

CRIMINAL ELEMENTS:
THE EVOLUTION OF THE OUTLAW IN THE ANCIENT NOVEL

DISSERTATION

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By

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ABSTRACT

In the first to fourth centuries A.D., a literary genre developed unlike any the Graeco-Roman world had seen. While essentially an amalgam of nearly all earlier types of literature, the ancient grammarians and commentators found the ancient novels difficult to classify. These texts employed tragic and comedic elements, as well as historiographical, epic, and erotic components. In addition to the difficulties the ancients had in classifying such a unique creation, these fictional works continue to be problematic in the modern world. Issues related to the origins of the novel are debated regularly, as well as problems pertaining to the dating, chronology, authorship, and provenance of many of these texts. Although these works have received much scholarly attention in the last forty years, there has been no thorough study of the narratological function of outlaws (ubiquitous figures throughout the novels).

In this dissertation, I focus my examination on the “canonical” exemplars of the genre: Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*, Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Xenophon’s *An Ephesian Tale*, Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon*, and Heliodorus’ *An Ethiopian Tale*, and, where relevant to the argument, I include Petronius’ *Satyricon* and Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*.

Many of the misconceptions about the role of outlaws in the novels have centered on the idea that these are formulaic characters who function solely to transport the protagonists into an unfamiliar world and therefore are merely convenient plot devices. I argue that outlaws not only deviate from their previous manifestations in classical literature, but also develop into crucial and central characters in their own narratives. The authors of the ancient novels consistently employed, expanded, and challenged the traditional roles of these characters. Through an analysis of the development, typology, and functions of outlaws as well as an examination of the rhetorical descriptions of their dwellings (*ekphraseis*), I show that outlaws are fundamentally vital to the themes and development of the ancient novel.

For my parents.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Primary Texts

<i>Aeth.</i>	Heliodorus <i>An Ethiopian Tale</i>
<i>C. & C.</i>	Chariton <i>Chaereas and Callirhoe</i>
<i>D. & C.</i>	Longus <i>Daphnis and Chloe</i>
<i>Ephes.</i>	Xenophon <i>An Ephesian Tale</i>
<i>L. & C.</i>	Achilles Tatius <i>Leucippe and Clitophon</i>
<i>Meta.</i>	Apuleius <i>Metamorphoses</i>

Secondary Texts

ATGC	<i>Art and Text in Greek Culture</i> , eds. S. Goldhill and R. Osborne: Cambridge (1994).
ATRC	<i>Art and Text in Roman Culture</i> , ed. J. Elsner: Cambridge (1996).
AAGA I	<i>Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass Vol. I</i> , eds., B.L. Hijmans Jr. and R. Th. van der Paardt: Groningen (1978).
AAGA II	<i>Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass Vol. II</i> , eds., M. Zimmerman et al.: Groningen (1998).
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
BAR-IS	<i>British Archaeological Reports International Series</i>
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
CA	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CB	<i>Classical Bulletin</i>
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
CML	<i>Classical and Modern Literature</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CW	<i>Classical World</i>
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i>

<i>FGrHist</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. F. Jacoby: Berlin (1923-).
<i>G & R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>LFAW</i>	<i>Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World</i> , eds., C. Gill and T.P. Wiseman: Exeter (1993).
<i>LFLNC</i>	<i>Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context</i> , H. Hofmann: London (1999).
<i>NAW</i>	<i>The Novel in the Ancient World</i> , ed. G. Schmeling: New York (1996).
<i>OCA</i>	<i>Organised Crime in Antiquity</i> , ed. K. Hopwood: London (1999).
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
<i>ORGN</i>	<i>Oxford Readings in The Greek Novel</i> , ed. S. Swain: Oxford (1999).
<i>ORRN</i>	<i>Oxford Readings in The Roman Novel</i> , ed. S.J. Harrison: Oxford (1999).
<i>PP</i>	<i>La Parola del Passato</i>
<i>SAN</i>	<i>Search for the Ancient Novel</i> , ed. J. Tatum: Baltimore (1994).
<i>SH</i>	<i>Studies in Heliodorus</i> , ed. R. Hunter: Cambridge (1998).
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>WS</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>WürzJbb</i>	<i>Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>YCIS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
<i>YFS</i>	<i>Yale French Studies</i>
<i>YJC</i>	<i>Yale Journal of Criticism</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

INTRODUCTION

Graeco-Roman novels

The extended prose narratives in Greek and Latin collectively termed “the ancient novels” are typically dated between the first and fourth centuries A.D.¹

In his survey of the genre, Niklas Holzberg provides a definition of the Graeco-Roman novel:

“an entirely fictitious story narrated in prose and ruled in its course by erotic motifs and a series of adventures which mostly take place during a journey and which can be differentiated into a number of specific fixed patterns. The protagonists or protagonist live(s) in a realistically portrayed world which, even when set by the author in an age long since past, essentially reflects everyday life around the Mediterranean in late Hellenistic and Imperial societies.”²

The respective languages in which these works were composed provide an initial basis for differentiating these narratives. Scholars regard the two Latin novels (Petronius’ *Satyricon* and Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass*) and the five in Greek (Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Xenophon of Ephesus’ *An Ephesian Tale* or *Ephesiaca*, Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*, Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon*, and Heliodorus’ *An Ethiopian Tale* or *Aethiopica*) as the “canonical” exemplars of the genre. While the ancient novel is receiving more attention today than it had in the past, questions concerning the genre’s origins remain

disputed.³ This is due to a combination of a number of factors, perhaps the most significant of which is the lack of ancient testimony about not only the novels themselves, but also most of their authors. In addition, although most scholars tend to agree on the relative sequence of their production, there is considerable discrepancy in dating these works.⁴

Novels Consulted and Analyzed

This dissertation addresses issues of typology, function, and general characteristics of the roles of outlaws in the ancient Greek and Roman novels. With the exception of Petronius' *Satyricon* and Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*,⁵ all of the "canonical" novels factor into this study of these important figures.

Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the only fully extant Roman novel,⁶ was written towards the end of the second century A.D.⁷ The narrative recounts the transformation of Lucius, a young man traveling to Thessaly on business, who finds himself fascinated by witchcraft and ultimately becomes its unfortunate victim. After being magically transformed into an ass, he is immediately captured by brigands and undergoes a series of hazardous adventures. The remainder of the novel recounts his experiences as an ass and relates his observations on the people he encounters. Books 4.28-6.24 relate the story of

Cupid and Psyche, the longest and most elaborate of the inserted tales. Book 11 focuses on Lucius' transformation back into his human form and his initiation into the rites of Isis.⁸

The Greek novels share with one another essentially the same plotline. The novel's two protagonists (typically beautiful, young, and of noble birth) meet, fall instantly in love, promise themselves to each other (on two occasions they are married), and embark on a series of adventures that result in their separation from one another. They are ultimately reunited by their respective novel's conclusion and live a blissful life together. Throughout their ordeals (kidnapping, attempted rape, imprisonment, slavery, shipwreck, etc, ...), their fidelity is put to the test, but in the end the two lovers remain faithful to one another. Although fidelity (faithfulness of the heart) plays a prominent role in the narratives, chastity (sexual or physical loyalty) is not necessarily as important.⁹ Outlaws, pirates, brigands, and fringe groups called *boukoloï* are responsible for many of the ordeals that test the mettle, devotion, and resilience of the protagonists.

Novel Studies: Then and Now

Although novel studies date back to Erwin Rohde's 1876 book, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*,¹⁰ the ancient novel is nevertheless a rather young subject, with the first significant conference dedicated to these works held

in 1976, and the first complete set of English translations published in 1989.¹¹ Details regarding the scholarly activity devoted to the ancient novels can be found in J.R. Morgan's review article (1996) "The Ancient Novel at the end of the Century: Scholarship since the Dartmouth Conference," Simon Swain's 1999 essay "A Century and More of the Greek Novel," and S.J. Harrison's piece (1999) "Twentieth-Century Scholarship on the Roman Novel." Considering the vast amount of work done on the ancient novel since the 1960s, it is curious that there has been no thorough study of the outlaws in the novels. Only a few scholars, namely Frangoulidis and Riess, have focused their attention on the role of outlaws in the novels,¹² yet these studies have exclusively centered on the brigand band in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Frangoulidis has published a number of articles since his 1990 dissertation *Epic Imitation in the Metamorphoses of Apuleius*, which focused on the Homeric echoes discovered within the tales of banditry. Since then, Frangoulidis has expanded his frame of reference to include Vergilian voices as well.¹³

Riess' 2001 monograph, *Apuleius und die Räuber: ein Beitrag zur historischen Kriminalitätsforschung*, focuses on the representation of banditry in the prose literature of the high empire. In his study, Riess concentrates on the relationship between the historical realism of banditry in the empire and its fictional portrayal in Apuleius. The first two-thirds of his book provide the context or foundation for understanding Apuleius' representation of bandits. He begins

with an introduction that addresses existing works on the subject, then proceeds with the longest section (pp. 45-236) that analyzes the position of bandits in the Roman social order.¹⁴ While Riess' study is useful given its extensive use of a wide range of materials, including papyrological evidence as well as sources on brigandage in early modern Europe, this work, as an analysis of the relationship between history and fiction, fails to consider these outlaws as literary figures within the genre and their narrative function within their respective novels. It is these considerations that this dissertation will attempt to address.

Dissertation Framework

To begin my analysis, I review the role that outlaws played in ancient Greek and Roman literature prior to the appearance of the novels. Since the genre is a relative newcomer in the development of Greek and Roman literature, any study of the character of outlaws in the novels demands a thorough literary and historiographical examination of these figures. First, a linguistic analysis is provided to review the terms used in reference to these characters. There are several words in Greek and Latin that are employed to distinguish between land-based brigands and sea-roaming pirates as well as an assortment of terms utilized in the different Greek and Roman periods. There is an examination of the uses and roles of pirates and brigands starting with Homeric epic up to the time of the novels themselves as well as an assessment of the *boukoloi*, beginning with their

initial representations in Homer. Unlike pirates and brigands, the *boukoloi* are more problematic to analyze due to the difficulties in separating the historical evidence concerning these people from apparently mythic accretions. By identifying the role and function of outlaws in the works of Greek and Latin literature preceding the ancient novels, I am able to contextualize these characters within a literary framework, and thereby reveal the narrative possibilities they offered to the novelists.

One of the best ways to begin an analysis of outlaws in the ancient novels is to categorize systematically the different types that frequently appear in the works of the genre. There are three major groups of outlaws: pirates, brigands, and *boukoloi*. A notable difference between these groups is the geographic locales in which they function. Pirates generally attack ships on the sea, brigands conduct their operations on land and seek refuge in remote areas, while the *boukoloi* are specifically endemic to the Nile Delta region. There are three individual outlaws, each representing these respective groups who warrant further analysis (the pirate Theron, the brigand Hippothous, and the *boukolos* Thyamis). These outlaw chiefs are the most individualized outlaws in the ancient novels and, through an analysis of each of them, it becomes clear that they play critical roles in their respective narratives. They have special relationships with the heroine in their novels, often acting as surrogate or

substitute heroes during specific episodes. Given the fundamental importance of these diverse types of outlaws for the narrative, a certain amount of summary of the novels and the episodes in which these outlaws appear is necessary.

After examining the fundamental characteristics of the types of outlaws and three individual chiefs, I then show the assortment and array of their functions. These personalities are essential for both developing certain themes and advancing the story of their particular novel. Notably, the outlaws often propel the main characters to distant locales. The encounters between the criminals and protagonists that involve kidnapping, slavery, and human sacrifice are fundamental to the evolution of the plot. But these men are not without a soft heart, and they frequently fall in love with their captives. These “relationships,” however, are doomed to fail given the mutual love between hero and heroine that typifies the Greek novels. Outlaws, in addition, are frequently compared and contrasted to the main characters, specifically in terms of their actions and emotions, aspects that show that they are far from colorless, static personalities. This contrast not only highlights the wide-ranging differences between criminals and protagonists, but also confirms the connections that exist between the two sets of characters. In addition, their role as storytellers is examined. An analysis of the variety and range of functions of the outlaws demonstrates that any attempt to limit the narrative potential of these figures will ultimately fail.

