a paraphrase of Hom.Od.19.209ff.:

... αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
θυμῷ μὲν γοόωσαν ἑὴν ἐλέαιρε γυναῖκα,
ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὥς τε κέρα ἕστασαν ἠὲ σίδηρος
ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφάροισι· δόλῳ δ' ἔ γε δάκρυα κεῦθεν.

τὸ ὄμμα ... τείνας : for the metaphor cf.4.4.1 τὸ βλέμμα τε ὅλον εἰς τὴν Χαρίκλειαν τείνας ; also Ach.Tat.1.4.2, Eur.Iph.Aul.648, and in Latin Lucr.1.67.

τὰς ὠδῖνας τῶν δακρύων : the metaphor conveys both the tears welling up, as if for birth, and the emotion and pain that cause them. There is no direct parallel, but Heliodoros is fond of this word and its cognates and several times uses them metaphorically; cf.5.32.4, 2.21.6, 10.18.3, 10.31.3. For this use of ἀπομάχομαι πρός cf.5.1.3, 8.6.4, 8.9.18, 9.15.3.

τῆς ψυχῆς ... κυμαινομένης : the metaphor of waves to convey emotion is common; cf., for example, Aes.Sept.433, Pi.Pyth.4.158, Plat.Laws 930a, Ael.Nat.Anim.7.15, Ach.Tat.1.6.3. The metaphor is especially appropriate in this context, since Hydaspes is not

just swelling like the sea (th normal application), but is being continually buffeted by conflicting impulses.

τῆς ψυχῆς ... τῆς γνώμης: apparently the contrast between the unconscious and the conscious mind. The train of thought is that the emotions are first felt (τῆς ψυχῆς ... κυμαινομένης), and then a decision is reached as to which emotion is to be followed.

πατρικῷ τῷ πάθει καὶ ἀνδρείῳ τῷ λήματι : HL's emendation of πατρικῷ τε to πατρικῷ τῷ is necessary to secure the parallelism of the two forces conflicting in Hydaspes' soul. The phrase ἀνδρείῳ τῷ λήματι recurs at 10.28.4.

What exactly is to be understood by these two phrases is rather more difficult, however. πατρικῷ τῷ πάθει is what any father would feel for his daughter under such circumstances, and later in this sentence appears to be identified with φύσις. ἀνδρείῳ τῷ λήματι at first appears to refer merely to the manly wish not to break down into tears, but on this level the contrast between ψυχῆς and γνώμης becomes sophistic verbiage, and the psychological processes involved incomprehensible. Moreover, the conflict of the situation and the concern of the reader is not whether Hydaspes will break down and cry or not, but whether he will continue with the sacrifice. The sacrifice, throughout the first half of the tenth book, has been identified with νόμος, running contrary to φύσις or the natural bond between parent and child. It is thus perhaps inevitable that his ἀνδρεῖον λῆμα should take on associations of continuing

with the sacrifice.

τῆς γνώμης ... σπασμένης : rather out of place between two sea metaphors, this has respectable ancestors; compare Plat. Rep.9.586e and Aristot.Eth.Nic.1166b19.

καθάπερ ὑπὸ σάλου : cf.3.5.6, μεταβολὴ ... χρωμάτων ... τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν σάλον κατηφοῦσα ; and especially 6.1.2, which also involves a struggle between polarised feelings, in this case grief and joy, λύπης τε ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ καὶ χαρᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλπιζομένοις ἐν μεταμιχμίῳ σαλεύουσαν . Compare also Max.Tyr.30.1, a passage with an extended ship metaphor, αὐχ ὑπομένουσιν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς σάλον .

τῇ τὰ πάντα νικώσῃ φύσεως: Heliodoros is cheating slightly here, I suspect. φύσις throughout this portion of the text represents nothing more cosmic than parental love. To elevate so particular a principle into one which conquers all is faintly absurd. The formula is reminiscent of Stoic doctrine; cf.Marc.Aur.10.14, τῇ πάντα διαθούσῃ καὶ ἐπιλαμβανούσῃ φύσει. If I am right in sensing an echo of a philosophical catchphrase, the trick will be similar to that discussed in my note on 10.10.3, but in any case the effect is to provide a rather particular case with the support of a specious universal truth. A similar exploitation of a Stoic adage involving the use of the word "natura" in a double sense is to be found at Hor.Epist.1.10.12ff; see Williams: Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p.592ff. For a general account of the Stoic conception of φύσις see A.A.Long: Hellenistic Philosophy, p.147ff.

οὐκ ἔλαβε : a strange switch in point of view, which might be explained by the necessity for the people to see what is going on before they can be described as deeply moved in the next section. It also has the effect of externalising the emotions described earlier in this section, and, as it were, freezing them into a visual tableau. This device recurs several times in the tenth book; see 10.16.3, 10.17.3, 10.23.4, 10.32.4.

ἐναγκαλιζόμενος : a favourite word; cf.2.3.4, 2.8.5, 7.7.7, 10.38.2. It is found only in latish Greek; cf.Anth.Pal.7.476, Plut.Cam.5.

δακρύων ἐπῤῥοῇ πατρικὴ πρὸς αὐτὴν σπενδόμενος : this is the reading of VZMP. To give any point to the idea we have to suppose that Heliodoros is using a metaphor from a ritual which establisned the father/child bond, perhaps a libation acknowledging paternity after the birth of the child. This is the sense given by Maillon's translation, "par la libation de ses larmes consacrer sa paternité", and perhaps by that of Hirschig, "paternum cum illa foedus facere". I have not been able to find any other reference to such a libation, but that need not, of course, rule out this interpretation. It is interesting that the variants in late MSS, πατρικῶς in A, and πατρικῶν in T, seem to be attempts to get round this difficulty, but both leave σπενδόμενος without its required object.

For the metaphor of tears as a libation, compare 2.23.1, 5.5.3, 6.8.6, 7.14.6; also Anth.Pal.7.555. For the phrase δακρύων ἐπῤῥοῇ see Eur.Frag.573 Nauck, from the Oinomaos.

10.16.3

τὴν σκηνοποιὰν τῆς τύχης: for the idea of τύχη controlling human affairs as a playwright or producer controls a play, cf.7.6.4f and 6.8.5. Heliodoros is not consistent in his attribution of divine agency; compare 10.38.4, ἐξ ἑρμῆς θείας ἡ σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἐσκηνογράφησεν. This is not an unusual idea among the Greeks; parallels may be quoted from Stob.Flor.5.67 (quoting Bion), Ach.Tat.1.3.3, Char.4.4.2, Luc.Menipp.20, id.Necyom.16. For the dramatic metaphor in general see M.M.Kokolakis: The Dramatic Simile of Life.

τὴν ... τινα θεοπεσίαν: Homeric diction; cf.Hom.Il.8.159, 15.590, also 12.252, 13.834, 15.355, 16.769, 23.213, Od.3.150, 11.633. For a description of a cry going up to heaven see Il.13.337.

τὴν χεῖρα πρτείνας καὶ κατασείων: cf.10.7.2, where Hydaspes silences the crowd κατασείσας τῇ χειρὶ.

τὸ κλυδώνιον τοῦ δήμου: the comparison of a mob to the sea is a well-worn topos; cf.Hom.Il.2.144ff., Cic.pro Cluent.138, Virg.Aen.1.148ff., Liv.28.27.11, Polyb.11.29.9-10. It was pointed out by van Krevelen (Philologus 105, 1961, p.160) that Heliodoros' rather bold extension of the commonplace is not as unique as RL claim, but may be paralleled from Josephos (Ant.Jud.9.239), who talks of a δῆμος ... ταραττόμενος καὶ κλυδωνιζόμενος. We should note that this occurs within an extended metaphor, and is not so startling in its effect as the present passage.

10.1f.1:

ὡς ὁρᾶτε καὶ ἀκούετε : they actually cannot have heard, since in 10.9.6 Heliodoros said that the conversation was in Greek. ὥστε μὴ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπαίειν.

πολλαῖς ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι : this placing of the article was used by Wifstrand (op.cit.p.40/103) as evidence for a late dating. It does occur sporadically earlier, notably in Lucian, but becomes normal only in the third and fourth centuries. The effect seems to be to throw emphasis onto the adjective rather than the noun; cf.H.Ammann in Gnomon 6, 1930, p.439ff. for its use with πολύς in Heliodoros cf.1.14.2, 5.3.2, 5.32.6.

καὶ γένους διαδοχῆς. for Hydaspes' concern with the succession cf.10.15.2 and note.

ἃ δὴ πάντα ... ἐπεύχομαι: there are two minor difficulties here. Firstly, the neuter relative referring back to the two feminine nouns; and secondly the absence of any object for ἱερουργεῖν. This makes it a tempting proposition to articulate the sentence so that the relative clause becomes the object of ἱερουργεῖν; this would in its turn cause trouble, however, and the δή would be especially unnatural; also the verb ἱερουργεῖν is too physically connected with the sacrifice to take on such figurative meanings. We must therefore accept the traditional articulation. ἃ ... πάντα must be taken as vaguely embracing all the benefits which Hydaspes would gain from having a daughter, and not as referring explicitly to the two feminine nouns. The slight anacolouthon is not too harsh to be tolerated. The lack

of an object for ἱερουργεῖν is perhaps not desperate, and Charicleia can be understood from ἥσθη .

ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν: compare 10.16.5, τῶν ἰδίων λυπῶν τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιπροσθὲν ποιούμενον . The sacrifice is a thanksgiving for victory, and so the point here is presumably the indirect one that omission of the sacrifice would arouse the gods' anger against the state.

10.16.5

ἀνθρώπινόν τι πάθος: RL refer to their note on 7.21.1, which explains that the phrase ἀνθρώπινόν τι πάθειν is usually used of love; they quote examples from Ach.Tat.5.27.2, Hdn.5.6.2, and, for other emotions, Xen.Cyr.5.4.19, Luc.de domo 21; they also attest its use as a euphemism for death in papyri. In the present context the meaning is not so much "sympathie humaine" as "giving way to one's feelings and so weakening in one's resolve". The essence of the phrase is that it denotes human weakness and the limitations on human capabilities.

ἐλεοῦντας μὲν etc.: a remarkably clever piece of writing. Heliodoros has already told us that the people are weeping from joy and pity at the same time (10.16.3), but Hydaspes sees only the pity; this is because he is determined, or pretends to be determined, to continue with the sacrifice, and so joy plays no part in the response he expects from the crowd. His whole speech is in fact designed to deter the Ethiopians from the sacrifice, as appears to be stated in the editorial comment in

10.17.1. In this section the double ἁλοῦντας construction allows him to exploit the feelings of revulsion against the sacrifice, while the repetition of φέναυς διαδοχήν from the previous section keeps this important theme in his audience's attention. Throughout the technique is the familiar one of describing in emotional terms what he is not going to do, while leaving the ultimate choice to his subjects.

τὴν ὥραν : in this sense of "untimely death" the word is otherwise found only in Pi.Frag.136 Snell, quoted by Aristeides (Or.31.12 K).

τῷ πατρίῳ πείθεσθαι νόμῳ : in the circumstances it is not fanciful to see a touch of irony in the word πάτριος .

10.16.6

οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, ὑμῖν δὲ καταλείπω σκοπεῖν, οὐδ' εἴπερ etc: the construction here is very difficult and seems to necessitate the parenthesising of ὑμῖν ... σκοπεῖν. This is not easy since the words form the second part of a μέν ... δέ pair with ἐὰ μὲν γάρ ... The sentence runs more easily if ὑμῖν ... σκοπεῖν is transferred to the very end; the construction of the indirect questions on οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν becomes straightforward, and the μέν ... δέ contrast becomes clear, the imbalance of its limbs being connected with the rhetorical devices mentioned in my notes on the previous section; Hydaspes states at length what are in effect reasons why Charicleia should not be sacrificed. Moreover, the καί at the beginning of 10.16.7, which Rattenbury wanted

to replace with ἀλλά, now provides a perfect connection. The disruption of the sentence is easily explained: ὑμῖν ... σκοπεῖν was moved by a scribe who thought that it would point up the antithesis οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν ὑμῖν δὲ καταλέιπω σκοπεῖν, and who was not unduly worried that the following οὐδ' ὅπερ was left unhappily stranded.

ἐν αἰχμαλώτῳ τῇ πύκῃ : a well-used phrase, elsewhere always without the article; cf.8.17.5 and Liban.Or.59.157. I can see no difference in the present context which necessitates the use of the article, but we have no right to demand absolute consistency on such minor details.

πάλιν ἱερουργουμένην : not "sacrificed for a second time", but "given back to them by sacrifice."

10.16.7

αἰχμάλωτον γενομένην οὐκ ἐλυμηνάμην : cf.9.1.5 τά τε ἄλλα σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ἐφύλαττεν καὶ δίαιταν ἄφθονον παρέχειν καὶ παντὸς ἄγους καθαρεύουσαν φυλάττειν ... ἐπιστέλλει.

ὡς καὶ ὑμῖν ὄντος κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πράγματος : apparently in contradiction to 10.16.5, καὶ ὑμῶν ἴσως μὴ βουλομένων, this is best treated as another rhetorical device. In effect, for Hydaspes to say "I shall sacrifice her since such is your will" invites an intervention from the crowd, which he knows is really sympathetic to his case.

οὐδὲ ὀκλάσω etc.: RL follow V against all other MSS. However, the present gives perfectly good sense and is much more likely to

have been assimilated to the other futures than a future made present. The word means literally "to squat", and came to be associated with weariness (e.g.Soph.Oed.Col.196). Heliodoros is fond of the word and uses it in a very individual way: at 1.26.2 it is transitive μὴ ὀκλάσας τὸν ... πόδον ; at 5.23.2 it is used of a wind abating, ὁ δὲ ἄνεμος πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὤκλαζε; and at 9.4.3 of a wall collapsing. Most akin to the present passage is 5.1.3, where Calasiris notices that Cnemon is growing tired, ἡγοῦμαί τε λοιπὸν ὀκλάζειν ἐμοῦ τἀμαυτοῦ πάθη ... ἀποτείναντος .

Καὶ ἀθοσιώσασθαι τὸ παρὸν πρὸς τὸν νόμον : the verb ἀθοσιοῦσθαι originally means to perform some religious obligation. It came to take on two apparently opposite connotations, "to do something to the letter", and "to do something only for appearance's sake". RL found it very difficult in the present context, and it is possible to follow their thought-process from their apparatus. Clearly the sense demands a meaning such as "excuse from", and this led them to explore usages where the verb = "abominari". Unfortunately, the example they give, Plut.Pomp.42, is not a valid one, since there the word appears to mean "propitiate". This usage with the plain accusative occurs, for example, in instances where certain foods are avoided on religious grounds (e.g.Plut.Mor.353f); it is too strong for merely waiving the laws on a single occasion. Another possible usage is that which means "defunctorie agere", either with περὶ and the genitive or with a plain accusative (e.g.Plut.Per.10). This passage of

Plutarch refers to the prosecution of Cimon, where Pericles made a prosecuting speech in name only, in reality contributing nothing towards the case. Later Hydaspes seriously considers the possibility of substituting another victim for Charicleia (10.18.3), but that is apparently not what he has in mind here. since he goes on to hint that the alternative is ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ θεραπεύειν τὸ θεῖον. Rattenbury thought this the best way to solve the problem, and proposed the deletion of παρόν, so that τὸ πρὸς τὸν νόμον would stand as the direct object of ἀφοσιώσασθαι.

However, there is a very similar usage to the text produced by Rattenbury's excision: Jul.Misop.361b, where ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς means "to make atonement for your conduct towards the gods". This seems to make Rattenbury's idea impossible. Close to the text as it stands is Aristid.Or.17.1 K, ἀνάγκη δὲ ἀφοσιώσασθαι πρὸς τὸν νόμον, where the meaning is "to obey the law to the letter". This is exactly the opposite of what the Heliodoros passage should mean in its context, but does suggest that what Heliodoros originally wrote was οὐδὲ εἰς ἱκεσίαν τρέψομαι συγγνώμην δοῦναι καὶ [μὴ] ἀφοσιώσασθαι τὸ παρὸν πρὸς τὸν νόμον - "I shall not plead for you to have mercy and be lax in your interpretation of the law in the present case" - later explained by ἵν' ἐξὸν καὶ ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ θεραπεύειν τὸ θεῖον. It is not unknown for negatives to be omitted by scribes, and its reinstatement in this passage would have been made difficult by the complicated syntax and the somewhat ambivalent nature of the verb ἀφοσιοῦσθαι.

τὸν νόμον, τῇ φύσει etc.: a significant juxtaposition, confirming yet another example of the contrast that pervades this section of the plot. Once Charicleia is exempted from the sacrifice and the reader is concerned with the fate of Theagenes, the contrast of νόμος and φύσις is no longer appropriate and is quietly dropped by Heliodoros.

10.16.3

προηγμένα τὰ ὑμέτερα: note how often Hydaspes emphasises that the sacrifice is on the people's behalf; cf.10.16.4 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν; 10.16.5 τῶν ἰδίων λυσιτελῶν τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπίτροσθεν ποιούμενος; 10.16.7 ὡς καὶ ὑμῖν ὄντος κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πράγματος etc. This is designed to provoke an intervention from the crowd.

ὀλίγων ... τῆς ἀκληρίας λόγον ποιουμένῳ: ἀκληρία in classical Greek usually means "misfortune" (thus LSJ), and it and its cognates are three times explained by the Suda as equivalent to δυστυχία (sv. ἀκληρήμασι, ἀκληρίαι, ἀκληρούντων). In the present context it takes on the overtone that Hydaspes will not let his concern for the succession stand in the way of the sacrifice; his desire for an heir is a persistent motif (cf., for example, 10.15.2, 10.16.4); Maillon's translation makes the point very explicit: "de ne compter pour rien la perte de mon unique heritière." It appears that Heliodoros has seized on the etymological formation of ἀκληρία and linked it with κληρονόμοι.

καταδυρομένης: nowhere else, so far as I can see, used absolutely. Heliodoros makes no distinction between this compound form

and the simple verb used in the next section.

ἐξ δόκει: again leaving the ultimate responsibility formally with his audience.

ἡμὰν κατακτεῖνομένου μάτην: the middle form is not commonly used transitively, but is so found at Aes.Pers.1062, and, more relevantly to Heliodoros, in Greg.Nyss.de hom.opif (=PG.44.189d).

It is worth noting briefly how the crescendo of pathos is beginning to build up in this section. Apart from the device of inviting a response from the crowd, outlined above, we should note how Hydaspes introduces details which he hopes will sway the crowd against the sacrifice, namely the lack of a successor and the grief of Persinna; this last is especially dwelt on, and her situation emphasised by the antithetical oxymoron πρωτοτόκου τε ἅμα καὶ ἀγόνου. Also the rhetorical repetition of ὀλίγον μὲν ... ὀλίγον δέ, a constructional form which recurs three times within this chapter (cf.10.16.5 ἐλεοῦντας μὲν ... ἐλεοῦντας δὲ and 10.16.9 μάτην μὲν ... μάτην δὲ), adds to the emotional tone of the passage. Another interesting point is the proliferation of directly emotional words: συμπάσχοντες ... περιαλγοῦντες ... ἀθλίαν ... καταδυρομένης ... δακρύοντες ... κατακτεινομένου. These leave little doubt as to the direction in which Hydaspes is seeking to push his audience.

10.16.9

τὸ ποθητὸν ὄνομα: ποθητὸν is well attested by the MSS against

the more classical πόθεινόν found only in P. The word is often found in Christian devotional contexts, for example IG.7.3434 χαίρουσ σώτηρε καὶ ἐν θνητοῖσι πόθητέ - which does not inspire much confidence as to the correctness of the forms it employs; in the Martyrium Nerei et Achillei (ed.Achelis TU.11^2 (1893)) τὸν ποθητόν μοῦ Χριστόν ; and applied to the Blessed Virgin Mary in Method.Sym.et Ann.10 (=PG.18.372c) ὦ πάσι ποθητέ.

τὴν πατρίδα δυστυχήσασα: for the use of the accusative with this verb cf.Ach.Tat.4.17.3.

μή μοι σύγχει τὸν θυμὸν ὀδυρομένῃ : an almost direct quotation from Hom.Il.9.612 μή μοι σύγχει θυμὸν ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀκχεύων. It is clear that Heliodoros felt that the quotation would strengthen the emotional power of the passage, despite our modern reaction that it is a mere artificiality.

The impact of the section lies mainly in the four vocatives introducing it. Apart from the repetition of μίαν μὲν ... μίαν δὲ discussed in the notes on the previous section, note the iterated antithesis between Charicleia's homeland and foreign parts, and the scheme of crescendo in the vocatives building up from the simple ὦ θύγατερ (made more pathetic by the parenthesis) to one of twenty three syllables.

10.16.10

νυμφοστολῆσαι μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντι etc.: Hydaspes' intentionally pathetic speech reaches its climax with this contrast between marriage and death, which constitutes something of a commonplace

in Greek erotic literature. Heliodoros made use of it himself in Charicles' description of the death of his first daughter on her wedding-night, where the motif of wedding-torches and the torches carried in a funeral procession is made doubly applicable by the fact that the girl died in a fire (2.29.4), καὶ τὸν ὑμέναιον ᾄδόμενον ἔτι διεδέχετο θρῆνος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παστάδων ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα παρεπέμπετο· καὶ δᾳδες ἅμα τὸ γαμήλιον ἐκλάμψασαι φῶς, αὖται καὶ τὴν ἐπικήδειον πυρκαϊὰν ἐξῆπτον. The topos is alluded to more obliquely at 2.1.3 and 4.19.8.

A similar motif is used by Achilles Tatius (1.13.5) with apparently less justification; the wedding symbols are introduced purely as a matter of course in mourning the death of a young man: τάφος μέν σοι, τέκνον, ὁ θάλαμος, γάμος δὲ ὁ θάνατος, θρῆνος δὲ ὁ ὑμέναιος, ὁ δὲ κυκνὸς οὗτος τῶν γάμων ᾠδαί ... ὢ πονηρᾶς τέχνης ἀηδονίας· ἡ νυμφική σου ἀηδονία ταφὴ γίνεται. The same could be said of the rather mechanical introduction of the topos by Theodoros Prodromos (1.216ff.).

The motif probably originated in lyric θρῆνοι, now lost (cf. Wilamowitz on Eur. Her. 481). It is reflected in a few passages of fifth-century literature, notably the Iphigeneia in Aulis, where it provides much of the pathos of the play, but finds its fruition in the sepulchral epigrams of the Greek Anthology; for example, Anth. Pal. 7.182 is a lament by Meleager for a girl who died on her bridal night, and there is already present the contrast between the bridal song and the funeral lament, and the wedding and funeral torches. The next poem, by

Parmenion, includes the θάλαμος/τάφος antithesis; Anth.Pal.7.186, by Philippos, has the θῆρος/ὑμέναιος motif. Further examples are Anth.Pal.7.188 (Antonius Thallus), 7.711 (Antipater of Sidon), 7.712 (Erinna, with the torches and songs), 7.649 (Anyte, with tomb and bridal chamber), 7.468 (Meleager, again with the songs). The motif is also present in Apuleius' description of Psyche's bridal preparations (Metam.4.33). We should be at pains to distinguish all these examples from instances where death is regarded as being a marriage to Hades, often expressed in somewhat similar language (e.g.Eur.Iph.Aul.461, id.Orest.1109, Anth.Pal.7.13, etc.).

Full weight should be given to the fact that Heliodoros has adapted the topos to his own ends in that the fires contrasted with those of the wedding-torches are not those of a funeral procession but those of sacrifice. The quotation from Homer at a highly emotional point in the last section has already demonstrated Heliodoros' tendency to underpin points of emotion with literary allusion; the reference to an erotic commonplace will have reinforced the impact of the passage under discussion, and the differences introduced will have pointed up the full horror of Charicleia's predicament. The history of the motif is traced at length (and in a rather individual English style) by T.Szepessy (Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 20, 1972, p.341ff.).

Note now the climax of the speech is reached in the series of dative participles, each at the end of its colon, producing

the rhyming effect very common in Heliodoros' more purple passages. Despite the monotonous effect of all the homoeoteleuta, the device is successful in pointing up the members of the antithesis by an almost exact parallelism of syntactic structure.

RL's note on νυμφοστολῆσαι is not very helpful: it does not seem useful to draw distinctions in the uses of the word. It appears to be able to cover all the functions of the bride's father at a wedding, none of which will Hydaspes be able to discharge for Charicleia.

τὴν ἄμαχον ταυτηνὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀκμήν : for the metaphor compare Aristainetos 1.24, ἄμαχον κάλλος.

ἐλήκεσε ... τῶν ἐρημένων : for the genitive cf.10.17.2. I have been unable to find a parallel for this construction in any other author, but it is not objectionable, being clearly modelled on the constructions employed with almost synonymous phrases like συγγνώμην ἔχειν.

ὁ τέκνον ὄμμῶ καλεσάμενος καὶ τεκνόκτονος ὑνόμενος : again the pathos is expressed through an antithesis. The article with the participles is at first sight rather disconcerting but was included so as to separate the participles from the preceding clause and clarify their purely appositional nature. This arrangement has the effect of underlining the singularity of Hydaspes' position, almost as if he will be remembered as "the man who ...".

10.17.1

ὁ μὲν ἐπέβαλλε. etc.: picked up later by τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ... ἐστέστη ; the scheme of concentric μὲν ... δὲ clauses should be noted; it can be paralleled from 10.16.5, where the articulation is reinforced by the anaphora of ἑλεοῦντας .

ἄγειν ... ἐνδεικνύμενος : an irregular construction with the infinitive; cf.10.40.2.

πλείονι δὲ ... πυρὶ τῷ πάθει etc.: an effective contrast between real and metaphorical fires. Compare the antithesis between the eyes of the body and the eyes of the soul at 2.25.2, and the contrast between real war and war as a metaphor for erotic passion at 7.10.2. Similar to this last example is the first sentence of the fourth book: ὃ μὲν Πυθίων ἀγὼν ἔλεγεν , ὁ δὲ τῶν νέων ἐπέκμαζεν . Mr.Reeve has suggested to me that in the present example the contrast would be more effective without τῷ πάθει , which would have been inserted to make the metaphor clear to the most literal-minded of readers.

For σμυχόμενος compare 1.16.5, where Cnemon's father describes the awakening of suspicion, ὡς πάλαι γε σμύχομαι ἐν ἐμαυτῷ , and 3.6.2, σμυχόμενος δὲ καὶ πάλαι κατὰ τοῦ Θεαγένους . τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν τῶν ἐνεδρευμένων τῇ δημηγορίᾳ λόγων ἀπευχόμενος : apart from the question of how to construe these words, there is a logical anomaly here: if Hydaspes' speech was a trap, designed to produce a reaction against the sacrifice, he would have wished it to succeed as a trap. To say that "he prayed against the success of the words that were a trap" ought to

mean exactly the opposite, although perhaps we should not push nuances of this kind too far.

The main syntactic difficulty is now we are to take τῇ δημιουργίᾳ. As the text stands, it can only be an indirect object of ἐνεδρευμένων, but it is faintly silly to talk of words "set as a trap for the speech", when the whole fabric of the speech is designed to produce a result the opposite of its ostensible purpose.

Rattenbury's proposed excision of λόγων was presumably designed to leave τῇ δημιουργίᾳ as a dative of disadvantage with ἀπευχόμενος, but it serves only to heighten the logical inconsequence outlined above, and leaves an impossible hiatus between δημιουργίᾳ and ἀπευχόμενος.

While it is tempting to remedy these difficulties by the excision of offending words, it should be pointed out that there is nothing here that has the flavour of scribal insertion; it is especially difficult not to believe in ἐνεδρευμένων as genuine (cf.5.20.5 συνετὰς τὴν ἔνεδραν τοῦ ἐρωτήματος).

On balance, I am inclined to retain the manuscript reading while continuing to feel unhappy about its clumsy expression. There seems to have been a contrast in the dimmer recesses of Heliodoros' mind between the δημιουργία, the speech as a whole, whose purpose was to urge the Ethiopians to continue with the sacrifice, and the λόγοι in which it was expressed, the emotional tone of the language being set as an "ambush" for the ostensible substance of the speech. The antithesis was not

well worked out and is hopelessly expressed. We must simply accept Heliodoros' failure to appreciate the logical faults in his sentence; he is not concerned here to make any point subtler than that Hydaspes wishes his advice not to be taken.

σῴζε τὴν κόρην ... σῴζε τὸ βασίλειον αἷμα : the whole passage of the crowd shouting, lasting until the middle of the next section, is entirely asyndetic. This seems a deliberate device to represent the individual voices shouting from the crowd. Even so, there is a tendency for the separate exclamations to form themselves into groups. The first three cola are linked by the anaphora of σῴζε. The next six cola group naturally into three pairs: the first one (ἔχομεν ... τὸ νόμιμον) consists of two co-ordinate sentences, both meaning the same thing; the next two pairs are both held together by verbal echoes (ἐγνωρίσαμεν ... γνώριζε and παρανομίας ... παρανομήσομεν); the complex is rounded off by two sentences each of which refers back to an earlier part in the group. All this gives a good impression of the way in which a crowd might be expected to respond with individual shouts, none of them in a vacuum, but picking up points from each other. This makes punctuation of the complex difficult, but by any criterion RL's is peculiar. There is no reason to put a full stop after παρανομίαι and only a colon after βουλήμασι - this splits a pair of members clearly connected by verbal similarities. The best solution is to put after each sentence either a full stop or a colon, making them all parallel, and leaving the natural tendency towards grouping to take its effect.

τὸ βασίλειον αἷμα : a periphrasis for Charicleia. For a similar expression used of Arsace cf.7.19.2 and 7.20.4. We may also compare IG.14.1003.1, where Heracles is addressed as ὦ Διὸς ... αἷμα ; similar phraseology may be found at IG.14.1389.i.4 of Marcellus.

10.17.2

ἐγνωρίσαμέν <σε> ὡς βασιλέα : Francius' addition of σε is essential to provide the balance with γνώρισε ... σὺ σαυτὸν in the next sentence.

ὁ τοῦ δήμου πατὴρ etc.: note again the antithesis between the real and metaphorical usages of a word; cf.10.17.1 and note.

The idea of a king as father of his people was a very common one, but, as before, we should give full emphasis to the subtle twist that Heliodoros gives to the commonplace. For further examples of the metaphor see 10.3.3 and my note there.

τέλος καὶ ἔργῳ τὸ κελεύειν ἐπεδείκνυντο : i.e. they took physical action to prevent the sacrifice rather than just shouting their protests.

10.17.3

προίετο τὴν ἧτταν : compare Xen.Cyr.3.3.45 μῶρος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς χρημάτων ἐπιθυμίας ἧτταν προίεται .

τὴν ἐκείνην ταυτηνὶ βίαν : it is difficult not to feel that the word βία here is a rather weak stop-gap, employed to avoid a repetition of ἧττα from the line above. Notice the method of

writing, with the participial colon adding virtually nothing to the main clause, but emphasising the oddity of the situation by repeating it in different words. There should be a strong punctuation after ὑπομένων. RL's text does not make it completely clear that ὑπομένων and ὁρῶν are parallel.

τοὺς ἡμους ... ὁρῶν : for the odd plural cf.10.3.3 and 10.9.5. The distancing effect here is like that achieved in 10.16.2-3. It has the result of presenting a strongly visual tableau.

ἐπαλλήλοις ταῖς ἐκβοήσεσι ... ἐπισκιρτῶντας : note the exact parallelism of the two participial cola, reinforced by a strong disyllabic rhyme. The parallelism, however, is merely formal; there is little difference between ἐκβοήσεσι and εὐθημίαις, and it is difficult to see how εὐθημίαις is to be understood with ἐπισκιρτῶντας ; logically it belongs in the previous colon, but the formal parallelism has pushed it backwards. If ἐπαλλήλοις is taken with both ἐκβοήσεσι and εὐθημίαις , the parallelism is underlined by an exactly equal number of syllables in each member.

For the phrase ἐπαλλήλοις ταῖς ἐκβοήσεσι cf.Hdn.2.7.6, ἡ ἐπάλληλος βοή .

The comparative adjectives in the present passage are difficult. They are clearly not intended as an adverse comment on the crowd's behaviour, since this was exactly what Hydaspes wanted, and their reactions provide an index to the reader's own feelings (cf.10.9.4 and note). They could be taken as meaning "more than before" - i.e. the crowd's behaviour was

even more uninhibited than it had been up to this point, but I suspect that the comparative forms are used only to give weight and euphony to the parallel construction and to reinforce it by providing a second disyllabic rhyme, this time an internal one.

ἀγερωχότερον ἐσκιρτῶντας : this seems to be something of a technical term, although it remains unclear exactly what kind of movement it is intended to depict. Compare 9.19.4, where the people from the Land of Cinnamon are described as ἀγέρωχόν τι καὶ σατυρικὸν σκίρτημα λυγιζόμενός τε καὶ καμπτόμενος; and Philostr.Imag.2.32.3, describing a statue of Palaistra, τὰ μὲν καλλίσματα παιδιά. ταυτὶ γὰρ ἀγέρωχα σκιρτᾷ περὶ τὴν Παλαίστραν.

10.13.1

ἐμὴν μὲν εἶναί σε etc.: the μέν is never answered by the expected δέ, but instead by the stronger expression ἀλλ' οὕτως etc. Although it may be tempting to suspect μέν as a dittography of ἐμήν, the interrupted construction can be paralleled from 10.20.1, ἐπαινῶ μέν ... ἀλλ'οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως etc., and 10.21.1. The device gives the impression of the slight inconsequences inevitable in normal speech, and should not be diagnosed as an example of sloppy writing.

τά τε γνωρίσματα ἐμήνυσε καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Σισιμίθρης ἐμαρτύρησε: this corresponds to 10.12.4, where Charicleia claims that she has δυὸ τὰ μεγίστας ἀποδείξεις ... τάς τε ἐγγράφους πίστεις καὶ τὰς ἐκ μαρτύρων βεβαιώσεις. It is interesting to note that neither of Charicleia's "greatest proofs" turned out to be decisive; Hydaspes recognised the ταινία as his wife's work, but his objection that a stranger could have picked it up was never answered, and Sisimithres was not able to offer objective proof that Charicleia was the child he had rescued seventeen years earlier: at 10.14.5 Hydaspes expresses dissatisfaction at what he sees as Sisimithres' bias. What proved decisive in convincing Hydaspes, namely the resemblance between Charicleia and the painting of Andromeda, and the black birthmark on her arm, is not mentioned in the present passage. In a sense, this has the effect of vindicating Charicleia's earlier assertions, and seems also to mark a structural pause: by referring back to 10.12.4, the episode of Charicleia's recognition is closed

and rounded off. For what follows we need not worry too much about the means by which that recognition was achieved; we are now confronted with a new situation, the position of Theagenes, in which the exact mechanics of the earlier episode cease to be relevant. The short summary is a well known technique for rounding off an episode (see T.Hägg, op.cit.p.252 etc.), and it is immaterial to its function if the summary is not totally accurate. Heliodoros is telling us to accept the fact that Charicleia has been recognised by her parents, and is now switching the main plot interest in a different direction, the transition being marked by the μὲν ... ἀλλά construction already noted.

ἀλλ' οὗτοι etc.: we now begin the episode of the salvation of Theagenes. The separation of this from the recognition of Charicleia has already been prepared for; cf.my note on 10.9.2.

εἰς τὰς ἐπινικίους σπονδὰς τοῖς θεοῖς φυλαχθεί: cf.9.1.4, when Hydaspes first sees the pair, σωζέσθωσαν κατὰ τὰ ἐπινικίους θυσίας ... θεοῖς τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις εἰς ἱερουργίαν φυλαχθησόμενοι.

νυνί τε : Mitscherlich's emendation to δέ is tempting, as there is no answer to ὁ σὺ μὲν ἅμα above. The parallel from 5.33.3 quoted by RL was independently emended by Coraes.

10.18.2

ἢ πῶς αὐτὸν ἀδελφὸν ὠνόμαζες ὅτε μοι τὸ πρῶτον ... προσήχθητε;: Hydaspes' memory, or that of Heliodoros himself, is at fault here. In the first place, it was not at their first meeting with

Hydaspes that the pair put forward their brother/sister fiction, but when they were re-presented to him after the capture of Syene in 9.25.2. Secondly, on that occasion it was not Charicleia who called Theagenes her brother, but Theagenes who said they were ἀδελφοὶ καὶ Ἕλληνες.

καὶ οὕτως ἡμέτερος υἱὸς εὑρεθήσεται : compare the pattern of thought in 9.25.3: Hydaspes there has just remembered a dream in which he had a daughter who looked like Charicleia; he dismisses the dream with a joke, ἀλλὰ πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ παῖς ἐτέχθη μοι κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν. Note the difference in tone between the two pasages, the first of casual dismissal, the present of total bewilderment.

τῆς χρείας τὸ πλάσμα συνθεώσης : cf.my notes on 9.24.1 for the brother/sister pretence. The χρεία was not as great as that which first led Charicleia to adopt the deceit, but we should realise how unconventional her position is, and how saving of embarrassment such a device would have been. Charicleia's continued reluctance to tell her parents of her true relationship with Theagenes leads to ironic misunderstandings and later to mounting tension as Theagenes' sacrifice draws closer. When an attitude of sexual reserve has so clear a constructional purpose, it is unnecessary to suppose that the author himself subscribed to it; indeed a lot of the effect of tension depends on the reader's impatience with Charicleia's repeated drawing back from speaking out plainly.

ἀνήρ τέ ἐστιν ἐμοῦ τε etc.: the repeated τε instead of the

expected τε ... καὶ is not irregular. See Denniston: Greek Particles[2] p.504 for discussion and further examples.

τῆς γυναικὸς εὐθαρσέστερον ἐξαγορεύειν οὐκ αἰσχυνθήσεται: compare 1.22.1, where Charicleia apologises for speaking out boldly in front of Thyamis and his brigands, and 9.25.2, where Theagenes is made to speak up for them both.

10.13.3

μὴ συλλαβὼν τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἐρρημένων: in order to prolong the suspense leading up to Theagenes' final rescue, two elements are necessary: Charicleia's bashfulness, which restrains her from spelling out her relationship with Theagenes, and the inability of Hydaspes and Persinna to grasp the hints that she drops. For the irony of the situation to be fully exploited, it is necessary that the reader should understand Charicleia's ambiguous references fully while the fictional characters do so only partially. This is a purely literary situation, and realism is not the criterion by which this sequence of scenes should be judged; to this extent RL's note ad loc. is misguided. Indeed, the tension felt by the reader is not only as to whether Theagenes will escape immolation or not, but also takes the form of impatience at Charicleia's shyness and Hydaspes' inability to see the truth; at every turn expectations are lifted, only to be dropped again. It is nevertheless possible to feel that the scheme is not managed as well as it could be by Heliodoros: some of Charicleia's actions especially are so

ambiguous as to be entirely incomprehensible - notably her request to be allowed to kill Theagenes herself - and, in general, Heliodoros cannot sustain full ambiguity over such a length.

θυγάτρων κατερυθριάσεως : a type of ad sensum construction; cf.Kühner-Gerth vol.1 p.53f. The compound form κατερυθριάω is not found elsewhere before the fifth century, when it is used by Cyril of Alexandria (in Oseam 164a = Pusey vol.1 p.236, and in Amos 303d = Pusey vol.1 p.464). The prefix is purely intensitive.

παρθενικῆς αἰδοῦς ἀνακειμένων : a further instance of the austere sexual ethic taken for granted in this section of the plot. Hydaspes is interpreting Charicleia's reluctance to be specific over her involvement with Theagenes as virginal purity leading her to shun all contact with the opposite sex. For the phrase compare 10.22.1, τὴν αἰδὼ τὴν παρθένιον περιῳρᾶν.

ἐνωδίνεσθαι : found in third-century patristic writing in this sense and construction: cf.Orig.Jo.1.9 (=PG.14.40d), Dion. Alex.ap.Euseb.Hist.Eccl.7.22.5 (=PG.20.633b), Bas.Reg.Fus.6.2 (=PG.31.928a).

πλεῖον ἢ ὅτε σε ἔτικτεν ὠδινοῦσῃ τὴν ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸ παρὸν ἀπόλαυσιν etc.: the sense is clear, that Persinna has suffered more emotional pain from the suspense of Charicleia's rescue than she did from the pains of labour; but the sentence does present some difficulty: one has to understand ὠδινοῦσῃ in two senses at once, firstly as denoting the physical pain of birth, and

secondly in some sense in which it is capable of taking a direct object - for which the consensus of interpretation seems to be "to long for earnestly"; cf.Coraes' explanation (vol.2 p.343): παρέχουσα τῇ μητρὶ τὸ ἑαὶ τοὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι, ἢ δὴ μήτηρ πλέον ἐνδίνει ἑαὶ τοὺ παρόντος διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοὺ ἀπολαύειν τοὺ κατακόρως, ἢ ὅτε δὲ ἔτικτε.

Hirschig punctuated with a colon after ἐνδινούσῃ and emended τὴν ... ἀπόλαυσιν to the dative, so as to make it parallel with τῆς ... διηγήμασι. This approach created more difficulties than it solved, by obscuring the obvious point of the comparison, and producing the peculiar pair ἀπολαύσει and διηγήμασι - sitting unhappily with παρηγοροῦσα.

The second difficulty concerns the adverbial phrases bound closely to τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν by being inserted between the article and the noun. Firstly, ἐπὶ σοὶ is not the regular expression: cf.Himer.Or.3.2 (Colonna), ἐμὲ ... τῆς σῆς ἀπολαύσεως ... ἐχώρισε. Secondly, τὸ παρὸν stands in direct antithesis to ὅτε δὲ ἔτικτεν, but its position binds it closely to ἀπόλαυσιν in an almost adjectival function. As with 10.17.1, we must allow a certain oddity of expression. There is nothing here which could plausibly be attributed to scribal insertion.

For Heliodoros' fondness for ἐνδίνω see my note on 10.16.2.

τῆς ... σφαγιασθησομένης ἅμα τῷ νεανίᾳ παντοίως τί ποτε εὕροιμεν ἀνταξίαν ἐπιλεχθείσης: the difficulty here lies in the interpretation of παντοίως. Coraes wanted to take it with σφαγιασθησομένης and to understand it as meaning the same as

πάντως , "who will be sacrificed without fail". The modern consensus takes it with εὑρήσομεν : thus Maillon's "ferai mon possible pour trouver une victime" and Lamb's "if by our best efforts we can find ...". This still does not give παντῶς its normal sense. A third possibility would be to take the word closely in association with the conditional, to give a meaning like "... at any rate if we can find one worthy...".

None of these is really satisfactory, and things are not improved if παντῶς is emended to πάντως I cannot see exactly what the point is, and would suggest that the safest course for the moment is to obelise παντῶς .

10.19.1

ἐξωλόλυξε: the compound is found elsewhere only in the Batrachomyomachia (101).

ἐκτραχυνθεῖσα: this appears to be an abnormal usage. The metaphorical sense is usually "to exasperate", with which meaning the verb is often used by Plutarch; see Plut.Alc.14, Alex.42, Marc.6; also App.Bell.Civ.1.10, 2.12; it is found with πρός at Plut.Arat.49 and Sert.10, where the πρός denotes the object at which the exasperation is directed.

μόγις δ'οὖν τὸ συμφέρον πεθεμένη : on this see M.D.Reeve in CQ NS 18, 1968, p.237, who supports Z's reading τῷ συμφέροντι θεμένη with the examples adduced by van Krevelen (op.cit.p.157f.) to show that πίθεσθαι + DAT. is common in fourth-century Greek for "to side with". As Reeve points out, πεθεμένη is the wrong tense to make a proper pair with βασαμένη, and it is hard to make much sense of the text as printed unless we understand τὸ συμφέρον as a description of the main clause, which gives very awkward Greek.

ὑφεῖρε τὴν σκέψιν : literally "to creep up on it by stealth", i.e. Charicleia is trying to introduce the subject of Theagenes' release by roundabout means. For ὑφέρπειν in its literal sense cf.Philostr.Vit.Apoll.1.37, where a eunuch is caught ὑφέρπων τὴν αὐλήν .

This explanation accounts for the irrelevance of Charicleia's opening gambit, but in the next section she works round to the idea of her inseparability from Theagenes.

10.19.2

προσφιλονεικούμενος ... ἐπιτελεῖσθαι : the compound προσφιλονεικεῖν is well attested in post-classical prose, but is not found elsewhere with this infinitive construction. ἐπιτελεῖσθαι is middle in place of the classical active.

ἐξ ἑκατέρου γένους : cf.10.7.6 ἄρρενα μὲν τῷ Ἡλίῳ, θήλειαν δὲ τῇ Σελήνῃ προσάγειν τε καὶ ἱερουργεῖν ὁ νόμος βούλεται.