In three of the novels, there are extended descriptions of where the outlaws live. The unusual emphasis that the authors place on these representations (*ekphraseis*)¹⁵ of the outlaw hideouts is a subject for detailed focus. These *ekphrastic* passages function on a number of levels. One concern that I address is its location within the story. The fact that these depictions tend to be found at the beginnings of their narratives is not by chance nor is it to be ignored.

Another point deals with the authors' concern for realism. Although the novels themselves are works of fiction, the novelists nevertheless strive for verisimilitude in their respective narratives.¹⁶ Geographical associations are just one way to achieve a more plausible story. This concern stems directly from the same interest in realism that we see in historical works such as Herodotus' *Histories*.

A slightly different objective of the novelists in presenting these descriptions in a traditional rhetorical manner, namely through *ekphraseis*, is that they are aiming for vividness in order to place the dwelling before the eyes of their readers. This approach enables the spectator to "see" the object being described and, therefore, the result is that the depiction seems to be more credible.

In addition, characteristics of the outlaws are further emphasized through similarities they have with the descriptions of their dwellings. We naturally expect the abodes of these social outcasts to be isolated from society, but the

actual representation of their dwellings can be projected onto the outlaws themselves who reside there. The result of such parallels in representation provides both a more vivid depiction of these characters and often foreshadows events to come in the narrative.

¹ Numerous Greek novel fragments of the first century A.D. have been recently uncovered and have been extensively studied by Stephens and Winkler (1995).

² Holzberg (1995) 26-27.

³ See Selden (1994) 39-64.

⁴ Aside from these challenges (beginning in 1896 with the discovery of the Ninos fragment), the number of papyrus fragments discovered and identified as belonging to the genre has continued to grow. Today we have evidence of at least a dozen other novels. These fragments pose similar problems of dating, yet they are indispensable to the study of the ancient novel, for they frequently reveal that the two narrowly defined categories into which these works are conveniently placed are far from being absolute.

⁵ Analysis of Petronius' *Satyricon* and Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* are limited to relevant sections of this dissertation.

⁶ Petronius' *Satyricon* has suffered a fate similar to many ancient texts and survives only in fragments. Although the total number of books that comprised the novel remains a mystery, the manuscript tradition indicates that we have parts of books 14 and 16 and all of book 15. See Conte (1994) 454-55, and Rose (1971). The sections we do have describe the adventures of Encolpius, the protagonist and narrator, Giton, his young male companion, and Ascyltos, rival for Giton's affections. The longest and best-known section of the novel, the *Cena Trimalchionis*, narrates the stories and events that take place at Trimalchio's extravagant dinner-party. The setting centers around Italy but, if we accept certain fragments to be associated with the novel, then the novel would end in Egypt.

⁷ Apuleius was born around A.D. 125 and information about him does not go beyond A.D. 170.

⁸ Book 11 has caused considerable debate on the formulation of Apuleius' novel. A novel in Greek exists with the title *Lucius, or the Ass* (usually referred to as *Onos*) and is preserved among the works of the Greek satirist Lucian of Samosata. Because the works are so similar, the belief is that they both derived from a common text. We learn from Photius (c. A.D. 850), patriarch and author of the *Bibliotheca* (a collection of summaries of Greek and Latin texts), that he read both the *Onos* and another tale credited to one Lucius of Patrae bearing a

similar plot. Debate over the various sources of the story continues today, but it is generally believed that Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is an adaptation of the *Onos*.

⁹ Konstan (1994) 8.

¹⁰ Giangrande (1962) 132 states that to approach Rohde's work in the present is to approach a work that, "has long been lying in ruins, exploded by papyrus discoveries [,though] the devastation [forms] a most instructive tour, nay a necessary pilgrimage."

¹¹ Reardon (1989).

¹² For works on outlaws in antiquity, see Omerod (1924), Garland (1978A, 1978B, 2003), Hopwood (1989, 1998, 1999), and de Souza (1999).

¹³ Frangoulidis (1990, 1991, 1992A, and 1992B)

¹⁴ This section is divided into five subsections: the social background of brigandage; the activities of bandits; the values and ideals that such men espoused; the structure of the brigand bands; and, finally, the nature of their marginalization in the mainstream social, legal, and political order. See also Shaw (2002).

¹⁵ *Ekphrasis* is simply defined as "an extended or detailed literary description of any object, real or imagined." *OCD* (1996) 515.

¹⁶ See Alston (1999), Bowie (1977), and Morgan (1993).

CHAPTER 1

THE LITERARY AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND TO OUTLAWS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

Introduction

Before turning to our main topic, the outlaws in the ancient novels, it is necessary to consider the historical and literary background to pirates and brigands from the ancient Greek and Roman sources in order to provide a solid foundation from which to compare and contrast our fictional criminals. Modern views of pirates tend toward the fantastic or romantic, with either blood-thirsty killers or suave rogues as the most likely characterizations. Such identifications are informed more by Hollywood films and Harlequin romance novels¹⁷ than by fact. With ancient piracy, we are at a greater disadvantage since little detailed information is given in our sources about real pirates and bandits in antiquity. Indeed, not unlike the debt modern notions of pirates owe to romance novels, the most detailed character portrayals of pirates and bandits are found in the ancient novels or romances.

This analysis first invites us to consider what characteristics, if any, distinguished a pirate from a brigand. Did the Greeks and Romans differentiate between these types of “outlaws” linguistically or by some other means? What would a reference to a “pirate” or “brigand” have implied to a Greek or Roman? And did pirates and brigands have dissimilar meanings and associations in different periods of antiquity?

In the first part of this chapter, I consider the Greek and Latin terminology for pirates and brigands and examine the differences, if any, between these terms. In the central portion, I examine the activities and role of pirates and brigands in the major periods of antiquity (Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Late Roman Republic, Augustan, and post Augustan) and offer a brief synopsis of their activities based on the literary and historical sources. Finally, I examine a specific group of outlaws, the *boukoloi*, because of their prominence in the ancient novels.

Terminology for pirates and robbers

It may be helpful initially to consider the terms used to designate pirates and brigands. It should be remembered that these terms were much more closely associated with one another and less strictly applied in the ancient world than today, both in meaning and in regard to how these individuals were perceived.¹⁸ First, a few problems posed by these terms: de Souza is right to point out that the labels of “pirate” and “brigand” were employed by the victims

and the enemies of the outlaws, but not by the outlaws themselves.¹⁹ In addition, the evidence available to the scholar is almost entirely textual.²⁰ The study of piracy and banditry is one instance in which the archaeological record unfortunately does not clarify matters.²¹ Unlike ancient soldiers whose activities can in part be documented archaeologically by means of graves, equipment, and habitation, pirates and brigands left relatively no mark or trace in the archaeological record.

The two most common words in Greek, ληστής and πειρατής, as well as those in Latin, *latro* and *praedo*, seem to be synonymous with pirate and robber. No apparent distinction between the activities of pirates and robbers can be seen.²² In the ancient world, the ambiguity of such terms clearly reflected how closely identified these groups were. There is general scholarly agreement, however, that “pirates” plagued the seas while the activities of “robbers” were limited to land. Nevertheless, this distinction is not obvious in the ancient sources. One text, however, that does discriminate between these two types of outlaws dates to the tenth century. The Byzantine lexicon the *Suda* distinguishes pirate (πειρατής) from bandit (ληστής) (π 1454 and λ 474):²³

πειρατῶν: καταποντιστῶν, κατὰ θάλασσαν ληστῶν. πείρα γὰρ δόλος, καὶ ἀπάτη, καὶ τέχνη. ὅθεν καὶ πειραταὶ οἱ κατὰ θάλατταν κακοῦργοι.

peiraton: those who throw (people) into the sea, bandits by sea. For *peira* means trickery, and deceit, and art (cunning). And so *peiratai* are evildoers working on the sea.²⁴

λησται: καὶ ληστής μὲν ὁ ἐν ἡπείρῳ πειρατῆς δὲ ὁ ἐν θάλασσῃ.

leistai: and a bandit is one (operating) on land, a pirate one on the sea.

Of course, we must keep in mind that the *Suda* is much later in date than any of the other texts we shall analyze and would not have had any influence on them. If, however, we concede that there is a distinction (however vague it may be in ancient sources) between outlaws who operate on land and on sea, we may want to consider the significance of such a difference. In other words, what besides geography distinguishes a brigand on land from a brigand on sea and how might this affect what our ancient sources record?

One of the most obvious differences between an outlaw working on land and one working on sea is the quantity and variety of resources required by each. A pirate would need to secure a ship and all associated items: building materials and supplies for upkeep of his ship, a crew, sustenance for his band, harbors in which he can safely anchor, animals and carts to transport his cargo, and a market to sell his goods. In contrast, a brigand only requires a place to store his plunder and a place to dispose of his spoils. Additionally, a brigand may work alone and take only what he can carry, therefore requiring fewer resources than his seagoing counterpart. The activity of a lone brigand or even a band of brigands might go unnoticed by all except for the community he happens to be plaguing. In direct contrast, piratical activity would presumably affect more people (entire ships of people or goods) due in large part to their greater mobility

and would draw more attention by contemporary and even later writers.

Therefore, when we consider these various factors, it is reasonable that pirates should be considered a significantly more serious threat. Thus the outlaws who received far more attention by ancient writers were not the land-based brigands but rather pirates who roamed the seas.

The first attestation of ληστής occurs in the Homeric poems, and words that share the same root as λήις (“booty” or “plunder”) continued to be used throughout antiquity.²⁵ The word πειρατής, however, first appears much later and can be dated to a mid third century B.C. inscription from Rhamnous.²⁶ The earliest surviving author to use πειρατής is Polybius, writing in the mid second century B.C.²⁷ One example of Polybius’ use of πειρατής occurs when he writes about the Aetolian Dorimachos’ band raiding throughout the Peloponnese in the late third century B.C. (*Hist.* 4.3.8):

συνδραμόντων δὲ πειρατῶν καὶ παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Φιγάλειαν, οὐκ ἔχων τούτοις ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου συμπαρασκευάζειν ὠφελείας διὰ τὸ μένειν ἔτι τότε τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὴν ὑπ’ Ἀντιγόνου συντελεσθεῖσαν, τέλος ἀπορούμενος ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς πειραταῖς ληΐζεσθαι τὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων θρέμματα, φίλων ὄντων καὶ συμμάχων.

When a band of brigands came together and went to him in Phigaleia, he was unable to find a just reason for them to loot since the general peace in Greece that Antigonos brought about still existed. Finally, being at a loss, he permitted them to plunder the cattle of the Messenians although they were their friends and allies.

Throughout his work, Polybius uses πειρατής to describe individual bandits and groups of men acting together both on land and sea.²⁸ Although the Greek sources after the classical period use both words interchangeably to refer to

either type of plundering, ancient writers could easily distinguish between the two by either using a qualifying description (κατὰ θάλαττην)²⁹ or some other word that would clarify whether the act was on land or on sea. There was a Greek word used from the beginning of the fourth century B.C., καταποντιστής, which would have erased all confusion since it meant only pirate. But this word was rarely used.³⁰ Cassius Dio, writing around A.D. 200, is the only author to make regular use of this word when speaking of pirates and employs ληστής for bandit.³¹

The same trend is true in Latin. Both *latro* and *praedo* were used interchangeably for pirate and bandit although certain authors seem to favor one form over the other in their works.³² The words *latro* (bandit) and *latrocinium* (banditry) are built from the *LATR* root and are related to a group of Greek words of similar origin, λάτρης, λατρεία, λατρεύω. Nevertheless, the Greek words have no noticeable association with bandits in their usage from the seventh to the early fourth centuries B.C. It is only after this period that the Greek words become closely connected with bandits.³³ The noun λατρεία originally means “the state of a hired laborer, the performances of services or duties for another man,” and the verb λατρεύω means not only to work for hire but also to be in servitude, “to be subordinate to someone else’s dictates.”³⁴ Shaw traces this change in meaning (from “hired worker” to “bandit”) to the development of the *polis*, specifically as it deals with the military beginning in the

mid fourth century B.C. It was a male citizen's duty and privilege in the Greek *polis* to serve as a soldier for the state, but rarely did he receive a wage for his labor. Often, professional soldiers were hired who fought for pay (*i.e.* mercenaries), yet remained clearly outside the social world of the *polis*. Their "social" distance from civilization and lack of citizenship played key factors in their continued stigmatized role in the ancient world. Eventually *latro*, originally referring to a "hired man," came to be associated specifically with a "hired man of violence."³⁵

In Latin literature, *praedo*, derived from *praeda* (booty or plunder), is more frequently associated with what we think of as a pirate than with a bandit; it is interchangeable with *pirata*, clearly a Latin derivative of the Greek *πειρατής*. Therefore, by the time the latter word worked its way into Latin as *pirata*, it was clearly identified with piracy. Unlike the controversies over the shades of meaning of the Greek words, Latin terms for pirate and brigand are more clearly distinguishable from one another. One of the reasons for this is that the Latin terms (especially *latro* and *pirata*), because they are directly related to Greek words, did not enter into a period of linguistical development, but instead, entered the Latin language with an established and standardized meaning. Yet, Shaw observes that regardless of which term is used, "all form part of a common threat to the same provincial order."³⁶

Just as in Greek, Latin can also differentiate between a bandit and a pirate by including an adjective or qualifying phrase. An example of this is found in Nepos' *Life of Themistocles* 2.3:

*qua celeriter effecta primum Corcyraeos fregit, deinde maritimos
praedones consecrando mare tutum reddidit.*

Right after this was done, first he subdued the Corcyraeans, then, after he caught the pirates, he returned the sea to its former safety.