ἐμοὶ καὶ ζῶντι συζῆν καὶ θνήσκοντι συντεθνάναι cc.: this motif was introduced at the very start of the novel: ἐν σοὶ ... τὰ ἐμὰ ... σώζεσθαί τε καὶ μή (1.2.4), followed by a suicide threat. At 2.1.2 Theagenes believes Charicleia dead and exclaims, ὤικτισαι Χαρικλείᾳ. Θεαγένης ἀπόλωλε ; and at 2.4.4 he prepares to kill himself over a body which he mistakenly believes to be hers, finishing ἔξεστι πάντως ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι μετὰ γοῦν θάνατον εἰ καὶ ζῶσιν ὁ δαίμων οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε. Similar ideas persist throughout the Aithiopica; cf.5.24.5, 6.8.5, 8.11.11.

The motif is of course a common one. KL adduce in comparison Soph.Frag.867 Nauck θανόντι κεἰνῳ συνθάνειν ἔρως μ' ἔχει, and we may add Char.3.10.4, ἐγὼ μὲν προαποθάνειν ἢ συναποθάνειν ἠξίουν σοι, Χαιρέα· πάντως δέ μοι κἂν ἐπακολουθῆσαι ἀναγκαῖον.

10.20.1

οὕτω τῶν ἄντων ἐπήβολος γινόμενος : the impression of naivety which RL complain of in their note on 10.18.3 (p.100 n.2) arises not because of any fault in Heliodoros' characterisation of Hydaspes, but because the author is unable to sustain sufficient ambiguity in the remarks of Charicleia. In her previous speech, for example, she is so explicit that she could only sensibly be understood in one sense. Yet the literary formalities of the situation demand that, while the reader grasps fully and immediately what she is trying to tell her parents, they persistently fail to understand more than the literal meaning of her words. When the literal meaning of the words is as clear as in this case, it is inevitable that Hydaspes should seem incredibly stupid in failing to understand them.

ξένον Ἕλληνα: I am not convinced by RL's omission (following V) of the καί between these two words; it has unimpeachable MSS authority. Although the two words approximate to each other in meaning, the stylistic form of a list with polysyndeton could easily have led Heliodoros into pleonasm; cf.8.3.5, νέους καὶ ξένους καὶ Ἕλληνας.

συνήθειαν ... τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐκδημίας : note the limiting function of the first article; the sense is not "he has obtained familiarity with you from your exile" (cf.Maillon's "tu as vécu familièrement avec lui pendant ton exil"), but "he has obtained that familiarity which is natural between two people who are exiles". Hydaspes' notions of propriety prevent him going any

further than this, and so it is important that the limiting article be given its full weight.

"ἄλλως τε γὰρ οὐκ ἐναγὴς etc.: Hydaspes' attitudes towards the sacrifice have not changed, but notice how the situation is no longer polarised in terms of νόμος and φύσις.

οὐδ' ἂν ὁ δῆμος ἀνάσχοιτο : Hydaspes' excuses have not changed either. Compare 10.7.6, where he tells Persinna ἀπαράπτητος ἂν γένοιτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἡ ὑπέρθεσις.

μόλις ... κινηθείς : not strictly true, as RL point out (p.101 n.2). At their first sight of Charicleia, the people felt pity for her and would have been glad to see her saved "ἐκ τινος μηχανῆς (10.9.5), and of course they did finally intervene to rescue her in 10.17.2. However, their overwhelming desire to save her life only reached the point of physical intervention after the revelation of her identity, and there are no such factors at work for Theagenes.

τὴν ἐπὶ σοὶ συγχώρησιν :cf.10.19.1 τὸ θηλὺ δ'ἐμοῦ συγχωρήσαντος.

θεῶν εὐμενείᾳ : not with any real religious point, merely a formula in the mouth of a god-fearing man. The reader is well aware that the people's intervention was not due to any direct divine influence. The phrase is picked up and exploited by Charicleia in the next section, and it seems probable that this lively exchange is the only point for the introduction of the motif here.

10.20.2

τὴν ἐμὴν ... περισῶσαι ψυχήν: for the metaphor of calling the beloved one's soul cf.1.3.4, 1.9.4, 1.14.6, 2.5.2, 2.16.4, 5.2.10, 8.6.4; also 10.35.2, where Charicles uses it of his 'daughter'.

ἐπικλώσαντες: cf.10.40.2. ἐπικλώθω appears to have strongly poetic overtones, mainly Homeric; cf., for example, Hom.Od.3.208, 4.208, Aes.Eum.335. Other examples of prose writers using the word to give elevation are Plat.Theaet.169c, Jul.Or.7.229c.

αὐτὴν μὲ κέλευσον αὐτουργῆσαι τὸ θῦμα etc.: the point of this is obscure, and it is not surprising that Hydaspes is confused by it (10.21.1). The most likely explanation is that Charicleia is making a veiled suicide threat, intended to be comprehensible only to the reader. This is especially applicable to the phrase περίβλεπτον ἐπ' ἀνδρεία ... ἀναδειχθῆναι, where, if my interpretation is correct, Heliodoros at last achieves true ambiguity. Note too the possible ambiguity of αὐτουργῆσαι τὸ θῦμα, where she avoids saying that she will sacrifice Theagenes, and the strength thus given to the poetic word κεμήλιον (for which see 9.23.4 and note).

Heliodoros has moved from complete lack of ambiguity to an almost complete incomprehensibility. But we have seen that ambiguity is formally necessary to achieve the effect aimed at in this passage, and we are entitled to see this ambiguity in a hint of suicide. Such an interpretation is certainly preferable to that offered by Maillon (p.102 n.1) "On entend bien que

Chariclée, en réclamant une épée et en mettant son 'viril courage' au service des Éthiopiens, en offrant d'immoler elle-même Théagène, veut troubler et berner son benêt de père. Ces artifices d'amazone justicière n'en sont pas moins choquants, et de tels passages confinent à la puerilité." It is rather Maillon's note, with its indiscriminate demands for naturalism, that borders on childishness.

10.21.1

κρείττων μὲν ... πεφυμένης, νυνὶ δὲ ... παρακαλούσης : a further example of Heliodoros' love of parallel antithetic clauses: note, however, that here the exact parallelism is modified by alteration of the word order in the second limb.

παρακαλούσης: I have not been able to find another example where the subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the verb governing it. For παρακαλέω see my note on 9.7.1.

10.21.2

ἐπίδοξον : used in later prose for ἔνδοξος . Heliodoros has the word at 10.32.3 and 10.37.2. Cf. also Diod.13.83, Plut.Mor.239d, etc.

καὶ τούτου δὲ ὄντος : "even assuming that there were." The phrase refers back to the whole state of affairs rejected by the last sentence; thus τοῦτο = "everything that I have just been talking about".

πρὸς τῶν πατρίων: Heliodoros seems to be going out of his way not to use the word νόμος . The νόμος / φύσις motif no longer has a useful part to play once Charicleia is saved from sacrifice.

καὶ πότερος οὖ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν etc.: contrast 10.4.5, where it is said that the Ethiopian custom was that the Priest of the Sun and the Priestess of the Moon were always the king and queen. Heliodoros is concerned less with total consistency than with immediate considerations. At 10.4.5 he is extricating himself from an awkward tangle over why Persinna is allowed to be

present at the sacrifice (which she has to be for the recognition scene to work) after he has said that all women were excluded for fear of involuntary pollution; see my notes on 10.4.4. In the present passage he is trying to extract as much dramatic irony from the situation as possible (cf.note on 10.13.3), so that the widening of qualifications for the priesthood is best viewed as a "feed-line" for Charicleia's claim that she has a husband (10.21.3).

οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν etc.: the slip from dative to genitive is alarming, and if the text is retained the genitives would have to be explained as a genitive absolute; Kühner-Gerth vol.2 p.110f. lists examples of genitive absolutes occurring where the syntax would have led one to expect a different case, but the present passage with its antithesis is more startling than any. Perhaps the text originally read ... οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν γυναικὶ τῇ δὲ ἀνδρὶ συναικοῦσιν . This would restore the characteristically rhymed antithetical balance; with a pronunciation close to that of modern Greek, the corruption could easily be explained.

ἡ κατά τε καρδιάν . for this way of expressing possession of an abstract quality cf.10.25.2 τῆς κατ'ἐκεῖνον μεγαλαυχίας.

10.21.3

παρὰ τὸ οὖς τῇ Περσίννῃ προσκύψασα : cf.3.10.2, 6.14.4, 7.12.7; also Plat.Euthyd.275e. Similar expression are found at Luc.Nec.21, Theophr.Char.2.10, both of which have πρὸς τὸ οὖς rather than

κυρά as here. The difference is minimal.

δ ἰὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο πληρῶν : the name is that of husband, which although not mentioned in the foregoing dialogue is easily enough extracted from the sense.

For this use of πληρόω cf.3.1.4 ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸν ἀκριβῶς ἑκατόμβη καὶ εἰ ἀληθῶς τὸ ὄνομα πληροῦντες. The sense here is almost the same as "filling an ἀρχή", for which compare IG.12.(5).946.1, 12.(2).243.9, P.Flor.382.40, Lyd.Mag.3.30 etc. Maillon's translation reverses the sense : "je sais quelqu'un qui est disposé à me donner le titre d'épouse."

It is difficult to see how Persinna could misinterpret these words in quite the way that she does, although, of course, any apparent inconsequence could easily be the result of Heliodoros' inability to cope with ambiguity on this scale; certainly the dialogue at this point begins to take on a somewhat maniac quality which makes it easy to sympathise with Hydaspes' outburst in the next chapter.

ἐκδώσομεν: the regular word for giving one's daughter in marriage. It is found without an expressed object at Plat.Rep. 362b and 613d, and at Thuc.8.21. Thus the understood object in this case is Charicleia, and the husband referred to in the participial phrase is the indirect object, again understood. I imagine that Maillon's translation "nous ne tarderons guère à te donner ... un mari" would seem a very alien concept to an ancient Greek.

10.22.1

τολμᾶν τὸ κατεπεῖγον καὶ ... περιορᾶν τὸ ... ὁρώμενον : notice again the parallelism of formal expression, which does not reflect a parallelism of sense; the second member is in fact an explanation of the first.

οὐκέτι κατασχὼν ὁ Ὑδάσπης: the literary game of ambiguity is over for the time being; the point has been reached where Charicleia is ready to speak in terms which will not be misunderstood, but Heliodoros wants to prolong the suspense even further. Hence Hydaspes' outburst, which marks the failure of Charicleia's attempt to steal up on her goal (cf.10.19.1).

ὡς κακὰ τοῖς καλοῖς ἔοικε μιγνύναι : for the proverbial thought compare, as RL, Eur.Frag.21 Nauck:

οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χωρὶς ἐσθλὰ καὶ κακά,
ἀλλ'ἔστι τις σύγκρασις ...

and also Plut.Pomp.42: ὦ δ'ἄρα πρὸς τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν ἀεί τινα κεραννύναι κακοῦ μοῖραν ἐπιμελὲς ἐστι δαιμονίῳ ; and Const.Manass.5 Frag.94 Mazal:

θεοὶ γὰρ ἄκρατον οὐδὲν νέμουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
ἀλλὰ συναναφύρουσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ φαῦλα .

ἀπ'ἐλπίδος : emended by Hirschig to παρ'ἐλπίδος , but retained by RL and Colonna, rightly. There is a subtle difference in the meaning of the two phrases: παρ'ἐλπίδος means that events have turned out contrary to what one expected; ἀπ'ἐλπίδος hints that the occurrence has been so extraordinary that one had not even given a thought to the possibility of its happening.

παράφρονα ... παραπλήγος : the words make a fine alliterative pair, and are similarly linked by Plut.Pomp.72.

10.22.2

παραπλήγος : the word is specially commended by Demetrios (de eloc.275) for giving δεινότης to one's style, as a forceful compound. Heliodoros uses it also at 7.7.1 and 9.5.9.

τῆς ἀλλόκοτα ῥήματα τροιεμένης : ἀλλόκοτος here means little more than 'absurd'; compare Epictet.1.19.16 δόγματα ἀλλόκοτα. The word is usually applied to people with a meaning like 'inhuman' or 'monstrous'. Cf., for example, App.Hisp.95, where it is used of Numantines murdering an ambassador.

ἀδελφὸν ὠνόμαζε τὸν μὴ ὄντα : cf.10.13.2. Maillon translates "elle nommait son frère celui qui ne l'est pas", which at first sight seems the natural meaning of the sentence. But τὸν ὄντα in the following colon makes it clear that the antithesis is not between Theagenes' fictional and factual identities, but between non-existent brothers and existent strangers. Hydaspes returns to this idea in 10.22.3: ἀδελφοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀναπλάττειν.

τὸν ὄντα, ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ ξένος, ἐρωτωμένη ἀγνοεῖν ἔλεγεν : not strictly true; in 10.13.2, when asked why she had called Theagenes her brother and who he really was, she replied ὅστις δέ ἐστιν ἀληθῶς αὐτὸς ἂν λέγοι βέλτιον, and followed this with a sententia on the desirability of women being seen and not heard.

ἰὼθεὸς ἐξήτει περιώσεσθαι ὡς φίλον τὸν ἀγνοούμενον : cf.10.19.2.
Note the rhetorical tricks used by Hydaspes to bring out the full lunacy of Charicleia's behaviour. Firstly the asyndeton which is maintained throughout 10.22.2 brings the inconsistencies into sharp juxtaposition; secondly there is a pattern of verbal and conceptual linking between one member and the next: thus τὸν ὄντα is in antithesis (and chiasmus) with τὸν μὴ ὄντα . In the present case τὸν ἀγνοούμενον picks up ἀγνοεῖν from the previous sentence, and is at the same time contrasted with φίλον.
ἀδύνατον εἶναι μαθοῦσα τὴν ἀλήθειαν : cf.10.20.1.
αὐτὴ καταθύειν ὥσανεὶ πολεμιώτατον ἱκέτευε : cf.10.20.2. Here καταθύειν ὥσανεὶ πολεμιώτατον echoes and contrasts with περιοώζεσθαι ὡς φίλον. Hydaspes' increasing irritation is built up into a fine climax with a further echo, this time from outside the asyndetic complex of 10.22.2; compare his original reaction to Charicleia's request to be allowed to perform the sacrifice of Theagenes with her own hands in 10.21.1, and especially note how the puzzled ὡς πολεμίου τινός has developed into an exasperated superlative.

10.22.3

οὐ θεμιτὸν λεγόντων : sc. ἡμῶν.
ὑπάνδρῳ : as RL point out, this adjective was first used by Polybios (10.26.2), but is a natural extension of Hom.Od.7.68 ὅσσαι νῦν γε γυναῖκες ἐπ'ἀνδράσιν εἶκον ἔχουσιν . This point had already been made by Eustathios in his commentary on Od.7.68.

The word was reasonably common in post-classical prose; compare Plut.Pel.9, Artemid.1.80, Athen.9.388c, Paul's Epistle to the Romans 7.2.

For the content of this sentence cf.10.21.2; Hydaspes brings out the absurdity by omitting to mention that the sacrifice could only be performed by the priest and priestess, and by concentrating instead on Charicleia's claim to have a husband when the brazier had shown her to be a virgin.

ἄνδρα ἔχειν ἐμφαίνει : I have not been able to find the verb used elsewhere with this infinitive construction, the usual one being with ὅτι (e.g. Diod.1.87.2).

τὸ τίνα σὺ προσποιεῖσαι : τὸ τίνα is RL's emendation of the unanimous MSS reading τὸν τίνα and shows a good feeling for the nature of a spoken language; the neuter article has almost the same effect as inverted commas in English.

πῶς γὰρ etc.: the γάρ explains the doubts implied by the negative expression of the immediately preceding words.

μηδὲ ὄντα μηδὲ ... ἀποδειχθέντα : the translator must be careful to articulate the sentence correctly, which both Maillon and Lamb fail to do clearly, while Hirschig actually gets it wrong: "quem neque esse, neque fuisse illi umquam per focum constiterit". ὄντα is grammatically parallel with ἀποδειχθέντα, not with γεγενῆσθαι .

διὰ τῆς ἑσχάρας : as described in 10.7.7-9.7.

παρὰ ταύτην μόνην ... μόνην δὲ ἔξεστι : note the rhetorical repetition emphasising the absurdity of the proposition.

πειρατήρων : in the romances the word usually denotes a pirates' nest, and is so found at 5.6.3; cf.also Ach.Tat.6.21. Meaning 'test' the word is rare in classical literature, and the only close parallels that I have been able to locate are from Hippocrates, describing in similar words a test to discover whether or not a woman is capable of conceiving (Hipp.de nat.mul. 96 = Littré vol.7 p.412 and id.Mul.1.78 = Littré vol.8 p.178). However, in patristic writers contemporary (or nearly so) with Heliodoros the word is much more common, and seems to have developed a specialised usage applicable to the earthly life viwed as a test of a person's suitability to enter the kingdom of heaven; cf.Orig.de or.29 (=PG.11.532a), Isid.Pel.Ep.2.76 (=PG.78.517d), id.Ep.5.226 (=PG.78.1464b), Olymp.Job 6.proem. (=PG.93.38a) and ibid.38.proem.(=PG.93.393a).

ἄμικτον : another word rare in classical writers.Compare Eur. Hel.1334 and an epigram from Smyrna (Epig.Graec.241a1). Apoll. Rhod.1.1074 uses the word of food to mean 'uncooked'. Patristic writers use it in a specialised cliché when talking of the Burning Bush; cf.Bas.Inc.p.241.34. There is no reason, however, to think that the word was a specifically Christian one.

παρθενεύειν νόθως χαρίζεται : we should not underplay the oxymoron, despite the frequent use of νόθος and its cognates in a metaphorical sense.

For the construction with χαρίζομαι compare Luc.Am.19, Anth.Pal.5.236, Plat.Hipp.Maj.364c.

φίλους καὶ πολεμίους ... ἀναπλάττειν : notice the exact parallelism

here. Both members begin with a pair of nouns, φίλους καὶ πολεμίους being answered by ἀδελφοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρας, in each case followed by a short descriptive phrase introduced by an article (τοὺς αὐτοὺς cf. τοὺς μὴ ὄντας). Both members end with an infinitive (καταλέγειν ... ἀναπλάττειν), the verbs in question perhaps being chosen for their antithetic prefixes.

10.22.4

ὑπὸ τοῦ θεῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι ἐπιφοιτήσαντος ἐκβακχευομένην:

for ἐπιφοιτάω compare 3.13.1, where it is used with the accusative, and 8.11.3, where the uncompounded form is used with the dative case, in both cases describing divine visitation in a dream. Compare Hdt.7.16.γ, where the verb is used with the accusative in the same sense. It is common in patristic writing for divine visitation, but the comparative frequency of it in this sense in Christian authors is doubtless due more to their choice of subject matter than to any specialist quality in the word itself; see Tat.Or.18 (=PG.6.848a), Clem.Str.4.25 (=PG.8.1364c), from the second century; and Athan.Gent.20 (=PG.25.41b), from the fourth, in all instances with the dative.

ἐκβακχεύω is found used of the effect of demons in fifth-century patristics; e.g.Nil.Ep.3.46 (=PG.79.413d), and especially Philostorg.Hist.Eccl.8.10 (=PG.65.564c). But compare too Eur.Troad.408, εἰ μὴ σ'Ἀπόλλων ἐξεβάκχευσεν φρένας. Heliodoros' use of the word is made more effective by the continuation of the metaphor of the preceding sentence: νηφάλιον

and ἐκβακχευομένην both exploit the image of drunkenness.

τὸν νοῦν παραφερομένην : the idea is usually expressed by the related adjective παράφορος, but there are parallels for the use of the verb in describing insanity; cf.Galen Comm.I.in Epid.1.3 (p.392.30) and Suda sv. παράφορος : ὁ παρ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὑπὸ δαίμονος παραφερόμενος . Heliodoros has chosen to cast his sentence in this form so as to achieve yet another example of his favourite form of exact parallelism between participial cola, in this case further strengthened by a strong trisyllabic rhyme (ἐκβακχευομένην ... παραφερομένην).

10.22.5

τὴν ὀφείλουσαν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀντὶ τῆσδε σφαγιασθῆναι etc.: cf. 10.18.3 τῆς ἀντὶ σοῦ σφαγιασθησομένης ... ἐπιλεχθείσης .

εὖ τὸ χρηματίσαι: we should notice how naturally Heliodoros is motivating his plot, and how satisfyingly the element of surprise is introduced. The reader at this point imagines that the reception of the embassies is going to be a mere interlude, inserted to heighten his impatience to know the fate of Theagenes, and to provide the author with the opportunity of describing some exotic races and their products. However, as we shall see, the very gifts they bring will have a part to play in resolving the situation.

χρηματίζω with the dative is commonly used in the sense of giving audience to embassies: compare 2.31.4; also Polyb. 3.66.6, Jul.Or.1.13a, Philostr.Vit.Apoll.2.38, Plut.Mor.413e,

and the papyrus quoted in Holl aux' Études vol.3 p.290.

ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν: the phrase would originally have suggested any non-Greek nations and is so used by Aristotle (Pol.1324b10), but by the time of the empire τὰ ἔθνη had acquired two specialised meanings, the second of which seems to be reflected in the present instance. The numerous New Testament occurrences show the Jewish use of the word to denote all non-Jewish races in much the same way as Aristotle's from a Greek point of view. τὰ ἔθνη is also used as the Greek translation of the Latin 'provinciae' (e.g.App.Bell.Civ.2.13, Hdn.1.2.1, Dio Cass.36.41), and hence its use in this passage of Heliodoros places the subject races in the same relation to Hydaspes as the provinces of the Roman empire were to the emperor; not that any political allegory is intended thereby - the word will have been the one current to denote all concepts of this type.

10.22.6

ὁ ... εὐαγγελὴς Ἑρμωνίας: the office of εὐαγγελεύς appears to have been a Persian invention. Its duties involved the announcement of arrivals to the king, and no doubt entailed a certain scrutiny of those wishing for audiences; it was a special privilege to be allowed to enter the king's presence without being announced by the εὐαγγελεύς (cf.Hdt.3.84.2). It was thus a position of some responsibility, and it is not surprising to find it filled by confidants of the king (cf. Diod.16.47).

The institution was adopted by Alexander after the collapse of the Persian empire (Plut.Alex.46), and so found its way to the court of the Ptolemies, where it is well attested (e.g. P.Tebt.112 and 179; Klio vol.12 p.365). Jul.Misop.365b suggests that there was some similar office at Rome in the fourth century, although of course it need not have been strictly comparable in all respects.

Heliodoros' introduction of an εἰσαγγελεύς at Meroe is best explained by his striving for local colour, with a slightly oriental tinge, and for verisimilitude in matters of topography and anthropology.

The form Ἑρμωνίας is given constantly by VZ and Ἁρμονίας by MP. Ἑρμωνίας therefore has better authority. Neither name is common: Pape's Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen lists only Heliodoros' character under Harmonias. For Ἑρμωνίας compare the Ἑρμωνᾶς and Ἑρμώνιος recorded in Preisigke's Namenbuch col.107, and the Ἑρμωνᾶς recorded in Foraboschi's Onomasticon p.111.

ἔθνους ἑκάστου κεκριμένως : RL rightly defend the MSS reading against Obsopoeus' κεκριμένους by comparing the identical construction in the first sentence of the next chapter: ἐν τάξει καὶ διηρημένως.

10.23.1

Μερόηβος: the name occurs nowhere else, and has obviously been coined by Heliodoros from the name Μερόη to give an Ethiopian quality to the young prince.

πρὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς: Hirschig translates "ante septum et coronam militum qua cincti sumus"; but from 10.6.4 we know that the circle of soldiers is there to keep the populace out of the area where the sacrifice is to take place. We must therefore imagine the people surrounding the action in a circle with the phalanx of soldiers on the inside. Meroebos could not be waiting "in front of the soldiers", and this is borne out by Heliodoros' description of how the populace makes way for him (10.23.4). The παρεμβολή must therefore refer to the whole assembly. Compare Hesychios' gloss: στρατοπέδον . παράταξις . στίφος στρατιᾶς . ἢ πλῆθος . ἢ σῦκηον ἢ κάστρον (cf.Suda and Pollux). The word is used to mean 'camp' at Polyb.3.74.5 and Plut.Galb.27, and the transference from there to the present usage involves only the demilitarisation of the word, as hinted at by Hesychios. Compare 10.34.6, where the entire assembly is called a στρατοπέδον .

10.23.2

ὦ νηθέστατε καὶ ἠλίθιε etc.: this seems to be modelled on Hom.Od.4.30ff., where Menelaos scolds Eteoneus in similar fashion for showing doubts whether to admit Telemachos or ἄλλον πέμπωμεν ἰκανέμεν, ὅς κε φίλήσῃ .

οὐ πρεσβευτὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλέα etc.: note the unobtrusive way in which the relevant information about Meroebos is given to the reader. This is characteristic of Heliodoros, who deliberately avoids authorial intrusion in such instances. This dramatic style is analysed for the early books by Hefti (op.cit., esp. p.111ff.).

τελευτήσαντος μὲν ... πρὸς ἐμοῦ δὲ: the antitnetic form of expression here does not echo any antithesis of content. The tendency to group thoughts into parallel or antithetic pairs, even where the sense does not demand the construction, is a feature of Heliodoros' style.

10.23.3

ἐγίνωσκον ... ἐγίνωσκον: note the epiphora of γιγνώσκω in slightly different senses, in the first place simply "to know", in the second "to decide".

The tone of Hermonias' speech is difficult to assess. Coraes suggested that it was out of place for him to begin uttering sententiae when all he needed to do was ask Hydaspes' pardon. I feel, however, that it is quite appropriate for a minor official to seek to justify himself before his king, and that sententiae are a polite way of implying that Hydaspes' comments were not in order. Certainly a tone of obseqiousness is present in Hermonias' short utterances: note especially in the next sentence τὰς βασιλίδας and ὧν ἡδέστην, which come close to the archetypal butler of American films. In general,

Hermonias' character is handled with deft touches of light humour; see especially the last sentence of this section.

ἀπασχολῆσαι : cf.2.21.6, 6.13.5 and 10.30.5; for exact parallels to the construction found in this passage, we have to turn to patristic writers. compare Clem.Alex.Cohort.ad gent. (PG.8.209b) καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάτρια ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπασχολεῖ ἔθη and Athan.Hist.et Dogm. (PG.26.1172a) ἵνα (Satan) ἀπασχολήσῃ τοὺς ἀσκητὰς τῇ ἐθίμου καὶ σωτηριώδους μελέτης .

ὁ προσταχθεὶς ... τοῦ προστάγματος : note the stylistic repetition of related forms. The device is made more striking by the unusual application of a neuter abstract to a person.

10.23.4

ἀξιοπρεπές τι νεανίου χρῆμα : the idiom is intelligently discussed by L.Bergson in Eranos 65 (1967) p.79ff. (esp.pp.89-96). The usage seems to have begun as a colloquialism as in Herodotos' famous ὦ ὦ χρῆμα μέγα (1.36) and various passages of Aristophanes (Clouds 2, Birds 826, Wasps 933, Lys.83 etc.), but attained widespread literary use in the post-classical period. Whereas the earlier examples are confined to expressions of size, later instances have more imaginative adjectives. The closest to this passage of Heliodoros are Luc.Herod.5 παγκαλόν τι χρῆμα παρθένου ; Char.1.1.1, where Callirhoe is called θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα παρθένου ; Plut.Arat.31 χρῆμα θαυμαστὸν ... γυναικός ; and Ael.Nat.Anim.7.41 κηνός τι χρῆμα θαυμάσιον. Heliodoros uses the idiom also at 2.30.3 λίθων πολυτίμων ὑπερφυές τι χρῆμα ;

and in an extended form at 8.1.6 καὶ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ νεανίου τῆς βασίλεως αὐλῆς καὶ τραπέζης ἐπάξιον. For χρῆμα used of people see 5.18.9, 5.26.2, 7.11.7, 7.14.2.

The adjective ἀξιοπρεπής is first used by Xenophon (Symp. 8.40), and D. Baumgarten (op.cit.p.12) argues that Heliodoros has taken the word directly from him. This is not impossible; we have noted several instances which appear to show that Heliodoros was acquainted with the work of Xenophon, and Xenophon was widely read in the empire as a model for composition in the simple style.

τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν ἄρτι τὸν μέτρακα παραλλάττων : RL compare Plut. Alc.7 τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παραλλάττων. More pertinent is another example of the same idiom in Heliodoros (2.30.1) ἄρτι μὲν τὸν ἕλληνα παραλλάξαι. The verb is also found in a similar sense at Plut.Cim.1.

τοὺς παρόντας ... ὑπερκύπτων : the verb means literally "to peer over the top of", as in 1.1.1.

θαυμασμῷ τε ἅμα καὶ σεβασμῷ : note the jingling rhyme. For similar rhymes between co-ordinate nouns cf.1.33.2 χρήματα ... καὶ βοσκήματα, and 3.16.3 εὑρέτης καὶ ὑπηρέτης.

πρὸς τὸ ἀκώλυτον τὴν πάροδον διιστέλλοντος : a proleptic expression meaning "dividing <so as to give him> an entrance".

10.24.1

οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ : for this grouping of particles see Denniston op. cit.p.338f. Heliodoros seems concerned to demonstrate his mastery of Attic usages.

ἐπὶ τῆς κακοθέσεως ἐκαρτέρησεν : καρτερέω has here lost all overtones of enduring something painful or difficult, and is coming close to the usage in modern Greek, where it means simply "to wait"; cf. the scholiast on Ar.Plut.1101 (Dindorf), who uses καρτερεῖν as a gloss on ἀναμένειν .

μετὰ πατρικῆς τῆς φιλοφροσύνης : cf.10.23.2 ἀντὶ παιδὸς ἐμοὶ γινόμενον .

περιπτυξάμενος : the verb περιπτύσσω meaning "embrace" is usually found in the active in classical writers; thus Eur.Iph. Aul.992, Polyb.10.4.6, Apoll.Rhod.4.155, Bion 1.44; the middle becomes dominant in writers of the empire; cf.10.37.3, Plut. Coriol.9, Liban.Decl.12.28,Σ.Eur.Med.1074, Plot.4.4.16 and 6.9.9.

τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλών: cf.10.6.1, where the gymnosophists greet the triumphant Hydaspes in the same way.

τὰ ... ἐπινίκια συνεορτάσων καὶ τὰ γαμήλια θύσων: note the exact parallelism. Usually Heliodoros seeks to make the limbs of a parallel construction about equal in length or to put the longer one last. Here, however, the second limb is shorter, forming the climax by its content rather than its form.

For θύω used in this way for celebrating various events cf.Hdt.1.118 (σωτήρια), Plat.Alc.1.121c (γενέθλια); also Xen.

Anab. 1.2.10, Dem.19.36; and Plut.Pomp.55, where the phrase ἡμᾶς δόν occurs.

πατρίων καὶ γενεάρχαι θεοῦ τε καὶ ἥρως : cf.4.8.2 and 10.11.3.

σὺ δὲ νύμφην etc.: this is one of a series of incidents which appear designed to link the events at Meroe to those at the Delphic festival at the beginning of the love story of the central pair. Charicles wanted Charicleia to marry his sister's son Alcamenes (4.7.9f.), and now Hydaspes is planning her marriage to his brother's son.

ὡς ἔοικεν here is a pregnant qualification, alerting the reader to the possibility of things turning out differently, almost a certainty in literature of this type.

10.24.2

εἴ τί με βούλει χρηματίσαι πῷ ἔθνει etc.: the translation offered by Maillon cannot be right: "si tu as quelque demande à formuler en faveur de tes sujets"; cf.Lamb's "if you have any request to make of me for the people of your kingdom". χρηματίζω with the dative always means "to conduct business with". Hirschig sees this but the translation he produces is nonsense: "si quid forte agere vis cum gente". Hirschig, incidentally, prints μὲν instead of με, a reading which does not appear in RL's apparatus, but which Coraes claimed to have corrected into the με printed by RL, Colonna and Bekker. RL's text must mean "if you want me to do any business for your subjects." με cannot be the object of χρηματίσαι, which takes

a dative (the only instance I have found of χρηματίζω with an accusative is Σ.Ar.Peace 905, where it means "to bribe").

οὐδὲ ἐν μελαίνῃ τῇ χροιᾷ διέλαβε φαυλχθεύς : the idea is drawn from Philostr.Vit.Apoll.6.12: ὡς τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα μὲν κεῖτε μέλανα ὄντα καπάδηλον εἶναι ὅτι ἐρυθριῶη. The dependence is made certain by the form in which the idea is cast: οὐ διέλαβε derives from καπάδηλον εἶναι, and in neither case is the black man's blush presented as a direct statement. Heliodoros has embroidered Philostratos' straightforward version by adding the simile of fire sparkling over soot, and using the poetic word φαυλχθεύς, for which compare Theocr.20.16 and Apoll.Rhod.3.725.

10.24.3

τὴν σὴν περίβλεπτον νίκην : περίβλεπτος is glossed by the Suda with ἔνδοξος, μέγιστος. The lexica show that it was normally applied to people, but we may compare Polyb.10.40.9, where it is used to qualify δυναστεία.

ξενιοῦσιν : Heliodoros appears to have misunderstood the true meaning of this word. Other examples unanimously show it as describing what a host does to his guests (i.e. usually = 'entertain'), rather than vice versa as here. Doubtless the concept of epic guest-friendship was almost as foreign to Heliodoros as it is to us.

γενάδαν τε καὶ ἀριστέα : for γενάδας cf.6.2.1, where it is used ironically of Nausicles, filled with fear on hearing the name of Thisbe; and 7.28.3, where Cybele sarcastically refers

to Theagenes as γενναῖος οὗτος (taken up by Achaimenes at 7.28.6). The word is often used ironically of one's opponent in argument; see the entry in Lampe's Patristic Lexicon for numerous references where it is applied to heretics. ἀριστεύς is a poetic word, usually found in the plural (for the singular see e.g.Eur.Iph.Aul.28), but also occurs, with uncertain sense, in honorific inscriptions: e.g.CIG.2831, IG.Rom.4.914.

πολέμων ... καὶ αἱμάτων ἀθλητήν : the difficulties of this phrase were overemphasised by RL (p.106 n.1), who were apparently confused by Naber's unnecessary emendation μαχῶν ior αἱμάτων (op.cit.p.169). This destroys the sensation of symmetry conveyed by the pairs πολέμων ... καὶ αἱμάτων / κόνει καὶ σταδίοις . It is not, in any case, difficult to understand αἵματα as "bloodshed" or "slaughter", and this sense can be paralleled from authors almost contemporary with Heliodoros who happened to be Christians and so are not found in ordinary classical lexica; for example Euseb.Vit.Const.1.7 (=PG.20.920a), Greg. Naz.Or.33.3 (=PG.36.217a), Athanas.Apol.Constant.34 (=PG.25.641b); also Philostr.Vit.Apoll.3.20.

Similarly, there is little difficulty in the phrase ἐν κόνει καὶ σταδίοις . I even doubt the necessity of taking it as a hendiadys = ἐν σταδίων κόνει , or to look for parallels of κόνις = κονίστρα (as in Athen.518d). I would rather assume that in each member of the parallel construction there is a pair consisting of one straightforward word (πολέμων ... σταδίοις) and one more colourful word (αἱμάτων ... κόνει).

For the expression ἀθλητὴς πολέμων compare Plat.Rep.543b, ἀθλητὴς πολέμου . The word ἀθλητής is regularly used with the genitive to indicate "master of"; cf.Dem.25.97, Theopomp.Hist. 217, Aristot.Pol.1321a26, Dion.Hal.Dem.18, Diod.9.1.

ἀναντωνίστων : used in this sense of "irresistible" by Philo (de migr.Abr.120) and Plutarch (Phoc.14).

For the conjunction κάλλην τε καὶ πυμὴν compare Eur.Alc.1031.

ἀνυπόστατος has a variety of meanings, some of them contradictory. Meaning "irresistible" it is found in Plat.Laws 686b, Xen.Lac.10.7, id.Cyr.5.2.33, id.Mem.4.4.15, Dem.54.38. The phrase ἀνυπόστατος ἀνταγωνιστής is used by Dio Chrysostom (3.17), who was obviously attracted by the same assonance which Heliodoros exploits even more strongly to underline the parallelism of his sentence.

10.25.1

<u>σῦτως ὠγύγιος ἄνθρωπος</u> : the Suda glosses ὠγύγιον with ἀρχαῖον, παλαιόν. ἢ ὑπερμέγεθες ; cf.Hesychios παλαιοῦ, ἀρχαίου, μεγάλου πολύ. The word is of uncertain origin. Wilamowitz (Homerische Untersuchungen p.16f.) implausibly linked it with Ὠκεανός ; the best discussion is in Roscher's Mythological Lexicon sv.Ogygos (col.692ff.). Fifth-century writers use it to mean 'very old' (e.g.Pi.Nem.6.74, Soph.Philoc.142; cf.Call.Hymn.Del.160f.), but other, murkier, meanings are hinted at when the adjective is applied to the Styx (Hes.Theog.805) or fire (Empedocl.84.7). The scholion of Tzetzes on the passage of Hesiod is worth considering: ὠγύγων - τὸ παλαιῶν, ἀπὸ Ὠγύγου βασιλεύσαντος πρώτου πῶν θεῶν. λύεται δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τάττεσθαι (there is some doubt over the text - Tzetzes' scholion on Lycophr.2.957 mentions Ogygos as king of Thebes: Θήβων not θεῶν). This links up perhaps with stories of Ogygos as king of the Titans; see Thallos FGH.256.Frag.2 and Castor FGH.250.Frag.1 p.1132. If this was the etymology accepted in the time of Heliodoros, he could well be using the word in the belief that it meant 'titanic', with overtones linking it with fearful forces from the distant past.

For its use in the fifth century AD to indicate immensity see Bas.Sel.Or.41 (=PG.85.461d).

The Ethiopian wrestling champion seems to correspond to the Arcadian runner Ormenos in 4.1ff. Both are initially unable to find an opponent, both are braggarts, and both are finally

defeated by Theagenes.

τὸ γόνυ τοῦ βασιλέως φιλῶν : for this form of proscynesis see C.Sittl op.cit.p.169. The gesture originally indicated prayer (cf.Hom.Il.8.371, Od.14.279), but was early linked with Persian proscynesis; cf.Hybrias' Scholion 8-10 (Bergk 3^4.652): πάντες γόνυ κεκτηῶτες ἐμὸν κυνέουσι δεσπόταν καὶ μέγαν βασιλέα φωτέοντες . The gesture is found again in late Roman times, as showing obeisance; see Amm.Marc.28.4.10. For its occurrence in Jewish culture see J.Horst: Proskynein, p.64. It emerged from a previous note on proscynesis (9.27.1) that Heliodoros was well informed on the subject; that impression is not weakened by the present passage.

10.25.2

ἐλέφαντα πολυετῆ : πολυετής does not normally mean 'old', but 'lasting many years'; compare, however, the 'old wine' of Diosc.2.76; and Poll.1.58, where it is said that the word can be applied to χρόνος , ἢ ἄνθρωπος ἢ οἶνος .

ὁ δῆμος δὲ ἀθρόον ἐξεκαγχασε : cf.6.2.1. The verb is discussed by Baumgarten op.cit.p.20, who argues that Heliodoros took it over from Xenophon (Symp.1.16); closer to Heliodoros, however, is Aristot.Eth.Nic.1150b11, where it is also linked with ἀθρόον .

τῷ ἀστείσμῷ τοῦ βασιλέως : ἀστεϊσμός was used by the rhetors of a carefully circumscribed form of witticism; cf.Dion.Hal.Dem.54, Demetr.Eloc.128 and 130, Philod.Rhet.1.1313, Longin.34.2; unfortunately it is impossible to appreciate exactly what this

involved. The term has been analysed by A.M.Finoli (Rendiconti del Ist.Lombardo di scienza e lettere 92, 1958, p.569ff.), but it is not to my mind certain that all her conclusions are applicable to classical literary theory.

ὑποκατάκλισιν : not, as is usually tanslated, 'humiliation', but 'servile, cringing behaviour, submission'. A rare word, occurring elsewhere only at Plut.Mor.58c in the plural. Heliodoros uses the verb ὑποκατακλίνομαι at 8.16.7.

τῷ ἐπιπωθασμῷ : cf.Polyb.3.80.4. The verbal form ἐπιπωθάζω occurs at, for example, Plat.Axioch.364c; Heliodoros uses καπιπωθάζω at 6.2.1.

τῆς κατ'ἐκεῖνον μεγαλαυχίας παρηγορηθέντες : for μεγαλαυχία see Plat.Theaetet.174d and Lys.206a. For κατά with the accusative denoting possession of an abstract quality compare 10.21.2; this guarantees Coraes' ἐκεῖνον for the MSS ἐκείνου.

I have not been able to find an exact parallel for this use of παρηγορέω; the verb can normally take an accusative of the person soothed, or of the pain soothed. Thus παρηγορεῖν τὴν ὑποκατάκλισιν would be admissible; the passive here, however, suggests that the verb is capable of taking both types of accusative at once.

οἱ Σηρῶν ... πρεσβευταί : for the Seres in Hydaspes' army see 9.16.3ff. and my notes there.

τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀραχνίων etc.: no other writer actually claims that silk was made from spiders' webs, but Heliodoros' mistake is easily explained: i) the words νῆμα and ὕφασμα were

both commonly applied to silk; νήματα were properly silk threads (cf.2.31.2 ταινία τις ἀπὸ σηρικοῦ νήματος ἐξυφασμένη ; Galen vol.10 p.942 Kühn recommends σηρικὸν νῆμα for sutures; cf. also Arr.Peripl.Mar.Erythr.39 and 49; for the sale of silk threads by the Seres see Amm.Marc.23.6.68). ὑφάσματα were the woven cloths (cf.for example Plut.Mor.396b). ii) both words were also applicable to spiders' webs; νῆμα at Hes.Works 777, and ὕφασμα at Aretaios 6.6 (=p.135 Hude), and Aes.Agam.1492. iii) silk was often compared with spiders' webs; see Serv. ad Virg.Georg.2.121, Dion.Perieg.757, Plin.Nat.Hist.11.76.

τὴν μὲν φοινικοβαφῆ τὴν δὲ λευκοτάτην : silk was usually dyed in bright colours; cf.Prop.1.14.22, Plin.Nat.Hist.21.11; for the word φοινικοβαφής cf.3.3.5 and Philostr.Epist.3.36. The superlative λευκοτάτην conveys the brilliance and purity of the whiteness.

10.26.1

καὶ ἀφεθῆναι αὐτοὺς ... ἀξιωσάντων: an uneasy change of subject within the genitive absolute, made even uneasier by the harsh asyndeton with the following ἐπινεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως. One solution would be to suppose that words such as τῶν πρεσβευτῶν have fallen out of the text, but this seems an unnecessary repetition of an idea that has already been made quite clear, and in any case does nothing to soften the asyndeton. I should prefer to delete ἀξιωσάντων; ἀφεθῆναι αὐτοὺς etc. will then depend directly on ἐπινεύσαντος. It will have been failure to recognise this which led to the insertion of ἀξιωσάντων.

τῶν πάλαι ... κατακρίτων: the presence of Chinese (political?) prisoners in the Ethiopian gaols does not accord at all well with the picture of the beneficent regime so far established. Heliodoros has doubtless not noticed the inconsistency and is using the motif of the release of prisoners in the same way as that of remission of tribute (10.26.3), that is to say as part of Hydaspes' munificence in the celebration of his victory.

The release of prisoners to mark a festive occasion is also found in Iamblichos' Babyloniaca (Ep.Phot.16 = p.56 Habrich): ἔχαιρέ τε καὶ ἔθυε καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἐπήμαζε, καὶ κήρυγμα ἤπλωτο πανταχοῦ πάντας δεσμώτας λυέσθαι καὶ ἀφίεσθαι; cf.Rohde op.cit. p 373/401, who gives references to similar events in the Arabian Nights.

προσήεσαν [καὶ]: the καί was deleted by Coraes, followed by RL but not by Colonna. This makes the list of genitives dependent

on εὐωδίας, with which one would then have expected the article. Moreover, the sequence of action προσῆεσαν ... ἐμπλήσαντες does not seem complete; compare the later embassies at 10.26.2 (παρῆεσαν ... προσκομίζοντες) and 10.27.1 (παρῆσαν ... ἐνδεικνύμενοι). If these misgivings amount to anything, the καὶ deleted by Coraes may be seen as additional evidence that all is not well with the sentence. Some words, including another verb, must have dropped out somewhere, possibly between μυρίζεται and ἐκ. The phrase τὸν τόπον εὐωδίας ἐμπλήσαντες will then become a self-contained descriptive member, tacked on to the end of the sentence, and this, oddly enough, is how Maillon treats it. This may be taken as some kind of an indication as to the way the sequence of thought of the sentence might naturally have been expected to run.

φύλλου ... τοῦ θυώδους : probably malobathrum, the leaf of the cinnamon plant.

κασίας : the rolled bark of the Chinese cinnamon, brought from Indonesia to the East African coast.

οὐκ ἡ Ἀραβία γὴ μυρίζεται: despite long tradition, the Arabian peninsula was not the source of spices entering the Roman empire from the east. Herodotos (3.111) tells how the Arabs collected cinnamon and cassia, while Theophrastos (Hist.Plant. 9.4.2, cf.9.7.2) says that both cinnamon and cassia were found in the Arabian peninsula.

The actual route of the cinnamon trade is discussed by J.I.Miller (The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, p.153ff.). It

seems that Pliny (Nat.Hist.12.92) and one or two other writers realised that Arabia and East Africa, where the modern Somalia was called ἡ κινναμωμοφόρος χώρα, were only entrepôts on the spice route. Modern botanists agree (Miller p.156) that neither cinnamon or cassia is indigenous anywhere in Africa.

This has some importance for an assessment of Heliodoros' learning, since it becomes clear that his information is derived from what may be called literary, as opposed to scientific, sources; this is exactly the same dichotomy as that noticed by A.Dihle with regard to ancient sources on India (PCPS 190, 1964, p.15ff.).

μυρίζεται means literally "is anointed with". Here the meaning is coming close to that of μυρίζω in modern Greek, but we should not underestimate the boldness of Heliodoros' metaphor, whereby the verb is transferred from the uses to which aromatics were put to the land which produced them.

ἐκ πολλῶν ταλάντων ἑκάστου : for the legendary richness of Arabia in spices compare the account of Artemidoros, preserved at Strab.16.4.19-22, where the Arabs are said to use cinnamon and cassia instead of firewood.

10.26.2

χρυσόν τε τὸν μυρμηκίαν καὶ ῥιπῶν ξυνωρίδα etc.: the ant-gold is derived from the account of Herodotos (3.102): ἐν δὴ ὢν τῇ ἐρημίῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύρμηκες μεγάθεα ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα, ἀλωπέκων δὲ μέζονα ... οὗτοι ὦν οἱ μύρμηκες ποιεύμενοι αὐτόθι ὑπὸ γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον κατά περ οἱ ἕλ

τοῦσι Ἕλλησι μύρμηκες κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον τρόπον ... ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσῖτις . Herodotos then goes on to give an account of how the gold was collected. The story was followed by Nearchos, who claimed to have seen skins of these ants while on Alexander's expedition, and by Megasthenes, who defended the Herodotean version; these writers are quoted at Arr.Ind.15.4 and Strab.15.1.44. The motif later became something of a stock-in-trade; cf. Dio Chrys.Or.35.23, Plin.Nat.Hist.11.111, Mela 3.7.2, Ael.Hist.Anim.3.4. According to Rawlinson's note on Hdt.3.102, the story is also recounted by Prester John in the twelfth century, and one of these ants was said to have been sent by the Shah of Persia to Solyman II as late as 1559.

Modern attempts to identify the source of this gold have produced the interesting information that the Indians obtained their gold from the north and that it was referred to as 'pippilika' or 'ant-gold', which proves that Herodotos' story was based on information from India. However, none of the attempts to identify the ants has been totally convincing; compare, for example, Stein on Hdt.3.102, who thinks they were marmots, and G.Jennison (Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome, p.190ff.), who identifies them with pangolins.

For the location of the ants in Ethiopia compare Philostr. Vit.Apoll.6.1: γρῦπες δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ μύρμηκες Αἰθιόπων ἢ καὶ ἀνόμοιοι τὴν ἰδέαν εἰσίν , ἀλλ' ὅμοιά γε , ὡς φασι , βούλονται , χρυσοῦ γὰρ φύλακες ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἅδονται τὸ χρυσόγεων τῶν ἠπείρων ἀσπαζόμενοι .

Gryphons were originally located in the far north,

apparently by Aristeas of Proc nnesos, where they guarded the gold of the Hyperboreans; cf.Hdt.4.32, 3.116, 4.13, 4.16; Paus. 1.24.6, Plin.Nat.Hist.7.10. However, as if in answer to the Apollinism of Aristeas, Aeschylus (Prom.Vinct.803ff.) associated gryphons with Ethiopians in the far east, probably to enhance the cult of Zeus (thus Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa). This connection was taken up, for example, by Lucian (Dial.Mar. 15.4), where the south wind says that he has seen elephants, gryphons and black men; by Epiphanios (in Mustoxydes' Συλλογὴ Ἑλλην. ἀνεκδοτ .2.13), who located them in a creek by the rising sun; and by Philostratos (Vit.Apoll.3.48), who links them with the sun and places them ἐν Ἰνδοῖς . It is thus no great surprise to find a writer like Heliodoros talking of gryphons in Ethiopia.

Both the ants and the gryphons were guardians of gold, and the two traditions were confused with great gusto by writers of antiquity. For a discussion of the subject see Ziegler's article in Pauly-Wissowa and J.D.P.Bolton: Aristeas of Proconnesus, p.64ff. It is impossible to place Heliod ros in the tangle of borrowings and confusions, but we should at least be aware of the traditions that lie behind his narrative here, and recognise that the juxtaposition of ant-gold and gryphons is no chance conjunction.

The idea of obtaining gold from the dust ejected from ants' nests finds another expression in a most peculiar citation in Harpocration (sv.χρυσοχοεῖν): "ἀρξασθαι δέ φασι τὴν παροιμίαν

ἐντεῦθεν· ἔπεσέ τις φήμη ποτὲ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Ἀθηναίων ὡς Ὑμηττῷ χρυσοῦ ψῆγμα πολὺ φανείη καὶ φυλάττοιτο ὑπὸ τῶν μαχίμων μυρμήκων. The Athenians rushed out to Hymettos but were driven back by the ants. On their way back to Athens they joked at each other, οὐ λέγω χρυσοχοήσειν. Harpocration quotes this to explain the use of the word by Deinarchos, and cites as his authority the fourth-century comic playwright Eubouios in his play Glaucos. This appears to suggest that the confusion between gold-digging ants and gold-guarding gryphons was already taking place in the fourth century BC; in Herodotos the ants have no use for the gold, throwing it out of their nests, and chase the Indians off apparently from sheer viciousness.

The adjective μυρμηκίαν occurs nowhere else, but this does not indicate that it is a coinage by Heliodoros. Pliny (Nat. Hist.37.174) talks of a precious stone called Myrmecias, a transliteration of the adjective with λίθος understood. There is no evidence as to what connection the Myrmecias had with ants, but it is conceivable that there was a version of the story in which the ants dug up precious stones as well as gold; cf.Solin.15.22, who mentions gryphons guarding jewels as well as gold.

The motif of a team of gryphons can be found in several writers, but there does not seem to be any linking thread except that it was clearly a wonderful and exotic thing; cf. Apoll.Sidon.Carm.2.307 and Ep.8.9.5 and Carm.22.67; Nonn. Dionys.48.452, Philostr.Vit.Apoll.3.48.

ἡ Βλεμμύων... πρεσβεία: these Blemmyes and their gifts are rather puzzling. Although they say that these weapons played a great part in Hydaspes' victory by the river, in fact their rôle in the battle was quite different. At 9.17.2ff. Heliodoros describes how they hid behind the elephants, dashing out at the opportune moment and by their bizarre method of fighting inflicting heavy damage on the Persian cavalry (9.18.1ff.). The gifts brought by the Blemmyan ambassadors in tne present passage resemble the weapons employed by the inhabitants of the land of cinnamon in 9.19.2ff.

However we resolve this difficulty, there is one approach which I am sure is wrong. This is that followed by F.Altheim and R.Stiehl (Die Araber in der alten Welt, vol.2 p.302), which treats the present passage as serious historical evidence and links it with the Genethl.Maxim.17.4 (= xii Paneg.Lat. 11.17.4), where the Blemmyes are said to fight "levibus sagittis". Altheim and Stiehl then conflate this passage with the earlier description of the men from the land of cinnamon, and identify the present Blemmyes with the inhabitants of Somalia. This, however, fails to take proper account of the vagaries of Heliodoros' geography; even the men ἐκ τῆς κινναμωμοφόρου of 9.19.2 had earlier been referred to as ἐπὶ τῇ κινναμωμοφόρῳ πρόσοικοι (9.16.2), and we have seen several times that his treatment of geographical subjects (such as the location of Philai, or the Island of Meroe) is bookish and often garbled. Moreover, in this case it is quite clear that

he did not intend the Blemmyar ambassadors to come from a different branch of the race from those Blemmyes who fought in the battle.

I am sure that there is nothing more subtle at work here than a lapse of the author's memory, and as such it would not be unparalleled; compare for instance 10.18.2 and its faulty reference back to 9.25.2.

This impression is reinforced by discrepancies between the diplomatic gifts of 10.26.2 and the weapons of 9.19.2ff., which they are intended to recall. For instance, the phrase βελῶν ἀκίδας cannot mean anything but 'arrowheads', which would then be fitted on to a separate wooden shaft (for the phrase see Plut.Dem.20, where the sense is quite plain), but in the earlier passage the snake-bone arrows were described as being all in one piece (τὰ δὲ ἄκρα πρὸς τὸ ἀκμαιότατον ἀποξέσας αὐτομολώλινα τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπεργάζεται 9.19.4). Again the headdress is not identical: in the battle it was aid to consist of a headband into which the arrows were fitted, point outwards (9.19.3), but in 10.26.2 a very curious picture is presented of bows and arrows woven together (τόξα must be taken closely with βελῶν ἀκίδας and can have no place in the sentence except as object of διαπλέξασα), so curios indeed that one wonders whether the transmitted text can be believed; note too the rather peculiar way in which the embassy is said to have done the weaving itself.

10.26.3

Πολυτελέστερα ... πολυταλάντων: note the deliberate choice of similar formations.

ἅ γε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ... προσκομίζεσθαι ἐγένετο αἴτια: Rattenbury, following Coraes, suggests the insertion of τοῦ before τὰ ἄλλα, which would of course be necessary in classical Greek. But the fact that τοῦ is not included in KL's actual text shows that Rattenbury had misgivings over the purity of the Greek that he was editing; and in view of Heliodoros' freedom in the use of the infinitive, we must agree that the insertion of τοῦ here would be pedantic.

ἐπαγγέλλειν: in the sense of 'ask a favour' found elsewhere only at Dem.19.41, in the middle.

μεμνῆσθαι ... ἐδήλου: i.e. he is demonstrating his beneficence and gratitude by giving the ambassadors even more than they asked for; note the prominent position of τὸ σύμπαν. The treatment of the Blemmyes bears a marked resemblance to that of Syene; cf.9.26.3 Συηναίους δὲ τουσδε τοὺς τεταγμένους φόρους εἰς δεκάδα ἐτῶν αὐτός τε ἀφίημι etc.

As with the Chinese prisoners at 10.26.1, Heliodoros does not seem to have realised the implications of the Blemmyes' request for a reduction in tribute, and uses the motif simply to give concrete form to Hydaspes' generosity.

Altheim and Stiehl (op.cit.vol.2 p.298ff.) want to use the Blemmyes here as evidence for an early date for the Aithiopica. They argue that in the late third century the

Blemmyes were independent and already making troublesome incursions into the Roman province (see my note on 9.16.3); Heliodoros' situation with them as a subject people of Meroe must therefore belong to an earlier period, before the Blemmyes gained their independence. The whole basis of this argument seems almost incredibly naïve: it assumes that any writer who mentions the Blemmyes must be well informed about them, and that all authors are bound to reflect the political realities of their own time. But we have seen again and again that Heliodoros' knowledge of geography and anthropology is literary rather than scientific, and even Altheim and Stiehl admit that there is no evidence apart from this passage that the Blemmyes ever were tributary subjects of Meroe. Secondly, even if Heliodoros were aware of the contemporary situation in East Africa, there is no reason why he should reflect it in a novel set at the time of the Persian occupation of Egypt.

10.27.1

τελευταίου παρήσαν: there is no need to adopt Coraes' conjecture παρήεσαν, made on the model of 10.26.2. Heliodoros has already shown a degree of variety within a severely limited formula, and has not yet used exactly the same form twice; thus προσήεσαν (10.26.1) ... παρήεσαν ... παρήει πρεσβεία (10.26.2), and finally παρῆσαν, for which compare 10.34.1.

οἱ Αὐξωμιτῶν πρεσβευταί etc.: Axum lay to the east of Meroe in the mountains in the north of modern Ethiopia. The Axumites were of Arab stock, and in classical sources tend to be associated more with Asia than with Africa (see A.Dihle: Umstrittene Daten p.74ff.). At some point during the third or fourth century Axum finally eclipsed Meroe; an Axumitic stele has been found in the ruins of Meroe, the final destruction of which has recently been dated to the early summer of 297 (Altheim and Stiehl op.cit.vol.2 p.301). The details of the relations between Meroe and Axum need not detain us here; the Axumitic inscriptions are discussed by C.Conti Rossini (Rivista degli studi orientali 1919).

What is important in the present context is Heliodoros' standing vis-à-vis the political situation in north-east Africa. It has been argued, most notably by Altheim and Stiehl (op.cit.vol.5/1 p.18ff.), but also by Cerulli (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi etiopici, p.18ff.) that there is further indication here for a date early in the third century for Heliodoros. Meroe, the argument

runs, was destroyed late in the third century, and by the fourth century it would have been impossible to talk of the Meroites as Ethiopians, a name which would have suggested Axum; rather the state of affairs described by Heliodoros would accord much better with a date earlier in the third century when the Axumitic power was already strong enough not to be tributary to Meroe, but not yet so far advanced as to have attained total independence; if Heliodoros was writing in the fourth century, he could not have failed to reflect the destruction of Meroe and the rise of Axum.

An argument of this kind is open to the same objections as I made against Altheim's treatment of the Blemmyes in 10.26.3. The basic fallacy is not to recognise the dichotomy between literary and purely informational traditions; there may well have been literature in circulation in the mid fourth century carrying up-to-date information about the Ethiopian situation, but it will not have had the prestige of the great classical geographers and logographers. Consequently, in literary contexts Ethiopia will have continued to be synonymous with Meroe, not Axum - in fact not even the real Meroe but the more mythical version current from Herodotos onwards. A further point is that the Aithiopica is not intended to be a contemporary novel, and that even if Heliodoros were aware of the ascendancy of Axum, he could not have incorporated it into the background of his story without destroying the setting in the time of the Persian occupation

of Egypt.

Thus there is not enough strength in arguments of this type to challenge a dating based on resemblances between the siege of Syene and that of Nisibis in 350. However, Heliodoros' reference to the Axumites does merit some comment. They are a new addition to the list of fairy-land peoples which make up Hydaspes' empire: Trogodytes, Blemmyes, Seres, and even the spice-traders of Arabia, had all been part of the literary tradition for centuries. Moreover, the Axumites are afforded a special status. I would suggest that this hints at their pre-eminence in Heliodoros' time. It is hazardous to guess at the psychology behind the inclusion of Axum, but it is not implausible that Heliodoros, writing in the twenty years after 350 when Axumitic power was at its zenith, felt that Axum was too important to be omitted altogether, and cast around for a way to include it without upsetting his period setting too drastically. He hit upon the solution of making them allies but not subjects of Meroe; thus the reader of Heliodoros who may have heard stories about a new power in Ethiopia would be able to pick up the hint about Axum's future greatness.

There is some confusion as to the correct form of the Axumites' name; the form Αὐξωμῖται is also found at Procop. Bell. Pers. 1.19; but there are alternatives attested by Ptolemy (Αὐξουμῖται - 4.7.29), Stephanos of Byzantium (Αξουμῖται), and inscriptions (Ἀξωμῖται - CIG.5128). In

Heliodoros' case the choice of readings is easy; only VA present a possible form.

This is perhaps the place to mention an article by J.Schwartz (L'antiquité classique 36, 1967, p.536ff), in which he draws attention to similarities between the embassies that greet Hydaspes and lists of embassies found in the Historia Augusta (Vit.Aurel.41.10-11: "illum Saraceni Blemmyes Exomitae Bactrani Seres Hiberi Albani Armenii populi etiam Indorum etc" and Vit.Aurel.33.4: "Blemmyes Exomitae Arabes Eudaemones Indi Bactrani Hiberi Saraceni Persae cum suis quisque muneribus ..."). Schwartz argues that these lists are obviously fictitious, and that the Bactrani, Hiberi, Albani and Armenii form a group borrowed from Vit.Hadrian.21.13-14, whereas the Saraceni and Armenii appear at Trig.Tyr.30.8 (cf.Vit.Aurel.11.3 and 27.4). This leaves the Blemmyes, Exomitae, Arabes Eudaemones, Indi and Seres, which closely resembles the list of embassies in Heliodoros.

This seems to me very far-fetched, and to draw Schwartz's conclusion, that the writer of the Historia Augusta had read Heliodoros, necessitates some pretty drastic manipulation of the lists quoted above. In the first place, neither of the lists includes all the embassies found in Heliodoros; 41.10-11 does not have the Arabs or the Trogodytes, and 33.4 does not have the Seres or the Trogodytes. Secondly, in neither list do the names occur in the same order as

in Heliodoros, and they are interspersed with names allegedly from different sources; and thirdly, even Schwartz is left with the Indians, who do not appear at all in Heliodoros. The truth is surely that the writer of the Historia Augusta has chosen a suggestive list of exotic peoples, some of whom Heliodoros has also included for exactly the same reason. That the overlap is coincidental is suggested by the fact that it is not exact. Besides, Schwartz perhaps overplays the idea that the lists in the Historia Augusta are obviously fictitious; several of the peoples mentioned will have been involved at some time in frontier wars with the Romans, and this category may have included the newly emerged state of Axum: compare U.Monneret de Villard (in Annali Lateranensi 1948 p.162ff.), who argues for clashes between Axum and Rome and suggests that the passages from the Historia Augusta are further evidence to this effect; and E.Cerulli (op.cit.p.17), who points out the Blemmyes, Arabs, Axumites and Indians all represent staging-posts on the trade route to the east, and argues that Aurelian was reasserting imperial interests in that area.

φόρου μὲν οὐκ ὄντες ὑποτελεῖς, φίλοι δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ὑπόσπονδοι: note how carefully the expression is balanced; both phrases contain ten syllables (assuming elision between δὲ and ἄλλως), both start with the letter φ, and both end with a compound adjective beginning with the prefix ὑπο-.

ἄλλου τινὸς εἴδους etc.: it will be most convenient to treat the details of the description of the giraffe as they occur. Although giraffes do not now live as far north as Meroe, and can never have been well adapted to the mountainous area around Axum, there is evidence that in ancient times the area in which they flourished extended further to the north than it does today; depictions of giraffes occur fairly frequently in Egyptian art of all periods; a giraffe-like creature occurs as an Egyptian hieroglyph, though this may be a fantastic animal; scratched rock carvings of giraffes from a very early date were discovered by Breasted in 1906 in the desert behind Abu Simbel (see B.Laufer: The Giraffe in History and Art p.15ff.). The Meroitic culture was certainly well acquainted with them; see for example the charming illustrations on painted pottery from Karanog (Woolley and Randall-MacIver 8183 G 566 = pl.41; 8293 G 162 = pl.42; 8154 G 528 = pl.53; 8213 G 665 = pl.61). The animal was first seen at Rome in the time of Julius Caesar (Dio Cass. 43.23) and seems to have remained a curiosity throughout antiquity. Caesar's giraffe was probably taken from the zoological gardens at Alexandria (cf.Varr.de ling.Lat.5.20), and is remembered, together with other exotic beasts, by Horace (Epist.2.1.195f.): "diversum confusa genus panthera camelo/ sive elephas albus volgi converterit ora."

The earliest descriptions in classical literature are those of Poseidonios (preserved at Diod.2.51), Artemidoros

(at Strab.16.4.7) and Agatharchides (de mar.Erythr.72). Other descriptions, to which I shall henceforward refer by the name of the author, are found at Plin.Nat.Hist.8.69, Opp.Cyn.3.462ff., Philostorg.Hist.Eccl.3.11, Aristoph.Byz. Epitom.Hist.Animal. (=Suppl.Aristot.I p.94ff.) 270ff., which preserves the account of the fifth-century author Timotheos of Gaza, and ibid.p.96.278, which is closely dependent on the description in Philostorgios; the eleventh-century historian Michael Attaliotes (=CSHB.3.p.49-50); Georgios Pachymeres de Mich.Pal.3.4 (=CSHB.34.177), describing a giraffe sent to Michael Palaiologos in 1257 by the king of Ethiopia; see too the short description by Cosmas Indicopleustes (Topogr.Christ.11.4), who says ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ μόνη εὑρίσκεται. μέγεθος μὲν ὡς καμήλου etc.: the giraffe was usually compared to camels and leopards, as indicated by its name. This was common practice when finding names for hitherto unknown creatures; thus the zebra was called ἱππόταγρις.

For comparisons with the size of a camel see Diodoros (μικρότεραι τῶν καμήλων εἰσί), Strabo (τὰ δὲ ἐμπρόσθια σκέλη τῶν καμηλέων οὐ λείπεται). Dio Cassius calls the giraffe τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κάμηλος except for its lack of proportion. Photios' epitome of Agatharchides talks of τὸ μέγεθος δὲ καμήλου, while Philostorgios, like Heliodoros, specifically mentions the camel's height: καμήλου δὲ τὸ ὕψος ἐνέδωκε τὸ σῶμα μιμεῖσθαι). Timotheos simply says μέγεθος ... κατὰ κάμηλον, as does Attaliotes.

For the leopard's spots compare Diodoros, Dio Cassius, Varro, Agatharchides, Oppian, Philostorgios, Timotheos, Attaliotes and Pachymeres, but contrast Strabo/Artemidoros: οὐδὲν ὅμοιον ἔχουσι παρδάλει· τὸ γὰρ ποικίλον τῆς χρόας νεβρίσι μᾶλλον ἔοικε ῥαβδωτοῖς στίλοις κατεστιγμένοις. This is actually more accurate than the conventional motif, since a leopard's spots are smaller and rounder than the markings of a giraffe. Compare also the "nabun" described by Pliny, which has white spots on a red ground.

χροιὰν δὲ καὶ δορὰν παρδάλεως: this is the reading of VZ, whereas MP have χροιὰν δὲ καὶ ἐπιδερμίδα etc. As KL point out in their note (p.108 n.1), it is quite likely that the discrepancy arose from two separate glosses on χροιάν, which in later Greek had come to denote "colour" rather than "skin". It is also a justified remark that "le premier membre de la symmetrie comprend qu'un seul nom (μέγεθος)", and Heliodoros' love of exactly balancing members of a sentence would lead us to expect a single noun in the second limb. For these reasons I follow Rattenbury in proposing the excision of καὶ δορὰν/ἐπιδερμίδα.

φολίσιν ἀνθηραῖς: φόλις usually means the scale of a reptile or fish, but Heliodoros does not seem very accurate in his use of the word; compare 9.18.8, where he uses it in the singular of an elephant's skin. I can find no occurrence of the word meaning "spot" before Heliodoros; Stephanus' Lexicon quotes Apoll.Rhod.1.221 as a possible parallel,

but I can see no reason why it should not mean "scale" there. It is suggestive, however, that Attaliotes and Pachymeres also use φόλις = "spot" in their descriptions of the giraffe, neither account bearing an obviously close relation to Heliodoros', although in places they come close to saying the same things. Could it be that φόλις = "spot" is a legitimate usage unnoticed by lexica?

Of the other writers only Pachymeres describes the colour of the spots, calling them πυρραί. I do not quite see the force of Heliodoros' description of them as ἀνθηραί.

10.27.2

τὰ μὲν ὀπίσθια etc.: the lack of proportion in the giraffe's legs was commonly noted. Compare Strabo: τελέως δὲ τὰ ὀπίσθια ταπεινότερα τῶν ἐμπροσθίων ἐστίν, ὥστε δοκεῖν συγκαθῆσθαι τῷ ὠραίῳ μέρει; Dio Cassius οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου τῶν κώλων ἔχει. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀπίσθια αὐτῷ χθαμαλώτερά ἐστιν· ἀρχόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν ὑψοῦται κατὰ βραχὺ ὥστ' ἀναβαίνοντί που ἐοικέναι; Oppian κώλων δ' οὐκ ἴσα μέτρα, πόδες τ' οὐ πάμπαν ὁμοῖοι / ἀλλ' οἳ πρόσθεν ἔασιν ἀρειότεροι, ὕστατοι δὲ / πολλὸν ὀλιζύτεροι, κατὰ τ' ὀκλάζουσιν ὁμοῖοι. There seems to be a verbal echo of this in Timotheos: ἥσσονες δὲ οἱ ὀπίσθιοι καὶ ὑποκλάζειν ἄρα δοκοῦντες. Compare also Attaliotes: τὰ μὲν ... πρὸς νώτων τοῦδε εἰς ὕψος ἐπαίρεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀσφὼν ταπεινοτέραν ἔχει καὶ χθαμαλωτέραν τὴν σύνθεσιν, ὡς ἐοικέναι ταύτην ἀνωφερῆ τινὶ σκοπιᾷ, ἐκ χθαμαλοῦ ἀρχομένῃ.

The point is treated at some length by Pachymeres.

μετὰ κενεῶνας : the κενεών is that part of the animal or man between the rib-cage and the hips. It is used by Xenophon of dogs (Cyn.4.1) and horses (Eq.12.8).

λεοντῆν : it is difficult to see the point that Heliodoros is making here, unless he is actually visualising a creature with hind-quarters the size of a lion's. In general he seems to have a rather distorted view of the giraffe's anatomy.

τὰ ὠμία: I can find no other instance of this word being used of the fore-quarters of an animal. The adjective ὠμίαιος is used by Aristotle and some of the medical writers in phrases like τὰ ὠμία νεῦρα - "the shoulder muscles."

πέρα τοῦ ἀναλόγου τῶν ἄλλων μελῶν: a concept one would expect to find applied to the length of the giraffe's neck rather than the difference in the length of its legs. Compare for example Philostorgios (the words are exactly repeated by Aristophanes of Byzantium) τὸν μέντοι αὐχένα μήκιστον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος φέρει.

λεπτὸς ὁ αὐχὴν καὶ ἐς μεγάλου τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος etc.: it seems to me here that Heliodoros is emphasising the size of the giraffe's body in contrast with the slenderness rather than the length of its neck. He goes on to convey the smallness of the animal's head by saying it is just a little less than twice the size of an ostrich's. This suggests a distorted view of a giraffe's appearance, and

makes it doubtful that Heliodoros had actually seen one.

The length of the neck is commented on by Strabo, Dio Cassius, Agatharchides, Philostorgios, Pachymeres and Attaliotes, who calls it λεπτός, the same word as used by Heliodoros. To us the length of the neck would seem the most obvious characteristic of a giraffe, but none of the ancient sources gives the detail particular prominence; it is not mentioned at all by Varro, Oppian or Timotheos, who claims to have seen two giraffes at Gaza. The most extraordinary description in this respect is that found in Diodoros, whose giraffes are said to be μικρότεραι τῶν καμήλων καὶ βραχυτραχηλότεραι ; it has been suggested that this is a scribal slip, but the rest of the description is so bizarre that it seems illogical to defend the author in one detail (Diodoros' giraffe has a head like a leopard's and a hump like a camel's).

εἰς κύκνειον φάρυγγα μηκυνόμενος : Κύκνειος is a regularly formed adjective, and, although I can find no other example of its being used to mean "like that of a swan", there is nothing in this extension which is objectionable. A swan would be the most readily understood comparison for a creature with a long thin neck. Pachymeres compares a crane.

A.Hermann (Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache 93, 1966, p.79ff.) suggests a novel interpretation of Heliodoros' giraffe in which its swan's neck plays some part. On some bells from Meroe Hermann has found illustrations of mythical

creatures compounded from parts of other animals. These he links, through further evidence, with a Meroitic fear of chaos threatening the order of their civilisation and connected with the encroachment of the desert; this attitude the Meroites inherited from pharaonic Egypt. The bells are then some kind of charm to ward off the spirits of chaos. Hermann then proceeds to assimilate Heliodoros' giraffe to the same pattern, by assuming that the author intended it as a literal mixture of two species, presumably by interbreeding. He compares the swan's neck in Heliodoros with Meroitic engravings and painted pottery showing creatures with snakes for necks.

It is impossible to be certain how far creatures like giraffes (καμηλοπάρδαλις) and zebras (ἵππότιγρις) were originally regarded as a literal mixture of the creatures represented in their names, although the name for an ostrich, στρουθοκάμηλος, discourages the idea of interbreeding. Several of the descriptions of the giraffe contain not the slightest hint of a literal mixture (Strabo, Dio Cassius, Varro, Philostorgios), and in most of the others it could be taken as a figurative way of describing an unusual animal, except perhaps for Timotheos, ἡ δὲ καμηλοπάρδαλις μίξις τις εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτὴ δύο θηρῶν, ἐς ταὐτὸ συνελθόντων, καμήλου τε καὶ πορδάλεως. Oddly enough, Arabic writers later did draw the conclusion that the giraffe resulted from a literal cross-breeding.

See the passages from the tenth-century historian, Masudi, the eleventh- century geographer, Ibn al-Faqih, and the thirteenth-century cosmographer, Zakariyā al-Qazwini, translated by Laufer (op.cit.p.52f.). But the example in Heliodoros is quite explicitly a separate species and is named ἐκ τῶν ἐπικρατεστέρων τοῦ σώματος (10.27.4). There is thus no possibility that Heliodoros regarded the animal as a mixture of two other species, and the swan's neck need not be taken so literally, since it is a natural simile to convey the length and slenderness of the giraffe's neck.

Moreover, we have seen again and again that Heliodoros' knowledge of the geography and anthropology of Africa is very far from the truth. It would be impossible for him to have shared in the mystical symbolism of pharaonic Egypt and Meroe, especially as the latter was already in ruins by the time he was writing.

ἡ κεφάλη τὸ μὲν εἶδος καμηλίζουσα: compare Pliny's description of the "nabun": "similem ... camelo capite" and Varro's "figura ut camelus". Pachymeres says it is καμηλοειδὴς τῷ σχήματι. Contrast Diodoros, who says it has a head like a leopard's, and Timotheos, who says τὸ στόμα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφάλην εἰκάσαις ἂν αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐλάφοις.

καμηλίζω is not surprisingly a hapax legomenon.

τὸ μέγεθος ... ὀλίγου ὑπερφέρουσα: of other writers only Pachymeres comments on the size of the giraffe's head, calling it βαιά.

Coraes' emendation ὀλώῳ for ὀλίῳ introduces a hiatus. For a discussion of this problem see my note on 10.16.1.

ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους : ὑπογράφω and its cognates are used of a kind of eye cosmetic, presumably used to make the eye appear larger; thus Nic.Dam.FGH.90.Fr.4, Jos.Bell. Jud.4.9.10 (used πρὸς ὑπερεσίαν), Poll.5.102, Luc.Bis Accus.31, Athen.12.529a. This is a remarkable piece of observation, and is an excellent way of describing the appearance of a giraffe's eyes. This, however, does not contradict the conclusion drawn above, that Heliodoros' visualisation of a giraffe is so distorted in its emphases that, although individual details may be correct, it cannot be considered the product of eye-witness observation. Of the other writers only Timotheos and Diodoros mention the eyes; as noted above, Diodoros thinks that the head and ἡ τῶν ὀμμάτων διάθεσις are like a leopard's; Timotheos simply says αἱ κόραι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῖς μέλαναι.

βλοσυρῶς σοβοῦσα : Heliodoros is trying to describe the disdainful expression so characteristic of camels and giraffes. We should notice how carefully he has chosen his words so that their sound reinforces their meaning; this is present particularly in the account of the Ethiopian wrestler; in 10.30.8 there are two words from the σοβέω root.

βλοσυρός is often paired with σεμνός ; see Aristain. 1.7, Him.Or.8.12 (Colonna), and Ael.Var.Hist.12.21, where

the phrase σεμνὸν καὶ βλοσυρὸν ὁρᾶν is used of Spartan women whose sons had died bravely in battle. The word is used by Heliodoros also at 3.4.4.

σοβέω literally denotes some violent movement but is also commonly used to mean "strut" or "swagger" (e.g. Philostr.Vit.Apoll.1.13), and hence has acquired overtones of pomposity. Heliodoros uses it transitively with this idea also at 10.30.8, and the overtone is present also at 2.20.5 and 7.8.6. For its use with eyes compare the extract from one of Gregory of Nazianzus' speeches against Julian quoted by Stephanus (alas I have been unable to locate this quotation): ὀφθαλμὸν σοβούμενος καὶ περιφερόμενος καὶ μανικὸν βλέπων.

10.27.3

παρήλακτο καὶ τὸ βάδισμα etc.: the giraffe's gait is dealt with by Timotheos and Attaliotes, and it is worth quoting in full the passages in question. First Timotheos: οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις ὁμοίως εἶχον τὴν βάσιν. ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωθεν κέμπει τὸν πόδα, δεξιῷ τῷ πρόσθεν ὕστερον ἐπάγοντα τὸν ὀπίσθιον· ταῦτα δὲ ὁμοῦ δύο μὲν τοὺς δεξιοὺς, δύο δὲ τοὺς ἀριστεροὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ μέτρῳ κέμπει. This will make sense only if we read ἀριστερόν for ὕστερον, in which case the picture presented is exactly what one would expect. Now Attaliotes: τὸ δὲ βάδισμα διάφορον τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις καὶ ξένον ἔχει παντάπασιν· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα τοὺς ὀπισθίους πόδας ἐμπέφυκε πρότερον, εἶτα τοὺς

ἐμπροσθίους, ἀλλ' ἐναλλὰξ τοὺς τῆς μιᾶς πλευρᾶς δύο πόδας αἴρει τε καὶ κινεῖ, καὶ αὖθις ὁμοῦ τοὺς τῆς ἑτέρας πλευρᾶς δύο πόδας ἐν ἑστηκότι καὶ κινήσει καὶ ἄρσει.

It is striking that all three authors agree on the giraffe's gait but all appear to have different ideas about that of the rest of the animal kingdom.

Heliodoros' description is difficult to understand, and ultimately I should question whether it has survived in exactly the form he wrote. In the first place, no animal moves all its legs separately, in rotation; and more important, the ancient world never suggested that any did. Secondly, if we assume that he is saying that each leg moves independently, it is very odd for him to go on and talk of the two right legs moving ὡθεῖ, and the two left legs χωρεῖ. Thirdly, ἑκατέρου would probably suggest "each of two", as in the following σὺν ἑκατέρᾳ ... πλευρᾷ, although cases can be found where ἑκάτερος = ἕκαστος (e.g.Luc.Alex.40).

At the moment I cannot see a way round these difficulties, but I feel that the text is next to nonsense as it stands. We should expect to find a description of animals moving their legs in opposite pairs (i.e. front left with back right etc.), as we have in Timotheos and Aristot.de incess. anim.712a-b, where, incidentally, the type of locomotion attributed to the giraffe by Heliodoros, Timotheos and Attaliotes is ruled out as impossible, since the animal

would fall over when it lifted both its right legs together.

It seems clear that the three authors who comment on the gait of the giraffe are in some way linked; it would be very odd if a detail which had gone unremarked for some five hundred years were discovered independently by a fourth-century novelist and a fifth-century writer on zoology in epic verse (cf.Suda sv. Τιμόθεος Γαζαῖος: Ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ἐπικῶς περὶ ζώων τετραπόδων) The remains of Timotheos show little sign of originality, and he has been called "no zoologist but a collector and compiler of interesting notes about animals"(by F.S.Bodenheimer and A.Rabinowitz in the introduction to their translation of Timotheos, p.8).

It is equally clear that Timotheos was not using Heliodoros as a source, since he has a vast amount of surplus detail (on tail, horns, ears, etc.), but does not mention the creature's neck, the size of its head, or its temperament, all of which occur in Heliodoros.

Attaliotes will have drawn much of his description from the Byzantine prose paraphrase of Timotheos, which was, together with Oppian and Aelian; the "non plus ultra of zoological lore in those times" (Bodenheimer and Rabinowitz, op.cit.p.6).

The only remaining explanation for the points of contact between Heliodoros and Timotheos is that they shared a common source. The identity of this source must remain a matter for speculation; it may have been Aelian, whose

section on giraffes is unfortunately lost; it certainly was not drawn from the Agatharchides/Artemidoros tradition, which comments on the giraffe's extraordinary speed, hardly compatible with Heliodoros' εἶλκον ... τὴν κίνησιν. Compare Agatharchides τὰ τάχος (τάχος codd.) δὲ ὑπερφυὲς, and the doubts voiced by Strabo: διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀσυμμετρίαν ταύτην οὐδὲ τάχει ῥᾴμα παντοῖον εἶναι περὶ τὸ ζῷον ἔστιν εἰρηκεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος, ἀνυπέρβλητον φήσας.

The description of the giraffe's gait is apparently correct. Laufer (op.cit.p.8) quotes G.Renshaw, a modern authority: "As may be gathered from observation of menagerie specimens, giraffes when walking do not move their fore and hind legs of opposite sides like ordinary mammals, but the fore and hind leg of the same side, like a camel. They have but two paces, a walk and a gallop, breaking from one into the other." The peculiarity was also observed by Arabic writers such as Zakariyā al-Qazwini and Dimashki, but their accounts are no less confused than the Greek ones; see the quotations given by Laufer (p.33f.).

ὑπεναντίως σαλευόμενον: ie. from side to side rather than from front to back. The genitives χερσαίου τε ζῴου etc. are to be taken as dependent on ὑπεναντίως not περιήλλακτο. For the verb σαλεύομαι used of the rolling gait of people with wide hip-joints cf.Hipp.Arthr.56. The metaphor is derived from the tossing of a ship.

ἰδίᾳ ... καὶ ἅμα .... χωρὶς ... καὶ ξυγηδόν: note how Heliodoros aims for the maximum of variation; no word is repeated. Note also the different forms of τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ and τῶν εὐωνύμων.

ξυγηδόν is apparently a Heliodorean coinage; cf. κορμηδόν in 9.18.2. The more usual form is ξυγάδην.

ὁλκὸν ... τὴν κίνησιν: contrast the remarks of Agatharchides and Artemidoros quoted above.

This use of ὁλκός seems to be peculiar to Heliodoros, and the exact sense in which he intended the word to be understood is not easy to grasp. Compare the description of the manner in which the Ethiopian wrestler swaggers along in 10.30.8 (ὁλκά πε βαίνων) and the scene in which Theagenes and Charicleia first fall in love (3.5.5): πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀθρόον τι καὶ ἐπτοημένον ἔστησαν, καὶ τὴν δίδα ὁλκότερον ἡ μὲν ἐνεχείριζεν ὃ δὲ ὑπεδέχετο.

The word clearly means more than the "lentement" suggested by RL (p.114 n.1), and in the two cases where it is applied to gait can carry a nuance from its root ἕλκω; ie. both the giraffe and the wrestler are dragging their feet along the ground, the one because of its clumsy form of locomotion, the other because of the arrogance he is affecting. In both cases this results in a jerky kind of motion with short pauses between each stride, and this is the similarity which allows the same word to be applied to both.

τίθασον τὴν ἕξιν etc.: for the gentle temperament of the giraffe compare Pliny (aspectu magis quam feritate conspicua),

Strabo (ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θηρίον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ βόσκημα μᾶλλον), Oppian (φαίδιμον, ἡμέρῃσιν, πιθανὸν γένος ἀνθρώποισι) and the lengthy account of Pachymeres.

For the detail of leading the beast by a cord round its neck compare the painting from the Villa Pamfili first published by Otto Jahn in 1858 (Abh.der philosoph.-philolog. Klasse der königl.bayerischen Akad.der Wiss.1858, p.229ff.; the painting with the giraffe is illustrated facing p.284. The bell hung round its neck is to indicate that it is tame.)

τοῦ βηροκόμου: the earliest extant occurrence of the word. It was later used by Sozomenos (Hist.Eccl.4.16 = PG.67.1156a).

10.27.4

τοῦτο φανὲν τὸ ζῷον: note the absence of any connective particle. This is to mark the resumption of the main narrative after the digression or the detailed description starting in 10.27.1.

ὄνομα ... ἐκ τῶν ἐπικρατεστέρων τοῦ σώματος. see my note on 10.27.2, criticising Hermann's article. Heliodoros here makes it quite clear that the name καμηλοπάρδαλις is purely descriptive and not intended to indicate that the giraffe is the result of cross-breeding between camels and leopards. Although several of the other ancient accounts are more equivocal in this respect, none of them can be held definitely to imply interbreeding. See Diodoros: αἱ δὲ καλούμεναι καμηλοπάρδαλεις τὴν μίξιν ἀμφοτέρων ἔχουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ προσηγορίᾳ περιειλημμένων

ζώων; Hor.Epist.2.1.195f.: diversum confusa genus panthera camelo; Agatharchides: σύνθετον τρόπον τινὰ καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ τὴν φύσιν λαχοῦσα; Oppian: δικόθεν κεκραμένα; Timotheos, or perhaps at this point the epitomator Aristophanes of Byzantium: ἡ δὲ καμηλοπάρδαλις μίξις τε εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ κύνη δύο θηρῶν ἐς ταὐτὸ συνελθόντων, καμήλου τε καὶ παρδάλεως; and Attaliotes: ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὕτη κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα σύνθετος.

Contrast the accounts where the idea of mixture is explicitly repudiated: Strabo, quoting Artemidoros, denies that the giraffe has any resemblance to the leopard; Pliny calls the animal by its Ethiopian name "nabun", and after describing its head and spots adds "unde appellata camelopardalis"; Varro says "quod erat figura ut camelus, maculis ut panthera." αὐτοσχεδίως καμηλοπάρδαλις κατηγορηθέν: what makes the description of the giraffe so enjoyable is not that the creature was still unknown to Heliodoros' readers (as argued by Feuillâtre p.33), but precisely the opposite. The reader has guessed the identity of the animal before the end of the description and is filled with satisfaction at solving the riddle. When the Ethiopian crowd spontaneously christens the animal καμηλοπάρδαλις, this is Heliodoros' way of giving the answer to the riddle without interrupting the narrative with an authorial statement. Note how the word καμηλοπάρδαλις is delayed until the last possible moment.

κατηγορηθέν gave some difficulty to the MSS, a marginal note in V glossing it with ὀνομαζόμενον. It appears to be connected with the philosophical use of the word meaning

"to predicate", often used with ὄνομα, and slightly misunderstood here by Heliodoros.

ταρόχου γε μὴν τὴν πανήγυριν ἐνέπλησε: notice how the narrative is carried forward by the device of incomplete prediction. Heliodoros lets us know that something is going to happen, which whets our appetites to know exactly what it will be. He seems to go out of his way to emphasise the rôle of the giraffe in the motivation of the final sequence of the novel, and it is indeed noteworthy. The immediate assumption is that the giraffe - and the other embassies - are no more than a picturesque interlude; it emerges from this point onwards that they serve a structural function also.

For authorial prediction in the Aithiopica compare 2.2.2, 5.4.1, 7.12.1, 8.17.5; in all of these instances the device is used to make the horrible irony of the situation clear to the reader, and to point his interest forwards by the intimation that something significant is about to happen.

10.28.1

τῶ βωμῶ τῆς μὲν Σελήνας etc.: a recapitulatory section to make sure that the reader recalls exactly the situation described in 10.6.5, which now becomes important for the first time.

τετρωρον: I can see little point in RL's note on this (p.109 n.1) The word is not remarkable in post-classical prose; cf. for example Ael.Nat.Anim.1.36 and Philostr.Imag.2.18. In the earlier passage here recapitulated, the team of white horses was described as τέθριππον λευκόν. For the significance of white horses in a sacrifice to the sun cf. my note on 10.6.5.

10.28.2

ξένου δὲ καὶ ἀήθους καὶ πότε πρῶτον ἀλλοκότου ζῴου φανέντος: this picks up 10.27.1: ζῴου τινος ἐῴου ἀλλοκότου τε ὄψιν καὶ θαυμαστὸν τὴν φύσιν. The recapitulation is a formal device for rounding off the digression by restating the position obtaining before the excursus began.

RL query the text here (see their apparatus ad loc.), finding the word order just a little too recherché. I am not convinced that it is unacceptable. The trouble stems from the fact that the participle of the genitive absolute which begins the sentence is logically parallel to the other adjectives. The first two of these emphasise the novelty of the giraffe for the horses, rather than any

inherent terribleness. This accords well with the behaviour of horses elsewhere, notably in their contacts with elephants. Once the emphasis is established, it is almost inevitable that the πόπ. κρώτων motif should be emphasised above χλωσῶπου, which conceptually belongs very closely with its noun, although it is syntactically parallel with the other adjectives. This is the effect of the MSS word order, and the emphasis would be altered if the word order were changed. I concede RL's implied point that the sentence is difficult to unravel if approached in a spirit of strict logic, but Heliodoros is trying to convey from the horses' point of view a mounting panic, which is communicated most effectively by the dislocations.