In this example, we can clearly identify the *praedones* as pirates because of the adjective *maritimos*. Similarly, in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Augustus claims “*mare pacavi a praedonibus*: I made the sea safe from pirates (25).” The combination of *mare* with *praedonibus* dispels any uncertainties in meaning.

To summarize the preceding discussion, both Greek and Latin have words associated with pirates and bandits although there is nothing inherent in the words themselves that reflects activities relegated to land or to sea. Occasionally authors include such limiting phrases as “by sea” or “by land” to clarify exactly what geographic locale they mean. The words seem to be generally interchangeable although occasionally some authors, as we will see in the following sections, tend to employ one word more than the other.

History and Literature

A. Homer and the Archaic Period

The earliest appearance of ληστής in extant literature is found in the Homeric poems.³⁷ While most scholars agree that the society and culture depicted in Homer is “a composite of the poetic traditions, stretching back centuries, and the poet’s own world,”³⁸ it is nevertheless important to investigate the use of the term ληστής in these poems in order to trace the entire development of the word. Problems present themselves, however, at the outset: how much of a reflection of the early eighth century B.C. is portrayed in the society and culture presented in the Homeric poems?³⁹ To put it more simply: how do we separate contemporary society from legendary tradition? These questions lie outside the scope of this analysis, but nevertheless the fact remains that as our earliest descriptions of pirates, Homer provides a logical place to begin this analysis. Moreover, the use and meaning of ληστής in the Homeric poems in all of its incarnations also provides (as we shall see) a stark contrast to its usage in nearly all later Greek and Latin literature.⁴⁰ Here the use of ληστής does not have the negative connotations that it does in later literature. In fact, a man described as ληστής, through his activities, could achieve high social status.

In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the pirate is often indistinguishable from the lawful merchant.⁴¹ As represented in epic poetry, ancient traders not only shared the sociological and ethical traits of maritime brigands, they also

functioned similarly as transmitters of tales.⁴² Both merchants and pirates sailed the Mediterranean extensively and often told stories of their adventures upon their return home. Cretans, for example, were known in the ancient world as notorious liars *and* also as pirates, suggesting that the activities of these sailors were conducive to embellishment in tales.⁴³ This suggests that pirates, as well as merchants, could successfully be employed as a narrative device precisely because of their activities. It is also worth noting that Homeric pirates and heroes seem to differ in label only, not in deed.⁴⁴ Both hero and pirate set sail in their ships to pillage and plunder distant lands.⁴⁵ One of the best examples of this overlap is found in a speech by Achilles in the embassy scene in *Iliad* 9. Achilles answers Odysseus (who has just listed the gifts Agamemnon has offered in recompense for taking Briseis) recalling the numerous cities he has sacked both by land and by sea (9.328-333):⁴⁶

δώδεκα δὴ σὺν νηυσὶ πόλεις ἀλάπαξ' ἀνθρώπων,
 πεζὸς δ' ἑνδεκά φημι κατὰ Τροίην ἐρίβωλον·
 τάων ἐκ πασέων κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ
 ἐξελόμην, καὶ πάντα φέρων Ἀγαμέμνονι δόσκον
 Ἀτρεΐδῃ· ὁ δ' ὀπίσθε μένων παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῇσιν
 δεξάμενος διὰ παῦρα δασάσκετο, πολλὰ δ' ἔχεσκεν·

Then I plundered twelve cities of men with my ships, and eleven others by land throughout the fertile Troad. I took many good treasures from all these, and carrying all of them, I gave them to Agamemnon, son of Atreus. But he, waiting back near the swift ships, would receive them, and divide them up a few at a time, and keep many.

Booty won on such ventures consists of various metal objects (gold, bronze), valuable items (garments), as well as cattle and people (slaves, Helen!). In the

Homeric world, honor (τιμή) and reputation (κλέος) are regularly determined by “how much” and “what” one has (γέρας), thereby making the amassing of booty of critical importance. Indeed, the direct correlation between plunder and status lies at the very heart of the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles that propels the plot of the epic.

In Books 14 and 15 of the *Odyssey*, we find numerous examples of pirates and pirate-like activity. When Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, first encounters his faithful swineherd, Eumaios, he launches into a false tale about his identity (*Od.* 14.200-359). He declares that he is the son of a Cretan nobleman who, before sailing to Troy to fight, took delight in ships with oars (νῆες ἐπήρτμοι)⁴⁷ and all things associated with warfare (καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ ἄκοντες εὐξεστοι καὶ οἰστοί, | λυγρά, τά τ' ἄλλοισίν γε καταρριγῆλὰ πέλονται: “and wars, and polished spears, and arrows, ruinous things, which are dreaded by others”). He claims to have led men on raids to foreign coasts and, after taking the rich booty, saw his house grow prosperous and an increase in his own power and respectability on Crete (*Od.* 14.229-234):

πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Τροίης ἐπιβήμεναι υἷας Ἀχαιῶν
ἐννάκις ἀνδράσιν ἦρξα καὶ ὠκυπόροισι νέεσσιν
ἄνδρας ἐς ἄλλοδαπούς, καί μοι μάλα τύγχανε πολλά.
τῶν ἐξαιρεύμην μενοεικέα, πολλὰ δ' ὀπίσσω
λάγχανον· αἶψα δὲ οἶκος ὀφέλλετο, καὶ ῥα ἔπειτα
δεινός τ' αἰδοῖός τε μετὰ Κρήτεσσι τετύγμην.

Before the sons of the Achaeans went to Troy, I had been the leader of men nine times and had gone in my swift-flying ships against foreign men, and much booty came to me. Of the spoils I selected those I desired,

but afterwards I obtained many things by lot, and soon my house grew prosperous, and from that time on I became feared and honored among the Cretans.

After the Trojan War, he states that he went to Egypt on an “expedition” (ναυτίλλεσθαι) that ended in a battle with the townsfolk and his own surrender to the king. After spending seven years there, he was persuaded by a clever Phoenician man to accompany him on some clearly piratical adventures.⁴⁸ After their ship was destroyed in a storm, he ended up in Thesprotia where again he was received by the king. While sailing to Doulichion, the Thesprotian crew that was provided hospitably by the king devised evils for Odysseus, intending to sell him into slavery at Ithaca before his eventual escape.

Although the word ληστής (and comparable words) does not appear anywhere in Odysseus’ tale, it is clear that the activities are analogous, if not identical, to piracy. There are a number of similarities between the two accounts. First, both men mention that they have ships, that they acquired booty from foreign cities, and that either they or some other leader allotted the spoils. Odysseus, in addition, claims that the abundance of spoils caused the Cretans both to respect and fear him. Although the actions of both Achilles and Odysseus are similar, we would never consider them to be pirates. So what exactly is the difference between a hero performing heroic deeds as Achilles articulates them (sailing seas, attacking a city, taking spoils) and a pirate? In terms of their utilization of ships, there seems to be no difference at all. Both

heroes and pirates use similar conveyances to travel the seas and transport both men and booty. In addition, when a hero or a pirate sacks a city it is often *the purpose* for making such sea voyages (*i.e.* Troy). In fact, in the *Iliad* Achilles is called πτολίπορθος (“sacker of cities”) four times, Odysseus twice. In the *Odyssey*, all eight instances of this epithet are attributed to Odysseus.⁴⁹ Clearly, therefore, to be a “sacker of cities” is not restricted to pirates. But a distinction can be made by analyzing the allotment of spoils after such an attack takes place. In the *Iliad*, men of rank continuously give gifts (γέρας) to their attendants. Gifts are used both to flaunt the power and status of the one giving, but also to increase the status and honor of the one who receives the gifts. In direct contrast, pirates either keep their spoils or sell them. In the world of the Homeric hero, exchanging gifts (spoils) was an established social convention that served to enhance the status of both giver and receiver. Perhaps an example will clarify the matter.

In Book 17 (*Od.* 424 ff), Odysseus begs for food from Antinoös and tells the same sad story of his misfortunes (as in *Od.* 14). This time, however, Odysseus does employ the word for “pirates”. He says that it was Zeus who made him go to Egypt with a company of pirates (ἄμα ληιστῆρσι).⁵⁰ Although piracy or acts associated with piracy are not necessarily viewed in the most favorable light, they are, however, only condemned in hindsight when their actions fail to follow an honorable code and lead to disaster. Odysseus states

that he went to Egypt with the pirates in search of booty. So far he fails to find fault in such an enterprise. It is only when his men disobey him and give themselves over to violence that he sees this as a failed venture (17.428-434):

ἔνθ' ἧ τοι μὲν ἐγὼ κελόμην ἐρίηρας ἐταίρους
αὐτοῦ παρ νήεσσι μένειν καὶ νῆας ἔρυσθαι,
ὀπτῆρας δὲ κατὰ σκοπιάς ὥτρυνα νέεσθαι,
οἳ δ' ὕβρει εἷξαντες, ἐπισπόμενοι μένεϊ σφῶ,
αἶψα μάλ' Αἰγυπτίων ἀνδρῶν περικαλλέας ἀγρούς
πόρθεον, ἐκ δὲ γυναῖκας ἄγον καὶ νήπια τέκνα
αὐτοὺς τ' ἔκτεινον· τάχα δ' ἐς πόλιν ἵκετ' αὐτή.

Then I urged my faithful companions to remain where they were near the ships and to guard the ships, and encouraged them to send scouts to the lookout-places, but they yielding to their impulses, and giving way to their passions, suddenly began ravaging the beautiful fields of the Egyptians, and they carried off the women and young children, and killed the men, and soon the cry came to the city.

In this example, Odysseus states that his men disobeyed him and began to plunder the city and its inhabitants after giving themselves over to their hubristic and violent passions. The men act out of an uncontrollable desire for both personal gain and selfish desires, not to increase their τιμή (honor) and κλέος (reputation).

There are a few other instances in Homer in which pirates and piracy are seen in an unmistakably negative light. In Book 15.390-484 of the *Odyssey*, Eumaios tells Odysseus his own story of how he came to be a swineherd in Ithaca. He recounts his origins in Syria as son of the king, his betrayal by a Phoenician slave-girl, and subsequent kidnapping by Phoenician pirates (Τάφιοι ληίστορες ἄνδρες, 15.426).⁵¹ He was subsequently sold to Laertes and became

his swineherd. As a victim of their actions, it is clear that Eumaios finds the conduct of the pirates despicable. Again, the goal of kidnapping young Eumaios is to sell him for a profit, not for an increase in honor or status.

Another example of this negative view of pirates shows up in a formulaic greeting at *Od.* 3.71-4:⁵²

ὦ ξειῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλέεθ' ὕγρὰ κέλευθα;
ἢ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν, ἢ μασιδίως ἀλάλησθε
οἷά τε ληιστῆρες ὑπεῖρ ἄλλα; τοί τ' ἀλάονται
ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι, κακὸν ἄλλοδαποῖσι φέροντες.