For the behaviour of horses when confronted with animals which they had not seen before cf.Quint.Curt.8.14, where they are frightened by "insolitus stridor"; Luc.Zeux.9, Plut. Pyrrh.17, Amm.Marc.25.1.14 ("ad quorum stridorem odoremque et insuetum aspectum magis equi terrebantur"), and especially the famous description in Herodotos (1.80) of horses' first encounter with camels, to which, of course, the giraffe was thought to bear a marked similarity.

ὁ μόνος, ὡς ἐῴκει, τὸ θηρίον κατωκεύκως: a nice touch of historiographical verisimilitude; see the full discussion of the pose implied in Introduction 3.

διὰ τῶν ὄπων: again a clever piece of realism, betrayed because the author failed to tidy up the loose ends. Presumably the reason for having two horses escape from

attendants is that it would have been unrealistically convenient if only one horse and one bull had taken panic. There is also perhaps an element of mathematical proportion at work: one bull out of two makes a run for it, so of four horses two must bolt. Unfortunately one of the horses is never recaptured; Theagenes uses one in his pursuit of the bull, and this is the only one that is mentioned again (10.30.6).

τὸν περίβολον τοῦ σταδίου : compare 10.6.4. There is no consistent visualisation of the scene. Thus while there is sufficient space here for Theagenes to chase a bull around, the characters at the centre of the enclosure talk in Greek so that the crowd cannot understand (10.9.6 and note).

πυκνῷ τῷ συναστρώματι etc.: cf.10.6.4: φάλαγξ εἰς κύκλον περιεστοίχιστο ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ὡπλισμέναις καὶ δαλήλων ἐχομέναις ἐπερειδομένη. For the word συνασπισμός cf.9.19.5.

ὁ μὲν ἵππον ... ἡ τε πρωτοτύχη ἵππον : note how the parallelism of this pair of participial phrases (a favourite stylistic form of Heliodoros) is reinforced a) by the device of having each begin with a neuter participle followed by ἵππον . b)by the disyllabic rhyme at the end (ἐξελίττοντες and ἀναστρέφοντες). c)by the approximate isocolia of 18 syllables balanced by 19 (not counting τε).

δρόμοις σεσοβημένας ἐξελίττοντες : for σοβέω in a different sense see 10.27.2 and my note. The word was a favourite of Heliodoros and is used by him in a number of striking ways: compare 1.2.5, 2.20.5, 3.4.5, 4.5.3, 5.23.2, 6.11.3, 6.14.4, 6.15.4, 7.8.6, 7.26.8, 8.9.15, 10.27.2 and 10.30.8.

For τεταραγμένος used to denote the violence of a movement compare Longin.41.1 (used of ῥυθμός) and Philo de sacr. Abel.et Cain.26 (applied to κίνησις).

The sense of ἐξελίττω here is admirably conveyed by a quotation from Aelian (Nat.Anim.13.14) describing the running of a hare: ἀρόμενον δὲ ἕνα καὶ ἰθὺν τοῦ θεᾶ, δεῦρο δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖσε παρακλίνει καὶ ἐξελίττει τῇ καὶ τῇ. It is found with a direct object at 5.14.3, and at App.Bell.Civ. 5.84, where the commander of ships following the coastline is described as τοὺς κόλπους ἐξελίσσων. A closer parallel to Heliodoros is Callimachos' use of the uncompounded verb ἑλίττειν (Hymn 4.321) whereby ἑλίττειν τὸν βωμόν means "to dance round the altar". From these examples it should be clear that, although no exact parallel to Heliodoros' usage is to be found, it is not far removed from that of other authors. Compare his use of ἀνελίττω at 5.2.6.

10.28.3

βοὴν ἄῤῥητον συμμιγῆ : this is by now characteristic of the Ethiopian assembly; cf.10.7.1 βοή τις ἀθρόον ἠγέρετο συμμιγής τε καὶ ταραχώδης; 10.9.4 βοὴν μίαν ἄσημον μὲν καὶ ἄναρθρον ... ἐπήκουσαν; and later 10.30.5 ἀντήχει δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ δήμου βοή, τραχὺν μὲν οὐδὲν ... διαρθροῦσα.

τὴν μὲν ὑπὸ δέους εἶδε ... τὴν δὲ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ὁρᾷς : note once more the exact grammatical parallelism in which Heliodoros expresses the scene. This time there is no isocolia, but

the second limb is expanded to present a lively and humorous tableau.

καθ' ἑτέρους ἐναλλόμενον τέρψιν τε καὶ γέλωτα τὴν ὧν ὑποπιπτόντων συντριβὴν παρέχον : RL's moral criticism of the Ethiopians who "se montrent durs à l'excès dans l'explosion de leur joie, quand ils voient leurs camarades renversés et piétinés" (p.109 n.2) is perhaps misguided. The tone seems to be humorous and I should class this as an example of Heliodoros' rather gruesome sense of fun, which to modern sensibilities approaches bad taste, together with the picture of the cataphracts with arrows sticking out of their eyes καθάπερ ὀπλοὺς (9.18.6).

RL also overestimate the difficulties of συντριβή = "piétinement". I doubt very much whether a Greek would have found it sensible to distinguish this particular sense from all the other cases where συντριβή means "destruction" of one kind or another; eg. Orig.Hom.in Jerem.17.5 (=PG.13.464a) of the smashing of an earthernware pot; Cyr.Alex.in Psalm.3 (=PG.69.724c). Eusebeios couples συντριβή with πτῶσις to express ruin and destruction (Comm.in.Isiam 10.34 = PG.24.169a), while John of Damascus uses the word of the smashing of icons (PG.94.773a). From pagan authors compare Vett.Val.2.16 (=p.74 Kroll). Although there are numerous occasions in patristic writing where συντριβή = Latin "contritio" (eg. St.John Chrys.7.248a etc.), it is not true that the word "est pratiquement réservé au vocabulaire théologique."

μένειν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκαρτέρησαν : where they

were assumed to have withdrawn after Hydaspes' command in 10.22.4. For καρπέω used in this way with a dependent infinitive compare 2.25.7, 4.1.3, 5.3.1, 10.31.1; also Sext.Emp.adv.Mathem.1.291.

τὸ παραπέτασμα: the reading of VZAT against MP's κατακέτασμα, printed by Colonna. RL base their preference on MS superiority and on a parallel passage from 7.3.2 (to which we may add 5.29.2). Confusion between the two words was common, and in the fifth century Neilos Ancyranos felt it necessary to distinguish between them (Serm.8 = PG.79.1276c-d); his comments make it clear that παραπέτασμα is the word required here, where it is applied to a temporary structure, a tent: ἄλλο γάρ ἐστι κατακέτασμα καὶ ἄλλο παραπέτασμα, ἃ καὶ ἡ ὁμοιότης τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν διακρίνειν διαφοράν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ παραπέτασμα ὡς ἔτυχε σκευάζεται ... οὗ μὴ δημοσιεύεσθαι τὰ συγκαλύψεως δέοντα· τὸ δὲ κατακέτασμα ἐξ ὑπερεχόντων δεσμῶν κατεύθυνται.

παραστέλλω in the sense of "pull aside" is usually a medical term; cf.Gal.2.523 Kühn, where it is used of pulling the stomach aside to allow inspection of the internal organs.

It is necessary to stipulate that Persinna and Charicleia watch the ensuing action, because the concern which Charicleia displays prompts the final revelation of her relationship with Theagenes.

θεωρεῖν τῶν δρωμένων ἐμίνοντο: a theatrical metaphor perhaps; certainly theatrical colour permeates Heliodoros' language

and thought; for similar expressions compare 2.7.1, 7.6.5, a passage expressed entirely in stage metaphors, and 3.1.1, where θεατής occurs instead of θεωρός. For the phrase τὰ δρώμενα, also with tinges of the theatre, cf.7.6.4.

10.28.4

ἤτε ... ἤτε: again authorial uncertainty. The choice of motives offered to the reader seems to rule out this type of example as evidence for divine ordinance operating throughout the plot of the Aithiopica; if that had been Heliodoros' aim, he would simply have given the one motivation.

ἄνωθεν ἀνάρριπτον τῷ λήμματι: this use of ἄνωθεν to denote internal motivation began as a poetic one, instances being found in Pindar and Euripides. Stephanus quotes one example from Philo, but it is used extensively by St.John Chrysostom, for example at Incomprehens.5.4 (1.486d), Laud.Paul.7 (2.513d), Hom.18.1 in 2 Cor. (10.564d), Hom.2.2 in 2 Tim. (11.666f), also Nil.Magn.40 (=PG.79.1017c) and Cyr.Glaph.Gen.1 (1.14e). For ἀνωρρεῖν τῷ λήμματι compare 10.16.2, where the same words are used of Hydaspes.

ἐκ τοῦ θεῖον ὁρμὴν κεκινῆσθαι: for this use of ὁρμή cf.10.38.4, and Hdt.7.18, ἔστι δὲ δαιμονίη τις γίνεται ὄρμη of a warning given in a dream, and Plat.Phaedr.279a, ἐπὶ μείζω τινὰ ἀφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄγειν ὁρμὴν δυνάμενον. The whole concept bears some resemblance to that discussed in the first chapter of Dodds's "The Greeks and the Irrational", but need not be taken as reflecting

Heliodoros' own beliefs. It is sufficiently explained by the purely literary intention of creating an historiographical impression by the use of alternative motivations.

τοὺς τε παρεστῶτας: the τε is unnecessary and should be deleted; the ἔτε cola are parenthetic.

πρὸς τῆς καταλαβούσης ταραχῆς: for καταλαβούσης compare Hdt.4.161 τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφοράν.

ἐπὶ γόνυ ... πρόπερον ὀκλάζων: an irregular use of the verb ὀκλάζω, which in every other instance that I have been able to trace denotes the act of kneeling, not the state; cf. 2.3.3, 2.15.2, 4.17.1, 7.7.2, 7.9.3, 7.19.2, 10.32.2; and the phrase in 3 Kings 8, ὠκλακὼς ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα. Mr.Reeve points out to me that ὀκλάζων and ἀναμένων here are true "imperfect participles".

ἀναρπάζει: note the lapse into the historic present, to convey the speed of events in vivid narrative. The use of tenses is not consistent within the sentence, and reverts to the imperfect with the final verb ἤλαυνε.

Heliodoros conveys the pace of the action in a characteristically participial manner; a more common method would have been the paratactic use of numerous main verbs, but Heliodoros achieves the same effect, while keeping a relatively sophisticated sentence structure, by piling up short participial cola, each of which takes the action a stage further.

τῶν αὐχενίων τριχῶν ἐπιθραξάμενος: αὐχένιος is a rare but regularly formed adjective. Compare Opp.Cyn.3.255,

where it is applied to χαίτη. For ἐπιθρώσσομαι with the genitive compare 10.40.1 and Plut.Mor.179e, id.Alex.25, Philo de somn.2.37. The verb also takes the accusative; see for example Alciphr.3.60.

ἅσα χαλινῷ τῇ χαίτῃ χρώμενος: i.e. to steer with. I do not know whether it is possible to guide a horse by tugging on its mane, but, even if it is not, Heliodoros might have chosen to write χαλινῷ rather than, say, ἡνίαις, for the sake of the alliteration.

Compare Xen.Eq.8.8, τάφρον δὲ διαλλομένου καὶ κρὸς ὄρθιον ἱεμένου κἂν χαίτης ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, ὡς μὴ ὁ ἵππος τῷ τε χωρίῳ ἅμα καὶ τῷ χαλινῷ βαρύνηται. But here the rider is to use the horse's mane to help him to keep his balance, for which purpose the reins would normally be used; but by pulling on the reins the rider would also operate the bit, and that is the reason Xenophon gives for grasping the mane. In other words, the mane does not have the effect of the bit at all.

ἐπαμπέρχων: cf.Hom.Il.23.430 etc.; the word seems to have an epic flavour, being found mostly in Homer and Apollonios. There are a few instances in late prose, however, for example Dio Cass.50.34.

10.28.5

τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν ἔρκος: a rather self-consciously striking phrase to describe the ring of soldiers keeping the populace

away from the clear area in the centre; cf.10.6.4 and 10.28.2.

μὴ ἀποδειλίασις ἢν μηδὲ ἀπόδρασις : note the choice of two similar words to provide a euphonic jingle. For ἀποδειλίασις compare Polyb.3.103.2 and Plut.Alex.13; ἀπόδρασις is commoner and may be found with a dependent genitive at Dem.21.66, Plut.Mor.641c etc.

The technique here is worth a short comment. The reader has no idea what Theagenes is going to do, and is purposely kept in as much suspense as the fictional audience (the Ethiopian assembly). However, Heliodoros uses the device of saying, albeit indirectly, that this was not an escape attempt to build up an expectation in his reader of something exciting and important about to happen.

10.28.6

ἐπ'ὀλίγον μέν etc.: picked up by ὡς δὲ εἰς συνήθειαν etc. in 10.29.1.

κεκονύττων: literally, "stinging"; cf.Theocr.19.3, Ael.Nat. Anim.2.50. In later Greek it is found with transferred meanings; for example at Ph.Carp.Cant.proem (=PG.40.28a) it means "to spur a horse"; St.John Chrys.Hom.14.4 in 1 Tim. (11.630a) uses it for "to prod or poke", and the metaphorical sense of spurring someone on to do something is found in the Septuagint (Isiah 58.3) and in Cyril of Alexandria (Is.5.4 = 2.818a; Joel.11 = 3.209e).

τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς τε καὶ ἐμβολὰς περιλαμμένης ἐκκλίνων: ἐμβολάς is Coraes' emendation of the MSS ἐκβολάς, which is retained by Colonna. ἐκβολή is not found in an intransitive sense, which is what would be required here, and, as Coraes points out, the MSS often confuse the two words, as at 1.1.1. Moreover, as RL say, the verb ἐκκλίνων seems to need a word meaning "attack or charge" rather than merely "attempt to get away", and with this they compare Polyb.1.34.4 ἐκκλίνοντες τὴν τῶν θηρίων ἔφοδον; see too 10.32.1. These considerations make Coraes' emendation inevitable.

For ἐμβολή used of the charge of a bull compare Eur. Her.869.

10.29.1

εἰς συνήθειαν ... ἐνεβίβασε: for this metaphorical usage of ἐμβιβάζω cf.Xen.Oec.14.4 and Polyb.16.38.1.

ἀντιπλεύρως: a rare word; cf.Soph.Frag.24.4 (ap.Strab.9.1.6) and the Byzantine verse novelist Theodoros Prodromos 4.341. The word serves a rhetorical purpose here by giving extensive alliteration and assonance with παρίππευε.

χρωτί τε χρωτὸς ἁπτομένων: for the polyptoton cf.8.1.8, 9.3.1, 9.5.5, etc. The antithetical structure of the sentence is worth analysing. The main clause is short and most of the descriptive weight is carried by three participial cola whose parallelism is reinforced by rhyme (ἁπτομένων ... κερατνούντων ... ῥυθμίζων); the last of these cola leads directly into the crowd's impressions (ὡς καὶ etc.) expressed in two parallel infinitives (φαντάζεσθαι ... ἐκθειάζειν), the last of which again leads forward to present a paradoxical tableau of Theagenes. Within this structure there is some balancing of individual words; thus χρωτί ... χρωτὸς is echoed by ἵππειον ταῦρον.

τὸν δρόμον ὥσπερ ὁμόταχον ῥυθμίζων etc.: the picture presented here is rather confused. The form ὁμόταχος is unique to Heliodoros, the classical form of the adjective being ὁμοταχής (e.g.Aristot.de cael.289b9, Ph.237a1 and 249a8).

συμφυῆ εἶναι τὰς κεφαλὰς must mean that both heads appeared to spring from one neck, and it is this idea that is later picked up by ἵππου ... ἱππόταυρος occurs nowhere

else, but it could not have been a difficult word to coin. It does however pose difficulties of interpretation: ἱππόταυρος must mean one creature, half horse and half bull (compare concepts like καμηλοπάρδαλις, ἱππαλεκτρύων etc.), and so it is not consistent to talk of it as a ζυγός. Logically Theagenes could be said to have yoked a ἱππόταυρος, or to have yoked a ζυγή of a horse and a bull. The remedy of textual emendation is not in place here, since the concepts are so extraordinary that one cannot conceive of any of them as a gloss inserted to make the sentence clearer. Certainly, the most tempting remedy, the excision of ἱππο- before ταύρου, founders on this objection. We must suppose, then, that two mutually exclusive pictures have somehow been overlaid on one another and fused. The metaphor of yoking a team can be applied to what Theagenes is actually doing, while the idea of a ἱππόταυρος conveys the way it appeared to ἐκ πορρωτέρω.

λαμπρὸς ἐκθεώζειν: the verb is here losing its strong literal meaning, and beginning to express little more than ἐπαινεῖν; compare the gloss of Hesychios on the word. It is used as a pair with θαυμάζω by Zonaras (cf. Justin. Cohort. Graec. PG.6.265d τὰς δὲ βίβλους θαυμάσαι ... καὶ ἐκθειάσας), and with σεμνύω by Eusebeios (Hist. Eccl. 2.17.2 = PG.20.176a). In Heliodoros there are still some traces of the original meaning, and the effect is that Theagenes' exploits are assimilated to the mythico-heroic world where heroes battled with fabulous monsters.

ξευξάμενον: compare the epigram of Philippos (Anth.Pal.9.543) on Thessalian bull-wrestling, to be discussed in detail later: πτερνοτυπεῖς πώλους ξεῦξε σκιρτήματι ταύρων.

10.29.2

τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ... ἡ Χαρίκλεια δέ: the description of the crowd's impressions allows Heliodoros to make a neat transition to the feelings of Charicleia. A few general comments on this short scene will be in order.

The account of Theagenes' exploit with the bull is interrupted, partly because postponement will allow tension over the result to accumulate, but mainly because the bull-fight serves a more important structural function in the process of Theagenes' rescue. The exchange between Persinna and Charicleia keeps this process clearly before the reader's mind by resuming the pattern of suspense and frustration discussed in my note on 10.18.3. The reader's expectation, both here and in the wrestling match that follows, is that Theagenes' valour will somehow bring about his salvation, either directly or indirectly by prompting Charicleia to tell the truth about their relationship. It is this force as much as any inherent interest that makes the two episodes so vivid.

There is also an ironical echo of the exchange between Hydaspes and Persinna in 10.7, where Hydaspes answers Persinna's request to save Charicleia by saying that he would like to,

but ὁ νόμος must be obeyed (esp.10.7.6); this is echoed by Persinna here (esp.10.29.3).

Note too a certain gaucheness in Heliodoros' handling of situations taking place simultaneously. Charicleia and Persinna have been off-stage (as it were) since 10.22.4, and when they reappear it soon becomes clear that during the interval they have not talked of any of the things we should have expected; in fact, while not in the narrative they have not existed. Heliodoros has made things more difficult for himself by adopting the conventions of the stage, where even concurrent actions have to be shown consecutively; in prose fiction matters could be arranged more easily. Note, however, that even Xenophon of Ephesos, most of whose novel is structured around two separate threads of parallel action, makes no attempt to present them as simultaneous.

τρόμῳ τε καὶ παλμῷ συνείχετο: cf.10.13.1.

ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο: for this use of καί see Denniston op.cit. p.312ff., esp.p.315δ, and the examples quoted there.

For this strong use of βούλομαι meaning "signify, mean" compare Plat.Rep.362e, 590e, etc.

τὴν ἐκείνου τρῶσιν ὡς ἰδίαν σφαγὴν ὑπεραγωνιῶσα: note the characteristic parallelism of expression combined with variation of vocabulary.

Heliodoros also uses ὑπεραγωνιάω at 2.18.3. It is not a common word, and I have been unable to find another example of it taking a direct object; in two cases it governs the

genitive (Hierocl.in carm.aur.p.448 Mullach FPG I; Jos. Ant.Jud.16.89.)

ὥστε ... λαβεῖν ... εἰπεῖν: as RL say in their apparatus, the change of subjects is extraordinary; Charicleia is the subject of λαβεῖν, Persinna of εἰπεῖν. The harshness at 10.9.5 does not completely justify this example, since the change of subject occurs within the ὥστε construction. Nevertheless, I am not sure that the text can sensibly be doubted, since the meaning is perfectly apparent.

προκινδυνεύειν ἔοικας τῷ ξένῳ: in other cases the verb means "to undergo danger on behalf of" and is used either with ὑπέρ (Xen.Anab.7.3.31, Isoc.4.75 etc.) or with a plain genitive (e.g. Andocid.4.1; Xen.Hier.10.8, Hdn.5.1.4). In the present passage the meaning is slightly different; Charicleia is not literally facing the dangers on Theagenes' behalf, but her involvement with him is so strong that she seems to be facing them with him. In this sense her relationship to Theagenes is not all that different from Andocides' defender of the people, and so the extension of meaning is not strained or unnatural.

10.29.3

ὡς ἂν μὴ παντάπασιν ἀτέλεστα ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθείη: the same sentiments as expressed by Hydaspes at 10.20.1: οὐκ εὐαγὲς παντάπασι περιγραφῆναι τὸ πάτριον τῆς τῶν ἐπινικίων θυσίας.

It is interesting to note that the idea of finding

a substitute for Charicleia - the motif which allowed the introduction of the embassies (10.22.5)- has now been quietly dropped. From this point onwards all attention has to be focused on the predicament of Theagenes, to which the idea of a replacement female victim is irrelevant.

ἀτέλεστος is a poetic word, mainly found in Homer; cf.Hom.Il.4.26, Od.2.273, 16.111, 8.571 etc.

καθυλέω is more usual in classical prose and verse for the concept of forsaking or abandoning (e.g.Thuc.3.58, Xen.Cyn.3.10, 10.15, Isoc.9.33), but there are parallels from patristic writers which show how ἐγκαταλείπω could be used of religious neglect; for example Clem.Rom. ad Cor.1.33.1 (=PG.1.273a) uses it with ἀγάπη as object; Hom.Clem.10.4 (=PG.2.260d) of neglect of God Himself; and the Didache 4.13 (= Bihlmayer: Die apostolischen Väter p.4) of neglect of God's commandments.

τὸ εὔχεσθαι μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ : Maillon's cretinous note should be disregarded. What is true is that Heliodoros appears to be systematically inflating the dangers of Theagenes' situation, no doubt to increase the excitement. As yet he is only chasing after the bull on a horse, and Charicleia does not know that he is going to wrestle with it (cf.10.29.2, ὃ τι καὶ βούλοιτο διαφθεῖραι); it hardly seems appropriate to talk of him being killed.

10.29.4

προφασιν οὐ τὴν οὖσαν ἀλλ' ἐρωτικὴν ἄλλως ὑποτοπήσασα :

significant for the author's conception of the true nature of the relationship between Theagenes and Charicleia. It need not be interpreted as denying the sexual element, however, and as suggesting some deeply spiritual or mystical purpose in their love. Persinna leaps to the conclusion that Charicleia is possessed by some casual infatuation whereas the reality is that their love has divine sanction and is of long standing and still free from any sexual blemish.

For the derogatory tone of ἄλλως compare 5.5.1, λόγος ἄλλως ἦν ἡ τῶν λύτρων αἴτησις ; and several examples from Lucian, e.g. Phal.1.12 κενὴ ἄλλως ὑπόσχεσις ; de salt.63 κινούμενον δὲ ἅλογον ἄλλως κίνησιν καὶ μάτκιον ; see also Eur.Troad.476, id.Hec.489, id.Iph.Aul.789, Soph.Philoc.947, Call.Epigr.19.

ὑπερφρονήσης : cf.4.3.4. The compound does not, apparently, occur outside the Aithiopica.

κἂν ἡ νεώτερον <ἦ> κἂν παρθενίᾳ μὴ πρέπον : RL are right to retain the double κἄν as against A's κἄν ... καί, which is adopted by Colonna. For a double κἄν in an emotional context cf.7.7.5 and 10.38.1.

I am not convinced by RL's insertion of ἦ, and it is a pity that they do not disclose the reasoning which led them to adopt this emendation. Maillon's translation

is useless as a guide to their thoughts, being a rough paraphrase: "si ta jeunesse s'est laissé entraîner à quelque faiblesse indigne de ta vertue..." Much depends on how we are to understand κίνημα; I have been unable to find evidence of its being used in an amatory sense. Hesychios glosses it thus: κίνησις, ταραχή, ὁρμή, χόλος, κότος ἡ ὀργή. Perhaps the most fruitful approach is to take it in the originally Epicurean sense of "emotion"; cf.Epictet.Frag.14 (52 Schw.) τοῦτό με τὸ κίνημα (sc. a sense of shame) οὐκ ἐᾷ τὴν ἡδονὴν θέσθαι ἀγαθὸν καὶ τέλος τοῦ βίου. Compare also Plat.Phaedr.245b, where the cognate κεκινημένος is used to describe the deep emotions involved in poetic composition.

Since κίνημα seems a relatively neutral word, it appears that it must be νέώτερον which carries the moral weight of the phrase, and it is not difficult to accumulate instances where the adjective is used in more or less the same way as κακός; e.g.Hdt.8.21, Ar.Eccl.338, Theocr.20.40, Plat. Prot.310b, Thuc.1.132, Hdt.8.142 etc.

νέώτερον κίνημα means, then, not "youthful infatuation" but "shameful emotion", that is a euphemism for ἐρωτικὴν ἄλλως above. In this case we want Persinna to say "even if it is a shameful feeling ..." not "even if the feeling is shameful...", which is the way that RL's emendation would have to be taken.

If it is still felt to be offensive to have the two κἂν's without a verb between them, ἤ will have to be transferred

after κίνημα. I do not find it objectionable, however, to retain the ellipse of the MSS reading, when both κἄν 's introduce phrases descriptive of the object of the sentence. The idea of sexual attraction being unworthy in a virgin has been met before; cf.10.18.3, κατερυθριάσασα δι' ἡμᾶς παρθενικὴς αἰδοῦς ἀνέκαθεν πεῦσιν ὑπὲρ νεανίου σε προσαγορεύοντας and 10.22.1, τὴν αἰδὼ τὴν παρθένιον παρεῖχεν ἐρώμενον τοῦ κινδύνου τῷ θεαμένῃ κατηνάγκαζεν.

The punctuation adopted by Colonna, running the κἄν phrases on from ἐξαγόρευε and placing a full stop after πρέπων, is impossible, since it leaves the following ἡ μητρώα φύσις with no connective. ἡ μητρώα φύσις etc.: notice how antithetically the sentence is arranged with μητρώα φύσις answered by τὸ θῆλυ συμπαθές, and τὸ θυγατρὸς picked up by τὸ γυναικεῖον, with their shared noun τὸ πταῖσμα tucked away unobtrusively in the middle of the sentence.

For τὸ συμπαθές used as an abstract noun, compare Greg.Naz.Ep.216 (=PG.37.352c), Cyr.Amos 62 (=PG.71.525c), id.Abac.4 (=PG.71.848c).

For πταῖσμα in a moral sense compare 5.18.5; Iamb.de myst.3.31, Jos.Ant.Jud.7.130, Plut.Mor.549c.

παρεσκιάζειν: not "to overlook" (cf.Maillon's "excuser"), but "to conceal" (from others); cf.Hdn.2.10.3, where the vices of Commodus τῇ εὐγενείᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμῃ ἐπεσκιάζετο. The thought is that the natural understanding between mother

and daughter, and between woman and woman,will make Persinna sympathetic enough to keep Charicleia's secrets to herself and not reveal them to the world in shocked indignation.

10.29.5

τοὺς συνετοὺς ἀσύνετα ἀθέμιτα: this is more of the meaningless jingle complained of in the wrong place by Maillon (p.111 n.1). The reference is to the series of misunderstandings in 10.18-22, to which is now added her mother's inability to grasp the truth. This explains the plural συνετοὺς , but the unavoidable fact remains that συνετούς is not the most naturally chosen of adjectives, and does not pick out the salient feature which distinguishes Hydaspes and Persinna from other, equally intelligent, people.

λέγουσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς συμφορὰν etc.: at 10.18.2 she suggested that Theagenes had better reveal his own identity, but Hydaspes took this for maidenly modesty. In 10.19.1 she tries a subtler approach, but only gets as far as saying that their destinies are intertwined (explicit enough, but for literary reasons Hydaspes does not take the point; cf.my note on 10.18.3); in 10.20.2 she asks to be allowed to sacrifice Theagenes herself, which Hydaspes refuses in 10.21.1-2. At 10.21.3 she is at her most explicit and tries to tell her parents that she has a husband, at which point the artificially motivated ambiguities finally relapse into nonsense; but at 10.22.1 when she is on the verge

of speaking φανερώτερον, Hydaspes loses his temper and dismisses the women.

Hirschig prints ἑμαυτῆς, but though tempting this has no authority, and, as RL suggest, is unnecessary; compare ἑαυτῆς at 2.11.1, emended to σεαυτῆς by inferior MSS (BZT). γυμνὴν ... καὶ ἀπαρακάλυπτον ... κατηγορίαν : for this metaphorical use of γυμνός see Diod.1.76, Luc.Tox.42, Philo de opif.mund.24.

παρακαλύπτω is literally to disguise or cover one's face; cf.Plat.Rep.439e, Plut.Alc.34. Thus ἀπαρακάλυπτος originally means "with the face unveiled". The adverb was used in a transferred sense by Plato (Rep.538e, Euthyd.294d); see too 7.20.1, 8.5.6; Dio Cass.67.3. The adjective did not follow this example until much later; for examples see Ptol.Tetrabibl.p.155c (of ψυχή); Dionys.Areop.Eccl. Hier.1.4 (=PG.3.389b) φιλὰς ταύτας τῶν ἐνθέων ἱεραρχῶν ἢ τὸ τῆς ἱερουργίας κοινὸν ἀπαρακαλύπτοις νοήσεσιν, ἀλλ'ἐν συμβόλοις ἱεροῖς παραδεδωκότων; Eustath.Opusc.p.173 (Tafel) ἐκ κακολογίαν σκληρὰν καὶ ἀπαράκαλυπτον διεκπίπτουσι. It was used in metaphor, in conjunction with γυμνός, by Gregory of Nyssa γυμνῇ τε καὶ ἀπαρακαλύπτῳ τῇ γνωστικῇ δυνάμει.

10.30.1

τὰ ὄντα ἀνακαλύπτειν : for this transferred usage cf.9.24.4; also Cels.ap.Orig.in Cels.516 (=PG.11.1188c), where the verb is used of revealing God; and Method.Symp.3.2(=PG.18.64a) of τὸν νοῦν.

αὖθις ἐξεκρούσθη : compare 10.22.1: καὶ λέγειν τι φανερώτερον μελλούσης ... οὐκέτι κατισχὼν ὁ γραῦς etc.

βοὴ πολυηχεστάτη : πολυηχής is a Homeric word; cf.Hom. Il.4.422 and Od.19.521; see also Apoll.Rhod.4.609 etc. This is the only example of the superlative. For the noisy behaviour of the crowd, compare 10.28.3 etc.

[εἰς] ὅτον εἶχε τάχους etc.: εἰς was deleted by Hirschig, followed by RL, but is retained by Colonna. It is difficult to justify in the context, and the need for its excision is strengthened by comparison with 8.16.5, δυνάμεως ὅσον ἦν καὶ τάχους ἀνέτεις τοῖς χαλινοῖς ἐφιέντες. The corruption occurred through dittography of the last syllable of Θεαγένης.

It is not by chance that Heliodoros has chosen bull-wrestling as a heroic exploit for Theagenes. Thessaly was renowned for the sport. Thessalian bull-wrestlers were introduced into the Roman arena by Caesar while he was dictator (Plin. Nat.Hist.8.182). Other literary descriptions are found in Suetonius (Claud.21.3), Dio Cassius (61.9.1) and an epigram by Philippos (Anth.Pal.9.543). There seem to be good grounds for identifying the sport described with the ταυροκαθαψία mentioned and depicted on several inscriptions;

representations of bull-wrestling are found on coins from the Thessalian town of Larissa as early as the fifth century BC, but the sport is later attested at Ephesos (Artemid. Oneirocr.1.8), Smyrna (CIG.3212), Sinope (CIG.4157), Aphrodisias (CIG.p.1109 no.2759b) and Ancyra (CIG.4039).

The technique of bull-throwing is discussed in a summary of a paper read at Cambridge in 1943 by R.M.Rattenbury (PCPS 178, 1941-5, p.14), where attention is drawn to differences between the description in Heliodoros and that implied by epigraphical and other literary sources. This should not be overstressed, since the descriptions in Pliny, Suetonius and Dio are so brief that they say nothing explicitly incompatible with Heliodoros, while the longer but allusive description by Philippos actually approximates to that of Heliodoros. The marble relief on CIG.3212 does not show the actual tossing of the bull.

One apparently obvious point, which does not seem to have been made before, is that it is striking to find a specifically Thessalian sport so fully described by a writer whom one biographical tradition links with the Thessalian town of Tricca. Since Heliodoros has a surplus of detail over the other (admittedly sketchy) literary descriptions, we may entertain the suspicion that he had actually seen bull-tossing in Thessaly.

καὶ προσβάσαντα μικρὸν τὰ στέρνα τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ταύρου παρισώσας:

mistranslated by Maillon: "au moment où le poitrail de

sa monture arrive à la hauteur de la tête du taureau".
The idea is that the two animals are running side by side
(cf.Pliny "equo iuxta quadrupedante" and Dio Cassius συμπαραβάντες),
but with the horse slightly in front (προφθάσαντα μικρὸν)
so that its chest is beside the bull's head (literally:
"it makes its chest equal to the bull's head").

10.30.2

ἐπαρρίπτει δὲ ἑαυτὸν : cf.Suetonius "insiliuntque defessos".

τοὺς ταύρους δὲ ὄντως στεφάνην περιβάλλει : cf. the fourth line of Philippos' epigram ἀμφιβαλεῖν στεφάνων πλέγμα μετωπίδιον .

καὶ εἰς ἅμμα etc.: cf. the fifth line of Philippos' epigram, ἀκρότατον δ' ἐς χὴν κλίνας ἅμα κέρατον ἅμμα . ἅμμα is regularly used of wrestling holds; see Plut.Alc.2, id.Fab.23, Galen vol.6 p.143 Kühn.

πρὸς βραχὺ μὲν τοῖς ταυρείοις ἅλμασιν ἀναπαλλόμενος : the μέν is picked up at the start of the next section, ὡς δὲ ... ἅμα. This seems to make it clear that πρὸς βραχύ is to be taken in a temporal sense, not as Maillon (presque sans secousses), or Lamb (only slightly tossed). For this temporal usage of the phrase cf.10.17.1, Jul.Or.1.47b, and the similar πρὸς ὀλίγον at 2.19.5.

Note once again how the main substance of the sentence is conveyed by participial phrases. The arrangement of the four participles forming the centre of the sentence is interesting in that they appear to be grouped in a scheme

rhyming ABAB (ἐνιδρύσας ... περιθεῖ ... ἐπικλέξας ... κυβεῖ). This impression is reinforced by the somewhat arbitrarily imposed pattern of pairs, the first two and last two participles being more closely linked within themselves, and the two pairs being more loosely connected by a simple καί.

10.30.3

χαλῶντα τοῦ ἄγαν τόνου τοὺς τένοντας : literally "relaxing its sinews from the excessive strain "; i.e. as the bull tires, its muscles lose their tautness. τόνος here is to be taken in the sense of "stretching" as at Hdt.7.36, where it is applied to a rope, which, perhaps, is not to be firmly distinguished from the sense of "physical exertion", as in Luc.Anach.25 etc, where the word is coupled with ἰσχύς.

καθ' ἓν μέρος ὁ ἡνίοχος προὐκαθέζετο : in classical writers προκαθέζομαι is rare in the sense of "sit in state, or preside", the closely related προκαθίζω being more usual (cf.Hdt.1.14, 1.97, Hdn.1.9.3), but προκαθέζομαι can be found in patristic writers of roughly the same date as Heliodoros; for example, it is used of bishops at Euseb. Hist.Eccl.3.62 (=PG.20.1137a); of a judge in court at Bas. Hom.12.9 (=PG.31.405c) and Anast.S.Hod.6 (=PG.89.104b); and of a governor by Synes.Ep.57 (=PG.66.1393b).

παραφέρει μὲν etc.: the object of παραφέρει is τοὺς ... πόδας, not an omitted ἑαυτόν as translated by Maillon ("il se tourna et se laissa glisser en avant"). Up to this point

Theagenes nas been hanging down beside the bull's shoulder (cf.10.30.2), holding the bull's nead in a wrestling-grip; now, maintaining the grip, he swings his feet forward (rather than letting them hang loosely down) so as to trip the bull.

προβάλλω with the genitive usually means "to thrust out from" as at Soph.Electr.740, although the idea is not always so forceful. Closer to the present example is Polyb. 3.113.6, where the verb means little more than "place in front of".

τοῖς κηλαῖς δὲ συνεχῶς ἐναράττων: a slightly irregular use of ἐναράττω. The verb is found nowhere else with an indirect object and is always transitive (cf.Paus.4.13.1, App.Bell. Civ.5.98).

τὴν βάσιν ἐνήρεισεν: in late Greek ἐνεδρεύω is used for "to hinder"; cf.4.14.2, St.John Chrys.Hom.10.2 in 1 Tim. (11.600c), ἐνεδρεύεσθαι ἔμελλε τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν; also P.Oxy. 1773.33 (from the third century AD), and P.Giss.105.4 (from the fifth century).

Heliodoros is the only writer to include the technique of tripping in his description, but it need not be incompatible with other accounts of bull-tossing, except for that of Pliny, who says that the man kills the bull by twisting its neck: "intorta cervice tauros necare".

10.30.4

παρακεκόλασται : literally "to fetter or tether", παρακόλασις was extended in meaning to "hinder or impede", for example at Plat.Laws 652b, Polyb.18.31.6. Heliodoros is playing quite a clever trick here by using the word in its extended sense but applied to the root of the original meaning (i.e. feet); there is thus a piquant blend of the usual metaphor and the literal derivation.

βριθόμενος : originally a poetic word, it was taken over by later prose writers; cf.5.14.2, Iamb.de myst.5.11, Jul. Or.3.113a, 7.230d, 2.86b.

τὰ γόνατα ὑποσκελίζεται : ὑποσκελίζω is a wrestling term. It is found used in a metaphorical sense by Plato (Euthyd. 278b) and Demosthenes (18.138), which suggests that the term was current as early as the fourth century BC, although no example of a literal usage, applied to wrestling, survives before Lucian (Anach.1, ibid.24).

The phrase in Heliodoros is rather difficult to interpret. Literally it is "it was tripped as to the knees ", i.e. its legs gave way at the knees, it stumbled forward onto its knees.

ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν σφενδονητὰς κύμβαχός τε ἐπ'ὤμους καὶ νῶτα ῥιπτεῖς etc.: for σφενδονητής compare 9.5.8, Eur.Phoen. 1183, Ach.Tat.5.9.2.

κύμβαχος is found at Hom.Il.5.585, where Eustathios interprets it as ἐπὶ κεφαλήν. See also Lycophr.66.

ἐπισθεὶς is the unanimous reading of the primary MSS. ῥιπίζω is misused here, its proper meaning being "to fan". However, since the same mistake occurs at 10.32.1 and at Ach.Tat.5.9.2 (where Vilborg's note is misleading in trying to interpret the word literally and does not mention the examples in Heliodoros), it seems clear that ῥιπίζω was assimilated to ῥίπτω because of the similarity between the two words. If Heliodoros had written ἐκβαθείς, it would have been unlikely to be corrupted into ἐπισθείς. The chances are that the error goes back to the author himself, and that it reflects a confusion current in the first few centuries AD, much as a modern writer might confuse for instance "flaunt" with "flout".

The action described here is spectacular, and the point is missed by Maillon, and even more by Lamb, whose version I quote: "it gave way at the knees and suddenly lurched headlong; then tumbling onto its shoulders it rolled over on its back...". This does scant justice to words such as σφενδονηθείς and κύμβαχος (used in Homer of a warrior being flung head-first from his chariot). Heliodoros in fact means that the bull did a full forward somersault, the effect being like that of a man going over the handlebars of his bicycle when the front wheel jams. A bull simply rolling onto its back would be most unlikely to "root its horns in the ground", and, from a literary point of view, one might say that the more spectacular the action the

better.

εἰς κενὸν ἀερονομούντων καὶ πὴν ἧτταν ἀλυόντων: a vivid description. ἀερονομέω is found only in this instance.

Doubt has been expressed over the reading τὴν ἧτταν ἀλυόντων. H.Richards (op.cit.p.113) wondered whether ἀλύειν could be predicated of an animal's leg, and whether it could take a direct object; he emended to καὶ τὴν ἧτταν ἀλύοντος or ἀλύοντι, possibly ἀλύων. Logically of course the bull's leg cannot be said to be upset; but the effect of pathos achieved by the expression, with its sudden focus on a telling visual detail, need not follow the canons of strict logic. Moreover, any alteration of ἀλυόντων disturbs the characteristic progression of rhyming and parallel participial cola σκαιρόντων ... ἀερονομούντων ... ἀλυόντων. Thirdly RL have produced an example of ἀλύω with a direct object from Opp.Hal.4.195 (p.113 n.1). They are still not happy with the phrase and call it "une expression bizarre", but we have seen that Heliodoros abounds in bizarre and difficult expressions. I would not wish to alter the text here, least of all for Rattenbury's τῇ ἥττῃ ἐναλυόντων with its horrible hiatus.

For ἀλύω in the metaphorical sense of "to be upset", cf.3.7.1, 5.2.2.

A more potent criticism from RL concerns the phrase ὄπρακτα σκαιρόντων, which Rattenbury wanted to excise. The pleonasm need not worry us; it would be difficult to argue

that Heliodoros is never pleonastic. What is disconcerting is that the phrase disrupts the neat pairing patterns so beloved of Heliodoros. However, a conclusive factor in favour of retaining the phrase has been established by Mazal's analysis of this sentence (Wiener Studien 71, 1958, p.119ff.), which demonstrates the carefully balanced isocolic structure. From his schematic presentation it is clear that the participial phrases describing the horns are almost exactly equalled by those relating to the legs (27 and 28 syllables respectively), and that Heliodoros must have been aiming at some stylistic variation by dividing the last group into three cola rather than two.

Mazal's analysis is worth summarising; it will be apparent that I owe much to his methods. The sentence begins with two participial phrases linked by rhyme and isocolia (παραπαίζομενος ... βρυόμενος). Then comes a clause with the first main verb (ὑποσκελίζεται). This pattern is then repeated: the two participial members are isocolic with the two that begin the sentence and are again linked by rhyme (σφενδονητεί ... ῥιπτεῖ), while the second main clause is just one syllable shorter than the first. The genitive absolutes in two groups round off the sentence as described above. Within this seemingly rigid structure Heliodoros manages to achieve a degree of variety i) by varying the position of the main verbs in their clauses; ii) by making the last group of genitives have three limbs, not two. Although

the principle of isocolia is so important in this sentence, Heliodoros has managed to combine it with the apparently contradictory but equally characteristic principle of crescendo towards the end of the sentence by making the concluding genitive absolutes heavier than the preceding members, and also by making the final group consist of three parts. As Mazal says, "er ist ein Musterbeispiel für Heliodors stilistisches Raffinement."

10.30.5

ὥραν διέβλεπε : a commonly used expression. Cf.Anth.Pal. 12.159, Philod.Mus.p.85 K, Philostr.Imag.1.16.

δεξιούμενος : δεξιόομαι is usually "to welcome", but here the sense is most often taken to be "invite"; compare Maillon's translation. The difficulty should not be overestimated, since a) the verb is here used in a metaphorical sense, so that its literal application has already been widened; b) it is possible to make sense of the sentence while retaining the concept of greeting or welcoming: a man is said δεξιοῦσθαι people coming to his house, so Theagenes welcomes them ἐκ τῆς συνηθείας . The important point to realise is that the metaphor places Theagenes and the crowd in the relationship of host and guest.

δεξιοῦσθαι by derivation is "to clasp the right hand", a gesture of greeting. Later, the verb was extended to greeting by other means. With Heliodoros' expression πρὸ

μειδιάματι ... δεξιουμένου compare Luc.Alex.41 (τῇ στόμα) and Liban.Decl.4.18 (τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς).

καθάπερ σάλπιγγι τὸ ἐπινίκιον ἀνακηρυττόμενος : a mixture of metaphors. ἀνακηρύττω is regularly used of proclaiming victors at games (e.g.Luc.Tim.20), and especially in the passive (e.g.Hdt.6.103, Thuc.5.50). τὸ ἐπινίκιον is the song sung in celebration of a victory in the games. Heliodoros has taken both of these words, with their associations of athletic victory, and applied them in a slightly different way. ἀνακηρυττόμενος has a direct object and so must be taken as middle rather than passive; it has also been transferred from the announcement of the victor's name to the victory hymn. In fact the whole descriptive simile does not refer to a real situation: trumpets were used to give signals to start a race, but not, as far as our evidence extends, in celebration of victory. Heliodoros has taken three concepts from the real athletic world and placed them in a new combination so as to achieve a more exact parallel with the narrative situation of his novel. This is an impressionistic style of writing, in that what really matters is not the exact literal meaning of the words but the associations which they carry.

Note yet again the parallelism in the structure of the sentence, reinforced by participial rhyme: ἀπαλαχθέντων ... ἐπιστείων ; and τῷ μειδιάματι ... δεξιουμένου, ... τῷ μικηθμῷ ... ἀνακηρυττόμενος .

ἀντήχει ... ἡ τοῦ δημοῦ βοή : cf.10.30.1 and 10.28.3 and my notes. Heliodoros' descriptions of the crowd's shouting are a little stereotyped, and it is remarkable how often the derivatives of ἠχέω crop up (cf.10.9.4, 10.30.1).

πρανὲς μὲν οὖλὲν ... διαρθρῶσα : πρανής is a later form of the classical πρηνής . Compare Dion.Hal.Comp.22, Plot. 6.6.17, Plut.Symp.8. For διαρθρόω used of speech see Plat. Prot.322a, Max.Tyr.7.7. Heliodoros uses the same idea at 10.9.4, βοὴν μίαν ἅδομεν ... καὶ ἄναρθρον.

τὸ θαῦμα ἐξεφώνει : unusual to find the verb taking an object of the emotion expressed. It is normally used with an object of the words spoken, as later in this chapter (10.30.7).

χρόνιόν τε καὶ ὅμοτονον etc.: for χρόνιον cf.10.17.3, ταῖς ἐκβοήσεσι χρονιώτερον ἐντρυφῶντα. ὅμοτονος is a musical term; cf.Nicom.Harm.11.5, Gaud.Harm.21.

10.30.6

καλωλίου βρόχον : the diminutive form does not always have a diminutive sense; cf.Thuc.4.26.8, Ar.Wasps 379.

τὸν ἕτερον συλλαβόντες : the second escaped horse is apparently never recaptured. See my note on 10.28.2.

10.30.7

ἧς εἶπερ τὸ πρῶτον ὤφθη προσταθών : though we have not actually been told as much. Compare 10.9.1 for the crowd's initial response to Theagenes "success" in the ordeal of the brazier:

εὐκυμοσύνῃς πρὸς ἅπαντων τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ κάλλους καὶ ὅτι περ σῦτος ἀκμαῖος ἀνὴρ ἀκεῖραπος εὖ μάλα τῶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. They are more overtly sympathetic in their reception of Charicleia (10.9.5): ἐλύπει μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ὄχλων ἁρμόζουσα τῇ θυσίᾳ φαντάσματα, καὶ δεισιδαιμονοῦντες ὅμως ἥδιστα ἂν εἶδον ἐς πυρὸς μηχάνημα περισωθεῖσαν. Compare too the reaction of the crowd at Delphi when Theagenes prepares to run against the Arcadian Ormenos (4.3.2): κεκίνητο μὲν δὴ καὶ πᾶσα πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον ἡ Ἑλλάς, καὶ Θεαγένει νίκην ηὔχετο, καθάπερ αὐτός τις ἕκαστος ἀγωνιζόμενος· ἐπακτικὸν γάρ τι καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὁρώντων ἐς εὐνοιαν τὸ κάλλος.

ζηλοτυπίᾳ δηχθείς : Heliodoros is fond of the metaphorical use of δάκνω. Compare 2.8.2, 5.23.1, 7.28.1 (τὸ δεδηγμένον τῆς ψυχῆς), 10.33.1. The metaphor was current from Theognis (910) onwards; cf.Ar.Acharn.1, Eur.Med.817, 1344, 1370, Eur.Alc.1100 etc. The ill-feeling of the crowd against Meroebos' wrestler arises from the fact that they feel humiliated because no one dared to take up his challenge (10.25.1-2).

οὗτος ὁ Μεροήβου ζευγνύσθω : for ζεύγνυμι used of matching a pair of wrestlers, gladiators and such like, see Epictet. 1.29.37; also Philostr.Imag.1.6 (p.303.1 Kayser) and Ath. 5.194e where ζεῦγος means "pair".

πάντες ὁμοθυμαδόν: the phrase also occurs at Plat.Laws 805a and Xen.Hell.2.4.17, but since ὁμοθυμαδόν natuarally requires a word like πάντες to emphasise it, we need not suppose that there is any allusion here.

τὴν τῶν ταύρων ἐλάσει: for αἵρω used of capturing animals cf.Hom.Il.21.102, Hes.Shield 302, Hdt.1.36 etc. Heliodoros chose the word so as to secure a more pointed balance with the preceding phrase ὃ τὸν ἐλέφαντα λαβών, αἵρω and λαμβάνω being almost synonymous.

10.30.8

ὑπέροπτόν τι καὶ σοβαρὸν περιστοιῶν: it is not necessary to adopt A's reading τι against the unanimous τε of all the earlier MSS; cf.10.30.5 ἵλαρὸν ἀπέβλεπε.

σοβαρός means "pompous or haughty" (cf.Dem.59.37, Plat.Epig.4.1, Theocr.20.15) and is connected with the use of σοβέω in the sense of "strut or swagger"; see my note on 10.27.2. Heliodoros uses the word also at 2.35.1, 3.3.7 and 7.25.1.

ἅλικά τε βαίνων: compare the giraffe (10.27.3 and note). There seem to be several verbal reminiscences of the giraffe in the description of the Ethiopian wrestler, but I cannot see any literary purpose. It is more likely that, having used the words a couple of chapters earlier, Heliodoros still had them running around inside his head; compare the way in which ἐκφωνέω is suddenly used twice in this chapter.

καὶ πλαστυνομένου ἐναλλὰξ τοῖς ἀγκῶσι τὴν πήχεως ὑποσοβῶν: vividly describing the peculiar locomotion of the muscle-bound, the phrase presents some difficulty in interpretation.

Coraes emended the MSS reading πλατυνόμενος to πλατυνομένους and explained it as σοβῶν τὰς πήχεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγκώνων πλατυνομένους ἐναλλάξ.

ὑποσοβέω occurs nowhere else, and there are two ways of understanding it here: a) "swinging his arms"; b)"swaggering along", with τοὺς πήχεις as an accusative of respect. This latter explanation was suggested by H.H.O.Chalk in a review of Lamb's translation (Class.Rev.N.S.12, 1962, p.170). These amount to much the same in the end, but I do not see how anyone could be said "to swagger along as to his arms". We are forced therefore to follow Coraes in his explanation of ὑποσοβῶν, but we may note that σοβέω can keep its swaggering connotations even when its primary meaning is something else.

The wrestler's arms do not hang down beside his body as he walks, but he holds them bent at the elbows, with the elbows pointing outwards (πλατυνομένους). With each stride (ἐναλλάξ) he swings his arms so that the forearm passes across the front of his body; thus he can be described as "swinging his forearms". The πλατυνομένους phrase is best taken as a descriptive dative describing the whole of his motion. Any attempt to take it as governed by the ὑπὸ of ὑποσοβῶν leads to physical impossibilities of the kind found in Lamb's translation, commented on by Chalk, "he swung up each forearm in turn to meet his other outstretched elbow."

Coraes' emendation is necessitated by the lack of any connecting particle to link the MSS πλατυνόμενος with ὑποσοβῶν. I would not find the phrase πλατυνόμενον τοῖς ἀγκῶσι objectionable in itself, but Coraes' remedy is considerably easier than the insertion of a καί, and the error is much easier to explain.

10.31.1

τοῦ συνεδρίου : I can see no reason for Maillon's translation "quand il fut arrivé près de la tente royale". συνέδριον can refer only to the council or , more rarely, to the place where it meets (as in Dio Cass.40.49). In this case, Heliodoros has already made it perfectly clear that the gymnosophists are the σύνεδροι of the king. Compare 10.2.1: οἳ Γυμνοσοφισταὶ κέκληνται σύνεδροί τε καὶ σύμβουλοι τῶν πρακτέων τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπόμενοι , and later 10.35.2: ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ τε Ὑδάσπου καὶ τῶν συνέδρων ἐξενίκησε. The reference here therefore is in slight contradiction to the seating arrangements described in 10.6.1ff., where the royal couple are inside one σκηνή (not a tent) and the gymnosophists in another near by, sitting beneath the statues of the gods.

καὶ ἑλληνίζων : once again Heliodoros is careful about the plausibilities of communication in foreign languages. Hydaspes would normally speak Ethiopian, which Theagenes would not be able to understand; cf.my note on 9.24.2.

τούτῳ δὲ χρὴ διαγωνίσασθαι : the compound verb is first used by Xenophon (e.g. Mem.3.9.2, Cyr.1.6.26, 1.2.12) and is taken up by later writers (e.g. Luc.Ver.Hist.2.8, Dion. Hal.Ant.Rom.3.17). It should be added to the list of words compiled by D.Baumgarten (op.cit.) to illustrate the influence of Xenophon on the vocabulary of the koine.

ὁ δῆμος κελεύουσι : the asyndeton is characteristic of Hydaspes'

regal tone. Compare 10.33.1, where the phrase ὁ νόμος διωγορεύει is similarly asyndetic, and used to silence possible arguments.

The ad sensum construction of a singular subject with plural verb is much used by Thucydides and becomes something of a mannerism with him: see Thuc.4.128.2, 5.60.4, 4.112.1, 4.112.3, 5.82.2, 3.80.1, 6.35.1, 4.57.2, 2.21.3, 1.13.1; also Hom.Il.2.278, ibid.15.305, ibid.23.157, Aes.Agam.578, Ar.Knights 813, Xen.Hell.3.3.4.

ἀλλὰ τίς ἐ τρόπος τῆς ἀγωνίας ; πάλης etc.: Bekker's conjecture πάλη is tempting, despite MSS unanimity in favour of the genitive. If we retain the MSS reading the two adjectives ξυφήρης καὶ ἔνοπλος are left with nothing to agree with, except τρόπος two sentences earlier.

ἔνοπλος is the reading of the late and minor manuscript A, supported by Coraes and printed by both RL and Colonna. All other MSS have ἐνόπλιος. Although the usual form presented by the tradition in other places is ἔνοπλος (RL compare 2.7.3, where the adjectives ξυφήρης καὶ ἔνοπλος again occur as a pair), there is nothing inherently objectionable in the word ἐνόπλιος, and it may be thought somewhat arbitrary to enforce complete uniformity on an author. The difference is ultimately one only of orthography, there being little or no discernible distinction in the uses of the two forms.

ἵνα τι ῥέξας ἢ παθὼν ἐπιλήσομαι Χαρίκλειαν etc.: three manuscripts read μέγα, V after ῥέξας and AT after τι. RL comment "il est difficile de juger si Héliodore a écrit μέγα ou si

μέγα était primitivement une note marginale pour expliquer π". It is actually not difficult to decide if one accepts the stemma constructed by RL, which for the last part of the book is not in dispute. From 9.13.3 there is only one basic tradition, that called γ by RL, represented by four major MSS, VZMP. These divide into two pairs, VZ and MP. The reading μέγα is thus entirely absent from one branch of the tradition. According to RL's hypothesis, V and Z were using a common source, and so the the fact that Z does not include μέγα is significant. It is best explained by supposing that μέγα was written in a margin of VZ's shared ancestor and mistakenly incorporated into the text by the scribe of V, and correctly passed over by that of Z. Alternatively, the reading may never have existed except in V's imagination, influenced perhaps by Hom.Il.22.305. The two later MSS, AT, take on a marginal importance in the latter part of the text where better and earlier MSS give out. However, they can have no independent value in restoring the reading of γ. Compare RL's comment on p.xliv of their introduction: "leur source était corrumpue et ils sont eux-mêmes interpolés".

In addition to the arguments against μέγα based on the stemma, we might also note that while it perfectly acceptable to take μέγα with ῥέξας, it is very much more awkward coupled with πάθων, where it seems to violate a common idiom.

RL's ἐκπλήσσω clearly gives the required sense as against the MSS ἐμπλήσσω, which is nonsensical as it stands. The present subjunctive is palaeographically easier to restore than Coraes' aorist ἐκπλήξω.

ἡμῶν ἀπεγνωκυῖαν : not, as Maillon translates, "elle m'a completement oublié", but "she has despaired of me", that is she has given up all hope of my being rescued, and so has stopped trying. For this use of ἀπογιγνώσκω see e.g. Lys.2.46, Dio Chrys.32.97, Philostr.Vit.Apoll.7.15.

10.31.2

τί μὲν βούλεταί σοι, εἶπε : this is Coraes' elegant reconstruction from the senseless ἐπὶ of the MSS, retained by Colonna. Other suggestions have been made by Wifstrand (op.cit.p.36), who proposed reading ἔτι for ἐπί; this would carry the implication of "now that Charicleia's true identity has been revealed". However, nowhere does Theagenes introduce Charicleia's name in Hydaspes' presence before the revelation, and Wifstrand does not explain the unusual word order that would result from his emendation. Another suggestion, recorded in RL's apparatus, stems from the diseased imagination of Lumb: σῷ ἐπὶ for σοι ἐπί, giving the sense "associate Charicleia's name with your own"; this is most unsatisfactory, since, apart from the strains it places on Heliodoros' idiom, Theagenes has not been associating his name with that of Charicleia. Lumb's misgivings about Coraes' emendation

perhaps arose from an incomplete understanding of the possible uses of παρακλέκειν ; it is not always necessary for the interweaving metaphor to be so explicit that the word must govern an indirect object; in fact, the metaphor can be so weakened that the verb means no more than "introduce" a subject or an idea ; it is used in this way by, for example, Clement of Alexandria (Paed.1.9.92 =PG.8.341b).

παλαίειν ... καὶ οὐ ξιφήρη πυκτεύειν χρεών: for the very surprising expression ξιφήρη πυκτεύειν compare the use of πυκτεύω of a gladiatorial combat in the inscription from Gortyn published in Rev.Arch.30 (1929) p.24.

αἷμα γὰρ ἐκκεόμενον ὀλέθειναι ... οὐ θεμιτόν : although the religious scruple is quite plausible, it would not be justifiable to try to parallel its occurrence from actual ritual. Heliodoros himself makes it clear that Hydaspes' reluctance to countenance the premature spilling of blood is simply a tactful way of making sure that Theagenes lives long enough to be sacrificed. Instead of admitting his fear, he disguises it in a pious expression which is wholly characteristic of him, and which theoretically leaves open the possibility that Theagenes might even manage to kill the Ethiopian if the combat were armed. Hydaspes is worried not only about possible pollution, but in case the sacrifice should not be carried out; this is consistent with what he says at 10.20.1, and more specifically echoes what Persinna says at 10.29.3, διαῤῥᾶναι γε μὴν τὸν κίνδυνον εὔχομαι καὶ φυλαχθῆναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς , ἵνς ἂν μὴ παντάπασιν

τέλεστα ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθείη.

Hydaspes' fear is thus sufficiently motivated by purely literary considerations and need not be held to be a reflection of any particular reality. However, its plausibility as an excuse can be seen to derive from two motifs: firstly, the climax of the sacrifice was felt to be the moment when the victim's blood was seen to flow, and any bloodshed before that moment would anticipate the sacred climax; secondly the desire that the sacrificial victim should be in the best possible condition and not marred in any way; for this see, for example, Plut.de def.orac.49: δεῖ γὰρ τὸ θύσιμον τῷ τε σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀσινὲς καὶ ἀδιάφθορον. In this connection, it is interesting that any injuries Theagenes may sustain in the wrestling bout are felt not to matter, presumably because there is thought to be little chance of his being killed outright, and it is with his survival that Hydaspes is concerned.

μὴ προαναιρεθῇ τῆς θυσίας : for this meaning and construction compare 6.9.3: τί γὰρ τὴν προαναιρεῖς βελτίονων ὧν ἐλπίδων. Similar expressions with προαναιρεῖν are used by Plutarch (Mor.517a, 820f). In a rather odd expression at 3.4.5, Achilles Tatius appears to express with πρό and the genitive what Plutarch and Heliodoros have with the plain genitive. προαναιρεῖν is regularly used of pre-emptive killing: see 9.20.5, Jos.Ant.Jud.15.89, Plut.Caes.28, Luc.Jup.Trag.25 App.Mithr.25.

τοὺς θεοὺς ... εἰς καὶ μελήσει περὶ ἡμῶν: clearly intended to be a significant remark, foreshadowing the future progress of the plot. Here, in contrast to earlier passages, Heliodoros achieves a true ambiguity: Theagenes means his words to be directed against Charicleia, whom he has presumed to have withdrawn her support for a hopeless cause; the gods will protect him even if Charicleia will not. The alert reader, however, will not be slow to take the hint that relief is at hand.

Note too, earlier in this section, the use of irony when Hydaspes once again fails to grasp a point obvious to the reader.

10.31.3

καὶ ἅμα κόνιν ἀνελόμενοι etc.: at this point the narrative pace slows, with minute description of essentially non-functional detail: this would seem to have two closely related purposes: i) the wrestling match is made to have an interest of its own, heightened by a colourful description; ii) the slower speed of the narrative is a device for teasing the reader and holding back the outcome of the combat until the last moment.

Dusting was an important part of athletic exercise. In competitive wrestling it gave a better hold than a body slippery with oil, but it is clear that Theagenes is not dusting himself down for his opponent's benefit. In later

antiquity the use of different types of dusting powder developed into something of a science. The various properties of different types are described by Philostr.Gymn.56 and Jüthner's commentary p.304. On a less erudite level, Lucian describes the purposes of dusting in a way which will suffice as an explanation of Heliodoros: καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν ἱδρῶτα συνέχειν δοκεῖ ἡ κόνις ἀβρὸν ἐκχεύμενον ἐπιπαττομένη καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ διαρκῶν ποιεῖ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ κώλυμα γίγνεται μὴ βλάπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων ἀραιοῖς ποτε καὶ ἀνεωγόσιν πρὸς σώμασιν ἐμπιπτόντων (Anacharsis 29). For the use of dust in staunching perspiration cf.Plut.de prim.fig.19: ψύχει γὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν σώματα καὶ καταστρέννυσι τοὺς ἱδρῶτας.

Thus the process of dusting oneself before a wrestling bout has found its way into several of the literary descriptions: see for example Ov.Met.9.35ff., Lucan 4.615f., where Antaeus' use of sand has a special point imparted by this particular legend, and Stat.Theb.6.847ff.

πρὸς τῆς βουλασίας ἱδρῶτι νενοτισμένους : I have been unable to find a parallel for βουλασία in this sense. The word is used in Homer of cattle-rustling (Il.11.672), later of a pasture where cattle graze (Anth.Pal.7.626). The usual term for bull-wrestling is ταυροκαθαψία. It seems that Heliodoros has taken the etymological root of βοῦς + ἐλαύνω and turned the word towards a new meaning still compatible with the root form.

τήν τε μὴ προσιζήσασιν ἀποστελλόμενος : for προσίζω in the

sense of "stick to" I have been able to find only one parallel, Diosc.de mat.med.5.95.1. Compare, however, Galen's use of the noun προσίζησις (4.281f.)

The description of the wrestler's stance which follows is accurate. It may be compared with a drawing on a red-figure oinochoe, Cracow 1260, and with a bronze of a wrestling boy in Naples, both of which are illustrated in E.N.Gardiner, Athletics of the Ancient World, pls.152-3. For other representatio see Gardiner's article in JHS 25, 1905, p.263 n.1.

Before embarking on a detailed discussion of the fight, we should make a few general points. The contest between Greek subtlety and barbarian brute force is an archetypal element, in Greek legend, finding its first literary expression in the Cyclops episode of the Odyssey. We may also compare the fights of Heracles and Antaios, Polydeuces and Amycos (see the start of Apoll.Rhod.2 and Theocr.22), and Theseus and Cercyon. This last is represented in exactly these terms by Pausanias (1.39.3). The story type is so widely used that we need not posit a specific model for Heliodoros, although he will no doubt have been familiar with various literary treatments.

Secondly, the wrestling-match as described by Heliodoros does not follow the rules of any known type of contest. Gardiner has argued convincingly that the object of πάλη was simply to throw one's opponent to the ground, and that no wrestling took place actually on the ground. This was

restricted to the pancration, where anything seems to have been permissible except gouging of eyes and biting (Philostr. Imag.2.6 =p.248 K). However, victory in the pancration was achieved only with the opponent's submission, and the Ethiopian here is never said to have given up. In fact, it remains unclear why the fight should be thought to have ended at the point where the description finishes, except that the Ethiopian's pride has been broken. Besides, the karate blow with the forearm, which seems to be the main tactic at the Ethiopian's disposal, does not figure in any description or visual representation, even of the pancration. Krause (Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen, p.519 n.2) concluded that it was a late and barbarous innovation; this may well be the impression that Heliodoros is trying to give.

Thirdly, we may ask why the wrestling match (and, for that matter, the bull-fight) is included at all. The allegorical interpretation of Merkelbach represents the bull-fight as a repetition of the exploits of Mithras, and the wrestling match as the final confirmation of Theagenes as Sol Invictus (Roman und Mysterium p.290). We do not have to accept the whole of Merkelbach's thesis to grant that Theagenes' victories give him an almost heroic status. This is not inappropriate at such a late stage, since throughout the Aithiopica our attention has tended to be focused mainly on Charicleia, Theagenes emerging as a comparatively weak character. Charicleia's

fate is no longer in question, and, for almost the first time, Theagenes is allowed his aristeia.However, the allegorical interpretation sits uneasily with the obvious delight in describing detail: one's final impression is that both events are too vivid and too concrete to represent anything other than themselves. It may not enhance our estimate of Heliodoros as an artistic novelist to conclude that he has elaborated subordinate episodes at inordinate length, but we have already seen that his description of the siege of Syene is best explained as the exploitation of interest in a contemporary event. In other words, the bull-fight and the wrestling match are consciously set-pieces.

Do they then serve no organic function at all? Charicleia was exempted from the sacrifice not simply because she was the king's daughter, but because the crowd appealed to Hydaspes and would not let the sacrifice go ahead. It may be that Heliodoros felt that it would not be convincing to have the crowd acquiescing in Theagenes' reprieve simply because he was betrothed to Charicleia, and that he saw the two contests as a means of enlisting the crowd's sympathy for Theagenes. Charicleia gained this by her beauty; Theagenes, however, must be seen to be brave.

More likely perhaps is the possibility that Heliodoros is toying with the expectations of his readers. Although Theagenes' rescue is never logically certain, one can never really doubt that it will occur. This clearly creates the

danger of monotony and loss of interest at precisely that stage of the narrative which should be felt to be climactic. Heliodoros appears to have been conscious of the danger; during the first chapters of the tenth book it is assumed that Theagenes' rescue will be automatic upon the recognition of Charicleia; as it emerges that this is not the case, we find a prolonged episode of (mishandled) ambiguity and misunderstanding, leading eventually, we expect, to Charicleia's revelation of the relationship between Theagenes and herself; this is forestalled by the general excitement at Theagenes' physical exploits, although at 10.29.5 the danger to which Theagenes is exposed is on the point of motivating the final removal of Charicleia's modesty. Nevertheless, I think it safe to assume that the impression will subsist in the reader's mind that Theagenes' victories will in some way contribute towards his salvation; this is confirmed by Charicleia's thoughts at 10.33.4. However, at 10.33.4 Theagenes is led back to the altar, and ultimately it is Charicleia's grief and Persinna's concern that lead to the revelation of their love. Even then the plot is not allowed to come smoothly to its conclusion, but is disrupted by the arrival of Charicles, who at first seems set to wreck any chances of Theagenes being rescued but is finally instrumental in achieving the novel's happy ending. We are never allowed to hear Charicleia's confession to her mother.

This analysis is perhaps oversimplified, but should suffice to show the method employed by Heliodoros to prevent

the plot from slipping into the expected rut. The bull-fight and the wrestling bout are logical red-herrings, but this does not mean that they serve no literary function.

προβάλλει τε ἐκπάγλων τὼ χεῖρε : see the illustrations in Gardiner's book cited above, and compare Ov.Met.9.55f.:

"bracchiaque opposui tenuique a pectore varas
in statione manus et pugnae membra paravi."

and Stat.Theb.6.850f.:

"collaque demersere umeris et bracchia late
vara tenent..."

τοῦν πλατεῖαν πὴν βάσιν ... διεσταμένας : this slightly eccentric expression can be paralleled almost exactly from Ar.Eccl.150: διεσταμένη πὸ σχῆμα πῇ βαιτηρία.

πὴν ἐξ ἰγνὸν σεμώσας : ἰγνόν is apparently derived from a non-existent nominative ἴγνύς. The usual form is ἰγνύα giving the accusative ἰγνύαν, but ἰγνόν occurs as early as Arist.Hist.Anim.494a8; cf.Agatharch.53.

σεμόω is of course cognate with σιμός "snub-nosed", although its range of uses is quite wide and not all are connected with noses. It always carries the sense of bending upwards, although here the application is slightly distorted. The idea behind the expression is shown by RL's parallel from Achilles Tatius (1.12.3) and from a strange and very unclear description by Heliodoros of some sacrificial cattle who are said to be σεμὸν τὴν κνήμην (3.1.4), clearly a good point. RL's other parallel (Theodor.Prodrom.1.228) is not

relevant since he is likely to have taken the unusual word from the passages in question.

κυφωσαι for the verb κυφόω see Opp.Cyn.3.122, Opp.Hal.2.333, Philostr.Imag.4 p.397 K, in all of these used of bending the neck. Closer perhaps to Heliodoros' mind is the Homeric phrase κυφὸς ἐν ὤμοισι (Od.19.246).

κυρός (and thus κυφός also) was a technical term in wrestling. κυρὸς πάλη was apparently identical with ὀρθὴ πάλη, that is wrestling which did not involve holds on the ground. Philostratos (gymn.11) contrasts κυρὸς πάλη with both boxing and the pancration; he then proceeds to link κυρός and ὀρθή in a way whose exact meaning is not readily apparent: κυρά τε ἑκάτερα εἴρηται· κυρὸν γὰρ πάλης καὶ τὸ ὀρθόν; compare Jüthner's translation, "denn Verschlingungen kommen auch beim Ringen im Stand vor" (p.143) and Volckmar's Latin version, "et flexuosa est iure appellata; flexuosum enim est etiam erectum luctae genus." If the suggestion is that κυρὸς πάλη was a third type of wrestling, distinct from both the pancration and ὀρθὴ πάλη, it does not appear to be confirmed by known evidence of Greek athletic competitions.

In any case, the exact shade of technical meaning is unimportant for Heliodoros; the word had technical connotations, and, as we shall see, there were stylistic considerations at work also, which may have led him to choose the word.

The most important parallel concerns the use of κυρός and its cognates in describing the wrestler's stance; this

comes from Philostr.Gymn.34 νῶτα δὲ χαρέντα μὲν ὀρθά, γυμναστικώτερα δὲ τὰ ὑπόγυρα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ προσφυέστερα τῇ πάλης σχήματι γυρῶ κ ὄντι καὶ προνεύοντι.

τὸν αὐχένα ... ἐπικλίνας : compare the passage of Statius quoted above (Theb.6.850) "collaque demersere umeris."

ὃ τε ὅλον σῶμα σφηκώσας: not a logical description but one which nevertheless serves to convey the intended image. σφηκόω inevitably conjures up pictures of a wasp's waist, and so is inappropriate applied to ὅλον σῶμα. The idea is that drawing in one's waist involves the tension of muscles and that Theagenes was tensing every muscle in his body; cf.Maillon's translation "tend tous les muscles de son corps."

τὰς λαβὰς τῶν παλαισμάτων ὠδίνων: the most difficult phrase of the section. The interpretation of ὠδίνω is not a matter of unanimity. Maillon follows the common metaphorical usage of "long painfully for a thing", used elsewhere by Heliodoros at 2.21.6 (with infinitive), 5.32.4 (with εἰς + accusative), and 10.18.3 (with direct object). In all of these cases the metaphor of pain or of bringing to birth is in place while in the passage under discussion it is clearly less so. See also for this use of ὠδίνω Himer.12.58 Colonna, id.38.1 Colonna, both with the infinitive; Choric.42.20 Foerster-Richtsteig, with the accusative.

Another possible interpretation is to concentrate on the idea of bringing to birth. The verb is used thus

by Himerios (Or.8.2 Colonna): ἀλλ' ἔοικε γάρ ὁ δαίμων ὠδίνειν τὸ δρᾶμα ; cf.8.7: βραχέα μὲν λήρουν, μείζονα δὲ ὠδίνουσιν ἐνδόν ; also see Themist.Or.13.164c. Thus Theagenes would be turning the wrestling-grips over in his mind, preparing, as it were, to bring them forth into the world.

Gardiner, in his article on wrestling, uses this passage of Heliodoros as evidence of the initial stance, and appears to understand the present phrase as "he tried to avoid giving any ppening"(JHS 1905 p.263). I must confess myself at a loss to understand how Gardiner intended ὠδίνων to be understood.

The range of meanings which ὠδίνω is capable of assuming is large and not always clear. Compare Plut.Aem.Paul.36 ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν φόβον ὠδίνουσα; Porphyr.ap.Euseb.praep.evan.4.144a τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὠδίνοντες; and some of the patristic writers cited by Stephanus: Theophanes Hom.3 p.18 τὸ ὑφωθῆναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· δεῖ τὸν ὠδίνει τὸν νοῦν ; Cyril.Alex. in Joan.6 ἀσύγκριτον ὠδίνοντες φθόνον κατὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ; Christod.Ecphr.227 πυγμαχίης δ' ὤδινε φόνου λειφῶσαν ἀπειλήν.

Although none of these furnishes a parallel for Hld. 10.31.3, they do at least suggest that we should avoid putting a narrow interpretation on the word and so suspecting the transmitted text.

My feeling is that the verb here means "waiting apprehensively for (the start of the contest)" - a loose extension of the second interpretation discussed above. It seems out of

place to suppose that Theagenes is eager for the fight, as the first interpretation would suggest, and while Gardiner's translation is clearly backed by enormous knowledge of Greek athletics, is does impossible violence to the Greek language.

The sentence is carefully written as regards the style, and has been discussed from this point of view by Mazal (Wien.Stud.1958 p.121). We are familiar by now with Heliodoros' penchant for parallel participial cola with a strong rhyme underlining the syntactic structure. This device is used twice in this sentence. It opens with three middle participles (ἀνελόμενος ... ἐπιχειράμενος ... ἀποστειλάμενος) followed by the first main verb (προβάλλει). Then come five parallel participial members in polysyndeton and all with a strong end-placing of the participle, three of them being linked by a powerful rhyme in -ῶσαι. Of these only γυμνώσαι can be shown to be a word commonly applied to wrestling, and so we may deduce that the stylistic device went at least part of the way towards determining Heliodoros' choice of the words σιμώσαι and σβηνώσαι. The effect of all this is to give a feeling of breadth to the sentence, which contributes towards the slowing of narrative pace discussed earlier.

10.31.4

ἐμειδία ... σεσηρότι: a favourite description; cf.4.5.4 σεσηρὸς ὑπεμειδία ; 5.22.2 σεσηρότι τι μειδιάσαι; 7.10.5 σεσηρὸς ὑπομειδιάσασα 7.21.1 σεσηρὸς τι καὶ κατεσμυγμένον ὑποβλέψασα. σκίρον denotes

that kind of smile in which the teeth are shown and commonly shows malice; for similar phrases compare Theocr.7.19 and 20.15, Anth.Pal.5.179.3, Luc.Am. 13, Plut.Mor.223c, and the pseudo-Lucianic Philopatris 26.

τὸν πῆχυν τῷ ἀὐχένι ... ὥσπερ τινα μοχλὸν ἐπαράσσει : the tactic is discussed at some length by J.H.Krause (Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen p.519 n.2). The blow with the forearm cannot be paralleled from any Greek source. Possibly Heliodoros is consciously making the giant Ethiopian fight in a barbaric and unacceptable way, underlining the contrast between Greek skill and barbarian strength. This contrast is further conveyed by the simile; there is no finesse in the Ethiopian's wrestling, but rather it is like hitting someone on the head with an iron bar.

A μοχλός is usually a lever or a crowbar, used for prising things up or open. Here the word simply conveys the strength and crudity of the blow. The implement would usually be made of iron; compare Eur.Bacch.1104, where the Bacchai use ἁράμενοι μοχλοῖς to wrench up the tree in which Pentheus is sitting.

βόμβου πρὸς τῆς πληγῆς ἐξακουσθέντος : if βόμβος is taken as referring to the sound of the blow, this is a most unusual usage. βόμβος and the verb βομβέω have a larger range of application than the familiar "buzzing of bees", but the common factor appears to be that the noise is a prolonged and fairly low pitched one. Thus βομβέω is used of the sea roaring, of thunder, of a stone humming through the air,

and often in Homer of a hero in armour falling to the ground. Nowhere is it used of the short sharp noise to be expected of a single blow.

Possibly therefore we should interpret the βόμβος here as a noise from the crowd, whose reactions form an important motif throughout the tenth book. There is, after all, nothing extraordinary in a blow, especially a heavy one, making a noise; but something unusual seems to be necessary to motivate the Ethiopian's reaction. If he became conscious of a gasp of amazement from the spectators, he would have good reason to act as he does.

Even so, I am not sure that an interpretation along these lines can hold good. The crowd is not mentioned, and it would be rather awkward for the reader to imagine them gasping with so few clues. The point is that the noise from the blow was so loud that it could be heard by the crowd, who, we must remember, were some distance from the combatants. The Ethiopian's arrogance is sufficiently motivated by his pride in dealing his opponent a crushing blow. The word βόμβος still presents difficulties, and we must conclude that Heliodoros has deliberately used an unexpected word to emphasise how extraordinarily strong the blow was: it produced not a slap but a rumbling roar of sound.

ἐθρύπτετο καὶ ἐπεγέλα βλακῳδίᾳ: θρύπτομαι is a favourite word of Heliodoros; cf.2.10.2, 7.10.5, 7.23.4, 7.24.1, 7.27.2 and especially 4.7.2, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐθρυπτόμην ἀνέστων τε τὴν

ἀφρὼν καὶ βλακώδης βύνων; also Char.5.3.6, Luc.Dial.Meretr. 12.1, Anth.Pal.7.218.2, Ael.Var.Hist.1.19. The Suda glosses the word thus: μαλακίζομαι, βλακεύομαι. The usual classical sense is "to be enfeebled", as at Xen.Symp.8.8.

βλακεύω and its cognates were originally concerned with laziness, and it is only in late authors that we find it used as a synonym of τρυφάω. Heliodoros seems to have been rather fond of the word. See the passage from 4.7.2 quoted above and also 7.27.5, εἰ δὲ ἐπιμένοι βλακευόμενος οὐ χαιρήσει. Similar usages are to be found in patristic writers; cf. Didym.2 Cor.3.4 (=PG.39.1693b), where βλακεύω means "boast foolishly", and Clem.Paid.2.3 (=PG.8.433a), where the noun βλακεία means "foolish ostentation".

Note how thickly the characterisation as arrogant barbarian is being applied to the Ethiopian; Heliodoros is making him as unsympathetic as possible.

10.31.5

γυμνασίων ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀλαζὼν ἐκ τῶν ἀσκητῶν: see RL's note (vol.3 p.115 n.2). Ἀνήρ is present in all MSS except Z, and so was certainly present in γ. If it is correct it produces a strangely distorted word order, although perhaps RL overrate the difficulties; for Heliodoros' occasionally recherché word order compare, for example, 10.28.2, where RL also sense a difficulty, and 10.18.3, where the position of τὸ παρὸν is very odd.

We shculd, however, remind ourselves that the MSS testimony for the last section of the Aithiopica is derived entirely from γ, and that our tradition is thus one step removed even from the archetype available for the earlier parts of the novel. Consequently it is not impossible that all extant MSS preserve a corrupt reading. ἀνήρ is certainly difficult to accept for reasons beside the word order. Firstly, it seems far too colourless a word and adds nothing discernible either to meaning or to style. Secondly, it is strange to have to take ἀσκητής as an adjective. It does not appear possible to take γυμνασίων ἀνήρ as one idea balancing ἀλαζὼν ἀσκητής as another. I can find no evidence for such a use of ἀνήρ.

One possible solution is that γυμνασίων is not the original reading. If, for example, Heliodoros had written γυμναστικός, ἀνήρ would not be out of place. It is, as RL say, difficult to think of a reason why any scribe should have inserted the word.

ἀλαζών here seems to be used in the sense of "gymnastic practices". There is no direct parallel for this, but RL point out in their note that the verb ἀλαζόνευθαι can be used as a synonym of γυμνάζεσθαι; see their reference to Epictet. 1.2.26 and unspecified inscriptions; we may give as examples of these OGIS.339.72 and 764.5.

ἐκ νέων is illogical but the plural is characteristic of the author; compare 3.19.3 and 7.2.3.

τήν τε ἐναγώνιον Ἑρμοῦ τέχνην ἠκριβωκώς: it is more natural

to say ἐναγωνίου Ἑρμοῦ, and this would need only a slight change from the MSS reading; however, the alteration introduces a hiatus and so should not be made. For ἐναγώνιος Ἑρμῆς see Pi.Pyth.2.10, Simon.18.1, Aes.Frag.384, Ar.Plut.1161, IG.2.1181; and in general for Hermes as patron god of wrestling compare Hor.Od.1.10, with Nisbet and Hubbard's commentary, which gives further references (p.129-30).

For this use of ἀκριβόω with the accusative cf. 1.9.2, τέχνην τὴν ἐπαγωγὸν ἐκτύπως ἠκριβωμένη and also Ael.Nat.Anim.10.7 τῶν μαγείρων τοὺς τὴν τέχνην ἀκριβοῦντας and ibid.17.12, εἰ ... τὴν πονηρὰν ἀκριβοῦντες σοφίαν and Dion.Hal.Comp.verb.4, τὰ διαλεκτικὰς τέχνας ἠκρίβωσεν. ἠκόπειραν ... λαβών: λαβών was first suggested by H.Richards (op.cit.p.113). The emendation is necessary "for grammar's sake."

ὄγκον οὖσαν πελώριον καὶ θηριωδῶς πραττομένην: this further extends the characterisation of the Ethiopian as brainless strength. ὄγκος here is used to indicate that the Ethiopian's merit lies entirely in his size. πελώριος is a Homeric word, applied to heroes or gods at Il.5.395, 7.208, 3.229, 11.820, 21.527, 3.166, Od.11.572, 9.187.

ἐμπειρίαν ... τὴν ἀγροίκων ἰσχὺν καταστοχάσασθαι: the very essence of this type of unequal combat. Compare Paus.1.39.3 talking of Theseus' fight with Cercyon, κατεπάλαισεν αὐτὸν σοφίᾳ τὸ πλέον. For Heliodoros' use of ἄγροικος as the opposite of cunning and cleverness see 1.26.3.

10.31.6

ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς κραδανθείς : κραδαίνω is literally "to shake or brandish". It came to be used of earthquakes and similar phenomena. For this transferred sense applied to the daze of a man after being struck a heavy blow, compare Plut. Artax.9, ἐκραδάνθη δὲ ... τῇ πληγῇ ἰσχυρᾶς προσπεσούσης .

βάτερον μέρος ἕκαστον προὐβάλλετο : the use of ἕκαστον seems almost tautologous, but appears to have been regular in late Greek; cf.10.36.4 and Hdn.5.4.17, παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς ἑκάστους καὶ ὥσπερ ἀἰχμαλώτους. The choice between the imperfect προὐβάλλετο and the aorist προὐβάλετο is not as straightforward as might appear. MSS authority is marginally in favour of the aorist, but the palaeographic difference is minimal. Presumably RL were led to favour the imperfect here by the two other imperfects later in the sentence (ὑπεκρίνετο ... ἐσχηματίζετο) and by Heliodoros' habitual desire for parallel structures; it is also noteworthy that he often makes use of the imperfect as a narrative tense where we might have expected the aorist.

συνεδὺς τῇ πληγῇ : for this use of συνεδύναι cf.Diod.17.43.1.

10.32.1

ἀποθανούσης: see D.Baumgarten op.cit.p.15; Baumgarten is illustrating words first used by Xenophon which passed into the koine of the empire. This is one example, and does not indicate any direct borrowing from Xenophon; cf.2.31.5 and 7.20.6.

τὸν πῆχυν αὐτοῦ ἀναπεῖσαι κατασείσειν ἔμελλεν: only V and the late MSS AT have the future infinitive καταασείσειν. ZMP read καταστείειν. The sense must be that the Ethiopian is off his guard, and as he is on the point of striking what he expects to be the decisive blow, Theagenes surprises him and throws him. Heliodoros is indifferent about the tense of the infinitive used with μέλλω (see my note on 9.1.2), but I have doubts whether καταστέω in any tense can possibly be used of swinging one's arm down onto another person's head. The easiest emendation would be to read καττεῖσειν; the MS error would have arisen either through ει being read as α , or through a dittography of ει . V will then have emended the corrupt καταστειειν into an apparently more regular future infinitive. Although καταφέρω is a comparatively colourless word, it is picked up later in the sentence by καταφορά We have met the device of repeating related forms before in Heliodoros.

ὑπεισῆλθε: the prefixes are to be taken in a completely literal sense. Theagenes ducked "in under" the Ethiopian's raised arm. ὑπεισέρχομαι is nearly always found in a

different meaning, given by LSJ as "enter upon secretly."

τὴν καταφορὰν ἐκκλίνας: καταφορά is used of a downward swordstroke by Polybios (2.33.3).

At this point the narrative quickens and becomes more excited. This is achieved mainly by polysyndeton in the long sentence running through 10.32.1-2. Note especially how often τε occurs (ὑπεισῆλθε τε ... πήχει τε ... ἐρρύητό τε ... ποῖς τε νώτοις ... τὴν βάσιν τε ... εἰς γόνυ τε ἐκλάσαι ... τούς τε καρποὺς ... ἑαυτό τε τὰ μετάφρενα), which seems to have the effect of constantly directing the narrative forwards in fairly small cola. Clearly Heliodoros is trying to reflect the speed of the action.

τὸν ... βραχίονα προσαναστείλας: I have not been able to parallel this meaning of προσαναστέλλω but as with ὑπεισῆλθε above, Heliodoros has used the prepositional prefixes in an unusually literal way. Thus the meaning is something like "pushed it up as well", i.e. as the Ethiopian's right arm descends into empty space (εἰς κενὸν ἐνεχθείσης), Theagenes pushes his left arm upwards, thus aggravating his loss of balance.

ἐρρύητο: cf.10.30.4 and my note.

ἅμα τε καὶ τῇ καταφορᾷ: this is P's reading. The other MSS have ἅμαρτε καὶ, which makes very little sense. It is nevertheless retained by Colonna and translated by Maillon. Theagenes does not put a hold on the Ethiopian until περιέχεται at the end of this section.

The detail of a fighter losing his balance is naturally more common in descriptions of boxing matches, to which the Ethiopian's methods tend to approximate. Compare for example Virg.Aen.5.443ff., Apoll.Rhod.2.91ff., Theocr.22.120ff. In all of these cases a downward chopping blow is involved, but there is never any suggestion that it is intended to be landed with the forearm not the fist.

ὑπὸ τὴν μασχάλην: i.e. under the Ethiopian's left armpit, after Theagenes had thrust his left arm backwards and upwards.

10.32.2

καὶ πολλὰν τὴν ὑστέρα etc.: the wrestling manoeuvre described in this section appears to be that called the κλιμακισμός. For a description and discussion of this see E.N.Gardiner: The Pankration and Wrestling; JHS 26 (1906) p.15ff. We may quote Gardiner's definition:"κλιμακίζειν means to jump onto an opponent's back knotting one's legs and arms about him - to make, as it were, a ladder of him " (p.16). The hold could be used either when the opponent was standing or when he was already on the ground, and clearly belongs to the pancration, not to ὀρθὴ πάλη, "for it is impossible to throw an opponent in this way without falling oneself " (p.18).

In Heliodoros, Theagenes does not apply the κλιμακισμός until he has thrown the Ethiopian onto his hands and knees.

"While a wrestler is supporting himself on his hands and knees his position is far from hopeless, and he can by a quick and vigorous movement often overturn his adversary and secure the advantage" (Gardiner p.19). Theagenes therefore has to knock away his opponent's arms and draw them back around his head. Gardiner compares a wrestling group in the Uffizi and also Philostratos' account of Arrichion's last fight (Imag.2.6), which demonstrates just how the wrestler subjected to a κλιμακισμός on the ground could reverse the situation, although in Arrichion's case he acted too late to save his life.