Strangers, who are you? From where have you come sailing over the watery ways? Is it on business or are you thoughtlessly wandering just as pirates over the sea roaming and risking their lives, bringing evil to other people?

In this example from Book 3, Nestor greets Telemachus at Pylos. Although Nestor must surely know that Telemachus and his followers are not pirates since they feasted together with no violence, he still asks the question.

In Book 9.252-5, the Cyclops Polyphemus poses these same questions to his unwelcome visitors when he first notices Odysseus and his men in his cave. Here the negative connotations later associated with piracy are made more explicit. Polyphemus instills fear in the men not only because of his size and shape, but the questions perhaps betray his own fear. Interestingly, when Odysseus escapes from the cave he reveals his true identity to the recently blinded Polyphemus characterizing himself with the epithet *πολιπόρθιος*, “sacker of cities.” Earlier in Book 9, Odysseus had recalled his adventures with the Ciconians (9.40-42):

...ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς.
ἐκ πόλιος δ' ἀλόχους καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ λαβόντες
δασσάμεθ', ὥς μή τίς μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι ἴσης.

Then I sacked their city and killed their people, and I took their wives and many of their possessions out of the city, and we divided them up so that no man would be cheated of his due portion.

In his first adventure after leaving Troy, Odysseus continues to see himself as a “sacker of cities” as he had at Troy. Here again we see the parallels between a hero and a pirate, yet the “sharing of spoils” based on merit is evidently the distinguishing feature that separates the hero from the pirate.⁵³

B. The Classical Period

After the Archaic period, we observe a growing distinction between pirates, those who seize property violently, and merchants, those who exchange goods. Although Herodotus, Thucydides, and Strabo all seem to agree that the Greeks from the Archaic period engaged in both piracy and trade, it was the expansion of trade that more solidly established not only the differences between merchants and pirates, but also the distinction between warfare and piracy.⁵⁴ As trade grew and the Mediterranean was colonized, it was critical that routes of commerce be made safe for merchants. In addition, political motivations began to play a part in overseas campaigns with the rise of city-states. Scholars such as de Souza identify the creation of the Delian League in 478 B.C.⁵⁵ as pivotal in

distinguishing piracy from warfare in the Classical period. In contrast, others see the creation of the Delian League as a mere confederacy of pirates that involved territorial conquest and not merely the acquisition of booty.⁵⁶

At the beginning of the Classical Period, differences between piracy and warfare, while still overlapping to some degree, become easier to differentiate. With the development of the *polis* and the rise of city-states, organized groups of male citizen armies were formed and functioned on a more sophisticated and grander scale than pirates.

Herodotus begins his *Histories* with a discussion of the causes of hatred between the Greeks and the Persians (1.1-5). He reports that the animosity stemmed from a series of episodes in which women were kidnapped (Phoenicians captured Io; Greeks kidnapped Europa; Greeks seized Medea; Paris kidnapped Helen). At first glance we may be reminded of the activities of pirates, but we must remember that these are specific instances (the seizure of the daughters or wives of kings exclusively) and that these women were never intended to be sold. In fact, Herodotus frequently mentions activities on the sea that might be mistaken for piracy had there not been a governmental regime behind them. Indeed, political motivation seems to distinguish piracy from warfare for Herodotus. For example, in *Hist.* 3.39, he describes the activities of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who plundered a number of towns. His fleet was large and his campaigns almost always successful.

ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ Πολυκράτους τὰ πρήγματα ἤϋξετο καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα· ὅκου γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἐχώρει εὐτυχέως. ἔκτητο δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους τοξότας. ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἦγε πάντας διακρίνων οὐδένα... συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων ἀραιρήκεε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄσπεα·

Soon after this, Polycrates grew powerful and was famous both in Ionia and all of Greece. For wherever he directed his military affairs, he was successful. He had a hundred fifty-oared ships, and a thousand archers. And he pillaged every place, with no distinction being made. ...He had taken many of the islands, and many cities of the mainland.

The actions of Polycrates should be seen more in terms of warfare than piracy since his role as tyrant and political leader motivated his actions.⁵⁷ Naval warfare, like that described in the above passage, becomes standard in historical works such as in Herodotus' *Histories*. For example, in his discussion of the Ionian Revolt, Herodotus mentions Dionysius of Phocaea (6.11, 12) whose speech at the council at Lade persuaded the Ionians under his leadership to continue to stand firm against Persian domination. However, once the Samians began to fall back after having made a deal with the Persians (6.14), the Lesbians and Ionians followed suit. Herodotus reports Dionysius' response to these events (6.17):

Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς ἐπεῖτε ἔμαθε τῶν Ἰώνων τὰ πρήγματα διεφθαρμένα, νέας ἐλὼν τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὡς ἀνδραποδιεῖται σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ· ὁ δὲ ἰθέως ὡς εἶχε ἔπλεε ἐς Φοινίκην, γαύλους δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλὰ ἔπλεε ἐς Σικελίην, ὁρμώμενος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ληιστῆς κατεστήκεε Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

Dionysius, the Phocaean, when he learned that the affairs of the Ionians were lost, captured three ships from the enemy and sailed away but not to Phocaea, because he knew well that it too would be reduced to slavery with the rest of Ionia. But straightaway, as he was, he sailed for Phoenicia

and there sunk a number of merchant vessels and took many spoils. Then he sailed to Sicily, where he established himself as a pirate and attacked the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but did not harm the Greeks.

The seamless ease with which Dionysius changes professions, naval officer to pirate leader, is striking. Although this is an isolated incident in the *Histories*, it is nevertheless remarkably illustrative in highlighting the similarities between warfare and piracy at this time.⁵⁸ Also noteworthy is Dionysius' familiarity with Phoenicia's reputation as a pirate refuge. He does not choose to sail home to Phocaea, but rather heads straight to one of antiquity's pirate capitals, Phoenicia.⁵⁹

According to Thucydides' account of "pre-historic" Greece, king Minos of Crete was the first to attempt to suppress piracy by establishing a navy (1.4.1). Later the Corinthians undertook this duty as the power of Hellas grew and the acquisition of wealth became the goal of cities (1.13.1). The Corinthians are credited with the construction of the first modern navy, for the first sea-battle in history against the Corcyraeans, and for their eradication of piracy (1.13.2-5). Athens was also concerned with the control of piracy: Themistocles is distinguished for clearing the sea of pirates in the 480s (Nepos, *Them.* 2.5); Cimon purged Scyros of pirates (Plut. *Cim.* 8.3.7); Pericles strove to control the Black Sea (Plut. *Per.* 20); and for Isocrates, a symptom of the demise of Athenian supremacy was the frequent reappearance of piracy in the Aegean (*Paneg.* 115).⁶⁰

Thucydides describes the various types of violent conflict that took place during the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.) including traditional large-scale hoplite and trireme battles, “guerilla” type tactics, and piratical plundering raids.⁶¹ For an example of the latter, let us consider the action of the Corcyreans at Thuc. 3.85:

οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ πόλιν Κερκυραῖοι τοιαύταις ὀργαῖς ταῖς πρώταις ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ὁ Εὐρυμέδων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν ταῖς ναυσίν· ὕστερον δὲ οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων, διεσώθησαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους τείχη τε λαβόντες, ἃ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, ἐκράτουν τῆς πέραν οἰκείας γῆς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὀρμώμενοι ἐλήζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον, καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐπρεσβεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Κόρινθον περὶ καθόδου· καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπράσσετο, ὕστερον χρόνῳ πλοῖα καὶ ἐπικούρους παρασκευασάμενοι διέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἑξακόσιοι μάλιστα οἱ πάντες, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἐμπρήσαντες, ὅπως ἀπόγνοια ἦ τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀναβάντες ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἰστώνην, τεῖχος ἐνοικοδομησάμενοι ἔφθειρον τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκράτουν.

Since the Corcyreans throughout the city displayed such passions against others for the first time, Eurymedon and the Athenians sailed away with their ships. Afterwards, the Corcyrean exiles who had succeeded in escaping, about five hundred of them, took some forts that were on the mainland, and, controlling the land opposite their homes, they made this their base to plunder their countrymen on the island, causing so much damage that a severe famine came to the town. They also sent envoys to Sparta and Corinth to see about their return. But they were unsuccessful, and afterwards they gathered their boats and mercenaries and crossed over to the island, being about six hundred in total. And they burned their boats so that they would have no choice but to become masters of the land. They went up to Mount Istone and, after fortifying themselves there, began to harass those in the city and take control of the country.”

In this passage the Corcyrean exiles are in a unique position: as exiles they no longer enjoy the benefits of citizenship and therefore are not bound by any laws (or legal codes). They take matters into their own hands after the

Athenian fleet sails away and reclaim the island. After they cause destruction and famine, they send representatives to negotiate their reinstatement. When this fails, they turn to more destruction and looting. Their actions are couched in terms similar to those of pirates/brigands (ἐλήζοντο) and they employ mercenaries (ἐπικούρους) to help carry out their plans. It is clear that the exploits of the Corcyrean exiles can be identified with piracy.

An interesting addition to the established categories of warfare and piracy is privateering.⁶² Simply stated, privateering is the action of an “irregular auxiliary, whether citizen or foreign, who plunders enemy subjects, shipping and property on behalf of a belligerent state, [and] has a very respectable ancestry; possibly as old as war and piracy themselves, certainly going back to Greek antiquity.”⁶³ Since there were no specific words in Greek to specify a privateer and his actions, Greek authors employed the same terms as they did for pirates, namely, ληστής, ληστεία, and λήζομαι, regardless of whether the actions were for private, personal, political or military benefit.⁶⁴ Utilization of privateers was a common occurrence after 431 B.C. since they had incredible “nuisance value”.⁶⁵ This simply means that the plundering, raiding, and looting were kept to a small enough scale that regular troops would not and could not be called upon to intervene. The actions of the privateers were more annoying than critically

damaging. For example, in the summer of 416 B.C. the Spartans encourage their allies to raid (λήζεσθαι) the Athenians although they could not openly declare war on them (Thuc. 5.115.2):

καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου Ἀθηναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὴν λείαν ἔλαβον· καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς οὐδ' ὥς ἀφέντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς, ἐκήρυξαν δὲ εἴ τις βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν Ἀθηναίους λήζεσθαι.

And the Athenians from Pylos took much plunder (from the Spartans). On account of this, the Spartans, although they refrained from breaking the treaty and going to war with Athens, they did, however, proclaim that any one who wished could plunder the Athenians.

Another example comes from Xenophon's *Hellenica* (5.1.1):

ὦν δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἐτεόνικος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ ἐπιμειξία χρωμένων τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον τῶν Αἰγινητῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐπεὶ φανερῶς κατὰ θάλατταν ὁ πόλεμος ἐπολεμεῖτος, συνδόξαν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐφίησι λήζεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

In the meantime, Eteonicus was back again in Aegina, and although in the past the Aeginetans had maintained commercial dealings with the Athenians, now that the war was being waged openly on the sea, he, with the approval of the ephors, urged on those who wished to plunder Attica.

In this passage, Eteonicus, a Spartan, invites others to use their base on Aegina for raids on the Athenians (389 B.C.). Clearly the use of privateers was an acceptable substitution or addition to traditional warfare since both sides are said to have employed these tactics.⁶⁶

Although no war of any importance was won merely because privateers were employed, kidnapping, looting, and plundering seem to have had an effect on lowering morale.⁶⁷ Privateering was exploited especially when a state could or would not spare regular forces or when states were bound by a truce.⁶⁸ They

were often expert brigands or sea-raiders who not only had skills and resources necessary for successful raids but could also be drawn from a state's own citizens, from friendly or neutral states, exiles, or independent freebooters (e.g. slaves, fugitives, and mercenaries during peace time).⁶⁹ They were more expendable than regular trained citizens or mercenaries and, although they often betrayed those who hired them, their ability to annoy far outweighed other factors. Employment of privateers continued at least into the reign of Augustus.