For descriptions of the standing κλιμακισμός see Philostr.Imag.2.6, Lucan 4.626ff., Stat.Theb.6.889ff. Closer to Heliodoros are two passages decribing the hold on the ground: Luc.Anach.1, καὶ ἦν ὁ μὲν ἀράμενος ἐκεῖνος τὸν ἕτερον ἐκ τοῦ σκέλους ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, εἶτ' ἐπικαθίσας ἀνακύπτειν οὐκ ἐᾷ συνωθῶν κάτω εἰς τὸν πηλόν· τέλος δὲ ἤδη περιπλέξας αὐτῷ τὸ σκέλη κατὰ τὴν ὑστέραν τὸν πῆχυν ὑποβαλὼν τῇ λαιμῷ ἄγχει ἄθλιον ; and Nonn.Dionys.37.594ff.,

καὶ πελάσας ὅλον ἄνδρα περιστρωβέντα κονίῃ
Αἰακὸς ἀντιπάλοιο μέσων ἐπεβήσατο νώτων,
καὶ πόδα πεπταμένης διὰ ὑστέρης ἑκταῖα πέμπων,
καμπύλον ἀκροτάτῳ περὶ γούνατι δέσμα συνάπτων,
ταρσῷ ταρσὸν ἔρεισε παρὲξ σθυρὸν ἄκρον ἑλίξας,
αὐχένι δεσμὸν ἔβαλλε βραχίονι, δάκτυλα κάμψας

τὰ σφυρὰ καὶ ἀστραγάλους: differentiated by Rufus (Onomast, 124): τὰ δὲ ἄκρα ἀμφοῖν τῶν ὀστῶν τὰ πρὸς τῇ πολὶ σφυρὰ καλεῖται, ἀστράγαλοι δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς· ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀστράγαλον ὁ ποὺς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπὸ τῷ σφυρῷ, κἂν οὐκ ἐμφάνῃ.

τῇ πτέρνῃ ... ἐκμοχλεύσας: i.e. as the Ethiopian staggers forwards from the force of his missed blow, with Theagenes on his back, Theagenes hacks repeatedly at his ankles until the Ethiopian loses his balance altogether and falls to his knees.

τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς βουβῶνας τὰ σκέλη καταπείρας: a regular part of the κλιμακισμός; besides the passages quoted above, compare Philostr.Imag.2.6, τὰ σκέλη δὲ τοῖς βουβῶσιν ἐναρμόσας; and Lucan 4.626ff.: " ... iam terga viri cedentia victor
alligat et medium conpressis ilibus artat
inguinaque insertis pedibus distendit et omnem
explicuit per membra virum... "
and Stat.Theb.6.889 "mox latus et firmo celer implicat ilia nexu."

For the dative after καταπείρω cf.Paul.Aeg.6.31 and Ephraem ap.Phot.Bibl.p.265.9.

τοὺς πήχεις περιαγαγών: i.e. the Ethiopian's own arms. After knocking away his opponent's support, Theagenes quickly seizes hold of his adversary's arms and pulls them back so that they cross behind his neck; this is the ἄμμα referred to.

ἐξαπλῶσαι τῇ γῇ τὴν ἀστέρα: for the construction compare

Nonn.20.385, Orph.A.457.

10.32.3

Μιᾶς ... βοῆς ... ἀρθείσης: for the crowd's previous reaction compare 10.30.5. Throughout the proceedings the crowd seems to act as a guide and a barometer for the reader's feelings.

οὐδὲ ὁ βουλεὺς ἐκαρτέρησεν ἀλλ' ἀνήλατό τε τοῦ θρόνου etc.: Heliodoros' descriptions are becoming a little stereotyped. We have had all the essentials of this scene before, during the recognition of Charicleia, but I cannot see that any conscious reminiscence is intended. Compare 10.16.1, οὐκέτι κατεῖχεν ἡ Περσίννα, ἀλλ' ἄθρόον τε ἀνήλατο τοῦ θρόνου; and 10.24.1, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ Ὑδάσπης ἐπὶ τῆς καθέδρας ἐκαρτέρησεν ἀλλ' ὑπήντα. For Hydaspes' exclamation which follows cf. 10.7.4ff., where Persinna exclaims ὦ ἄνερ ... ὅπως κόρην εἰς τὴν θυσίαν ἐκλέξει, and goes on to wish that some way could be found of saving Charicleia. This near repetition of situations was perhaps inevitable once Heliodoros had made the decision to give each of his central characters a separate rescue sequence.

ἐκ τοῦ νόμου πράττειν for the impersonal use of πράττειν compare Luc.Par.54, Dion.Hal.Rhet.7.5.

στεφανοῦ ... τὴν νίκην: for the double accusative with στεφανόω cf. Ar.Knights 647 εἶτ' ἐστεφάνουν μ' εὐκλεᾶ. For the passive retaining one of the accusatives, as in

the present example, see Philostr.Heroic.10.4 (=p.179-80 K), ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐ μὲν τοιάδε ἀριστεῖα ἐστεφανοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων; and Clem.Alex.Str.7.3 (=PG.9.424d), τὴν ἀληθινὴν νίκην κατὰ πάντων στεφανούμενος τῶν παθῶν.

10.32.4

μὴ τοῦ προκειμένου καὶ βουλομένῳ ῥύσασθαί σε οὐ δυνατόν:

compare 10.20.1, where Hydaspes tells Charicleia that it is impossible for Theagenes to be exempted from the sacrifice. Even closer in phrasing is 10.7.6, where Hydaspes explains to Persinna that Charicleia cannot be saved, ῥυσθῆναί γε μὴν τῆς θυσίας ἀδύνατος· καίτοι γε ἐβουλόμην, περιόντι γε καὶ σώζεσθαι. As before, the similarity of situation makes some verbal repetition almost unavoidable.

ῥύεσθαι is not found in Attic prose except for one instance in Thucydides (5.63), but was common in epic and tragedy; it was also used in Ionic prose. It is occasionally used by late prose writers; cf. ῥυσθῆναι at 10.7.6, quoted above, and also Diog.Laert.8.79 and Sext.Emp.adv.math.1.80.

ἔτι σε ζῶντα ἧσαι δυνάμενον: this is the reading of VZ; P has a nonsensical μόνον and M reads ὠφελεῖν instead of ἧσαι. Coraes suggested that this might have been an explanation of an original reading ὀνῆσαι, corrupted into ἧσαι in one branch of the tradition. Clearly there is some confusion in the MP branch of the paradosis, but I share RL's belief that ἧσαι is the correct reading. "À un homme sur le point

de mourir on offre plutot un plaisir qu'un profit" (p.116 n.2). The variant probably arose through the influence of ἀνάνηπτον at the end of 10.32.3.

The active form of ἥδομαι is quite respectable; see RL's examples from Achilles Tatius (1.2.2) and Aelian (Nat.Anim.10.48). They are not wholly right, however, in saying "cet emploi ... est limité au grec post-classique." Philosophers invented the form so as to provide a nice antithesis with the active λυπεῖν (thus Schmid, Atticismus III p.200), but the specialised form τὰ ἡδοντα is used as early as Antiphon the Sophist (P.Oxy.11.1364.116 = Frag.44 p.349 DK), and is also found in pseudo-Platonic Axiochos (366a), which was certainly current before the first century AD, when Thrasyllos included it in his list of works universally rejected as spurious (Diog.Laert.3.57).

δέομαι δός : a conversational formula ? Heliodoros uses it also at 6.7.7.

εἰ το διαθρἀνσί με τὴν ἱερουργίαν πάντως ἀνέφλικτον, κειρὶ γοῦν τῆι ... θυγατρὸς κέλευε : ἀνέφλικτον was suggested by J.Jackson (op.cit.p.106) and printed independently by RL. The MSS reading is ἄφλυκτον, which was first seen to mean the opposite of what it ought by H.Richards (op.cit.p.113). Richards proposed ἄνευκτον, but this involves an unparalleled use of the word, and so ἀνέφλικτον is to be preferred. Richards also wanted to insert ἱερουργηθῆναι in the second half of the sentence, and we may agree that it is very

bald as it stands, This very baldness makes me uneasy about ἀνέδλκτον, elegant as it is in picking up ἐξεῖται earlier in the sentence. As Richards pointed out, there are two ways of curing the MSS difficulties: we can go for the meaning "if it is impossible for me to escape sacrifice" or "if it is inevitable that I undergo sacrifice." In the first case suspicion falls on ἄδυκτον, in the second on διαθρᾶναι. I cannot help feeling that the absence of ἱερουργηθῆναι in the second part of the sentence would be less felt in the second case. Richards offered the possibility of supposing that μή had fallen out before διαθρᾶναι, but rightly concluded that this would be intolerably clumsy. He was finally led to attack ἄδυκτον by the consideration that "διαθρᾶναι is too apposite to be wrong." The same, however, could be said of ἄδυκτον.

Unfortunately, I can find no equally elegant emendation of διαθρᾶναι, and if we decide to follow the above line of argument we must suppose that it has replaced some word meaning "undergo" or "suffer".

My feelings, incidentally, receive some encouragement from the form in which Charicleia presents her syllogism at 10.20.2, "if it is inevitable that he is sacrificed, let me do the deed myself." Of course, Heliodoros is under no obligation always to cast his ideas in the same mould.

Perhaps we should consider the idea that any emendation is a counsel of perfection; it may be that we are dealing

with a nuance which eluded Heliodoros as he wrote; cf. 10.17.1 and my notes.

10.33.1

Δηχθεὶς ... πρὸς τὸ εἰρημένον: for the metaphor see my note on 10.30.7, and compare especially 5.23.1, τούτων εἰρημένων οἷς μὲν ἐδήχθησαν.

πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον τῆς Χαρικλείας παρακλήσεως etc.: referring to 10.20.2, where Charicleia asks to be allowed to carry out the sacrifice of Theagenes herself.

The similarity of requests is another red herring. From the evidence provided by Heliodoros in his narrative, it cannot appear anything more than quite fortuitous. There was no prearranged plan between Theagenes and Charicleia to cover such a contingency, and we are given no hint that Theagenes could have overheard Charicleia's request, which was made during an exchange between her and Hydaspes. Heliodoros' intention is clearly to tighten the irony of the situation still further; the reader will have to take the similarity between their requests as an instance of the complete concord between lovers; he will be exasperated that Hydaspes comes so close to recognising the truth of their relationship but backs away at the last moment.

If I was right to interpret Charicleia's original demand as an ambiguous hint at suicide (see notes on 10.20.2), Theagenes can hardly be supposed to concur in her desire. The resemblance, as we have said, is not organic to the plot and is intended only to increase the ironic tension of the passage.

The occurence of the adjectival form Χαρικλεῖος twice in one chapter is remarkable, but we have seen before that Heliodoros sometimes seems to get a word stuck in his head, using it twice in rapid succession and seldom elsewhere (cf.10.30.8 etc.). Some editors, including Hirschig, emend Χαρικλείου here to Χαρικλέους, but it is difficult to see how such an error could have arisen. No one appears to have objected to the second occurrence at 10.33.2. Colonna prints a slightly different form, Χαρικλείου, without saying on what authority. It is not printed by any other editor or listed in any apparatus, and so seems likely to have been a conjecture made by Colonna himself. It is impossible to prove him wrong on this point, but one's first impression is that his chosen form has too many vowels in it to be true. For Heliodoros' habit of forming adjectives from proper names compare 2.8.2, 2.35.1, 4.5.5, 5.32.4, 8.5.7.

For παράκλησις in the almost modern Greek sense of "request" compare Heliodoros' use of παρακαλέω at 10.21.1. LSJ give two references from papyri for this meaning (P.Grenf. 1.32.7 and P.Lond.3.1164d10) and we may also compare Euseb.Hist.Eccl.2.15.1 (=PG.20.172b) and some patristic passages where the meaning of παράκλησις is somewhat equivocal but at least approaches that found in the present passage: Or.Mart.26 (=PG.11.596a), Bas.Ep.82 (=PG.32.460b), Euseb. Hist.Eccl.3.36.6 (=PG.20.288c).

τὸν νεὸν ἀναπέμπων: the closest parallel for this usage that I have been able to find is from Alex.ad Arist.Top.143a12 (=p.445.15 Wallies), where ἀναπέμπω is used of referring back to an earlier stage of an argument.

δοκιμάζων ... ἀνιχνεύειν: for δοκιμάζω with the infinitive cf.Luc.Bis Acc.31, Jos.Ant.Jud.2.7.4.

ἓν συνέχοντι τῷ καιρῷ: there is an incorrect reference in RL's note on this phrase. The passage they quote is from 4.15.3, not from 4.9.4, which does not exist. I am not convinced that it is a good parallel; in the earlier passage συνέχειν seems to be connected with the adjective συνέχης, meaning"without leaving an interval."

αἰτεῖν ἐπέτρεψα καὶ δοῦναι ἐπένευσα: note the exact balance of this phrase, reinforced by identical numbers of syllables in each limb, and by repetition of the prepositional prefix ἐπι-.

γεγαμῆσθαι σὺν χρῇ etc.: Hydaspes reacts in the same way to Theagenes' request as he had earlier to Charicleia's. Compare 10.21.2. He has now completely dropped the objection that only the Priest of the Sun and the Priestess of the Moon are allowed to perform sacrifice, just as at 10.21.2 he forgot about the custom that the king and queen were also the priest and priestess. By confining Hydaspes' objections to this one head, Heliodoros allows himself ample scope for further irony, of much the same kind as before.

For the active form παρθενεύειν see my note on 10.8.2.

RL print the reading of VZ. MP have χρῆναι instead of χρή making the whole sentence dependent on ὃ νόμος διαγορεύει. Apart from the generally better authority of VZ, their reading is preferable on its own merits. We should compare 10.31.1, whence it appears that the short asyndetic concluding sentence is intended to be characteristic of Hydaspes' speech, rather imperious in tone, shortly stating a reason against which there can be no argument. It is interesting that at 10.31.1 Z appears to have tried to "correct" the construction to oratio obliqua by omitting χρή; presumably it was the asyndeton which made scribes uneasy. παρθενεύειν is printed by Bekker and Colonna, and is clearly correct against the MSS παρθενεύσασαν, attracted by the adjacent σφαγιάζουσαν.

The most difficult thing about the phrase is the oddity of οὖν, which appears to have escaped editors and translators. It seems to me to carry the implied sense: "since I must explain it to you, therefore let me tell you". Heliodoros himself offers a parallel to this usage at 2.8.2, but I have not been able to trace it in any other author.

ἀλλ' ἔχει ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτή: once again we feel ourselves on extremely familiar ground. See Charicleia's claim to have a husband in 10.21.3, laughed to scorn by Hydaspes at 10.22.3, in much the same way as here. As with the request that Charicleia should be allowed to carry out the sacrifice,

there is no question of collusion between Theagenes and Charicleia. As before, the irony is further tightened by Hydaspes' refusal to see the truth when it is presented to him for the second time.

10.33.2

φληναφοῦντος ... καὶ θανατῶντος: cf.10.12.1, where Hydaspes greets Charicleia's claim to be a member of the Ethiopian royal family with incredulity: τοῦ γήρως διαπτύοντος ὡς φληνάφους τοὺς λόγους. For the idea that a person on the point of death will speak nonsense to try to postpone the fatal hour see 10.10.4, δῆλον ... ὡς οὐδὲν ἔρρει σπουδῶν, ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἴδιον τῶν τὰ τελευταῖα κινδυνευόντων, λόγων ματαίων ἔστιν πλάσματα πρὸς ὑπέρθεσιν.

θνατάω usually means "want to die", and is used thus at, for example, Plat.Phaedr.64b, Philostr.Vit.Apoll.7.31. For the non-desiderative sense "be moribund" see Philo de aet.mund.89 and Lyd.de mag.3.40. A characteristic penchant for rhyme and balance has led Heliodoros in his choice of words.

γάμων καὶ ἀνδρὸς ὁμιλίας ἀπείρατον etc.: cf.10.7.7, μὴ ἀμφεύστα τοῦ ὁμιλίας τῆς πρὸς ἄνδρας ἐλεγχθεῖη. Charicleia's virginity was shown by the brazier at 10.9.3f., and Hydaspes refers to the incident, as here, to illustrate his bewilderment at references to Charicleia's husband at 10.22.3. For ἀπείρατος in amatory contexts see Jos.Bell.

Jud.3.4.1, Plut.mor.681c, Hymn Aphrod.133.

τὴν εἰ μὴ: pleonastic according to the strict criteria of Lucian (Soloec.7), but none the less common in late prose, especially, as RL point out, after a negative sentence. Heliodoros is not bound even by this constraint and makes use of the phrase at 8.10.2, as here, after a positive statement. RL add another example from Dionysios of Halicarnassos (Ant.Rom.4.74.1).

Μερόηβον ἄνδρα etc.: referring to 10.24.1, where Hydaspes dropped the hint that he may intend to marry his newly discovered daughter to his nephew: εἰς καιρὸν ἥκειν ... τά τε ἐπινίκια συνεορτάσων καὶ τὰ γαμήλια θύσων. Meroebos picks up the hint and at 10.24.2 there is a vivid description of him blushing ἐν μελαίνῃ τῇ χρᾳ̂.

The function of Meroebos in the plot is minimal, serving only to introduce the Ethiopian wrestler. However, Heliodoros drops hints that he is a potential rival to Theagenes for the hand of Charicleia, although he finally disappears from the novel, not being mentioned again after 10.33.3. This seems to lay Heliodoros open to the charge of not tying loose ends, or of constructing his plot laxly. Criticism of this kind misses the point of the difficulties which he faced in writing the final sequence of the Aithiopica. I have outlined my conclusions on this in my note on 10.31.3, but it is worth stressing again that Heliodoros is concerned not to let his narrative slip into the predictable. If the

reader is not to lose interest he must never feel absolutely sure of how the story is going to finish. By dropping hints about Meroebos that are never taken up, Heliodoros is conforming to this pattern. The reader feels, especially after Meroebos' expressions of jealousy in 10.33.3, that even after the revelation of Charicleia's love for Theagenes everything will not necessarily run smoothly. In the event, of course, Heliodoros devises an even more dramatic conclusion. τοῦ Χαρικλείου φρονήματος ἐπήσθημαι: yet more irony is piled on, but Hydaspes is never given the chance to enquire how Theagenes can have gained an acquaintance with Charicleia's character.

ἐπαισθάνομαι is quite frequently found with the genitive; cf.Soph.Phil.1296, Soph.Oed.Col.1351, Soph.Ant.1183, Dem. 11.14 etc. The perfect tense here indicates that Theagenes "is in a state of having perceived" Charicleia's character, that is to say that he is well acquainted with it.

κἄμοι ἐκ θύρας μαντευομένῳ πιστεύειν ἔστιν ἀλλήλων: we must admire Theagenes' sang-froid at being able to indulge in black humour at such a juncture; compare 9.2.1 and my notes there. Actually, one suspects that Heliodoros was so taken by the theme of the macabre little exchange between Theagenes and Meroebos that he did not spare much thought for dramatic appositeness. We need hardly explain that Theagenes' prophetic powers derive not from his status as a sacrificial victim but from his close knowledge of

Charicleia. It is therefore superfluous for him to mention the former.

The MSS all agree in reading καί μοι, altered by RL to κάμοί. Mr.Reeve tells me that the hiatus after the ἐμοί contained in κάμοί is unacceptable, whereas hiatus after enclitic μοι can be paralleled; cf.CQ 1971 p.519. With μοι RL's punctuation cannot be followed, and we must adopt that of Colonna, who allows the conditional clause to run on and include "ἔστω. The future "ἔστω presents difficulties of interpretation, ducked by Maillon, who translates it as if it were ἔστι, as proposed by Coraes. It probably represents a fusion of two ideas, πιστεύσετε and πιστεύειν ἔστι δίκαιον.

10.33.3

ὦ βέλτιστε : i.e. Theagenes. Meroebos turns to address Hydaspes later in this section at ὦ πάτερ. The sarcasm serves to reinforce the picture of Meroebos' jealousy. For the dramatic function of this motif see my note on 10.33.2.

ἀνατμηθέντα τὴν ... σημείωσιν ... ὑποδείκνυσιν : cf.RL's note (p.118 n.1), where they claim a medical tone for ἀνατέμνω and for σημείωσις. To interpret strictly, the medical sense of σημείωσις is "diagnosis", and it is not easily taken as a logical object of ὑποδείκνυσιν. In the present passage it is clear that the σημείωσις is what the seer sees in the entrails, not the conclusion that

he draws. For these reasons, it is preferable to take the primary sense to be either "indication" (cf.Plut.Mor.961c) or "sign" (in late Greek virtually equivalent to σῆμα). This is not, however, to deny the presence of the medical connotations detected by RL.

ὦ πάτερ : Meroebos is actually Hydaspes' nephew (10.23.2), but Hydaspes loves him as his own son (ibid.). Meroebos has already addressed Hydaspes as father at 10.24.3.

θανατῶντα παραβλέπεσθαι: for θανατάω see the beginning of 10.33.2. Meroebos is picking up Hydaspes' use of this unusual word.

For παραβλέπομαι in the sense "talk nonsense", cf. Cic.ad Att.6.4.3, Jos.Bell.Jud.2.14.8, and the scholiast on Soph.Phil.1195, who uses the word to gloss παρὰ νοῦν βροτεῖν. At 5.8.4 Heliodoros uses the word in the different sense of "speak aside", for which compare Eunap.Vit.Soph.9.2.9. The word clearly has a wide range of meanings; compare also Aristides' speech περὶ τοῦ παραβλέπεσθαι (Or.28 Keil), where the παράβλεμμα was an impromptu digression.

εἰ κελεύοις : the characterisation of Meroebos in this short speech is excellently handled. He is shown as eager to be rid of Theagenes and yet scrupulous not to usurp Hydaspes' authority. Hence this polite formula, coupled with the indirect imperative ἀγέτω τις.

ἐπὶ τοὺς βοῦς: i.e. Theagenes will be back in the same position as he was before his exploit with the bull and

his combat with the Ethiopian wrestler. Theagenes leapt from the altar at 10.28.4.

ἢ π λείπεται: picked up in 10.34.1 ἢ τινες ἐπολείποντο. These references go some way towards preparing for the sudden arrival of Charicles without spoiling the surprise for the reader, who was told at 10.27.1 that the embassy from Axum was the last.

10.33.4

ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ μικρὸν ἀνωτερεύσασα: logically there was no reason for Charicleia to hope that Theagenes' victories would change his fate, but we have seen that the two combats are best viewed as an attempt by Heliodoros to keep his readers guessing the course of the plot. The present passage to some extent confirms that interpretation, showing that similar thoughts were not absent from Heliodoros' mind.

By now the reader is aware that Hydaspes does not see his way clear to rescuing Theagenes, much as he would like to do so (10.32.4). There is therefore irony at work here, in that the reader knows more than the character and the character's hopes are, within the immediate context, impossible.

τὰ βελτίονα ἐλπίσασα: this is the reading of VMPAT. Z has βέλτιστα. Although there seems no reason to doubt the superior authority of βελτίονα, present in both branches of the tradition and therefore the reading of γ, it is interesting

that in the similar context of 1.27.1 Heliodoros wrote the superlative τὸ βέλτιστον (thus all MSS, except, curiously, Z again, which reads the comparative τὸ βέλτιον). If we are seeking a logical explanation, we may say that in the earlier passage Charicleia was putting the best of all possible interpretations on the facts, whereas here there are only two possible outcomes: Theagenes is either rescued or he is not.

εἰκὸς σωθῆναι τὸν νέον etc.: again the reader's expectations are guided in a direction which the plot will not take.

πρὸς τὰ καιριώτερα τῶν διηγημάτων: καιριώτερα appears to echo καιρόν in the preceding line, but there is no real connection of thought. For the phrase compare 3.1.2.

This sentence is illustrative of the narrative weight which Heliodoros can place on a participial construction; compare 10.30.2 etc. In this case, the sentence starts with two genitive absolutes describing Persinna's actions (παρηγορούσης ... λεγούσης), which are balanced by two nominative participles describing Charicleia's state of mind (βιασθεῖσα ... ἁρῶσα). The main clause is comparatively short and adds little.

It is worth noting for an assessment of Heliodoros' narrative technique that we are nowhere given an account of the following conversation between Charicleia and Persinna. At 10.38.2 we are given a brief account by Persinna of what Charicleia has told her. The repetition of Charicleia's

story would be merely boring t: a reader who already knows it, and at this stage of the plot recapitulation would serve only to slacken the accumulating tension.

10.34.1

ἐί τινες ὑπολείπονται τῶν πρεσβευσάντων: cf.10.27.1, where the Axumites are said to be the last of the embassies. Hydaspes' question here is formally motivated by the suggestion of Meroebos at 10.33.4. There is no contradiction between this and the earlier passage, since the Syenians must be understood to have arrived some time after the reception of the Axumites, during the narrative time covered by the bull-fight and the wrestling-match. This is made clear later in this section: ἄρτι δὲ καὶ πρὸ βραχέος ἐπελθόντες. τοῦ ἑσπερίου etc.: cf.10.22.6 and notes. The manuscript discrepancy over Hermonias/Harmonias' name remains, although RL's apparatus to the present chapter does not make this clear. See the apparatus on p.104.

10.34.2

βασιλεῦ φιλανθρώπου etc.: for the philanthropy of Hydaspes compare his sparing of Oroondates, and Oroondates' praise of him in 9.27.2: τὸν ἐννομώτατον ἀνθρώπων ... ἀνδρῶν. μὲν δυνάμενον, τὸ εἶναι δὲ φιλανθρωπευόμενον.

πλέον γνώμῃ ἐνικήσας: cf.9.21.1, νικᾶν γὰρ καλὸν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἑστῶτας μὲν τῇ μάχῃ, πεπτωκότας δὲ τῇ εὐπρεπείᾳ; and the message which Hydaspes gives Oroondates to pass on to the Great King in 9.26.3, ἀδελφῷ ὁ σὸς Ὑδάσπης τῇ μὲν χειρὶ κεκράτηκε, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ πάντα σου τὰ σὰ μεθῆκε. καί μοι σατραπείαν ὅλην ἔκων παρεχωρήσαι: cf.9.26.3, σὺ δέ,

εἰ περιγένοιτο, τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς στερήσειε; and Oroondates' acknowledgment of this in 9.27.2 βασιλέα γνωρίζω τὸν σατραπείαν μου δωρούμενον.

It is significant that Oroondates refers here to a σατραπεία ὅλη, since the purpose of Hydaspes' expedition was to regain for Ethiopia the disputed area around Philai (8.1.1ff.). This he accomplished by defeating Oroondates in battle. He did not however use his victory for unlimited conquest (9.26.2), but simply adjusted the boundaries of Egypt and Ethiopia in accordance with the natural border between the countries, restoring the rest of Egypt to the satrap Oroondates. Thus the Persian satrapy lost some territory during the campaign, and the Persian king would perhaps not regard what was left as a "whole satrapy." However, by doing so here, Oroondates is shown to have accepted the just decision of Hydaspes and the dictates of nature, and to have abandoned the Persian claim to Philai.

For παραχωρέω with this direct and indirect object construction compare 10.36.4, Cyr.Alex.comm.in John 16.5.6 (=PG.74.429c) καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ νοήματα τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς παραχωρήσομεν Σωτῆρι Χριστῷ, and the fifth-century church historian Gelasios Cyzicenos Hist.Eccl.2.19.16 (=PG.85.1277d) σιώπησον περὶ τοῦ τῶς καὶ παραχώρει τοῦτο τῷ γεγεννηκότι καὶ τῷ γεγεννημένῳ.

βραχεῖαν αἴτησιν ἐπινεύσεως: a slightly irregular construction.

ἐπιτεύω normally takes the accusative of the favour granted and the dative of the person to whom it is granted. One would have expected the request for a favour to end up also in the dative. It seems that αἴτησις here is to be taken not simply as the act of requesting, but as also including the things requested.

10.34.3

Κἀμὴ τις ἀγομένη etc.: note the complete lack of connectives throughout Oroondates' letter. This gives it an imperious tone, akin to (but not identical with) that adopted on occasion by Hydaspes; cf.10.31.1, 10.33.1. It does not appear to correpond to anything in regal epistolatory style; compare the examples quoted by R.Herzog: Griechische Königsbriefe; Hermes 65 (1930) p.455ff.

The letter does bear some resemblance in form to the so-called letter of introduction discussed by C.W.Keyes: AJP 56 (1935) p.28ff. The common features are the rehearsal of claims on the recipient's attention, and the introduction and recommendation of a third party, usually the person carrying the letter. Some of the examples quoted by Keyes are genuine letters, others literary products, but the form involved is such a basic one that it would be difficult to compose a letter of introduction without adhering to it. There is therefore no point in trying to place Heliodoros' fictional letter within the canon of epistolography.

For a general discussion of the letter in the Greek romances see H.Koskenniemi: Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n.Chr. p.180ff.

From the details given in the letter, it is clear that the girl concerned is Charicleia. After being told by Achaimenes of what was happening in the satrap's palace at Memphis, Oroondates sent for Theagenes and Charicleia at 8.3.1. The eunuch Bagoas sets out with them to join Oroondates at Thebes in 8.14.1, but at 8.16.1 they fall in with an Ethiopian scouting party and are captured. The account given of the capture in Oroondates' letter cannot be squared with that in Heliodoros' narrative. At 8.16.6 it is said that all the Persians escaped, except Bagoas, whose horse tripped, and Theagenes and Charicleia, who gave themselves up willingly (8.16.7). Later Theagenes and Charicleia were sent to Ethiopia with Bagoas to protect Charicleia (9.25.5), although the eunuch is not mentioned at all in the tenth book. Thus it is impossible that the Persians who escaped capture could know what had happened to Charicleia, beyond the fact that she did not escape with them; the only Persian who could have known that she was being sent on to Ethiopia was Bagoas, who not only did not escape but is explicitly said to have been sent to Ethiopia with her.

We need not press the inconsistency too hard. For the sake of the plot, Oroondates has to be furnished with

the information of Charicleia's whereabouts. Heliodoros was too conscientious not to tell the reader how he received this information, but, as we have seen happen before, he creates difficulties for himself by the very care he takes to leave nothing unmotivated.

τοῦ πολέμου ἥγετο πάρεργον : πάρεργον is here used in a different sense from that of 9.24.2 and 9.25.2. For its use of an incidental victim of war cf.1.2.4 and Paus. 10.27.2: Πρίαμον δὲ οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν ἔθη Λέσχεως ἐπὶ τῇ ἑσχάρᾳ τοῦ Ἑρκείου ἀλλὰ ἀποσπασθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ πάρεργον τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ πρὸς ταῖς τῆς σύκιας ἡγεῖσθαι θύραις.

λυθῆναί μοι καὶ δοθῆναί μοι δῶρον : a characteristic Heliodorean jingle, with rhyming infinitives in close parallelism. The first μοι serves no purpose and probably found its way into the text because of the similar terminations of the infinitives.

ἑλόμενος ... βουλόμενος : note the elegant chiastic arrangement of the two participial cola. It is not easy to see how Heliodoros intends the two motifs concerned to be reconciled, unless he means us to see that Oroondates is still exercising irresponsible power. Maillon certainly undertranslates ἑλόμενος : it means a good deal more than "je serais heureux moi-même de revoir cette jeune fille." For a start, Oroondates has never seen Charicleia; in 8.2.2-3 Achaimenes excites the satrap's desire for her, in the hope that when she is discarded he will be able to take her for his own wife.

At this point it is clear that Oroondates is taking more than just a friendly interest in the girl's welfare: καὶ ὅλως ἐξηρέθιστο ἤδη καὶ διακαὴς ἦν ὁ σατράπης, θυμοῦ καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ὁμοῦ ὥσπερ εἰς ἄρκυς ἐμβεβλημένος. The reader can hardly be ecpected to forget that now. For ἐφίεμαι in an amatory sense, compare Xen.Mem.4.1.2.

Πολλὴν ἀληθέντι γῆν: ἄλλομαι is a poetic word, used especially in epic. For its use with the accusative compare Soph.Oed Col.1686, Eur.Hel.532, Theocr.13.66. ἀλήθην is an epic form; cf.Hom.Od.14.120, 14.362 etc. This Homeric echo gives an extra dimension to the wanderings of Charicles.

Heliodoros has lavished all his tricks of style on this letter. His choice of ἀληθέντι may have been in part conditioned by the rhyming scheme of participles which it allows, reinforcing a structural pattern by heavy end-placing and a very strong rhyme, weakened in the fourth member: ἀληθέντι ... καταληφθέντι ... ὁρθέντι ... ἀξιώσαντι.

ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ τῷ φρουρίῳ: to be taken together; in English we would say "in the garrison town of Elephantine." Elephantine was the gathering-point for all Oroondates' forces. See 9.13.2, ὁ γὰρ Ὀροονδάτης τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην ἀθροίζεσθαι διατεταγμένος.

μετὰ ταῦτα: i.e. after the defeat of the Persian army. Oroondates is reluctant to be more specific.

πρὸς τὸν σὸν ἥμερον: a most extraordinary phrase, equivalent to πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἡμερότητα, a late periphrasis for πρὸς σέ,

ἥμερον ὄντα. The usage is discussed by Wifstrand (op.cit. p.41/109), who uses it as evidence for a late date for Heliodoros. I have not been able to find examples of this use of a deferential abstract noun earlier than the examples he quotes from Athanasios (Apolog.ad Const.Imp.21 = PG. 25. 621b; id.de Synod.55 = PG.26.792b). We should note, however, that in Heliodoros the form has not yet acquired the mature abstractness we find in later writers. Athanasios actually uses ἡ σὴ ἡμερότης where Heliodoros has τὸ σὸν ἥμερον. Such linguistic evidence is too flimsy to base a dating on. Heliodoros' style tends to be somewhat idiosyncratic, and it is not a priori incredible to find such a form being used in, say, the third century.

For the general situation at this stage in the novel compare the similar function served by the arrival of Leucippe's father at Ach.Tat.7.12.4, where Cleitophon is on the point of being executed. The similarity is probably due to nothing more than a shared liking for dramatic escapes from seemingly certain death, but it is nevertheless striking that in both cases the girl's "father" is looking for his daughter, recognises the hero, and adopts a hostile attitude towards him.

10.34.4

ἱκανὸν μὲν ἐξ ἤθους τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐμφῆναι, ἱκανὸν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὄγκου δυσωπῆσαι: note the stylistic parallelism, this

time pointed up with a pathetic anaphora with μὲν .. δὲ ; for this compare 5.33.4, 6.13.3, 8.1.3, 8.8.1, 2.17.3, 10.1f.5, 6.6.2, 7.14.8, 10.1.1, etc.

Maillon translates δυσωπήσαι as "commande le respet", a meaning I have not been able to parallel for this verb. Properly speaking, it means "to arouse feelings of shame" and is often used of gaining a request by arousing a feeling of shame in the person who is being asked. Thus in late Greek it means little more than "beseech or entreat"; cf. 10.2.1 and the examples quoted in my note ad loc. If we take it in this sense , it will make very good sense here; Charicles is capable of pleading for himself, by way of his pitiful appearance. This is referred to at 10.34.6, where αὖθις καταθέσθαι implies that he had been downcast all along, and is probaoly the best explanation for his wearing the τριβώνιον at 10.35.1. It will also give a better juxtaposition with what follows, a pointed contrast with χαίροντά μοι πολὺν ... ἀντιπέμψον

ἀντιπέμψων: a rarish compound. In the sense of "send back" compare Arr.Anab.6.3.3, Philostr.Imag.1.6 (p.302.23 K), Xen.Hell.4.8.13, Poll.9.105.

ὀνομαζόμενον ... γεγενημένον: a pointed and pathetic contrast, in fact the familiar λόγῳ ... ἔργῳ antithesis in a more rhetorical form. Oroondates is an accomplised letter-writer; this letter is in fact something of a rhetorical set-piece, full of characteristic mannerisms and building up to a

pathetic climax with this final antithesis.

10.34.5

τινα πρεσβύτην: in 2.29.3 Charicles says that he had no children until well advanced in years (ὀψὲ δέ ποτε καὶ βραδὺ τῆς ἡλικίας). His only child grew to marriageable age and died on her wedding-night. He then travelled to Egypt, where he met Sisimithres and was entrusted with the seven-year-old Charicleia (2.30.6ff.) By the time of the narrative, Charicleia is seventeen. Thus more than twenty five years have passed since the birth of Charicles' own daughter, when he was already an old man. Although we may doubt whether Heliodoros himself had calculated the lapse of time, we can hardly question his description of Charicles as πρεσβύτης.

πάντα αἰτοῦντος Ὀροονδάτου ποιεῖν ἕτοιμος: it is not clear why he should be. Hydaspes is under no obligation to Oroondates. Again we should not be too precise in our quest for motives. The scenes at the end of the ninth book are full of the language of friendship (see especially 9.26.3), and now Hydaspes regards Oroondates as so close a friend that he is prepared to do anything for him.

Again we should note the tone of Hydaspes' speech; he is kind, but aloof and superior, this impression being mostly conveyed by the almost impersonal brevity of his diction.

δέκα ... ἀχθῆναι μόνας ... ἐκλέκτους νεανίδας : cf.9.26.1, δέκα δὲ νέους κόρας τε ἰσαρίθμους τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ ὥρᾳ διατρεπόντων ἐπιλεξάμενος.

μιᾶς ... ἧς μὴ ἔστι τὴ θυγάτηρ ἐπεγνωσμένης: this, of course, is Charicleia. Heliodoros is now able to exploit a new ironic situation. Hydaspes does not yet know enough of his own daughter's life history to realise that it is Charicleia whom Charicles is seeking.

ἓξ εὔρεις λάμβανε : slightly inconsistent; in 10.8.2 those who were shown by the brazier not to be virgins were assigned to be sacrificed to Dionysos. There is no obvious reason why Hydaspes should be able to exempt one of these merely to gratify a friend, and yet feel so constrained even over sparing his own daughter. This is the same oversight which I discussed in my note on 10.7.7, where Hydaspes says that Charicleia's life could be spared if she was detected as a non-virgin.

10.34.6

προκύψαι ἐφίλει τοὺς πόδας: compare the knee-kissing at 10.25.1. Kissing of the feet is found as a gesture of gratitude in Achilles Tatius (3.23.1) and in the Byzantine verse novelist Theodoros Prodromos (8.46).

The gesture is fully discussed by C.Sittl (Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römern p.169f.). It seems to be a more extreme form of proscynesis, used by slaves and clients

to their masters (Salvian Epist.4.9, Long.4.12), by lovers (Ov.Ars 2.534, cf.Epictet.4.1.17), to autocrats such as Caligula and Domitian (Dio Cass.59.27, Sen.de ben.2.12, Plin.Paneg.24, Epictet.4.1.17), and by various orientals to their despots (e.g.Xen.Cyr.7.5.32, Polyb.15.1.7, Coripp. Ioh.7.234, Luke 7.38).

προκύπτω is the reading of all MSS except Z, but the sense surely demands προστκύπτω, as printed by Coraes, Bekker and Colonna. For προστκύπτω see 3.10.2, 6.14.4, 7.12.7, 7.18.3, 7.26.7, 10.21.3 and my note on that passage. For προκύπτω see 2.1.1, where it is used of Cnemon and Theagenes peering out of a swamp to see whether the coast is clear. The only justification of προκύπτω meaning "prostrate oneself before" appears to come from a misinterpretation of Plut.Mor.633d, where a hunchbacked politician is said οὐ προεστάναι τῆς πόλεως ἀλλὰ προκεκυφέναι. προσκύπτω here need not mean "prostrate oneself" (cf.Maillon's "le viellard prosterné ..."), but simply "stoop", as elsewhere; Hydaspes is sitting on a high throne, for which see 10.25.1. ὡς ἐπισκοπῶν τὴν ἐπιζητουμένην οὐχ ηὕρισκεν : this seems to stand at the centre of a small nexus of verbal repetitions. ἐπισκοπῶν echoes ἐπισκόπησον at the end of 10.34.5, and the same root is picked up again by περισκοπῶν at the end of 10.34.6. τὴν ἐπιζητουμένην οὐχ ηὕρισκεν is echoed very closely by Hydaspes' speech later in this section, εἰ τὴν ἐπιζητουμένην οὐχ εὑρίσκεις.

τὴν γνώμην ... τὴν ἐμὴν ἔχεις : this seems to be an altered form of the classical τὴν γνώμην πρός σε ἔχω. We should translate, "you have my sympathy (or my good wishes)". I can find no evidence for the sense in which the phrase is taken by Maillon ("je te suis tout acquis"), and his translation does not give a really plausible sequence of thought.

μέμφου δὲ τὴν τύχην: i.e."do not blame me; I can do no more to help you." The expression is found with a similar connotation at Aes.Prom.1073, μηδὲ ... μέμψησθε τύχην; i.e. you have only yourselves to blame. Cf.also Aes.Eum.596.

ἄλλη μήτε ἦχθη ... μήτε ἔστι etc.: compare the restriction on women's attendance at the sacrifice at 10.4.4. There is literally no other woman present apart from the nine remaining of the ten brought from Syene, and Persinna and Charicleia. The present passage, although made easier by the restriction, cannot be thought sufficient to explain its introduction. See my notes ad loc. for a fuller discussion of its purpose.

καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον : the assembly is called a camp because it is taking place before Hydaspes has entered Meroe, and before his army has been stood down. In effect, the citizen population has crossed over to join the returning army in its camp outside the city (cf.10.6.1, and the use of the military term παρεμβολή at 10.23.1.).

10.35.1

ῥαπίσαι τὸ μέτωπον : for the gesture compare 2.1.2 and Ach.Tat.7.14.3. It denoted deep distress. For a full discussion see Sittl: op.cit.p.20-1, esp. n.3, where further examples are cited from Epist.Hippocr.17.18, Apul.Met.1.7, Claud. IV.Cons.Hon.616, Augustin.Conf.8.8, Theodoret.Hist.Eccl.5.7.

ῥαπίζω originally meant "beat with a stick" (e.g. Hdt.7.35, 7.223), but in later Greek became used in a more general sense of striking; cf.Plut.Mor.713c, Ach.Tat.2.24.1, 5.23.5, 6.20.1. Photios glosses it as τυπτῆσαι τὴν γνάθον ἁπλῇ τῇ χειρί.

Note the way in which participles carrying the main burden of the narrative are somewhat artificially grouped into pairs. This is characteristic of Heliodoros' style.

περιαθρῶν ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ πλῆθος: for περιαθρέω cf.Plat.Ax.370d, Philostr.Her.15, Jos.Bell.Jud.1.33.7. We are to imagine Charicles standing still and working his way methodically around the crowd lining the open space.

ὥσπερ τις ἐμμανὴς ἐξέθραμε: cf.Xen.Eph.5.13.2, ἀὼ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ... ἐοικὼς μεμηνότι ἔθεε. Despite the allegorical significance attributed to this detail by Kerényi (op. cit.p.147), it was not unusual to compare a sudden, violent or seemingly irrational action to the behaviour of a madman; cf.for example 1.30.5, 5.2.2, 6.9.3, 6.15.5, 7.7.5, 9.17.2, 10.38.1; Men.Sam.415.

τοῦ τε τριβωνίου etc.: the τριβώνιον was a cloak made from

a coarse, rough material. In classical times it was worn by the Spartans as an indication of their toughness (Plut. Lyc.30; cf. the Cretans at Strab.10.4.20). After the Persian War the style was adopted in Athens (Thuc.1.6.3), either as an affectation of Spartanism (e.g.Dem.54.34) or by those too poor to afford a better material (e.g.Ar.Eccl.850, Isaios 5.11, Lys.32.16). Socrates adopted it as a symbol of asceticism (Plat.Symp.219b, Xen.Mem.1.6.2), and it was afterwards taken up by other philosophers.

It is difficult to know exactly what a τριβώνιον would have looked like, and at first sight statements implying its shortness (e,g.Plat.Prot.342c) are hard to reconcile with the use to which it is put in Heliodoros. However, it seems possible that its name referred not so much to the style of the garment as to the material from which it was made. Thus it can be called a cheap kind of ἱμάτιον (≤Ar.Plut.714). The most revealing evidence is given by Diogenes Laertios (6.13), who says that Antisthenes was the first to "double" it; this implies that it could also be worn single, and so was long enough to be a long cloak, or a short one if folded. Charicles, then, will be gathering up his hem and looping it into a kind of halter.

It is not altogether clear why Charicles should be wearing a τριβώνιον at all, despite RL's note that it is "suivant l'usage". Charicles is neither a poor man nor

a philosophic affecter of poverty; he is not even a "refugié". I have also been unable to find any suggestion that the τριβώνιον was the normal Greek travelling dress.

The text seems to imply in fact that the wearing of the τριβώνιον was not "suivant l'usage", since the parenthesis τοῦτο γάρ indicates a need for explanation. Yet it is clearly the impression of poor clothing which Heliodoros is trying to convey. Charicles' actions demand no more than that he should be wearing a long cloak, and if length were the sole criterion, Heliodoros would not have chosen the τριβώνιον, which more often than not was worn short.

The best explanation is that Charicles' appearance is deliberately pitiful. We have already had a reference to this in Oroondates' letter (10.34.4 and note). It was the custom for an accused man to wear mourning to excite pity (e.g.Ov.Met.15.38), and it is not difficult to extend this custom to a man asking an important favour. Moreover, Charicles is obviously desolated by the loss of his adopted daughter, and it is plausible for him to adopt mournful and pitiful clothing in token of his distress.

περιειλήσας: used in an irregular sense. περιείλω normally means "to wrap something round something else"; thus in Luc.Alex.15 it is used to describe Alexander coiling a snake around his neck. See also Athen.15.672d, Ar.Frogs 1066.

The word was first used by Xenophon (Anab.4.5.36), and from him entered the koine. The closest I have been able to come to paralleling Heliodoros' use of the word is an instance of the passive in Galen to describe the coiled tail of a snake (vol.14 p.265 Kühn.)

ἐπιβάλλει ... τῇ αὐχένι ... καὶ εἵλκεν: this is a reflection of actual legal practice. For the noose compare Eunap. vit.Soph.481: τὸν Μάξιμον ἔφασκε τραχηλάγκην ἐπιλαβόμενον εἵλκειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, ὡς δικασόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ Πλουτέως. This appears to be an extreme form of the Roman "manus iniectio"; other occurrences in Heliodoros are at 8.9.16 and 8.9.19, where Arsace "arrests" Charicleia, and at 1.12.4, where Cnemon is arrested by his father. ἕλκω often occurs in similar contexts and is the regular legalistic term for taking someone to court; compare the passage of Eunapios quoted above and Ar.Knights 665, id.Eccl.258f., Plat.Prot.319c. The Latin formula when performing the "manus iniectio" was "teneo te", and in Greek this becomes ἔχω σε. The neatest example of this is when Caesar landed in Africa, tripped, and to avert the omen performed a quasi-legalistic "manus iniectio" on the continent; in Suetonius (Div.Jul.59) he says "teneo te", in Dio Cassius (42.58.3) he says ἔχω σε. Thus Charicles' repeated shouts of ἔχω σε add further to the legalistic colour of this section.

The historic present ἐπιβάλλει coming between the

aorist ἐξέδραμε and the imperfect εἶλκεν is surprising. In classical terms the imperfect is explicable as an inceptive, but one would have expected the aorist rather than ἐπερώλει. However, we have seen that Heliodoros is often rather arbitrary in his use of tenses, and there is no justification for attempting to impose a classical purity on him in this respect.

ἔχω σε ... ἔχω σε: Charicles' distress leads him to speak in a very emotional tone, marked by strong anaphora. Compare 10.35.2, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν ἐμὴν... οὗτος ὁ τὴν ἐμὴν, etc.

ὦ παλαμναῖε καὶ ἁλιτήριε: παλαμναῖος originally denoted a murderer polluted by blood; cf.Soph.Trach.1207, id.Elect.587, Plut.Pomp.80. Heliodoros uses the word much more loosely; compare 1.10.3 (of Demainete), and for similar looseness compare Babr.82.6, where it is applied to a fox who sneered at a lion.

For ἁλιτήριος compare 1.12.2, 1.14.4, 1.17.4, 5.27.9, 7.10.5, 8.7.1, 8.9.1, 8.9.17. This also seems to have become a conventional term of abuse.

10.35.2

ἁπτῶν βιαζομένων: for βιάζομαι with the infinitive compare 3.10.4, 3.19.1, 4.9.3, 5.1.4, 6.9.6; Thuc.4.29.4, 7.79.1, etc.

ὅπως συμπεφυκώς: something of a romantic cliché. The idea is often applied to a lovers' embrace, as at 5.4.5 and, in different words, 2.6.3. See too Xen.Eph.1.9.5.

ἀγαγεῖν ... ἐξενίκησε: I have not been able to parallel this use of the infinitive with ἐκνικάω, but cf. the uncompounded νικάω + INF. at Psalm Sol.4.13. The construction must be distinguished from that with the accusative and infinitive found at Soph.Ajax 1334, μηδ' ἡ βία σε ... νικησάτω ποτὲ μισεῖν, and from that where the infinitive is the virtual subject, e.g.Hdt.6.101, ἐνίκα μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πύλην and Plat.Politic.303b, ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ νικᾷ ζῆν.

τῶν συνέδρων: cf.10.31.1 and note.

τὴν ἐμὴν δίκαν εἰς ἀπαιδίαν ἐρημώσασα: compare Charicles' speech to the Delphian assembly (4.19.6), καὶ μόνη λοιπὸν ζῇ δίκῃ πάντων ἅμα τῶν φιλτάτων κεκενωμένη μου συνομίλων.

εἰς μέσων τῶν τοῦ Πυθίου βημάτων: Charicleia was the priestess of Artemis at Delphi and was persuaded by Calasiris to elope with Theagenes; cf.4.19.8, τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Πυθίου τοῦ τιμιωτάτου κτήματος ἀποσυλήσαντες.

τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν: compare Charicles' earlier description of his dependence on Charicleia: ἀλλ' ἣν πάντα φορητὰ μετὰ τὴν Χαρικλείας εὕρεσιν· Χαρίκλεια μοι βίος ἦν, ἐλπὶς καὶ διαδοχὴ τοῦ γένους, Χαρίκλεια μόνη παραψυχὴ καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄγκυρα (4.19.9). For the metaphorical ψυχή see 10.20.2 and note.

συλαγωγήσαι: for συλαγωγέω in the sense "carry off captive" cf.Paul Ep.Coloss.2.8. The verb can also take an accusative of the place despoiled; cf.Aristain.2.22.

ὡς εὐαγὴς πῶς ἂν θεῶν βωμοῖς προσκαθήμενος: Charicles

cannot know that a human sacrifice is in progress, and we need not convict Heliodoros of a lapse here. Charicles means that Theagenes is polluted with the guilt of abduction (as far as Charicles knows, against Charicleia's will) and so should not be at an altar for any purpose.

τὰ μὲν ῥήματα οἱ συνιέντες etc.: note again Heliodoros' care in dealing with the language barrier. Compare 9.24.2 and note.

It is interesting that he bothers to tell us at all what the crowd's reactions are. Several times during the final sequences of the tenth book he turns from the narrative to a description of the crowd, which is otiose in structural terms. It seems that the crowd is felt as a kind of barometer to guide and to echo the reader's reactions. Is this a symptom of a psychology which saw describing emotion as the best way of conveying it ?

10.36.1

ὁ πρεσβύτης (ἦν δὲ ὥρα ὁ Χαρικλῆς): this is an interesting departure from Heliodoros' normal practice of avoiding authorial intrusion. Compare, for example, 10.23.2 and my note there. The early books of the Aithiopica are structured around the gradual revelation of Charicleia's identity by a dramatic, non-intrusive method analysed most thoroughly by Hefti (op.cit. in detail pp.1-84, with general comments on the method pp.111-3.)

It seems clear that in the present case the authorial comment is delayed as long as possible, in fact until the old man's identity should have become obvious to every reader. Charicles is first mentioned in this episode in Oroondates' letter, and it is arguable that, although the identity of his "daughter" is immediately plain (cf. note on 10.34.3), Charicles himself could have passed unrecognised until he accuses Theagenes of kidnapping his daughter (10.35.2). So far, then, the postponement of Charicles' name conforms to the teasing technique employed in the first half of the romance, exciting the reader's curiosity with mystery. The impression of total surprise and bewilderment is conveyed far more powerfully by this means than if Charicles were referred to by name earlier on.

But, as with the giraffe, it is necessary, if only to allow for the most obtuse of readers, to solve the "riddle" before pressing on with the story. However, there

were good reasons why Heliodoros should not have used the dramatic method, having, for example, Charicles saying "My name is Charicles...". The situation is an ironical one; the "daughter" for whose return Charicles is asking is the real daughter of the man of whom he is making the request; Charicles is presented here as knowing this (see below), but Hydaspes does not realise it until Theagenes and Sisimithres combine in making things clear (10.37.2-3). Charicles seeks to gain his end by the suppression of part of the truth (τὰ μὲν ἀληθέστερα ... ἀπέκρυπτε) which would make a dramatic revelation rather uneasy among all the half-truths; but even more important is the fact that Hydaspes must not be allowed to know Charicles' name, since its similarity to that of Charicleia (which he knows - cf.10.31.2) would make the identity of the "daughter" obvious and so destroy the irony on which the scene depends. Similarly, the part of Charicleia's story which Charicles is made to suppress is precisely that which would form a link with the evidence given by Sisimithres in 10.14.1-2, where he says that he entrusted the child to a Greek he had met in Egypt.

Thus the authorial statement of Charicles' name was the only way in which the old man's identity could easily be revealed.

καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνης τὴν ἄνω προαφανισθείσης : this is RL's emendation of the MSS reading καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνης τὴν αἰδῶ προαφανισθείσης (τὴν αἰδῶ om.P; τῆς αἰδοῦς M).

This is meaningless as it stands, but was printed by Colonna. Coraes made a brave attempt to heal the syntax, a) by deleting the initial καί, a correction we may accept, since καί is quite without purpose and is very close in appearance to the following κατά, making the occurrence of a dittography eminently plausible; b) by writing ἐκείνη τῆς αὐσοῦς, an emendation rejected by RL on palaeographic grounds: "il est invraisemblable que quelqu'un ait commis la faute d'écrire un accusatif impossible à la place d'un génitif qui s'impose, étant donné surtout que dans ce cas les deux formes ne sont pas faciles à confondre et que, de plus, un participe au génitif suivait immediatement." The confusion in fact is not unlikely if the circumflex was confused with a final ς, as apparently happened at Xen.Eph.2.3.6, where F reads Μαντῶ (not Μαντῶ as recorded by Dalmeyda and Papanikolaou) for Μαντεῦς; I owe this piece of evidence to Mr.M.D.Reeve. RL's own correction has not met with universal approval. Hefti drew attention to the "unmögliche Wortstellung" produced, and made the valid point that since Charicles goes on to emphasise his "daughter's"virginity it is apposite for her αὐδός to be mentioned here (op.cit.p.153 n.800). Merkelbach found RL's text incomprehensible ("Das scheint mir kaum verständlich" - Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik, ed.H.Dahlmann and R.Merkelbach, p.184.), which is perhaps on the harsh side. Merkelbach's own solution

is to excise the words καὶ (as Coraes) and τὴν ὠδῖνα (as P) as the insertions of a meddling scribe. This gives basically the same sense as RL's text, but does not answer Hefti's point. None of the corrections so far suggested seems satisfactory and none is obvious. The difficulties of textual corruption are compounded by the fact that this clause lies at the heart of the structural problem of this sequence. Since whatever Charicles' motives are at this point they are certainly nonsensical, it is difficult to grasp exactly what Heliodoros was trying to express. The one straw at which a textual critic can clutch is that ὠδῖνος in one case or another is not an irrelevant concept.

The structural difficulties of the passage centre around the question of how far Charicles is supposed to know the truth of Charicleia's parentage, and in this respect they closely parallel the more serious difficulties of Calasiris' narration, where two apparently incompatible motivations are at work.

By rights, Charicles should not know the true facts: after Sisimithres entrusted Charicleia to him, the Ethiopian embassy was expelled from Egypt before Sisimithres could tell Charicles the child's story (2.32.2). Charicles was unable to decipher the γραμμάτα embroidered with Ethiopian hieroglyphics (cf.4.5.1), and Calasiris did not tell him what the contents of Persinna's message were.

There seem to be two possibilities. i) Charicles

is presumed to know merely that Charicleia is of Ethiopian parentage. He could easily have deduced this from the fact that she was brought to Egypt by an Ethiopian ambassador. ii) He is aware that Charicleia is the daughter of the king of Ethiopia. The only conceivable way he can have learned this is from Thyamis in Memphis; cf.10.36.4, παρὰ Θυαμίδος δὲ τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδὸς ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκπεπύσθης. The question is whether this information, difficult to assess because of the context of half-truths, can be supposed to include any more than the movements of Charicleia after her arrival in Egypt. I would suggest that in a novel, where the author has complete control over his material, one is not entitled to make suppositions about events or motivations which are not specifically stated or at least hinted at by the author, as one would be entitled to do in historical writing, where the events are real and may have been omitted or distorted through the ignorance, prejudice or stupidity of the writer. In short, we are not entitled to assume that Thyamis revealed Charicleia's parentage to Charicles, for the simple reason that Heliodoros nowhere says that he did. We can scarcely suppose that he would have omitted to mention such an important event expecting the reader to supply it for himself. There is also no mention of Calasiris having passed the information to Thyamis in the first place.

So then, of our two possibilities, i) would be preferable

of itself since it requires less violence to fictional probability. There is nothing in 10.36.1 which rules i) out of court, but it emerges from two later remarks that ii) is the version which Heliodoros is following. In 10.37.2 Theagenes says to Hydaspes εἰ μὴ σὴν θυγατέρα ἔνα Χαρίκλειαν καὶ ἕνα (i.e. Charicles) ὁμολογήσειεν; although this can be said merely to reflect Theagenes' belief, his case is so weakened unless it is true belief that the remark becomes pointless. More decisively, in 10.37.3 Sisimithres says to Charicles σώζεταί σοι ἡ νομισθεῖσα καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐγκεκρισθεῖσά ποτε θυγάτηρ ... θυγάτηρ ἀληθὴς οὖσα καὶ εὑρεθεῖσα ἣν γινώσκεις; this is quite unequivocal in assuming that Sisimithres did reveal all to Charicles in Egypt.

Since 10.37.2 and 10.37.3 so clearly favour possibility ii), it seems probable that 10.36.1 is intended to derive from the same set of circumstances. Heliodoros is being inconsistent in relation to his earlier narrative, but there is no need to make him doubly inconsistent by making him follow two different versions of the same events in consecutive chapters.

As if this were not enough, we still have to make sense of Charicles' motives for not telling the whole truth. It is important to note that these are not alleged motives put in Charicles' mouth but actual motives stated in omniscient authorial form. The textual difficulty I have already discussed. Whatever emendation we adopt, the gist is that

Charicles is afraid that Charicleia's true parents will make a quarrel with him because he has failed to carry out his responsibilities as her guardian. In the context this is clearly nonsense: Charicles' main concern is to recover his "daughter", and the information which he conceals is that which would weaken his claim to her. Furthermore, I have argued that Charicles is now supposed to know the facts of Charicleia's origin; it is incredible that he should think that Hydaspes' anger would arise solely from the possibility of the loss of her virginity, or even from her disappearance on her way up country. Any anger would be caused by Charicles' attempt to steal a daughter who was not his own. The passage is equally difficult whatever reading we adopt, and whether we follow possibility i) or ii). One's confidence in Heliodoros reaches its lowest point here, but there is no alternative but to swallow hard and accept the absurdity. It is sloppy writing, but perhaps its very sloppiness may afford us a clue to Heliodoros' aims. I have already analysed the way in which the plot is never allowed a clear run towards its conclusion. Charicles' intervention and the possibility that he may upset the outcome are another complication. It was a fine stroke of drama, and ultimately of structure, to reintroduce him at the very end of the romance, and a good ironic situation is sustained while Hydaspes remains in doubt of the identity of Charicles and his "daughter". Charicles

ctually has a perfectly plausible motive for concealing he truth (he does not want to weaken his claims on Charicleia), ut is furnished instead with an absurd one. This can only ignify that Heliodoros is more interested in the complexities f his plot than in the subtleties of motivation and character. le did indeed feel the need to supply some reason for haricles' actions, but required only that it sounded lausible, not that it could bear analytical inspection. t was his desire for last-minute complication that led im into absurdity.

Finally, we may ask ourselves what sort of rôle Charicles s intended to be playing here. It can hardly be one which leserves praise. He is claiming a daughter on whom he as no claim; he is trying to make his case stronger by suppressing the facts; and he is actually trying to remove haricleia from the care of those whom he knows to be her rue parents. In human terms, Charicles' plight is a itiable one, but his attempts to regain Charicleia are injustifiable and in the fictional context they constitute n impediment to the consummation of Charicleia's love nd her quest for her homeland.

Hefti (op.cit.p.96) adopts an interpretation which s inadmissible and involves him in a circular argument - ever, however, made explicit. He describes Charicles s "ahnungslosen Pflegevater, der sich als den wahren ater ausgibt" and from this conception of Charicles' rôle

seems to deduce that he does not know Charicleia's true parentage. Heliodoros, he suggests, simply made the mistake of making Sisimithres say too much in 10.37.3: "Verdorben hat er alles damit, dass Sisimithres zwei Worte zuviel (ἐν γινώσκειν) sagt und den Charikles einen unverständigen und unverständlichen Beweggrund für sein Hintanhalten mit der Wahrheit zugeschrieben hat." Hefti leaves out of account the important passage in 10.37.2 which is further backing for the idea that Charicles knows everything about Charicleia's parentage. In his attempts to give as much plausibility as possible to 10.36.1, he leads Heliodoros into a double inconsistency (as outlined above). He even invents astonishment felt by Charicles at Theagenes' revelations in 10.37.2; the confusion, however, is felt by the Ethiopians when they learn that it is their newly recovered princess that the old man is claiming.

πόλεμον καθ' ἑαυτοῦ etc.: for this figurative use of πόλεμος compare, for example, Soph.Electr.218.

ἐξετίθετο δὲ ἑαυτέμνων ἃ μηδὲν ἔβλαπτε: it is impossible to see how Maillon derives his translation from the Greek: "il retrancha de son récit tout ce qui pouvait être dangereux et donna seulement les détails suivants" In fact a translation should run, "he set forth concisely (ἑαυτέμνων, used also at 6.2.3, 6.5.3, 6.12.3; cf. ἑαυτόμη) what did no harm and said...." Maillon appears to have ignored μηδέν and read ἑαυτέμνων as ἐκτέμνων.

10.36.2

θεασάμενοι μόνον ἐπαξίως ὧν με λέγειν ἐπιστεύσατε : a rhetorical expression which appears not to mean quite what it ought. The intended sense is obviously, "she was so beautiful that until you saw her any description would appear exaggerated." The Greek means, "only by seeing her would you believe my description worthy of her." This implies that until they see her, Charicles' description appears to fall short of the mark, not overreach it. The difficulty, however, is of the slightest nuance, and perhaps arose from the subconscious combination of two ideas: i)it is impossible to describe her worthily in words; ii) only by seeing her would one believe how beautiful she really is.

The rhetorical looseness of the sentence finds another manifestation in the concealed absurdity τὴν μὲν τὴν φρόνησιν ... θεασάμενοι μόνον. θεασάμενοι is more appropriate to the second and closer indirect question ἃ μὲν τὸ εἶδος. ἣν δ' οὖν παρθενευομένη : δ' οὖν indicates that Charicles is now beginning the description promised , by implication, in the previous sentence.

ζάκορος τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀρτέμιδος :cf.2.33.4, where Charicles is talking to Calasiris about Charicleia: ἀλλ' αὕτη τοιαύτη τις οὖσα λυπεῖ με λύπην ἀνίατον· ἀπηγόρευται γὰρ αὐτῇ γάμος καὶ παρθενεύειν τὸν πάντα βίον διατείνεται καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ζάκορον ἑαυτὴν ἐπιδοῦσα θήρας τὰ πολλὰ σχολάζει καὶ ἄσκει τοξείαν.

10.36.3

ὁ θαυμάσιος οὗτος : heavily sarcastic; compare e.g. Hipp. Haer.5.8 (=PG.16(3).3139b).

Θετταλὸς ὢν γένος: this is the reading only of VT, printed by RL. All other MSS have τὸ γένος , and I see nothing objectionable in following a reading attested by both branches of the tradition. Admittedly similar expressions are found without the article at 10.41.4 and 8.17.3 (where Hirschig wished to insert an article), but I see no reason to insist on total uniformity of expression when neither form is objectionable in itself and where the evidence of the tradition is decisively against such consistency.

ὃς τὰ Πύθια ἐκπελέσων ἀρχιθεωρὸς ἀφιγμένος : the Πύθια was a sacrifice and procession in honour of the Thessalian hero Neoptolemos, carried out every four years during the Pythian games; see the exchange between Calasiris and Charicles at 2.34.2ff.

For ἀρχιθεωρός cf.2.34.1. The word is a vox propria. Compare Andoc.1.132, Aristot.Eth.Nic.1122a25, SIG^2.583.15 etc.

τὴν ἰδέαν ἀποσυλήσας: for ἀποσυλάω with the object of the person carried off see Luc.Tox.2; with accusative of the place despoiled and genitive of the object stolen, the verb is used by Heliodoros at 4.19.8. Compare the variant usages of συλαγωγέω discussed in my note on 10.35.2.

Ἀπόλλωνα , τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ Ἥλιον : this important passage is discussed fully in Introduction §2.

ἢ τέμενος ... βεβηλώσας: cf.2.25.3 μηδὲ ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη θεῶν βεβηλῶσαι.

10.36.4

πρὸς τὴν ἐναγῆ ταύτην πρᾶξιν: ἐναγής is usually used of persons rather than of abstracts. Compare, however, Chrys. Hom.33.3 in Mt.(=7.381a), of bloodshed; Const.Or.s.c.16 (=PG.20.1280c); Theodoret.Hist.Eccl.1.16.5, of pagan sacrifice.

ψευσπροφήτου τινὸς Μεμφίτου: i.e. Calasiris, who alone in the early books realised that Theagenes and Charicleia were in love, and after discovering Charicleia's true origin helped them to elope from Delphi. Calasiris was not, of course, a false prophet, but his plan did involve the duping of Charicles, who not unnaturally feels some resentment. Calasiris himself was uneasy on this point (3.15.3). For the word ψευσπροφήτης cf.Jos.Ant.Jud.9.134, Philo de spec.leg.4.51, and several occurrences in Christian writers: Clem.Str.1.2.1 (=PG.8.841a), Heges.ap.Euseb.Hist. Eccl.4.22.6 (=PG.20.381a), Bas.bapt.1.14 (=PG.31.1549c).

It is worth noting here that Heliodoros has apparently forgotten the motivation of Calasiris' actions which had him commissioned by Persinna to seek out her daughter (4.12.1ff.). Throughout the final sequences of recognition and rescue there is never any hint that Charicleia's arrival in Ethiopia was anything other than totally unexpected, and now Persinna does not speak up in defence of Calasiris

as might perhaps have been expected in a resolution where all mysteries are unravelled. The double motivation of Calasiris was first analysed by Hefti (op.cit., esp.p.72ff.). More recently, in a paper read at the International Conference on the Ancient Novel in June 1976, Prof.J.J.Winkler has argued that the narrative technique of Calasiris' relation is closely parallel to the method of gradual and partial revelation used by the authorial Heliodoros. Thus the first motivation of Calasiris (the guidance of destiny) is not incompatible with the second (the commission by Persinna), but merely represents a first stage in the narrative revelation. This thesis is very attractive in that it redeems Heliodoros from what had appeared to be a fundamental flaw. Nevertheless, I feel that the closing sequence of the novel makes it difficult to follow Winkler whole-heartedly. According to his theory, the final motivation ought to be the definitive one, accepted by both author and reader. However, it is clear that by the last book Heliodoros has reverted to the earlier account of a divine plan. This lack of certainty over what ought to be a primary issue may indicate that Heliodoros was not deeply committed to a view of the world where divine powers guide the fates of individuals, but it also makes it difficult to argue that there is a rational literary purpose behind the apparent contradictions. Winkler's paper (which will appear shortly in Yale Classical Studies) goes far towards solving this

problem, but I can see no way of accommodating the present passage to it.

ἅπαντὰς καὶ τὴν Θετταλίων etc.: Calasiris' plan involved all the young Thessalian θεωροί except Theagenes making a pandemonium through Delphi as if they had taken Charicleia. In fact Theagenes and Charicleia were in hiding and left Delphi secretly with Calasiris after he had inflamed passions against the Thessalians. This is related in 4.17.3ff. In a midnight assembly (4.20), the Delphian στρατηγός, Hegesias, proposes immediate pursuit, but it is clear from Charicles' words here that either this was unsuccessful, or Heliodoros has forgotten about it. The loose ends remain untied, since we are nowhere told what happened to the other Thessalians, or to Hegesias' further proposals to take steps against them (4.20.3). The dramatic interest is limited to Theagenes. The course of action implied by Charicles' words is an essentially private one: he has toured Thessaly in search of the abductor of his daughter, obtaining promises of retribution from those he visits.

καὶ παρὰ Οἰταίων ὄντων αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν: this is not completely consistent with what we were told earlier. In 2.34.2 the embassy is said to come from the Ainianes, Θετταλικῆς ... μοίρας τὸ εὐγενέστατον καὶ ἀκριβῶς Ἑλληνικόν. The capital of the Ainianes is Hypata, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ βούλονται ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντων ἄλλων ὑπατεύειν καὶ ἀρχεῖν νενομισμένην, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι δοκεῖ διότι περ ὑπὸ τῇ Οἴτῃ τῷ ὄρει κατῴκιστο. Theagenes is nowhere referred to as an Oitaian.

ἀλάστωρ: frequently used by Heliodoros in the sense of "one who deserves punishment"; cf.1.13.3, 5.20.9, 8.9.12, 8.11.10, 8.13.4.

ὁρμητήριον ... τῆς φυγῆς: a most bizarre use of the word ὁρμητήριον in the sense of "goal"; everywhere else it is used to mean "starting-point", as at Plut.Nic.12. One is tempted to conclude that Heliodoros did not know what the word meant.

τὸν ... Καλάσιριν ... τετυγκότα καταλαβών: the death of Calasiris after his return to Memphis is narrated at 7.11.3.

ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδιδαχθείς: see my discussion of this above (note on 10.36.1), where it is concluded that the information transmitted to Charicles by Thyamis comprised only the adventures which befell Charicleia after her arrival in Egypt, not the secrets of her origin.

ὅτι πρὸς τὸν Ὀροονδάτην εἰς τὴν Συήνην ἐξαπέσταλτο: cf.8.15.7. Charicleia was originally sent to meet Oroondates at Thebes, but on her way there the party was met by someone from the army who told them that the satrap had left Thebes and had ordered his army to assemble at Syene. Strictly speaking, Thyamis would not have known this, and could not have been told it after the war by Oroondates, who had never come into contact with Theagenes and Charicleia. However, it is not dramatically desirable that Charicles' narrative be either long or involved, and Heliodoros' oversight is grounded in a sure instinct.

10.36.5

τοῦ μὲν Ὀροονδάτου κατὰ τὴν Συήνην ἀποτυχόν: this is RL's emendation of the unanimous MSS reading καὶ τῆς Συήνης. The matter seems less clear cut than they imply in their note (p.122 n.1): "les mots καὶ τῆς Συήνης ne peuvent être justes bien qu'aucun éditeur ... ne semble les avoir suspectés. Le sens défend de considérer τῆς Συήνης comme symétrique de τοῦ Ὀροονδάτου et subordonné à ἀποτυχόν." I do not see anything in the sense which would make it impossible that Charicles is saying that he arrived at Syene, found the town under siege and was eventually caught up in the war while he was in Elephantine. We already know from Oroondates' letter (10.34.3) that Charicles first saw the satrap after the war with the Ethiopians. The text as printed by RL means that Charicles was in Syene at a time when Oroondates was not, and this can only be before the siege of Syene. However, Oroondates only entered Syene shortly before the siege, having previously been assembling his army at Thebes. Strictly speaking, Charicles should never have expected to find him at Syene. Thus we find ourselves caught up with the inconsistency outlined in the last note: in 10.36.4 Charicles says that he had been told that Charicleia had been sent to Oroondates in Syene. RL's text compounds the inconsistency and that of the MSS does not. I suspect that RL thought that the MSS text was self-contradictory and could only mean that Charicles

had been overtaken by the war in Elephantine before he came to Syene, this being immediately contradicted by the parenthesis ἦλθον γὰρ κἀκεῖσε . On the interpretation outlined above, this absurdity disappears.

RL's text is not of itself impossible, but I do not feel that the MSS reading is impossible either, and would be disinclined to alter it. Translate "failing to find Oroondates or to get into Syene."

ἦλθον γὰρ κἀκεῖσε: as RL point out, this phrase is an allusion to Hom.Od.6.164, already used by Heliodoros, in the second person, at 2.29.1. However, Colonna's suggestion that ἐνθάδε be read later in the sentence in place of ἐνταῦθα, so as to maintain the Homeric allusion, is most unconvincing.

κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου καταληφθείς: cf.10.34.3, ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ τῷ φρουρίῳ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καταληφθέντι.

οὕτως ... ἔχοις : is omitted by MP, who also read ἐπεζήτησαν instead of ἐπεζήτησον. Coraes knew only this version of the text and healed the syntax by inserting ἔσῃ after χαριζόμενος. This can now be seen to be unnecessary.

τὸν ἀποσυλήσαντα ἔχειν· τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπεζήτησον: note the parallelism of structure afforded by the longer text of VZ, reinforced by asyndeton.

ἐμὲ πολυτλήμονα ἄνθρωπον: πολυτλήμων is an Homeric word; cf.Hom.Il.7.152, Od.18.319; also Ar.Peace 236.

εἰ τὸν πρεσβεύοντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σατράπην ὀφθείης ζωσύμενος: a mild oxymoron. Oroondates is not actually acting as an

ambassador, but despite his status as a satrap has deigned to take up Charicles' cause. Charicles arrives at Meroe as one of an embassy.

10.37.1

ἐπιθρηνῶν γοῦν τὰς ἐρημένους : ἐπιθρηνέω usually takes the accusative of the thing lamented over; cf.Babr.118.8, Plut.Mor.123c, Diog.Oen.61; Stephanus quotes an example from Gregory of Nyssa where ἐπιθρηνέω is followed by a dative as here. γοῦν is a cognate accusative used adverbially and the dative τὰς ἐρημένους seems to be dictated by the prefix of ἐπιθρηνέω.

Charicles is apt to groan and lament. His response to the abduction of Charicleia was characterised by θρῆνοι; cf.4.19.1, 4.20.1.

ἀληθῆ ... πάντα etc.: heavy irony is at work in the words of Theagenes. Charicles' accusations are factually correct, but the circumstances of the crime and its consequences are so unusual that it will in fact appear to Hydaspes as a benefaction.

The ambiguity here is of a different kind to that employed in the earlier sequences between Charicleia and Hydaspes. In both cases Hydaspes fails to grasp the points made by his interlocutor, but Charicleia was doing her utmost to make him understand without compromising herself, while Theagenes is exploiting Hydaspes' incomprehension in such a way as to make the ultimate revelation (10.37.2) more dramatic.

λῃστὴς ἐγὼ καὶ ἅρπαξ καὶ βίαιος καὶ ἄδικος : Theagenes paints himself as black as possible to gain the effect

mentioned in the previous note. The first two adjectives respectively admit the charges of violating a sanctuary and of abducting Charicleia. βίαιος and ἄθικος are to be taken more closely with περὶ τούτων and form the contrast with ὑμέτερος εὐεργέτης.

The irony of the exchange is achieved rather crudely. ὑμέτερος εὐεργέτης is rather too clear for Hydaspes to misunderstand, and so Heliodoros simply has him ignore it. In the following speech he concentrates solely on the charges brought by Charicles and admitted by Theagenes.

10.37.2

ἀπόδος : picked up later in this section by Theagenes: ἔχεις δὲ αὖτις · ἀπόδος.

διὰ τὸ προκαθωσιῶσθαι τοὺς θεούς : this is the correction made by Coraes of the MSS aorist middle infinitive προκαθοσιώσασθαι. The correction must be accepted, since both tense and voice of the tradition are meaningless. A scribe appears to have been flustered by the complexities of abstruse forms.

For the verb see Jos.Ant.Jud.16.397.

αὐ τὴν ἐκ τῆς τιμωρίας ἔνδικον : note the strong parallelism with the previous phrase τὴν ἐκ τῆς θυσίας ἐπίδοξον, reinforced by exact isocolia. This guarantees the word order of VZ against the variants of M and P.

ὃ τὸ ἀθύσιμα ἔχων: for ἀθύσιμα in this concrete sense of "ill gotten gain" compare Plat.Rep.365e, Laws 906d.

ἀποδιδόναι δίκαιος : cf.Dem.6.37, which represents the

classical idiom, δίκαιος ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι. As used by Heliodoros the expression has taken on a slightly different meaning, not "he deserves to..." but "he is under a legal obligation to...".

Note too the nexus of words connected with δίκη, built up in a conversational scheme of reference in much the same way as the various parts of ἀποδιδόναι mentioned in an earlier note: ἔνδικον ... ἀδικήσας ... ἀδίκημα ... δίκαιος.

Χαρίκλειαν καὶ οὕτως ὁμιλοῦσαν: note how Theagenes reserves the name of Charicleia to the last moment, so that the elucidation becomes as dramatically startling as possible to Hydaspes.

The phrase implies that Charicles knows that Charicleia is really the daughter of Hydaspes; see my note on 10.36.1.

10.37.3

καρτερεῖν ... ἠνέσχετο: according to LSJ the use of ἀνέχομαι with the infinitive is rare, and usually takes the form of an accusative and infinitive. For examples where the subject of the infinitive is the same as that of ἀνέχομαι compare Aret.S.A.1.9, Ael.Nat.Anim.6.30.

πάντων σύγχυσις: for σύγχυσις in the sense of "confusion" compare Polyb.14.5.8. For once Heliodoros has forgotten his concern with the plausibility of language, unless we are supposed to understand πάντων as referring only to

the royal party, not to the Ethiopian assembly.

ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ δὲ: the article is inserted by RL. It is difficult to come to a decision over points like this, and one should perhaps recognise that complete accuracy over details of this nature is simply not feasible. The papyrus fragments of Achilles Tatius, for instance, vary from the transmitted text precisely in matters of this kind; see F.Conca: I papiri di Achille Tazio; Rendiconti del Istituto Lombardo 103 (1969) p.649ff.

As far as one can judge with Heliodoros, in the vast majority of cases he uses the article with proper names, being noticeably laxer in this respect in direct speech, presumably reflecting the freedom of actual conversation. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to find examples close enough to the present one to make us doubt whether emendation is necessary. Compare especially 5.9.1, ἡ Ναυσικλῆς ... Μιτράνης δὲ and 10.7.3, καταφεὶς μὲν ... τὴ ἄλλῃ, Θεαγένης δὲ ... The subject of a sentence consisting of a proper name without the article is found also at 1.31.4, 2.12.5, 2.18.3, 5.4.2, 5.4.3, 5.4.4, 5.13.2, 8.2.2, 8.3.3, 8.16.7, 10.9.1 and perhaps 10.41.3. If we may count Calasiris' long narration as equivalent to authorial narrative rather than direct speech, we may add 4.6.7, 4.17.3, 4.18.6, 5.18.8 and 5.32.3 to our list.

On the other hand, the word order produced by RL's inserted article is unusual, the particle normally coming

between article and proper name; but this anomaly can also be paralleled from a reasonably large number of cases: 3.6.1, 5.5.4, 5.15.3, 5.34.1, 6.8.3, 6.11.3, 6.14.1, 6.14.2, 7.2.5, 10.29.2 and perhaps 10.41.3.

On balance I would be inclined to let the text stand. I have been relatively strict in my choice of parallels for names without articles, confining them to nominatives in prominent positions. I was able to find over sixty examples of names without articles in narrative, and would suspect that many eluded a somewhat cursory search. RL's emendation is not of itself impossible, but I do not think that it can be proved essential, and cannot rid myself of a sneaking suspicion that Heliodoros himself and a scribe of antiquity would have considered Σισιμίθρης δὲ, ὁ Σισιμίθρης δὲ, and ὁ δὲ Σισιμίθρης as indistinguishable readings.

ἦπὶ πολὺ διαρκέσας : there seem to be two possible interpretations of this. One is to take διαρκέω in the classical sense of "endure or hold out" (cf.Xen.Hell.5.3.21), the other to take it as being used in the same way as ἀρκέω at, for example, Soph.Ajax 76, id.Ant.547, that is as meaning "be content, hold one's peace", in which case it may be followed by a participle as here. On balance the first interpretation is to be preferred: Sisimithres has known for a long time exactly what has been going on and has naturally been tempted to speak out; however, he has resisted the temptation, waiting for exactly the right moment. On

the other interpretation the expression seems incomplete; after "content with knowing" we should have expected "and not saying anything."

εἰς τὸ ἀκριβὲς δὲ περιελθεῖν : apparently this point is reached when Theagenes mentions the name of Charicleia. Presumably it is only then that Sisimithres thinks that Hydaspes will understand fully.

φανερόω first appears in late Greek. The instance found at Hdt.6.122 is a late interpolation; compare John's Gospel 2.11 and 7.4, 2.Cor.5.10, P.Oxy.925, Jos.Ant.Jud.20.76, Dio Cass.77.15 and 66.16, etc.

παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος : this use of τὸ κρεῖττον is one of the linguistic phenomena used by Wifstrand to argue a fourth-century dating for the Aithiopica. Compare 1.8.4 and 8.9.16, where the phrase is used simply as an equivalent for ὁ θεός. I agree with Wifstrand in not being able to find the expression in use before the fourth century, but nevertheless cannot see that this is substantial enough evidence for a dating, useful as it may be to corroborate our conclusions; compare Corp.Herm.18.11, and Jul.Ep.204; the phrase is frequently used of God by Christian writers: see Meth.Arbitr.15 and 2 (=PG.18.244b), Const.ap.Euseb.Vit.Const.2.24 (=PG.20.1001b), id.ap.Ath.Apol.Sec.54 (=PG.25.348b), Euseb.Vit.Const.1.16 (=PG.20.932b), Ath.Fr.Mt.6.22 (=PG.27.1376c), Greg.Naz. Ep.85 (=PG.37.157c), Didym.Trin.2.11 (=PG.39.660c), Nil. Ep.3.11 (=PG.79.373a), etc.

εὑρεθεῖσα ἐν γνώσει: this is the clearest expression that Charicles knows the truth of Charicleia's origin. For a full discussion of the problems raised, see my note on 10.36.1. Sisimithres here speaks with authority, and the obvious implication is that Heliodoros is now assuming that he told Charicles the truth at the time when he entrusted the seven-year-old Charicleia to him, despite the fact that he was earlier stated to have been expelled from Egypt before he could do so (2.32.2).

10.38.1

καὶ ἡ Χαρίκλεια τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξέδραμε : the effect is rather clumsily handled. Charicleia's entry dead on cue has a somewhat synthetic flavour to it, designed as it is to underline and demonstrate the revelation just made by Sisimithres. Charicleia's absence from the scene is in fact contrived to allow the sequences involving Theagenes, Charicles and Hydaspes the maximum dramatic impact. Obviously, she must be out of the way when Charicles arrives, otherwise he would recognise her at once, and the sense of climax given by the succeeding hints and statements of Theagenes, Sisimithres and finally Charicleia herself would be lost.

πᾶσαν τὴν ... ἀιδῶ παραγκωνισαμένη: apparently a cliché, rather like our "throwing caution to the winds". Compare 8.5.1, πᾶσαν ... γυναικείαν ἀιδῶ παραγκωνισαμένη, and Soranos, who uses the identical phrase of a nymphomaniac (2.25 = p.320 Rose). Soranos is unlikely to have invented the expression, or Heliodoros to have copied it from him.

For former references to the ἀιδώς to be expected from Charicleia cf.10.18.3 and 10.22.1. These make it clear that the ἀιδὼς ἐκ φύσεως mentioned here is not a modesty by temperament but part of the set of mores which Heliodoros imposes on women as a sex, especially on young ones (καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας). For the pairing of ideas compare Hydaspes' response to Charicleia's request to be allowed to sacrifice Theagenes herself (10.21.2): ἀλλ'

οὐδὲ σεμνόν τι καὶ ἐπίζηλον, ὅσα γε πρὸς σὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν ἡλικίαν etc.

βάκχιόν τι καὶ ἔμμανές: there is a misprint in RL's apparatus, where P is credited with reading βάκχιον and βακχεῖον simultaneously, while M has no reading at all. It is clear, however, that the form βάκχιον is attested by both branches of the tradition. It is also supported by 6.8.3, which furnishes a close parallel, βάκχιόν τι οἰστρηθεῖσα. At 1.2.5, however, the MSS are unanimous for βακχεῖον.

τὴν ἀθέμιτον ἐμὲ καὶ πατρῳλοίαν: πατρῳλοίας is found only here in the feminine. The word obviously refers to Charicleia's "crime" against her foster-father, Charicles; she is not really a parricide, but the intense suffering which she has caused him is metaphorically assimilated to murder.

κἂν εἰς βούλημα ... κἂν εἰς διοίκησιν: for the anaphora of κἂν compare 10.29.4.

For the metaphor διοίκησις τῶν θεῶν compare 4.9.1, τὴν ἐκ θεῶν οἰκονομίαν. The closest parallel from pagan literature seems to be Plat.Phaedr.246c, πρόνοια διοικοῦσα τὸν κόσμον, but διοίκησις (and οἰκονομία) are commonly found in this sense in Christian writers; cf.Maximinus Daia ap.Euseb. Hist.Eccl.9.9a.6 (=PG.20.825c), where it is used of the pagan gods, and in more specifically Christian senses see 1.Clem.20.1, Just.Dial.29.3 (=PG.6.537b), Euseb.E.Th. 1.13 (=PG.24.852a), ibid.3.2 (=PG.24.977a), Athenag.Leg. 24.3 (=PG.6.948a).

The implication is that Charicleia has come to believe that her adventures are part of a divine plan. It is interesting that her readiness to undergo punishment indicates that she none the less holds herself morally responsible for her actions.

τὰ δεδραμένα: this is the reading only of Z. All other MSS have the form δεδρασμένα. This also applies to 7.21.1, which is quoted as support for δεδραμένα in RL's apparatus. The form with sigma is theoretically incorrect, but may nevertheless have been current. It is found also in the MSS of Thuc.3.54.1, where editors correct it, but it is defended by Steup. It is perhaps safer to make the correction; the MSS of Heliodoros are very confused over the orthography of the word; at 8.5.2 they all record the form without sigma, except that Z, the manuscript which in the other two cases presents that form, there deserts it for an impossible concoction with a gamma in it.

μὴ προσέχων: sc. τὸν νοῦν. Compare Dem.21.8, Philostr.vit. Apoll.1.7.

10.38.2

Τάντα ὅπως ἔχειν: there has actually been no explicit statement of past events, but Hydaspes may be assumed for the sake of narrative economy to have deduced what has happened from the successive statements of Charicles, Theagenes and Sisimithres.

There is a slight implausibility here, connected with the dramatic clumsiness discussed in my notes on the previous section. Charicleia's timely entrance presupposes her to have been watching and listening to the events since the arrival of Charicles, and this assumption is now made of Persinna also. At the same time, however, Charicleia is supposed to have been confessing to Persinna; see the end of this section and 10.33.4. This implausibility is allowed to pass unnoticed, since we are nowhere given an account of the scene in the tent between Charicleia and Persinna (cf.my note on 10.33.4).

ἄρτι ... καὶ μόλις: Charicleia and Persinna went "offstage" at 10.33.4, where Charicleia's confession was signalled as imminent. Her reluctance (μόλις) was also emphasised at that point: βιασθεῖσα καὶ τὸν καιρὸν οὐκ ἐνδιδόντα ὑπερθεσιν ἀρῶσα. For further evidence of her coyness in explaining her relationship with Theagenes see 10.29.5.

10.38.3

ὁ δῆμος ἑτέρωθεν: the lack of a connective offended Coraes (ὁ δὲ δῆμος) and Colonna (ὁ δῆμος δ'), but RL rightly compare the start of 10.38.2. Again the δῆμος is used almost as a chorus in tragedy to echo and specify the emotions of the story.

For ἑτέρωθεν cf.10.38.2, ἡ Περσίννα δὲ καθ' ἕτερον μέρος.

τῶν εὐθήμων τῆς βουλῆς ἐξεχώρευε : cf.10.17.3, τῆς εὐθημίας θερμοτέρων ἐπιστρεφόντας. I have been unable to trace another example of ἐκχορεύω meaning "dance for joy." For a general discussion of the dance as metaphor in classical literature see L.B.Lawler: Class.Journ.46 (1950-51)p.383ff.

πᾶσα ἡλικία καὶ τύχη : a set formula. It occurs three times in inscriptions from Panamara published in Bull.Corr.Hell. 15 (1891) on pp.184, 198, 204.

συμφώνως : echoed in the next section (10.38.4) τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πρὸς συμφωνίαν ἡρμόζετο.

τὰ γινόμενα θαυμαζοῦντες : the verb θαυμαίω is rare, although its cognate θαυμάζω occurs fairly frequently. For the verb cf.Simonides 7.103, and Heliodoros 10.3.3, where it is followed by ἐπὶ with the dative. RL express surprise at the direct object in the present case, and it is indeed without parallel. However, Heliodoros is apt to employ rather odd, unclassical constructions, and this may be compared with, for example, πυραννεῖ τὴν νίκην (9.6.3), ἀλαζονευόμενος τὸ κατόρθωμα (10.2.1).