By the time of Plato, brigandage was already being vilified. In his discussion of how a virtuous man passes through life consistently obeying the written rules of the lawgiver in the *Laws* (822e), Plato uses the example of hunting to make his point more clear. He writes that not only are there hunters of fish and fowl but also of land-animals, and in times of war and peace even hunters of men (*Laws* 7.823b):

ὁ βουλόμεθα μᾶλλον, θήρα γὰρ πάμπολύ τι πράγμα ἐστὶ, περιειλημμένον ὀνόματι νῦν σχεδὸν ἐνί. πολλή μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἐνύδρων, πολλή δὲ ἡ τῶν πτηνῶν, πάμπολυ δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ πεζὰ θηρεύματα, οὐ μόνον θηρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀξίαν ἐννοεῖν θήραν, τὴν τε κατὰ πόλεμον, πολλή δὲ καὶ ἡ κατὰ φιλίαν θηρεύουσα, ἡ μὲν ἔπαινον, ἡ δὲ ψόγον ἔχει· καὶ κλωπεῖται καὶ ληστῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων στρατοπέδοις.

Take this example to show more clearly what we wish to show: For hunting is a very complex subject and all types of hunting are now generally included under this name. There are many types of hunting of water-animals and many varieties of hunting of winged game. And there are very many varieties of hunting land animals, not only of beasts, but, take note, also of the hunting of men, both in war and often, too, in friendship. One is an accepted kind of hunt, the other is blameworthy. And then there are robberies and hunts carried on by pirates and by bands.

Although “hunts” during war times are accepted, Plato clearly states, however, that robberies and hunts carried on by pirates and by their bands are entirely unacceptable (823e):

μηδ' αὖ ἄγρας ἀνθρώπων κατὰ θάλατταν ληστείας τε ἥμερος ἐπελθὼν ὑμῖν θηρευτὰς ὤμους καὶ ἀνόμους ἀποτελοῖ· κλωπείας δ' ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ πόλει μηδὲ εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον ἐπέλθοι νοῦν ἄψασθαι.

And may no desire for man-hunting by sea and piracy overtake you and make you fierce and lawless hunters. And may the thought of committing robbery either in the country or in the city not ever cross your mind.

Plato appears much more critical of the actions of pirates/brigands than any earlier author. He clearly states that the law-abiding citizen would never engage in such activities.

Aristotle, in his *Politics*, discusses those individuals who produce their own livelihood and do not procure their food by barter or trade. These include herdsmen, brigands, fishermen, hunters, and farmers (1256a-b):

τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ζῇ καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι τοσοῦτοι σχεδὸν εἰσιν, ὅσοι γε αὐτόφυτον ἔχουσι τὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ μὴ δι' ἀλλαγῆς καὶ καπηλείας πορίζονται τὴν τροφήν (b) νομαδικὸς ληστρικὸς ἀλιευτικὸς θηρευτικὸς γεωργικὸς. οἱ δὲ καὶ μιγνύντες ἐκ τούτων ἡδέως ζῶσι, προσαναπληροῦντες τὸν ἐνδεέστερον βίον, ἢ τυγχάνει ἐλλείπων πρὸς τὸ αὐτάρκης εἶναι, οἷον οἱ μὲν νομαδικὸν ἅμα καὶ ληστρικόν, οἱ δὲ γεωργικὸν καὶ θηρευτικόν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· ὥς ἂν ἡ χρεῖα συναναγκάζῃ, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διάγουσιν.

But the largest group of men live from the land and from the fruits of cultivation. And so this nearly completes the list of the various modes of life, those who at least are self sufficient and do not gather their food by barter and trade [1256b][1] the lives of the herdsman, the brigand, the fisherman, the hunter, the farmer. Others also live pleasantly by combining some of these pastimes, supplementing the more deficient life where it happens to fall short in regard to being self-sufficing: for instance,

some combine a pastoral life and brigandage, others farming and hunting, and similarly with the others. They pass their time in such a combination of pursuits as the need compels them.

Although Aristotle places brigandage prominently in this discussion along with what we might consider honorable pursuits, he is not holding it in esteem but is merely listing the various means by which men obtain food.

In the fourth century B.C., complaints about piracy became common, especially with the rise of Macedon, and were often addressed by the leading orators of the day. Orators such as the pro-Athenian Demosthenes would often identify their opponents with pirates in order to portray them in an unfavorable light. Demosthenes does this on numerous occasions where he associates the actions of Philip of Macedon with piracy.⁷⁰ In his *Fourth Philippic*, Demosthenes actually calls Philip the “plunderer of the Greeks” (4.34):

ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅταν τιν' ἴδω τὸν μὲν ἐν Σούσοις καὶ Ἐγβατάνοις δεδοικότα καὶ κακόνουν εἶναι τῇ πόλει φάσκοντα, ὃς καὶ πρότερον συνεπηνώρθωσε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα καὶ νῦν ἐπηγγέλλετο εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐδέχεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθε, οὐ τὰκείνου αἴτια, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐγγὺς οὕτως ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι αὐξανομένου ληστοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄλλο τι λέγοντα, θαυμάζω, καὶ δέδοικα τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ἦ ποτ', ἔγωγε, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὗτος Φίλιππον.

For whenever I see a man afraid of someone who lives in Susa and Ecbatana and insists that he bears malice against Athens, although formerly he helped to restore the affairs of the city and was even now making offers to us (and claimed that if you did not accept them but voted for their rejection, it is not his fault). And when I find that same man using very different language about this plunderer of the Greeks, who extends his power near our very doors and in the middle of Greece, I am shocked and I fear him, whoever he might be, since he does not fear Philip.

Despite the fact that Demosthenes repeatedly criticizes Philip's actions, he nevertheless could appreciate piratical tactics and even supported using them in the war against Macedon (*Fourth Philippic* 4.23). The author of the speech *De Halonneso*⁷¹ responds to a letter from Philip (περὶ τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τῆς εἰρήνης: on the amendment of the peace), disapproving of Philip's demands that he should have access to all ports (sections 14-15). He sees through the pretense of such a demand, recognizing that Philip desires to be in a position to enlist forcibly local inhabitants in his war against Athens:

[14] περὶ δὲ τῶν ληστών δίκαιόν φησιν εἶναι κοινῇ φυλάττειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κακουργοῦντας ὑμᾶς τε καὶ αὐτόν, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ τοῦτ' ἀξιῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατασταθῆναι, καὶ ὁμολογῆσαι ὑμᾶς ὥς ἄνευ Φιλίππου οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ φυλακὴν δυνατοί ἐστε φυλάττειν, [15] ἔτι δὲ καὶ δοθῆναι αὐτῷ ταύτην τὴν ἄδειαν, περιπλέοντι καὶ ὀρμιζομένῳ εἰς τὰς νήσους ἐπὶ προφάσει τῇ τῶν ληστών φυλακῇ διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς νησιώτας καὶ ἀφιστάναι ὑμῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον τοὺς φυγάδας τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς Θάσον κεκομικέναι διὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους οἰκειώσασθαι, συμπέμπων τοὺς συμπλευσομένους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων ὥς κοινωνήσοντας τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν φυλακῆς.

[14] Concerning the pirates, he says that it is only right that we should join him in clearing the sea of these evil doers, who injure both you and himself, which amounts to a claim that you should set him up as a maritime power and confess that without Philip's help you cannot keep the seas safe, [15] and furthermore that he should be given amnesty to sail around and anchor off the islands under pretence of protecting them from pirates, and bribe the islanders to revolt from you. Not content with getting your commanders to convey refugees from his own land to Thasos, he claims the right to settle the other islands also, and sends companions to with your commanders, as if to share the task of policing the seas.

In turn, Philip accused Athenian generals and Athens itself both of “piratical-like” activities and of ignoring others who engaged in such activities (Demos.

12.2-5; 23.148-9, 166-7). Such accusations on both sides attest to what seems to have become the widespread concern about piracy in the Mediterranean at this time.

During the reign of Alexander, the efforts made to secure the safety of all who traveled by sea unfortunately failed. In 336 B.C. Alexander renewed the peace treaty (the Common Peace) among the Greek states that included a clause that promised safe voyages to all member ships. Unfortunately, this does not seem to have deterred piracy. Alexander sent one of his admirals on a mission to deal with piracy in 331 B.C, perhaps in an attempt to continue the program begun by his father to eradicate threats to shipping.⁷² Despite these efforts, piracy continued to be a substantial problem.

Both Athenian and Macedonian policy to safeguard shipping and commerce necessitated an active role in the suppression of piracy. Their actions, however, were often indistinguishable from those of the pirates themselves (*e.g.* Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.35; 6.4.35; Diod. 15.95.1). Both sides “saw an opportunity to justify their aggressive and acquisitive military and naval policies in terms of the suppression of piracy.”⁷³ In fact, the suppression of piracy was not necessarily advantageous to either Macedonians nor to Athenians since it required not only a large amount of resources but also a massive military endeavor. Piracy, however, seems to have continued to be an accepted method of conducting maritime warfare (in the fourth century B.C.).⁷⁴

Throughout the Classical period, the term pirate seems to have been used for almost anyone who attacked people by sea. In addition, it was becoming a common practice to call your enemies “pirates” as a way of discrediting their character and motives, *e.g.* terrorist activity. Although piracy was for the most part unacceptable, it nevertheless remained a feature of combat whether in the manner of privateering or as an alternate method or substitution for legal state warfare.

C. The Hellenistic Period

Following the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., the vast Macedonian empire fragmented quickly not only because the conqueror had failed to appoint an heir but also because he neglected to make arrangements for carrying on the government. His generals began to fight over parts of the empire and scrape up what territories they could. The successors to the Macedonian empire and their descendants continually waged war with one another and provided many opportunities for piracy to thrive. As de Souza states: “The Hellenistic monarchs were warrior-kings whose armies of Greek and Macedonian mercenaries, native troops and various irregulars campaigned across the Greek-speaking world, capturing, plundering and destroying for the political and economic benefit of their commanders and themselves.”⁷⁵ This

period of history is classified by many scholars as the climax of Greek mercenary warfare since those competing for ultimate power used whatever forces were available to attain their goals, even if they had to pay them.⁷⁶

The history and literary background of piracy (and banditry) in the Hellenistic period is rich in details and is difficult to summarize.⁷⁷ A brief look at some of the more interesting aspects may be helpful. As discussed briefly above, pirates and merchants were often mistaken for one another. Both were engaged in an activity whose goal was profit from exchange or thievery. De Souza employs economic terms for certain elements of piracy: the ship and manpower needed can be labeled the investment and the plunder gained from piratical activities the return.⁷⁸ Of course, an important element in the success or failure of piracy was the availability of a market in which to sell one's plunder. Aegina, located close to both Athens and the Peloponnese, made it an ideal place for the disposal of booty. Crete was also notable for its pirates, as was Cilicia,⁷⁹ many of whose cities were known for their flourishing slave markets. Rhodes and Delos were also notorious for their slave markets. In fact, according to Strabo (14.5.2), as many as ten thousand slaves were sold in Delos in just one day.⁸⁰ Just how common was the sale of a kidnapped person into slavery? While we have no absolute numbers, the fact that New Comedy often makes use of this theme might hint at its frequency. In Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*, the slave Palaestrio says that he was kidnapped and sold (ln. 118: *capunt praedones navem illam ubi vectus*

fui: pirates captured that ship on which I was carried).⁸¹ In addition, the connection between piracy and the slave trade (discussed above with regard to Eumaios in the *Odyssey*) is a common theme in inscriptions, specifically praising those who helped ransom the kidnapped person.⁸²

Another possible benefit to the pirate who traded in kidnapped individuals accrued from ransoming the person back to his or her family. In some respects, this was an easier and more lucrative way to gain profit than selling the person to a slave market. First, in this scenario there was no need to find a market in which to sell goods. Additionally, the higher the status of the person kidnapped and the more socially prominent his or her family, the higher the price for their safe return. The frequent need to ransom prisoners from pirates in the Hellenistic period is evidenced by the epigraphic data and, in fact, may have been the aim of much of the piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁸³

In any discussion of piracy in the Hellenistic period, one must consider the ongoing role that Rhodes played in the suppression of piracy. With its five harbors, Rhodes was a major commercial center in the Classical period, and its people were chiefly sailors and merchants. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, Rhodes maintained a strict policy in regard to piracy, namely that it was not to be tolerated. Evidence of such a policy is found in various works. In his speech against Leocrates, the Attic orator Lycurgus claims that, after the Battle of

Chaironeia in 338 B.C., Rhodes, fearing a pirate attack, dispatched warships to escort merchant vessels to port after obtaining false information that Athens had been captured by Macedonians and that the Piraeus was blocked.⁸⁴

Another main source for Rhodian policy is Diodorus Siculus⁸⁵ who mentions how they drove off ships sent to attack their cargo vessels sailing to Egypt.⁸⁶ In fact, Diodorus begins his discussion of the siege of Rhodes in 305 B.C. with a strong affirmation of Rhodes' long-standing anti-piracy stance (20.81.3):

ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ προεληλύθει δυνάμεως ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἰδίᾳ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πειρατὰς πόλεμον ἐπαναιρεῖσθαι καὶ
καθαρὰν παρέχεσθαι τῶν κακούργων τὴν θάλατταν,...

Indeed, she had advanced to such a position of power that she took up the war against the pirates herself, on behalf of the Greeks, and cleared the sea of their evil-doing.

Additionally, Polybius praises the Rhodians' efforts to prevent attacks on traders, slavers, and fishing vessels by local people.⁸⁷

In the late third century B.C., Rhodes and Crete were at war for reasons that are not fully explained in our sources but “seem to go back to earlier rivalries among Cretan cities and a series of inter-city disputes that led to the involvement of their allies.”⁸⁸ In fact, Cretan “piracy” was often aimed at Rhodes' allies, including Rome. According to Diodorus (28.1.1), Philip V of Macedon provided ships to assist Crete against Rhodes, and allies of Philip may have been responsible for attacks against the Piraeus in 200 B.C. Roman domination in the western Mediterranean was solidified with the conclusion of

the Second Punic War in 202 B.C., and Rome herself was transformed from a regional power to an international empire. Roman interests turned to the east and specifically to Philip of Macedon, ally of the Carthaginians. Rhodes, during the course of the second century B.C., although a relatively independent maritime power, became a dependent ally of Rome. "In the long run it was only the Romans, as masters of the Mediterranean, who would be in a position to offer general protection against piracy, but their assumption of the mantle of the Rhodians was a long and slow process."⁸⁹ During the course of the second century B.C., piracy remained a serious concern to the Rhodians. Their efforts to suppress it were well intentioned, though their resources were lacking and their actions fell short. Rome continued its pretext of controlling piracy, but a strong anti-pirate policy was not implemented until later.

D. The Late Roman Republic

The role that Rome played in the suppression of piracy was not an active one until at least the end of the second century B.C. Only occasionally do our sources record Roman intervention against piracy. The earliest evidence we have dates to 102 B.C. According to Livy's epitomate (*Ep.*68), in that year Marcus Antonius, father of the triumvir, is said to have pursued pirates into Cilicia. In addition, under his heading for the year 102 B.C., Julius Obsequens claims that the pirates of Cilicia were destroyed by the Romans (*Prodig.* 44). Yet according to

Plutarch's *Life of Sertorius* 8-9, Sertorius himself was linked to the pirates of Cilicia sometime between 83-80 B.C..⁹⁰ Therefore, the Cilician pirates had not been destroyed. Yet the importance of the statement lies in the fact that the Romans were now actively pursuing a program to rid the seas of pirates. In one section of the *lex de provinciis praetoriis*, provisions are made for the safety of navigation for Romans, Latins, and Rome's friends and allies.⁹¹ In another section, the senior consul is instructed to write to rulers of various nations requesting that they not allow pirates to use their lands to base their operations, nor to appoint officials tolerant of pirates. The significance of this law is twofold since it illustrates that piracy posed a serious threat and that the Romans were staunchly opposed to piracy.

Despite the intentions of this law, an event in late 75 or early 74 B.C. indicates a different reality. At that time Julius Caesar was sailing to Rhodes to study rhetoric when he was kidnapped by pirates, held for forty days, and then ransomed (Suet. *Iul.* 4.1; Val. Max. 6.9.15; Plut. *Caes.* 2; Velleius 2.41-2).⁹² Once released, he gathered a group of men in Miletos and sought out the pirates. After he caught them, he crucified them just as he had promised during his captivity. According to Plutarch's version, Caesar had initially gone to the Roman governor of Asia, Junius, and demanded that he deal with the pirates.

When this failed, he took matters into his own hands. The event is striking because it demonstrates how some provincial officials might have preferred to ignore or perhaps even feared what had become a widespread problem.

Our main source for views on piracy and piratical activity during the Late Republic is Cicero. Piracy is a recurrent theme in his works and is often employed (as with Demosthenes) as a rhetorical device in many of his political speeches. In *On Duties*, Cicero discusses the importance of keeping oaths and promises, yet he says the following about outlaws (3.107):

Ut, si praedonibus pactum pro capite pretium non attuleris, nulla fraus est, ne si iuratus quidem id non feceris. Nam pirata non est ex perduellium numero definitus, sed communis hostis omnium; cum hoc nec fides debet nec ius iurandum esse commune.

If, for example, you do not hand over to the pirates the amount which you agreed upon for your life, there is no perjury, not even if you have sworn an oath and do not do so. For a pirate is not included among lawful enemies, but is the common enemy of all. With this sort of man, good faith and sworn oaths should not be recognized.

In his *Verrine Orations*, Cicero again tapped into the negative associations of piracy as a rhetorical tactic to mark and attack his target. Gaius Verres, propraetor of Sicily from 73-71 B.C., was charged with exploiting and oppressing the province. Cicero not only branded Verres a pirate, a bandit, and a thief but also compared Verres' actions to those of a pirate and bandit charging him with the destruction of many Sicilian inhabitants.⁹³

Thus like Demosthenes and other orators in the fourth century B.C., Cicero made associations between his opponent and pirates/bandits. This link served to degrade Verres (or other opponents of Cicero) and to mock him. The relationship of Verres and others with these outlaws highlighted their unlawful actions, their cruelty, and their incivility. In addition, while these references may not inform us of the exact historical reality of pirates and brigands, they do assist in revealing prevailing opinions about pirates and bandits held by Romans at this time.

One of the most well known leaders in antiquity to fight and temporarily triumph over piracy was Pompey the Great. In 67 B.C., Pompey was appointed under the Gabinian law to clear the sea of pirates. Prior to 67 B.C., there were a series of events which can help explain the need to appoint such a mission. In addition to Caesar's capture by pirates and the events in Sicily during Verres' tenure, there were pirate attacks on Aegina and Tenos.⁹⁴ References by Cicero (*Leg. Man.*), Plutarch (*Pomp.*), Dio (36), and Appian (*Mith.*) mention numerous pirate attacks in the eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, the very safety of Italy itself seems to have been threatened.⁹⁵ Cicero says (*Leg. Man.* 55):

nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnis socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperi salvos praestare poteramus, ... eidem non modo provinciis atque oris Italiae maritimis ac portibus nostris, sed etiam Appia iam via carebamus.

We, who previously handled the safety not only of Italy, but were able, through the authority of our imperial power, to preserve unharmed all

our allies on the farthest shores...yet not only are we now kept out of our provinces and even away from the coasts of Italy and our harbors, but we are even driven off the Appian Way.

Surely, if Cicero acknowledged that these types of dangers were present in Italy, then action was necessary and justified. In addition, the grain supply was threatened (Appian *Mith.* 93).⁹⁶ If grain did not reach the ever-growing population of Rome, there could be disastrous political consequences. Pompey was appointed to a three-year assignment to deal with this threat and was granted a huge military authority and an enormous budget. In addition, he was given permission to override other magistrates within fifty miles of the sea. Pompey's first action was to secure the grain supply (*Leg. Man.* 34):⁹⁷

Qui nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit; inde Sardiniam cum classe venit, atque haec tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit.

Despite the unsuitability of the weather for sailing he crossed to Sicily and explored the coast of Africa. He went with his fleet to Sardinia and he fortified with powerful armies and fleets these three granaries of the state.

Most sources agree that after securing the grain supply Pompey completed the first part of his campaign in forty days.⁹⁸ Pompey's exact actions, however, in dealing with the problem are not made explicit in most of the sources. Plutarch's account gives us the most detail (*Pomp.* 26.3):

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ διελὼν τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὸ διάστημα τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης εἰς μέρη τρισκαίδεκα, καὶ νεῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἄρχοντα τάξας, ἅμα πανταχοῦ τῇ δυνάμει σκεδασθείη τὰ μὲν ἐμπύπτοντα τῶν πειρατικῶν ἄθροα περιλαμβάνων εὐθὺς ἐξεθηρᾶτο καὶ κατῆγεν· οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες

διαλυθῆναι καὶ διεκπεσόντες ὥσπερ εἰς σμῆνος ἐδύοντο πανταχόθεν καταφερόμενοι τὴν Κιλικίαν, ἐφ' οὓς αὐτὸς ἐστέλλετο ναῦς ἔχων ἐξήκοντα τὰς ἀρίστας.

Despite this achievement, he divided up the seas and the coasts within the sea into thirteen districts, assigning a number of ships to each one, with a commander. His forces were spread out, threatening the pirates from all sides so that they were quickly caught and brought to land. The more elusive ones were driven together towards Cilicia, like bees swarming to their hive. Pompey prepared to attack them with sixty of his best ships.

After this, Pompey went to Cilicia and in forty nine days did what no one (*i.e.*

Marcus Antonius, Sulla, Murena) before him had done: he conquered the Cilician pirates.⁹⁹ As opposed to the earlier parts of Pompey's campaign, our sources for this part of his campaign tend to be extremely terse perhaps because "once the grain supply had been secured, the people of Rome were far less interested in the progress of the 'pirate war'."¹⁰⁰ Appian credits his swift handling of the situation to his reputation and recent successes (*Mith.* 96):

τὸ γὰρ κλέος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν οἱ λησταὶ καταπλαγέντες, καὶ ἐλπίσαντες, εἰ μὴ διὰ μάχης ἔλθοιεν, τεύξεσθαι φιланθρωπὸν, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Κράγον καὶ Ἀντίκρατον εἶχον, φρούρια μέγιστα, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους οἱ ὄρειοι Κίλικες καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν.

For his reputation and his preparedness reduced the pirates to a panic, hoping that, if they did not wish to fight, they would make him philanthropic towards them. First those who held Kragos and Antikragos, the greatest strongholds, surrendered, and after them those who lived in the Cilician mountains, and eventually, all the rest followed suit.

In addition, Dio informs us that his use of *clementia* (clemency) was the basis of his success, and Plutarch tells us that he did not condemn any prisoners to death.¹⁰¹

Based on these sources, Pompey's extremely swift campaign seems to have employed a policy of clemency, an exchange of land for ships, and a resettlement of pirates, and it won him praise from many ancient sources including Cicero, Plutarch, Appian, and Dio.¹⁰² His successes in dealing with the pirates solidified his legendary status among the Romans. Pompey's campaign further established Rome as the police force of the sea, a position earlier held by the Athenians, Ptolemies, and Rhodians. The Romans realized that it was their responsibility to pursue an active role in controlling the seas. Moreover, piracy "was also a cause and legitimation of Roman imperialism and territorial expansion."¹⁰³

E. The Empire

Understandably, Pompey did not completely eradicate piracy, and Rome still had an obligation to its people, its allies, and its provinces to continue to make the seas safe. Although our sources, especially in the 40s and 30s B.C., are relatively quiet regarding pirates and brigands, that should not lead us to believe that they did not continue to be active. Rather, taking into account the turbulent events in those decades, we might assume that our ancient writers were focused on other matters, namely the civil wars.

In his *Res Gestae*, Augustus claims that he "made the sea peaceful and freed it from pirates" (*mare pacavi a praedonibus* 25.1). In just four words, Augustus claimed to do what no one, not even Pompey, could do. Yet, when we look to contemporary and later sources, we generally find the same sentiment,

namely that the seas were finally safe,¹⁰⁴ although it should be remembered that most authors from the first and second centuries A.D. were influenced to some degree, either directly or indirectly, by Augustan propaganda. Horace writes in *Ode* 4.5.17-20:¹⁰⁵

*Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas,
pacatum uolitant per mare nauitae,
culpari metuit fides,*

Then safely the ox will wander the pastures,
Ceres and kindly Prosperity will nourish the crops,
sailors will sail across the waters in peace,
trust will fear to be blameworthy,...