τὸ μὲν πλεῖστα ὧν λεγομένων οὐ συνιέντες etc.: Heliodoros again shows concern over the plausibilities of people understanding a foreign language (cf.9.24.2 and note). He lands himself in a rather awkward situation: he clearly wants to describe a scene of general celebration and has thought hard enough about the verisimilitude of the setting to realise how unrealistic it would be simply

to have the populace breaking out into jubilation; it must be made clear that they realise exactly what is happening. Their inability to understand Greek has been stressed on several occasions, but any proclamation in Ethiopian or a similar device to circumvent the difficulty would seem to destroy the spontaneity. Heliodoros therefore suggests two possibilities, a trick borrowed from legitimate historical writing to avoid giving an impression of authorial omniscience. The first, that they deduced the truth ἐκ τῶν προηγησάντων ἐπὶ τῇ Χαρικλείᾳ, is analogous to 10.15.1, where the crowd are struck by joy at the likeness between Charicleia and the picture of Andromede, and realise the truth; the arbitrariness of the device is much more marked in the present example. There is no hint of what these προηγησάντα were, and I can think of nothing that would exactly fit the requirements. We should not make too much of this. Within his own terms Heliodoros has the right instincts. His devices, however, are so unsubtle as to draw attention to themselves and so allow us an insight into the mechanical problems he faced in constructing a credible and consistent fictional world.

ἡ σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἐσκηνογράφησεν: cf.10.16.3, πρὸς τὴν σκηνοποιίαν τῆς τύχης. We should note in passing that the inconsistency between the two passages militates against a religious interpretation of the novel except in the most impressionistic of senses. See Introduction §2.

For stage metaphors in Heliodoros see the articles by

Walden and Neimke cited earlier.

εἰς ὑπόνοιαν τῶν ἀληθῶν : ὑπόνοιαν is Coraes' correction of the MSS ἔννοιαν, necessary to make the clearly required sense of the passage.

10.38.4

ἧς : i.e. the ὁρμὴ θεία of 10.38.3, not the ὑπόνοια τῶν ἀληθῶν.

τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πρὸς συμφωνίαν ἥρμοσεν : a musical metaphor often used by philosophical writers when discussing the reconciliation of disparate elements of the soul, and similar topics; cf.Plat.Laws 689d, Aristot.Pol.7.15.7, Plat.Phileb.56a.

In what follows Heliodoros produces a great rhetorical climax. It is perhaps importing anachronistic criteria into our judgement to call this "ridiculous rhetoric". We must allow that Heliodoros' mannerist style is capable of rising to a certain elevation, but the present example does seem to be rather thin on substance, although it serves its structural function well enough.

Characteristically, the main weight of the sentence is carried in the participial cola, the primary clause being short and placed at the beginning. There then follow three cola linked by a strong disyllabic rhyme of passive participles (συμπεπλεγμένων ... κεραννυμένων ... μεταβαλλομένων), the first two of which are virtually isocolic (10 syllables

against ll, a reason for not adopting V's συγκεραννυμένων), while the third is longer; the first two are also more closely linked to each other by a strong similarity in meaning and syntax. Next come two cola where the reconciliation of conflicting emotions is represented by the combination of contrasting verbs; these are linked by rhyme (both at the end of the colon and internally), exact isocolia and an exact parallelism of structure. There follow two more cola linked by their paradoxical form (εὑρισκόντων ἐκ μὴ ἐζητοῦν etc.), by a strong end-rhyme of contracted imperfects (ἐζήτουν ... ἐδόκουν), by the internal repetition of εὑρίσκω (εὑρισκόντων ... εὑρηκέναι), but mainly by the contrast in their meaning. Thus there is some variation in the list of genitive participles, afforded by contrast between complementary and antithetical pairs, as well as by variation in the placing of the participle within its colon. The sentence finishes with a long member standing alone, thus giving the impression of anisocolic growth, - and looking forward to the abolition of human sacrifice in the next chapter.

The sentence divides into two parts, the first finishing at μεταβαλλομένων. It is at this point that Heliodoros' paucity of inspiration is revealed: the second half of the sentence largely repeats the first, even the vocabulary remaining constant. Thus γελώντων ἅμα τῶν κλαιόντων repeats γέλωτι δακρύων κεραννυμένων; χαιρόντων τῶν θρηνούντων picks up χαρᾷ καὶ λύπῃ συμπεπλεγμένων, and most lamely of

all τῶν προσδοκηθέντων φόνων εἰς εὐαγεῖς θυτὰς μεταβαλλομένων restates τῶν στυγνοτάτων εἰς ἑορτὴν μεταβαλλομένων. Thus it will be seen that both halves of the sentence end with the prominent word μεταβαλλομένων, perhaps a conscious patterning device, but nevertheless with the unfortunate effect of emphasising with just how very little material Heliodoros is constructing his rhetorical edifice.

So far I have analysed the sentence almost in musical terms, and it is clear that the sound and the elevated tone of the whole sentence in cumulation are far more important than the precise meaning of individual cola, even to the extent that some of the cola are hardly applicable to the situation they purport to describe. Perhaps it is irrelevant to Heliodoros' intentions to undertake an analysis of the meaning of each clause, but the attempt must be made.

i) χαρᾶς καὶ λύπης συμπεπλεγμένων seems to have two possible interpretations: either referring to the grief of a moment ago, when it seemed that Theagenes was to be sacrificed, contrasted with the joy of the present moment; or the grief of Charicles,who has now finally lost his "daughter",contrasted with the joy of Theagenes, Charicleia, Hydaspes and Persinna.

ii) γέλωτι δακρύων κεραννυμένων: simply a particularisation of i)

iii) τῶν στυγνοτάτων εἰς ἑορτὴν μεταβαλλομένων: the grisly ceremony of human sacrifice has turned into a

betrothal scene.

iv) γελώντων ἅμα τῶν κλαιόντων: not strictly identical with ii) despite the concurrence of imagery. τῶν κλαιόντων can only refer to Charicles, and we are thus to infer that, despite his grief at losing Charicleia, he is glad that she is betrothed to Theagenes, a change of heart which ill accords with his threats of a moment earlier.

v) χαιρόντων τῶν θρηνούντων: identical with iv). Cf. 10.37.1, ἐπιθρηνῶν γοῶδες τοὺς εἰρημένους

vi) εὑρισκόντων ὡς μὴ ἐζήτουν: most naturally taken back to Charicleia's identification as Hydaspes' daughter, which is scarcely in place at this late stage. It must therefore refer to Theagenes, in the sense that the Ethiopian king and queen have "found" a son-in-law.

vii) ἀπολλύντων ὡς εὑρηκέναι ἐώντων: can only refer to Charicles losing Charicleia. But in what sense can it be said that he ever thought that he had found her? Clearly symmetry with the preceding colon is more important than absolute consistency with the plot.

viii) καὶ τέλος ... μεταβαλλομένων: as iii) only more fully.

The juxtaposition of conflicting emotions is something of a commonplace in the Greek romance, although I know of no other example where it is treated with as much rhetorical embellishment as here. The topos can serve one of two

purposes: either the description of a general scene as here, or the description of a complex emotional state within an individual. For the first cf.Char.3.5.3, 5.8.2; Xen. Eph.19.1. For the second, which is more common but sometimes expressed in an almost identical form, see Char.1.9.3, 4.5.10; Xen.Eph.2.5.5; Ach.Tat.1.4.5, 5.19.1, 5.24.3; Xen.Eph.5.13.3; Heliod.3.15.3, 4.9.1, 4.11.1, 6.1.2, 7.7.3, 7.29.1, 10.13.1.

10.39.1

τοῦ γὰρ ψεύστου: the γάρ picks up the foreshadowing of future events in the last clause of 10.38.4, and begins the explanation of how they came about.

ὡ σοφώτατε: cf.10.9.6, ὦ σοφώτατον.

ἀρνεῖσθαι τὴν ... θυσίαν σὺκ εὐσεβές: cf.10.20.1, σὺκ ἐυαγὲς πανταπασι περιγραφῆναι τὸ πάτριον τῆς τῶν ἐπινικίων θυσίας, and compare also Persinna's concern that the sacrifice take place, expressed at 10.29.3.

σὺκ εὐσεβές ... σὺκ ἐυαγές: note the way in which Hydaspes' dilemma is presented in stark asyndetic parallelism. The vague plural πρὸς παρ'αὐτῶν δωρηθέντας (which cannot include Charicleia since there is no longer any question of her being sacrificed) gives a gnomic quality to the situation: Hydaspes is involved in a general problem of right and wrong, not in the pressures of an individual case.

σφαγιάζειν ... σὺκ ἐυαγές: this marks a change of attitude. Even after Hydaspes discovered that Charicleia was his daughter, he was still, nominally at least, prepared to continue with the sacrifice, and never used the argument which might have been expected, that it would be impious to sacrifice those whom the gods had returned; contrast 10.16.6, which is the closest he comes.

It is difficult to avoid feeling that the final resolution is too easily achieved, although sheer dramatic excitement does much to conceal this from the emotionally involved

reader. The feeling has been built up that the revelation of the true relationship between Theagenes and Charicleia will secure the former's release, but there is no logical reason why this should be so, and, in the event, the sudden introduction of doubt into Hydaspes' piety rings rather false. One should not make too much of a reservation like this when the scene is dramatically if not logically viable. The seemingly miraculous intervention of Charicles gives the impression of a supernatural power involved, voiced by Charicleia herself at 10.38.1.

We should also note that Charicles' charges against Theagenes are now dropped by Heliodoros. Again the defect is more formal than vital: the reader is bound to take the part of the hero and heroine to such an extent that any justification of their actions would be superfluous to him. Charicles, indeed, is presented in a very unsympathetic way in the final scene (see my note on 10.36.1). Hydaspes, if he were a real person, might have felt it necessary to enquire a little more deeply into the circumstances of Charicleia's abduction, but in a novel this would have become intolerably bathetic, and again Heliodoros' instincts were right.

ἀλλ' ὥστε καὶ πάντας ἐπαίειν αἰθιοπίζων : compare 10.9.6, ἑλληνίζων ὥστε μὴ τὸ πλῆθοι ἐπαίειν. We have seen the care that Heliodoros takes on the language question many times. The verb αἰθιοπίζω is used only here in extant

literature, but its formation is regular and its rarity due simply to the rarity of the concept it expresses.

ἐπισκιάζοντα ... καὶ οἱ συνετώτατοι: an elliptic expression. It is actually the νοῦς of men which is cast into shadow; cf.Maillon's translation: "obscurcit l'intelligence même des hommes les plus avisés."

For the σύνεσις of Hydaspes cf.10.29.5, τοῖς συνετοῖς ἀσύνετα φθέγγομαι. RL's note is still imbued with the same misguided desire for total naturalism that I have discussed before (note on 10.18.3).

10.39.2

τὴν πανάλβιον Χαρίκλειαν : πανάλβιος here seems no more than a conventional formula of respect. Elsewhere it has a much stronger, religious meaning, almost like our "blessed". Compare Philostr.Vit.Apoll.3.42 and various Christian writers such as Euseb.Praep.Evang.1.1 (=PG.21.24c) (τί οὖν ἂν γένοιτο τῆς ἀγαθῆς ταύτης καὶ πανολβίου θεοφιλίας μακαριωτέρον;); John Damasc.Hom.1.6 (=PG.96.556a) uses it of the lips of St.Peter acknowledging the divinity of Christ, and the same writer (Carm.Theog.21 = PG.96.820b) uses it also of Christ himself (νύμφης πανάγνου τὸν πανόλβιον τόκον).

Sisimithres now embarks on a short summary of the events that have taken place during the sacrifice sequence, bringing out the divine plan. There is no attempt to arrange events

in chronological order, but instead they are grouped into a) those concerning Charicleia and b) those concerning Theagenes.

καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς etc.: cf.notes on 9.24.6 and the references given there. The phrasing of 2.8.3 is especially close to the present passage; Charicleia is talking of Cnemon's mistress, Thisbe, who has suddenly appeared in Egypt,

πῶς ἦν εἰκὸς ... τὴν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις γῆς Αἰγύπτου καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς ἀναπεμφθῆναι;

αὖθις τὴν πτοίαν ... τοῖς προσβωμίοις ἵπποις etc.: αὖθις answers νῦν μέν above and marks the division between the events relating to Charicleia and those concerning Theagenes.

καὶ τὸ διακοπήσεσθαι τὰ τελεώτερα ... συμβάλλειν παρέχοντες: διακοπήσεσθαι is another of Heliodoros' unusual constructions with the infinitive. Here it is possibly introduced as a variation from the normal idiom represented above, συμβάλλειν ... ὅτι μὴ προσίενται etc.

For διακόπτω in the sense of "interrupt" cf.Luc.Lex.11, Luc.Dom.14, Ael.Nat.Anim.3.37.

τὰ τελεώτερα is the human sacrifice, thought to be more perfect than the animal.

νῦν τὴν κορωνίδα τῶν λημάτων: cf.3.6.3, τὴν κορωνίδα τῆς πομπῆς (Charicleia).

κορωνίς is properly a mark found at the end of a book; for this see T.Birt: Das antike Buchwesen, pp.102, 444, 468. From this derives a metaphorical usage wnere

κορωνίς can mean the end of anything; cf.Galen 1.643 and Plut.Mor.789a, a very important passage to which we shall return.

At some point the word seems to have been confused with κορώνη, "a crown", and to have taken on the metaphorical senses of that word. Thus in the present passage of Heliodoros, and at 3.6.3, κορωνίς means "summit". For this cf.Socr. Hist.Eccl.3.15.7 (=PG.67.417c), of martyrs being roasted alive, οἱ δὲ τὴν κορωνίδα τῆς ἀνδρίας τηνικαῦτα ἐπέδειξαν, πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοιαῦτα εἰπόντες.

ὥσπερ λαμπάδιον δράματος: no phrase has caused so much difficulty to commentators on Heliodoros as this.

Coraes linked λαμπάδιον with the comic mask listed by Pollux (4.151), and suggested that the female character it represented always appeared near the end of plays. There is no evidence for this except that λαμπάδιον comes near the end of Pollux' list, and in fact it is clear that the λαμπάδιον character was a very minor one.

Neimke linked the expression with the Theban hair-style called λαμπάδιον and mentioned by Ps-Dichaiarchos (Geogr. Graec.Min.1.p.103). He then suggested that this was connected with Pollux' description of the λαμπάδιον as having hair coming up in a point like the flame of a torch (4.154), and that Heliodoros confuses the two usages, adding δράματος to a pre-existent metaphor for height or the point of something. This is the interpretation adopted by RL.

Quite the best discussion of the problem is that of Walden (op.cit.p.30ff.), who sensibly disposes of Coraes and adduces for the first time the passage of Plutarch mentioned above. Since this is so close to Heliodoros' phraseology, it is hard to deny its relevance: ὁ δὲ πὰν ἐμβεβωκὼς πολιτικαῖς πράξεσι καὶ διηγωνισμένος οὐκ ἐῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ὀλίγα καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ βίου προελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνακαλούμενος, καὶ κελεύων ὥσπερ ἐξ ὁδοῦ μακρᾶς μεταβαλέσθαι. The torch in question here is usually taken to be a funeral torch (thus the Loeb translator), but in view of the closeness to Heliodoros, where such an interpretation is not possible, we should not take this as certain.

What is clear, however, as Walden points out (strangely ignored by Rattenbury), is that Plutarch's use of the word ὄλος rules out any interpretation involving a specialised meaning confined to λαμπάδων. We must abandon masks and hair-styles.

Walden makes another valuable point, which I have not found taken up by other writers: "It may be thought a possibility that the δράματος in Heliodorus refers not to the drama in general but specifically to the adventures of Theagenes and Charicleia. In that case, λαμπάδων δράματος would mean, not 'a dramatic torch' but 'the torch of the action'. If this is true, we should expect to read λαμπάδων τοῦ δράματος" (p.34 n.1). The manuscripts are quite unanimous in presenting λαμπάδων δράματος.

Walden offers two possible explanations, neither of which he claims to be decisive. The first is that torches played some rôle in comedy (he has much about drawings of torches in manuscripts of Terence); this has recently been taken up by W.G.Arnott (Hermes 93, 1965, p.253ff.), who draws attention to the large number of new discoveries concerning New Comedy where torches seem to play some sort of rôle towards the end of a play. Walden's second suggestion is that the metaphor is derived from the Eleusinian mysteries, often referred to as a δρᾶμα and in which the climax was represented by the appearance of a light from darkness (op.cit.p.37).

I confess that I cannot see an easy way to a solution. If the text read λαμπάδων τῶν δραμάτων, I could accept the metaphor without too much difficulty. The revelation of Theagenes' status would be the torch, the source of light, the bright spot, the climax of the story. But, as it stands, the text is apparently connected with some dramatic phenomenon.

I do not find Arnott's thesis very convincing. It is true that torches appear in the revels at the end of some plays, but the point seems too vague to be turned into a simile, and if the appearance of flaming torches was a recognised formal feature (as it would have to be if the unspecific remark of Plutarch is to be interpreted in this way), we should have expected some reference to the fact.

The Eleusinian mysteries remain a possibility, and may be thought apt in the mouth of Sisimithres. However, Heliodoros' imagery is so dominated by that drawn from the theatre that it seems unnatural to take the unqualified δράματος as referring to anything else.

The text is above suspicion, unfortunately, not because all the MSS agree but because the imagery that they furnish is guaranteed by the Plutarch passage. We should beware, however, of assuming that Plutarch is the source of the image in Heliodoros. The mere fact that Heliodoros adds the qualifying δράματος may mean that he had more knowledge at his disposal than could be gleaned from Plutarch alone. We must also allow for the suspicion that Heliodoros has distorted the image, perhaps that δράματος is a mistaken expansion on his part and that Plutarch's λύχνος really is a funeral torch.

10.39.3

κατανώμεθα ... κινώμεθα ... ἐκνώμεθα: note the parallelism of structure, strengthened by rhyming verbs placed at the beginning of each colon, and by the end rhyme of the first two cola, θαυματουργήματος ... βουλήματος.

τοῦ θείου θαυματουργήματος ... ἐκείνης: a plural οὐ θεοῦ is to be supplied from the adjectival form. For θαυματούργημα cf.10.16.6, where Heliodoros uses the cognate verb. The noun is found in Philo Vit.Mos.1.82 and is frequent in

Christian writers.

τῶν εὐκλεεστέρων ἱερείων: Sisimithres seems to have forgotten about his opposition to all animal sacrifice (10.9.6). He makes no objection when Hydaspes proposes the continuation of the animal sacrifice to pledge the betrothal of Theagenes and Charicleia (10.40.2), and the sacrifice is eventually carried out, in the presence of the gymnosophists, by the betrothed couple (10.41.3). It seems that Heliodoros' opposition to animal sacrifice is literary rather than a matter of conviction. It is probably taken from Philostratos, on whose work the earlier threat of Sisimithres to withdraw is based; see the note on 10.9.6.

τὴν δι' ἀνθρώπων θυσίαν: for the idiom with διά and the genitive to describe the vehicle of a sacrifice cf.10.9.6, θυσίαν οὕτως ἔκθεσμον τὴν δι' ἀνθρώπων ... τὰς διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων θυσίας ... μόνας τὰς δι' εὐχῶν καὶ ἀρωμάτων; also Plut.Numa 8, δι' ἀλφίτου καὶ σπονδῆς καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων πεποιημένας.

καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑξῆς αἰῶνα περιγράψαντες: the reading of VZ is to be preferred to MP's παραγράψαντες. Both are possible, but the former is supported by 10.20.1, περιγραφῆναι τὸ πάτριον τῆς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων θυσίας.

10.40.1

λαμπρῶς τε καὶ εὖ ἐπήκουον: for λαμπρός of sound cf.Eur. Heraclid.864.

Baumgarten (op.cit.p.13) uses the phrase εὖ ἐπήκουον as an example of borrowing from Xenophon by Heliodoros and other writers of the empire. While it is true that Xenophon is the first to use ἐπήκοος in a passive rather than the normal classical active sense, his use of εὖ ἐπήκουον has quite a different meaning from that of Heliodoros: at Xen.Anab.2.5.38, 3.5.1, 4.4.5 the phrase means "within earshot"; here, and in other instances from authors of the second century and later, it means "so as to be heard"; cf.Luc.Symp.21, id.Imag.9, Paus.8.15.2, 8.40.3, 9.11.3. In view of this it is difficult to sustain Baumgarten's theory that Heliodoros has taken the phrase directly from Xenophon, and we must allow it a greater currency than does Baumgarten.

καὶ αὐτοῖς νῦν ἴσις: RL's emendation of the MSS σύνεσις. Coraes was the first to see that it is a nonsense for Hydaspes to be said to understand his own language. His remedy was to read ἄλλοις, but RL's version has more point. The main objection to it is its use of νῦν in past time. Such a usage is most unusual, but can be paralleled; cf. Plut.Fab.23, πάλαι μὲν ἐώρα χαλεπὸν αὐτοῖς, νῦν δ' ἀδύνατον κρατεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων Ἰταλίας. See too Paus.4.35.7.

οὐκοῦν ὧ πάροντες etc.: in what follows it is to be noted

that Hydaspes totally ignores Sisimithres' suggestion that the practice of human sacrifice be abolished, and concentrates on the idea that the events concerning Theagenes and Charicleia are the manifestation of a divine agency (explained by Sisimithres at 10.39.2), and that it would be impious to contravene their will (cf.10.39.1, σφαγιάζειν τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν δωρηθέντας σὺς εὐαγεῖς).

10.40.2

ξυνωρίδα ταύτην γαμηλίοις νόμοις ἀναδείκνυμι: the syntax and sense seem to be incomplete. The usual interpretation is to take ξυνωρίδα ταύτην as equivalent to ξυνωρίδα εἶναι τούτους, which seems intolerably harsh to me. Moreover, the sentence as it stands lacks the parallelism so characteristic of Heliodoros: ξυνωρίδα ταύτην is the object both of ἀναδείκνυμι and of ἑάσῃμι ; γαμηλίοις νόμοις may be felt to be parallel to θεσμῷ παιδογονίας, but having come so tantalisingly close to a balanced structure we can go no further. Sense and symmetry could profitably be filled out with an infinitive in the first member to correspond with συνεῖναι in the second. I therefore postulate a lacuna after ξυνωρίδα ταύτην. If the missing word were three syllables long, it would have produced exact isocolia, and possibly parallelism would have dictated that it be a compound with συν-. συνελθεῖν is a possibility.

The phrase γαμηλίου νόμου is obscure, and I have been unable to find it used elsewhere. It appears, however, that Hydaspes is not conducting the actual wedding service at this moment (see below), and so Maillon's translation "je déclare ces jeunes gens unis par les liens du mariage" can hardly be correct. If the suggestions made in the previous paragraph are accepted, Hydaspes will be acknowledging that the relationship between Theagenes and Charicleia is one of legitimate betrothal, and that by adhering to "the laws concerning marriage" they have done nothing shameful.

ζυγός is properly "a team of horses", but is frequently applied to people from Plato onwards (Phaedr.246b); see also 7.14.7. It was never restricted to the marriage-pair; indeed I can find no other example where it is so used. Its sense is therefore not strong enough of itself to sustain the traditional interpretation.

ἀναδείκνυμι in this context is almost a technical term; cf.10.41.1 and 6.8.4.

συνεῖναι θεσμῶν παιδοποιΐας: the reference to childbirth was part of the betrothal ceremony, and occurs several times in the remains of Menander (cf.Peric.1013 and Gomme/Sandbach ad loc. for further examples).

Hydaspes' words here do not constitute the marriage ceremony. At 10.41.1 the people are jubilant ὡς ἐπιτελουμένης ἤδη τοῦ γάμου, which carries the clear implication that

the ceremony is not yet concluded, while at 10.41.3 the whole party retires into Meroe τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ μυστικωτέρων καὶ τὸ ἄστυ φωλοτέρου τελεσθησομένων, which can only refer to a religious marriage ceremony.

δεσμῷ is the reading of all MSS, except the unimportant and late AT. The variant λεσμῷ followed by earlier editors, including Hirschig, derives from an error in the editio princeps, printed at Basle in 1534.

βεβαιοῦντω τὴν δόξαντα ἡ θυσία etc.: the idea of abandoning all animal sacrifice has been quite forgotten; cf.note on 10.39.3.

10.41.1

ἐπευφήμησεν ὁ στρατός: cf.Char.8.8.13 ἐπευφήμησεν ὁ δῆμος. While there is no real significance in the coincidence of vocabulary, the similarity does help to point up a broad structural parallel in the use of scenes of general celebration to produce the required exultant climax at the end of a novel. Is this ultimately derived from the stage, where revelry and torch-lit processions often accompanied the final resolution ? Or is it rather due to something in the Greek literary character which demanded that an exultant climax be dramatised by concrete exultation within the fictional framework ?

ὡς ἐπιτελουμένοις ἤδη τοῖς γάμοις: ἐπιτελέω is a vox propria; cf.Aristot.Frag.549 Rose, and Diod.13.84.

ἐπεκτύπησαν: Heliodoros often ignores strict grammatical concord and follows an ad sensum construction of plural verbs with collective nouns. However, in the present instance, it may be that principles of parallelism should be allowed to predominate. Although the characteristic rhymed structure is not present here, there is nevertheless a clear connection between the similarly compounded forms ἐπευφήμησεν and ἐπεκτύπησαν, which suggests that the singular ἐπεκτύπησεν preserved in Z is to be preferred.

ὦ δέσποτα ... Ἥλιε καὶ Σελήνη δέσποινα: note the elegant chiasmus. Heliodoros has by now forgotten that Dionysos is also an ancestral deity of the Ethiopians (10.2.2).

Note also that now Hydaspes has progressed from gnomic statement (as in 10.39.1) to the particulars of the case in hand, as if he were slowly gaining confidence in his conclusion.

καὶ ἱερατέυειν ὑμῖν : ἱερατεύω is normally found with the genitive of the divinity concerned. For the dative compare Hdn.5.6.3.

10.41.2

τήν τε αὖπού καὶ τὴν περσίννης μίτραν etc.: exactly what Heliodoros had in mind when talking of these μίτραι is unclear. The μίτρα began as a specifically feminine piece of clothing, later associated with Dionysos as the most effeminate of the gods (thus Schuppe in RE 15.2 col.2218-20). Later we find μίτραι worn in Dionysiac festivals and banquets (Plin.Nat.Hist.35.58) and by athletes (Sen.Herc.Oet.374), presumably as a head-band to keep the hair out of the eyes. The connection with effeminacy also perhaps prompted the application of the word to the crowns of oriental potentates (e.g.Hdt.1.195; cf.Philostr.Vit.Apoll.2.26), but later it is found simply as a symbol of authority (Call.Hymn 4.166, Athen.12.536a). The word is applied to the headdress of the Jewish high priest (Lxx.Exod.29.6). It seems that it was the flavour of exoticism in the word which attracted Heliodoros. I have not been able to find a reference to the mitre of a Christian bishop as early as the fourth

century. It is especially important that Heliodoros goes on immediately to explain the significance of the μίτρα (τὸ σύμβολον τῆς ἱερωσύνης), which suggests that the reader was not expected to grasp this for himself. Apart from the fact that it is white, Heliodoros tells us nothing of the appearance of the μίτρα. What is important, in fact, is not the nature of the headdress, which is chosen for its exotic oriental flavour, but its symbolic function; the transference of the μίτρα repeats and embodies the transference of the priesthood.

Compare 10.4.5, where Heliodoros suggests that it was Ethiopian custom for the king to be priest of the sun and the queen priestess of the moon. This was later obscured in Hydaspes' reactions to Charicleia's request to be allowed to sacrifice Theagenes with her own hands; cf.10.21.2 and note.

τὸ σύμβολον τῆς ἱερωσύνης: for this use of σύμβολον cf. 7.8.2 and Plut.Comp.Cim.et Lucull.3, where a crown and royal robe are referred to as τὰ σύμβολα τῆς βασιλείας. ἐνθύμιον τοῦ χρησμοῦ ... ἡ Χαρικλὴς ἐλάμβανε: for the phrase ἐνθύμιον λαμβάνειν cf.7.5.2, ὅπερ ... καὶ ἡ Ἀρσάκη λαβοῦσα ἐνθύμιον τὴν μονομαχίαν προὔβηκεν. Compare also Ach.Tat.2.7.3, where it seems to mean "take the hint". Note that at 7.5.2 it is followed by a direct object; for the genitive of 10.41.2 compare Dio Cass.58.6, where it is found with the closely related ἐνθύμιον ποιεῖσθαι.

The oracle which follows was originally quoted at 2.35.5. Nobody at the time understood it; cf.2.36.1, ἀμηχανία πλείστη τοὺς περιεστῶτας εἶχε τὸν χρησμὸν ὅ τι βούλοιτο φράζειν ἀπορουῦντας ; and 2.36.2, οὔπω δὲ οὐδεὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐφήπτετο, χρησμοὶ γὰρ καὶ ὄνειροι τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς τέλεσι κρίνονται. The quotation of the oracle at the end of the work serves several purposes: a) the ceremony of the transference of the μίτρα confirms the most obscure part of the oracle. Heliodoros handles the solution of this riddle very subtly by viewing it from the position of Charicles. b) it provides a pleasant way of ending the work by referring back to material from an earlier section, thus achieving a cyclic form. c) it emphasises the divine agency which Heliodoros now intends to be seen as the unifying and purposive factor of the entire plot.

τὴν ἔργοις βεβαιούμενον : for similar phrases used of the fulfilment of promises or prophecies compare Thuc.1.23 and Lys.20.32.

τὸ ... προαγορευθέν : i.e. the prophecy. For προαγορεύω meaning "foretell" compare Xen.Symp.4.5.

ἐκ τῶν Δελφῶν διαβάντας : the words of the original oracle were οἳ νῆσον περιλιπόντες ἐμὴν καὶ ἶρμα τεμόντες.

ἵξεσθ' ἠελίοιο : is ἵξεσθ' to be interpreted as ἵξεσθε, as in the original version of the oracle, or as ἵξεσθαι, so as to conform to the syntax of its new context?

ἀριστοβίην : the word is not used by any other writer. One

suspects that Heliodoros was forced to employ it by his inability to write fluent verse.

λευκὸν ἐπὶ κροτάφων etc.: the reading of the earlier quotation of the oracle should be restored here. All MSS (except A and a superscription in V) present us with an unmetrical genitive plural λευκῶν. It seems that scribes found a reference to κροτάφων μελαινομένων anomalous when made to Theagenes and Charicleia. The black brows are of course those of the Ethiopians, and the reference is not intended to have the particular application.

10.41.3

λευκαῖς ταῖς μίτραις : the colour of the μίτρα was not mentioned in 10.41.1; the present phrase picks up the final line of the oracle, λευκὸν ... στέμμα.

τήν τε ἱερωσύνην [ἅμα τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ] ἀναδησάμενος: the words ἅμα τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ are nonsensical here, and cause a nasty hiatus. The gesture of handing over the μίτρα makes it quite clear that Hydaspes is handing over the priesthood, not merely sharing it. The phrase has crept in from a couple of lines further down the page and is rightly excised by RL.

For ἀναδησάμενος cf.4.2.1, πολλοὺς ... ἀγῶνας ἀναδησάμενος, and RL's note (vol.2.p.3 n.1). ἀναδέομαι is frequently used in this metaphorical sense; cf.App.Bell.Civ.1.84 (with ἀρχήν), Procop.Vand.2.27 (with κλέος).

αὐλῶν τε καὶ συρίγγων μελῳδίαις : elsewhere μελῳδία is used of song. I have not been able to find another example of its application to instrumental music.

ἐφ' ἅρμασι ἵππων : for this rather peculiar genitive after ἅρμα compare Dio Cass.67.16, 74.4, Nonn.Dion.8.229, 11.345.

ἵππων μὲν ἃ etc.: Rattenbury's emendation of the MSS ἵππων ὁ μὲν etc., first published in Mélanges offerts à M.Octave Navarre (Toulouse, 1935), p.369. Rattenbury also prints ἅμα τῇ Περσίννῃ in place of the reading of MP (αὐτῇ) and VZ (σὺν τῇ). Since I disagree with both of these alterations, it is worth quoting Rattenbury's argumentation in full. "From the text it emerges that the first two carriages were drawn by horses, the third by white oxen; μέν is therefore misplaced; it should contrast ἵππων with βοῶν λευκῶν. Further, there seems to be no point in αὐτῇ. The MSS are divided, the better class giving σὺν τῇ instead of αὐτῇ . σὺν ᾗ is unobjectionable, but the variant αὐτῇ suggests that Heliodorus wrote ἅμα here as he wrote it twice above. Accordingly the text should run...(as printed in RL's Budé text). Thus do Theagenes and Charicleia, the hero and heroine, get the emphatic notice that is their due at the end of the story, while Sisimithres and Charicles fall into a parenthesis which is no less than their deserts."

In the first place, I would question whether there is really intended to be a contrast between horses and oxen. Rattenbury's use of parentheses rather begs the

question; we must remember that brackets were not available to Heliodoros. The text runs perfectly well without them, but does not provide the implied demotion of Sisimithres and Charicles. Without the brackets it is clear that what we have is a simple enumeration of three chariots, their occupants and their source of power, distinguished from each other by a μέν ... δέ ... δέ formula. To gain this effect the position of μέν in the MSS is quite acceptable. Heliodoros is not always perfectly straightforward in his μέν ... δέ pairings; cf. for example 10.41.2, τὴν μὲν τῇ Θεαγένει τὴν αὐτοῦ, Χαρικλείᾳ δὲ τὴν Περσίννης ἐκτίθησιν. There, as here, it is two concepts which are linked and contrasted, not individual words within the concepts.

Secondly, I would have thought that the variant αὐτῇ rather confirmed σὺν ᾗ than suggested ἅμα ᾗ. It would be different if MP had αὐτῇ τῇ, but their simple αὐτῇ is nonsense in itself and palaeographically very close to σὺν ᾗ. As for Rattenbury's hint that because Heliodoros has written ἅμα twice above he must have written it here also, this seems to me quite gratuitous. Heliodoros consistently exploits the effect of variation within a pattern; to go no further than the present sentence, we can instance the lack of uniformity between ἐφ' ἅρμασιν and καθ' ἕτερον.

The tableau with horses and white oxen echoes the use of these creatures for the sacrifice; compare 10.6.5,

where the attribution of these animals to their respective deities is explained.

παρεπέμποντο: a vox propria of bridal processions; cf. Luc.Dial.Mar.5.1.

τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν γάμων μυστικωτέρων: presumably some kind of religious initiation ceremony which accompanied the marriage. Compare my note on 10.40.2. Heliodoros is posing as if he knew all the details of the Ethiopian μυστικά; cf. 9.10.1: his attitude comes close to historiographical ἀκαζονεία.

καὶ τὸ ἄστυ φαιδρότερον: i.e. rather than in the temporary building in the ὄψεως τοῦ τοῦ ἄστεως where the ceremony has been taking place.

φαιδρότερον can hardly mean "avec plus de solennité" as Maillon translates it. It must refer to the splendour of the celebrations, denoting a joyful rather than a solemn occasion. Compare method.Res.2.21 (=PG.18.316a), ἐνδόξως ἑορτάσωμεν αὐτῷ τὴν φαιδρὰν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἑορτήν, and two more examples from Christian writers where the tone of the cognate φαιδρότης is determined by its being coupled with λαμπρότης: St.John Chrys.Scand.17 (=PG.52.518) and Gelas.Cyz.Hist.Conc.Nic.2.7.30 (=PG.85.1240a).

10.41.4

πέρας: an unusual word in this type of context - further indication that the postscript is genuine.

τὸ σύνταγμα ... συνέταξεν: note the familiar stylistic feature of picking up a word with a closely related form. The device is criticised by Hefti (op.cit.p.131), who calls it "Ungeschicklichkeit" and questions its authenticity. It is, on the contrary, a conscious point of style.

Both σύνταγμα and συντάσσω are standard terms for literary composition. Compare for σύνταγμα: Diod.1.3.8, Plut.Mor.1036c, Gal.15.490; and for συντάσσω: Polyb.2.40.4, Plut.Brut.4, Plat.Phaedr.263e, Polyb.1.3.8, Gal.19.221, Dion.Hal.Ant.Rom.4.7, Philostr.Vit.Apoll.3.41, etc.

τῶν περὶ Θεαγένην καὶ Χαρίκλειαν Αἰθιοπικῶν: compare the titles given in the manuscripts at the start of the first book: i) Ἡλιοδώρου Αἰθιοπικῶν περὶ Θεαγένην καὶ Χαρίκλειαν in B. ii) Ἡλιοδώρου Αἰθιοπικῶν· ἡ Χαρίκλεια χαράν γε πάντως ἀποβίβᾳ οὐ κλέος· τῆς Χαρικλείας τοῦτο δὴ τὸ βιβλίον in Z and Y. Here the words following ἡ Χαρίκλεια seem to be two Byzantine trimeters (cf.Hefti op.cit.p.161 n.1095). Also compare the titles given in some manuscripts after the conclusion of 10.41.4: i) τέλος τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν Ἡλιοδώρου, ὁμοῦ βιβλία δέκα in V. ii) τέλος τῶν περὶ Θεαγένην καὶ Χαρίκλειαν Αἰθιοπικῶν. ἡ Χαρίκλεια in Z.

The title Αἰθιοπικά is given also by our earliest witness to Heliodoros, namely the fifth-century ecclesiastical historian Socrates (Hist.Eccl.5.22 = Colonna Test.i), who talks of ἐρωτικὰ βιβλία, ἃ νέος ὢν ἔσχε καὶ Αἰθιοπικὰ πρεσβύτερος . This early testimony seems to guarantee that

the original title of the work was Αἰθιοπικά. Socrates' citation is quoted by Nicephoros Callistos (Hist.Eccl. 12.34 = Colonna Test.xvii), who adds νῦν δὲ κλοῦσι τινὲς Χαρίκλειαν. This was the name generally given to Heliodoros' book by the Byzantines: compare Suda sv. Ὑπερκύπτω (=Colonna Test.x), Psellos de Charicleia et Leucippe iudicium (= Colonna Test.xii), an anonymous twelfth-century author (Colonna Test. xv), Thomas Magister (Colonna Test.xvi),Iosephos Pinaros Rhacendytes (Colonna Test.xix-xx).

Doubts were raised over the form of the title by W.Schmid (in his appendix to Rohde's Der griechische Roman p.416ff.) and are enlarged upon by Hefti (op.cit.p.129ff.). The plural adjectival forms found as the titles of some romances are closely connected with similar forms used for works of history and epic. The difficulty arises in that the manuscripts appear to give two titles, one the adjectival form and the other comprising the names of hero and heroine; compare here the title given to the work of Xenophon of Ephesos: Ξενοφῶντος τῶν κατὰ Ἀνθίαν καὶ Ἀβροκόμην Ἐφεσιακῶν λόγος πρῶτος etc. Schmid says this practice cannot be paralleled. Furthermore, other romances, notably those of Chariton and Achilles Tatius,are referred to solely by the names of hero and heroine, while the Suda speaks of the romance of Iamblichos as τὰ καλούμενα Βαβυλωνιακά (sv. Ἰάμβλιχος). Schmid suggests that the adjectival title was given only for ease of citation, and not by the author.

Schmid seems to me to be forcing an anachronistic uniformity onto the genre. There is clear evidence that many books in antiquity went under more than one title. The Platonic dialogues for instance are referred to both by the name of the leading character and by an indication of the subject matter; thus as early as Aristotle the Symposium could also be called ἐρωτικοὶ λόγοι (Aristot. Pol.1262b11) and the Menexenos Ἐπιτάφιος (Aristot.Rhet. 1415b30). Plato himself refers to the Phaedo as περὶ ψυχῆς (Epist.363a, cf.Call.Epig.23). The titulature of Platonic works, together with the treatises of the Hippocratic corpus and other writings which show a variation in the way in which they are referred to by ancient writers, is discussed by E.Nachmanson: Der griechische Buchtitel: einige Beobachtungen. His conclusion is that Greek books were not given a title in the modern sense of the word. They could be denoted by a vague indication of contents or even by a reference to the opening words (this is how Dionysios of Halicarnassos cites the orations of Demosthenes). A neat illustration of the looseness of ancient practice is given by Athen.4e, where he refers to a parodistic poem by Archestratos of Gela, variously known as Γαστρονομία, Ἡδυπαθεία, Δειπνολογία or Ὀψοποιία. Diogenes Laertios often gives alternative titles without realising it (e.g. 2.83-5).

Thus the various forms of titles given to Greek romances

need reflect no more than a lack of rigid practice in the ancient book trade. A title merely served the purpose of ensuring that the reader or buyer of a book could take the volume that he wanted from the shelf. This might take the form of a tag attatched to the outside of the roll or codex and containing the briefest of indications of the contents (cf.R.P.Oliver: The First Medicean MS of Tacitus and the Titulature of Ancient Books; TAPA 82, 1951, p.232ff.) The adjectival title or the names of the main characters would do this equally well. Heliodoros himself refers to his work as Αἰθιοπικά, and in his case, therefore, the form has a degree of authorial backing, but at the same time we may doubt whether he would have seen anything incongruous in his book going also under the names of Theagenes and Charicleia.

There is nothing in Schmid's argument to make us reject the testimony of Socrates and the evidence of the text of 10.41.4. The countless examples of adjectival titles in -κός show that the form is unimpeachable.

Hefti adds a subtler argument: "Darf aus erzählungs-technischen Gründen Äthiopien und damit ein Hinweis auf die Herkunft der Heldin schon im Titel des Romans stehen ? Doch wohl kaum !" This, however, is misguided. It is true that the structural force of the first half of the romance is the gradual revelation of Charicleia's identity, admirably analysed in great detail by Hefti himself. But the fact

that Charicleia comes from Ethiopia is revealed very early; the real mystery is the identity of her parents. Before Charicles tells his story to Calasiris, the title Αἰθιοπικά really gives nothing away. It may even have supplied an additional element of suspense as the reader became more and more curious to know how the events of the first book were connected with Ethiopia. But the title would not have told him that it was Charicleia's birthplace.

Hefti's stylistic criticism I have already mentioned. It seems to me misplaced. The final section is actually a small masterpiece of style in the way it builds up to the statement of the author's name in the very last word. Hefti also says (p.131) that we should have expected a reference in the first person, and that the third person phrasing of 10.41.1 suggests that this is a notice added by another hand. It is, however, part of the historiographical tradition, to which Heliodoros is so anxious to be thought to belong, that the author should identify himself in the third person; for parallels we need look no further than Herodotos and Thucydides. That Chariton uses the first person proves merely that there is more than one way to write a sphragis.

ἀνὴρ Φοῖνιξ Ἐμισηνός: the province of Syria Phoenice was created in AD 194 by the division of Syria into two parts under Septimius Severus. This phrase therefore provides an unchallengeable terminus post quem for Heliodoros,

whatever one's interpretation of the arguments deriving from the siege of Nisibis.

Altheim makes much of the literary and religious significance of this section. The issues which he raises are fully discussed in Introduction §2.

Photios gives a variant form (Colonna Test.iii), πρῶτα δὲ συνέγραψε φῶνιξ' ἀνὴρ Ἀμινδηνὸς Θεοδοσίου παῖς Ἡλιόδωρος. The corruption is a curious one, but there is no place called Amindos in any area which could be described as Phoenicia.

τῶν ἀφ' ἡλίου γένους: for the omission of the article with γένους compare 1.19.2, 2.34.3 and 8.17.3. Contrast 10.36.3 and see my note ad loc. For the meaning of this phrase see the discussion in Introduction §2.

Θεοδοσίου παῖς Ἡλιόδωρος: the name Heliodoros does not, as is commonly argued, signify a connection with the Emesan sun cult. It is an extremely common name in all parts of the Mediterranean.I have been able to trace 235 Heliodoroi from inscriptions (43 from Attica, 4 from the Peloponnese, 6 from central and northern Greece, 8 from Thrace and Macedonia, 1 from Pontus, 21 from the Aegean Islands, 1 from Crete, 8 from Asia Minor, 38 from Syria, 93 from Egypt, 3 from Cyrene, and 8 from Italy) and a further 19 are listed from literary sources by Pape-Henseler. (In compiling these figures I was using the method set out by T.Hägg: The Naming of the Characters

in the Romance of Xenophon Ephesius. The figures do not indicate a concentration of the name Heliodoros in any particular area. The fact, for example, that so many individuals can be traced to Egypt is due to the fact there is much more material available. None of the character names in Heliodoros shows any particular geographical origin apart from those which are intended to appear Egyptian: thus 25 Calasiris's from Egypt and none from elsewhere, 36 Thermouthis's against none, 88 Petosiris's against none; curiously the name Thyamis is not found at all in papyri. The other "foreign" names in the Aithiopica are either of eastern origin or are the author's own invention.)

The name Theodosios shows a similar distribution, but is less frequent (125 individuals).

There is no inscriptional evidence for Heliodoros son of Theodosios either in Emesa or in Tricca. We can continue to hope for a discovery to throw some light on his identity.

The name of Heliodoros' father led some Byzantine writers to date him to the time of Theodosius the Great. This line was followed by Coraes. Compare Colonna Test.xiv, which Colonna later identified as a citation from the eleventh-century historian, Theodosios Melitenos.

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This list is intended to enable the reader to find easily the works to which I have made reference in the course of this commentary. Although most scholarly work on Heliodoros appears in it, it makes no pretence of being a complete bibliography of the subject. For a more thorough treatment of recent work in this field the reader is referred to the following surveys:

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