This passage illustrates the relative peace and safety of the seas during Augustus' reign. Yet, throughout the principate, there are significantly fewer references to piracy than before, especially in the Mediterranean. The reasons might be attributable to a number of factors. First, there was the *Pax Romana* or Roman Peace.

The Mediterranean, in the years following Augustus' reign, was more peaceful than it had ever been. Most of its coastline was under Roman control, and the use of military force was a constant reminder to potential pirates. With relative peace in the Mediterranean and trade routes opened, those who might turn to piracy (namely fishermen and merchants) were discouraged from that option. Naturally, the peace and economic prosperity of the principate could not keep everyone from a life of crime. Those either geographically outside or far

from the boundaries of Rome often turned to such a lifestyle since their access to the benefits of “Roman Peace” was limited. Strabo examined the intricate associations of politics, economics, and geography of Mediterranean world. In fact, a large part of Strabo’s investigation is devoted to exploring the coastlines and harbors of the Mediterranean. Piracy and banditry was one of his recurring themes and went hand-in-hand with his other major theme, trade. The parts of the world which the Romans did not control were dismissed as the homes of nomads and pirates, unworthy of Roman rule (17.3.25). Furthermore, Strabo claimed that rough and mountainous landscapes often led to piracy and banditry (3.3.5). Moreover, piracy appears to have become a social institution within several communities, although the Roman government often relocated such communities (Strabo 4.1.5; Livy, *Per.* 6; App. *Ill.*10; Florus 1.41.14).¹⁰⁶

Another influential factor that helped suppress piracy was the creation of the Roman Imperial Navy. Although our sources remain relatively silent about the development of the navy (Tacitus *Ann.* 5 and Suetonius *Aug.* 49 briefly mention the fleets at Ravenna and Misenum), by the mid second century A.D. it was extremely powerful.¹⁰⁷ The main purpose of the navy was in times of war was the transport of troops, supplies, and equipment. Also, the navy was responsible for ensuring the freedom of civilians and military personnel in

coastal communities, *i.e.* they were in charge of controlling piracy. Of course, some scholars argue that the existence of a large (and, therefore, expensive) fleet in the Mediterranean seems to suggest the flourishing of piracy.¹⁰⁸

Evidence suggests that there was a rise in the recurrence of piracy in the third century. This is based on a variety of inscriptions that honor those who fought piracy.¹⁰⁹ These inscriptions, however, may not indicate anything more than the usual measures taken to control and restrain piracy. In the mid third century, a series of Gothic invasions began in the Mediterranean. Additionally, fortifications were built by the Romans on the English Channel and around the coast of East Anglia.¹¹⁰ Whether or not the Gothic invasions and the fortifications are indications of a greater pirate threat is still debated. There is some evidence that pirates were plundering the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea in the late A.D. 370s.¹¹¹ Other authors say that banditry was a problem in both the eastern and western parts of the empire in roughly this same period.¹¹² Unfortunately, any conjectures about the extent of piracy and the ability of the empire to suppress it during this period are difficult to prove conclusively.

The first and second centuries A.D. saw a prosperous and secure Roman Empire (and, therefore, Mediterranean) while political stability and growth in maritime trade were, perhaps, at their peak. The creation of the imperial navy and the continued strength of the army seem to have helped ensure peace. But although piracy was greatly reduced, it was never fully eradicated.

Boukoloi

Famous from their role in both the novels of Achilles Tatius (*Leucippe and Clitophon*) and Heliodorus (*An Ethiopian Story*), dated variously between the 2nd and 4th centuries A.D.,¹¹³ the *boukoloi* were, in simple terms, outlaw shepherds who inhabited the Egyptian Delta region.¹¹⁴ While a thorough investigation into the *boukoloi* who figure in the ancient novels is reserved for the next chapter, the historical reality of the *boukoloi* will be considered here.¹¹⁵ These outlaw shepherds of the Nile Delta are featured not only in prose fiction, but also in history, biography, and papyri.¹¹⁶

Representations of *boukoloi* (herdsmen) are found in ancient literature as early as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (e.g. *Il.*13.570, 15.585, 23.844; *Od.*11.292, 20.228, 21.83). They also appear in later sources, among them Herodotus' *Histories* (1.110-122), Greek tragedy (Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* 574 and *Iphigenia at Tauris* 304), and Theocritus' *Idylls* (1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 20, and 27). Yet in all these instances, the herdsmen are simply that: men responsible for herding oxen and other animals. There are no connections between these herdsmen and banditry until the Augustan period. Strabo described Eryx, an Elymian settlement in western Sicily (6.2.6):

ἡ δ' ἄλλη κατοικία καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας ποιμένων ἡ πλείστη γεγένηται· οὔτε γὰρ ἱμέραν ἔτι συνοικουμένην ἴσμεν οὔτε Γέλαν οὔτε Καλλίπολιν οὔτε Σελινοῦντα οὔτ' Εὐβοίαν οὔτ' ἄλλας πλείους,... τὴν οὖν ἐρημίαν κατανοήσαντες Ῥωμαῖοι κατακτησάμενοι τὰ τε ὄρη καὶ τῶν πεδίων τὰ πλεῖστα ἱπποφορβοῖς καὶ βουκόλοις καὶ ποιμέσι παρέδοσαν· ὕφ' ὧν πολλάκις εἰς κινδύνους κατέστη μεγάλους ἢ νῆσος, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ ληστείας τρεπομένων σποράδην τῶν νομέων, εἴτα καὶ κατὰ πλήθη

συνισταμένων καὶ πορθούντων τὰς κατοικίας, καθάπερ ἥνικα οἱ περὶ
Εὐνουν τὴν Ἔνναν κατέσχον. νεωστὶ δ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
ἀνεπέμφθη Σέλουρός τις, Αἴτνης υἱὸς λεγόμενος, στρατιᾶς
ἀφηγησάμενος καὶ λεηλασίαις πυκναῖς καταδεδραμηκῶς τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς
Αἴτνης πολὺν χρόνον,...

But the other settlement and the greater part of the interior have come into the custody of shepherds. For I do not know of any people still living in Himera, or Gela, or Callipolis or Selinus or Euboea or other places. ... The Romans, therefore, learning that the land was deserted, took possession of the mountains and most of the plains and then gave them to the horsemen, cowherds, and shepherds. And the island was put into great danger many times by these herdsmen, initially because they turned on occasion to brigandage, later because they both gathered in great numbers and ravaged the settlements, just as, for example, when Eunus and his men took possession of Enna. And recently a certain Selurus, who was called the son of Aetna, was sent up to Rome because he led the army and for a long time had overrun the areas around Aetna with frequent raids.

In this passage, Strabo first identified the men of the region simply as herdsmen.

After the Romans gave them the area to maintain, they are further specified as horseherders (ἵπποφορβοῖ), cowherders (βουκόλοι), and shepherds (ποιμένες).

They soon begin to harass people and are said to have turned to a life of brigandage (ληστείας). Finally, they take on even larger operations when they attack entire settlements. While these men are never identified as *boukoloi*, they nevertheless do provide an example of herdsmen turned outlaw.

Economic difficulties in the Nile Delta region during the A.D. 160s are attested in a papyrus, *P. Thmouis* (from the Mendesian nome), which reveals both serious depopulation and general economic difficulties in the area.¹¹⁷ *P. Thmouis* also reports that the village of Petetei had been involved in recent troubles and was attacked by Roman soldiers who proceeded to kill all the local men and

other villagers who were only staying there (*P. Thmouis* 98). A *komogrammateus* reporting on the tax collection, however, reported that they had been killed by impious Nicochites (*P. Thmouis* 104).¹¹⁸ Regardless, growing social and economic unrest may have led to an increase in local bandit activity, and some indigenous people may have been driven off their land.¹¹⁹ These events provide the immediate background to the revolt of the *boukoloι*.

Our main literary source for the revolt of the *boukoloι* is Dio who tells us that these outlaws were responsible for a civil disturbance in A.D. 172.¹²⁰ In this passage, the revolt, led by the priest Isidorus, culminates in an attack on the local Roman authorities and the shocking sacrifice and consumption of their entrails (72.4):¹²¹

καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ Βουκόλοι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κινηθέντες καὶ τοῦς ἄλλους Αἰγυπτίους προσαποστήσαντες ὑπὸ ἱερεῖ τινι [καὶ] Ἰσιδώρῳ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν γυναικείοις στολαῖς τὸν ἐκατόνταρχον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡπατηκότες ὥς δὴ γυναῖκες τῶν Βουκόλων καὶ χρυσία δώσουσαι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προσιόντα σφίσι κατέδοψαν, καὶ τὸν συνόντα αὐτῷ καταθύσαντες ἐπὶ τε τῶν σπλάγχχνων αὐτοῦ συνώμοσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνα κατέφαγον· ἦν δὲ Ἰσιδωρος ἀνδρῖαι πάντων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄριστος· ἔπειτα ἐκ παρατάξεως τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ῥωμαίους νικήσαντες μικροῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἶλον, εἰ μὴ Κάσσιος ἐκ Συρίας πεμφθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ στρατηγήσας ὥστε τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σφῶν ὁμόνοιαν λῦσαι καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποχωρίσαι (διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐθάρρησε συμβαλεῖν ἀθρόοις αὐτοῖς), οὕτω δὲ στασιάζαντας ἐχειρώσατο.

Those called *boukoloι* were stirred up in Egypt and caused other Egyptians to revolt under the priest Isidorus. First, they tricked the Roman centurion by dressing in female clothes as if they were the wives of the *boukoloι*, and came to give them gold on behalf of their husbands. But when he approached them, they killed him, and they sacrificed his companion and swore an oath over his entrails and ate them. Isidorus was the best of all those during his time in bravery. Then if they had

defeated the Romans in Egypt in battle, they would have taken Alexandria, had not [Avidius] Cassius who was sent by them from Syria conducted an attack in such a way that he destroyed their unity and separated them from each other (for on account of their desperation and their number, he did not dare to attack them when they were all together). In this way, he subdued their revolt.

In this passage, the *boukoloi* are unrestricted geographically but seem to be located near Alexandria.¹²² Unfortunately, in antiquity there were many locations in the Delta identifiable as Boukolia, making it difficult to pin down the historical base of their activities. In addition, the role of the Roman centurion seems to be as an administrator (collecting taxes) as well as a guardian of law and order.¹²³ If the region was indeed plagued with economic hardships, as *P. Thmouis* suggests, then a revolt seems to be a regrettable, but understandable reaction to the circumstances.

If we turn to another ancient authority, we find evidence that establishes the *boukoloi* in the region well before A.D. 172, the date of the revolt of the *boukoloi*. Eratosthenes (writing in the third century B.C.), as Strabo records, commenting on the Busirite nome, maintains that the *boukoloi* protected the harbor of Pharos before the founding of Alexandria (Strabo 17.1.19):

φησὶ δ' Ἐρατοσθένης κοινὸν μὲν εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις πᾶσιν ἔθος τὴν ξενηλασίαν, τοὺς δ' Αἰγυπτίους ἐλέγχεσθαι διὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Βούσιριν μεμυθευμένων ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτῃ νομῷ, διαβάλλειν τὴν ἀξενίαν βουλομένων τοῦ τόπου τούτου τῶν ὕστερον, οὐ βασιλέως, μὰ Δία, οὐδὲ τυράννου γενομένου τινὸς Βουσίριδος· προσεπιφημισθῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸ Αἴγυπτόνδ' ἰέναι δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ἀργαλήν τε, προσλαμβάνοντος πρὸς τοῦτο πάμπλου καὶ τοῦ ἀλιμένου καὶ τοῦ μηδὲ τὸν ὄντα λιμένα ἀνεῖσθαι τὸν πρὸς τῇ Φάρῳ φρουρεῖσθαι δ' ὑπὸ βουκόλων ληστῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων τοῖς προσορμιζομένοις·

Eratosthenes says that the expulsion of foreigners is a common custom to all barbarians, but the Egyptians are censured concerning the things said about Busiris in connection with the Busirite Nome, since the later writers wish to misrepresent the inhospitality of this place, although by Zeus, no king or tyrant named Busiris ever existed. But they even respond saying that to go to Egypt is a long and painful journey, the lack of harbors contributes very much to this opinion, and also the fact that even the harbor which Egypt did have at Pharos gave no access, but was guarded by shepherds who were pirates and who attacked those who tried to bring their ships to anchor in that place.

The point that Eratosthenes seems to be making is that, although the dangers to Greeks at Pharos may be real, the stories that have circulated are clearly exaggerated.

Winkler maintains that the *boukoloi* of Eratosthenes (as Strabo records) are merely shepherds who, because they lived near an area of the shore that lacked an official patrol, were compelled to protect this area; the *boukoloi*, featured in Dio, were actual outlaws who opposed central political authority.¹²⁴ Again, we must keep in mind that Eratosthenes wrote almost four hundred years before Dio.

From the sources, we are sure that something did happen in A.D. 172. Whether the revolt was the result of an organized outlaw band (*boukoloi*) or merely a group of Delta-dwelling shepherds (*boukoloi*) who were defending themselves from further economic hardship, remains a mystery. The event and the people involved are a relatively seamless blend of myth and history. One of

the most interesting observations is that this pseudo-mythical/historical group of shepherds became such a fundamental element in many of the ancient novels, a development that will be discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusions

The main purpose of this chapter was to give a general background to pirates and brigands in classical antiquity by first considering the terminology used in Greek and Latin and then summarizing and analyzing in a chronological order the various manifestations of “pirates” and “brigands”. At the beginning of this chapter, several questions were posed about the linguistic distinctions between pirates and brigands, the possible implications to Greeks and Romans when a reference to a pirate or brigand was made, and whether different meanings and associations were made in different periods of classical antiquity. It appears that these questions can now be answered.

First of all, there does not seem to be a clear distinction in Greek and Latin for differentiating between pirates and brigands. The Greek words ληστής and πειρατής, as well as the Latin terms, *latro* and *praedo*, were interchangeable throughout classical antiquity although some authors, such as Homer, made use of one more than the other. In its earliest attestations (the Homeric poems), ληστής did not have a specifically negative connotation. It was difficult to distinguish between piracy and warfare, and heroes and “pirates” often acted

and behaved in similar ways. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, pirates/brigands came to have clear negative associations and were employed in the rhetorical/political realm as pejorative labels for disparaging and discrediting opponents. By the Hellenistic period, the use of mercenaries (pirates with a specific political association) was at a peak, and constant warfare encouraged piracy to continue along the boundaries of the “empire”. Although in both the Classical and Hellenistic periods there were attempts to suppress piracy, it was not until the Late Roman Republic that serious efforts were made. Rome assumed the role that the Corinthians, Rhodians, and Athenians had all attempted earlier but at which they all had failed. As a result of the political transformation of Rome that began with the reign of Augustus, the period that followed was one of relative peace, prosperity, and military expansion. Under the principate, there was a significant reduction in piracy in the Mediterranean, though piracy and banditry were never completely eradicated. The ancient novel (peaking in the first to fourth centuries A.D.) was able to build on this tradition of pirates and brigands and develop them into some of the most colorful and interesting personalities in late antique literature.

¹⁷ See Konstan (1994) 211-214.

¹⁸ de Souza (1999) 3. de Souza's work is the most recent comprehensive study of piracy in the ancient world. Other wide-ranging studies include, Omerod (1924); Seister (1880); and Ziebarth (1929). There has been no comprehensive study of bandits or banditry in the ancient world.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 2. This generalizing statement, however, does not apply to the use of ληστής in the Homeric epics.

²⁰ For an opposing opinion, namely that there is archaeological evidence, see Gianfrotta (1981).

²¹ *The Rough Kilikia Survey Project*, co-directed by N. Rauh from Purdue University, is a unique project that investigates the issues of piracy and its effects on economic activity. The first field season began in 1996 and has continued to 2002. Preliminary results can be found on the project's website at (<http://pasture.ecn.purdue.edu/~rauhn/>). Rauh has a number of publications which deal with the topic. See Bibliography for a complete listing.

²² Other Greek words include all the variations of ληστής and πειρατής, κλοπεία (brigandage), περίδονος (pirate), ἄρπαξ (robber, plunderer), ἀρχιπειρατής (pirate-chief) and κακοῦργος (thief, robber). In Latin, variations on *latro*, i.e. *latrocinium* (robbery, piracy), *pirata* (pirate), *maritimus* (used with *bellum* to indicate a battle with pirates), *furtum* (a theft or robbery), and the Latin transliteration of ἀρχιπειρατής, *archipirata* (a pirate captain).

²³ The standard edition for The *Suda* is Adler, ed. (1928-1938) *Suidae Lexicon* in five volumes.

²⁴ All translations are my own unless noted otherwise.

²⁵ See Ebeling (1885). See below note 24. Also, de Souza (1999) 3 on the Indo-European root being *la_F* or *lau*.

²⁶ This inscription (*SEG* 24 1968 no. 154) is a deme decree in honor of Epichares who was elected *strategos* responsible for coastal defense during the archonship of Peithidemos (c. 267 B.C.). It mentions a ransoming or exchange of prisoners who had been taken by pirates/bandits and Epichares' arrest (λαβών), interrogation (ἐξετάσας), and punishment (ἐκόλασε) of those men who had

aided the pirates. Civic inscriptions were rarely linguistically innovative and so the word was probably already in use.

²⁷ Duris of Samos (c. 340-260 B.C.) ap. Schol. Eurip., *Hecuba*, 933 uses πειρατεύειν and, therefore, suggests the existence of the word πειρατής. See Ormerod (1924, reprint 1967) 59-61, especially Chapter 2, note 2.

²⁸ See Polybius 4.3-6, 4.8, 4.9, 21.12.

²⁹ Strabo (11.2.12).

³⁰ See *LSJ* entry for this word.

³¹ At other times, Dio uses ληστής when he clearly means pirate and leaves it up to the reader to decipher.

³² Plautus used *praedones* for pirates (*Bacch.* 282; *Men.* 1015; *Mil.* 118; *Poen.* 897; *Pseud.* 895, 1029; *Rud.* 40; *Trin.* 1088) and Apuleius used *latro* for bandits (*Met.* 1.7, 1.11, 1.15, 1.23, 2.14, 2.32, 3.5, 3.6, 3.8, 3.9, 3.27-4.27, 6.25-8.13, 8.17, 9.8, 9.38, 10.11, 10.15, 11.15).

³³ Shaw (1984) 26.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 26. See also the entries in *LSJ*.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 26-28, especially n. 68 and n. 69.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 14.

³⁷ The word πειρατής does not appear in the Homeric poems.

³⁸ Edwards (2000) x.

³⁹ For more regarding the historical conclusions one may draw from the Homeric epics see Nilsson (1968); Nagy (1996); and Knight (1968). Nagy (1996) 20 n. 28 points us to Vermeule (1986) for the world of Homeric poetry in the second millennium B.C.E.; for the eight-century perspective, see Morris (1986).

⁴⁰ ληστής (*Il.* 9.406; *Od.* 3.73, 9.254, 15.427, 16.426, 17.425); ληίζομαι (*Il.* 18.28; *Od.* 1.398, 23.357); λήις (*Il.* 9.138, 9.280, 11.677, 12.7, 18.327; *Od.* 3.106, 5.40, 10.41, 13.262, 13.273, 14.86); ληιστήρ (*Od.* 3.73, 9.254, 16.426, 17.425); ληιστός (*Il.* 9.406, 9.408); ληίστωρ (*Od.* 15.427); ληϊτις (*Od.* 10.460).

⁴¹ In *Odyssey* 8.150-64, Euryalos chides Odysseus when he says that games are of no interest to him. He goes so far as to compare Odysseus to a merchant which angers Odysseus so much that he not only joins the games but excels.

⁴² See Allison (1996).

⁴³ The earliest view of Cretans as liars is in Homer's *Odyssey*. The famous fragment, Κρηῖτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἄγραι (Cretans always tell lies, evil beasts, slow bellies), is attributed to Epimenides (*FGrHist* #457) who dates to the late 7th/early 6th century B.C. The saying is found in the *Bible*, Titus 1.12: "One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies."

⁴⁴ de Souza (1999) 18 points out that no individual Achaian hero is directly called a pirate, and especially not Odysseus.

⁴⁵ In fact, Jackson (1973) 250, discussing Homeric society, states that "private raids against foreigners were no disgrace in most people's eyes so long as the raider's state had no relationship with the victim's state."

⁴⁶ For other examples in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* see *Il.*9.137 ff, 279 ff; 11.676 ff; 12.7; 18.28, 327; *Od.*14.257 ff; 17.425 ff.

⁴⁷ Compare the long, oared ship of battle to the round-built merchant vessels, ναῦς στρόγγυλαι, γαῦλοι ὀλκάδες. See Casson (1971). Casson (1971) 125, states that in the Hellenistic period, the λέμβος was the ship of choice especially for pirates living along the Illyrian coast. Thucydides 4.9.1 mentions the κέλης and its value to pirates because of its speed. A variant of the κέλης was the ἐπακτροκέλης with a greater capacity, specifically mentioned in Aeschines' *In Timarchum* 191. See also Appian's *Mithridates* 92 for types of pirate ships. Philostratus in his *Imagines* 1.19.3 mentions that pirate ships were often painted the same color of the sea, γλαυκοῖς μὲν γέγραπται χρώμασι, "painted a bluish green (or gray)".

⁴⁸ Again the actions described support the idea of piracy (*Od.* 14.296) ἵνα οἱ σὺν φόρτον ἄγοιμι: "so that with him I might carry cargo."

⁴⁹ In the *Iliad*, there are four other instances of the epithet "sacker of cities". Two are associated with immortals (5.333 with the war goddess Enyo; 20.152 with Apollo). The other two are found in brief descriptions of warriors but the epithet

is restricted to their fathers (2.728 Oileus, father of Medon; 20.384 Otrynteus, father of Iphition). In the *Odyssey*, πτολιπόρθιος is used exclusively of Odysseus: 8.3; 9.504; 9.530; 14.447; 16.442; 18.356; 22.283; and 24.119.

⁵⁰ *Od.* 17.424-427:

ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἀλάπαξε Κρονίων--ἤθελε γάρ που--
ὅς μ' ἄμα ληϊστῆρσι πολυπλάγκτοισιν ἀνῆκεν
Αἴγυπτόνδ' ἰέναι, δολιχὴν ὁδόν, ὅφρ' ἀπολοίμην.
στῆσα δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμῷ νέας ἀμφιελίσσας.

But Zeus, son of Cronus, destroyed everything-for, I suppose, he wished it-who sent me with much-wandering pirates to go to Egypt, a long journey, that I might be destroyed. And in the Egyptian river I stayed my ships wheeling both ways.

⁵¹ Thucydides writes that the Phoenicians were among the first pirates (1.8.1). In addition, Cicero states in the *Republic* 2.9: *nam e barbaris quidem ipsis nulli erant antea maritumi praeter Etruscos et Poenos. alteri mercandi causa, latrocinandi alteri. quae causa perspicua est malorum.* “For indeed among the barbarians there were in former times none who were seafarers, except the Etruscans and the Phoenicians, the one on account of trade, the other for the sake of piracy.”

⁵² This greeting also appears in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 452-55, when Apollo questions the Cretan sailors. Note that in *Odyssey* 9.252 there is a slight difference in the Greek: ὦ ξειῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ;

⁵³ The notion of “justice” or “honor” among thieves is perhaps not relevant in a discussion of Homeric pirates, but, as we shall see later, there is clearly an advanced notion of sharing spoils among the robbers especially the robber band which features prominently in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* Books 3-6

⁵⁴ Herodotus, *Histories* 1.166 mentions Phoenicians plundering their neighbors and 2.152 recalls Ionian Greeks sailing to Egypt on raids. Thucydides 6.4.5 writes that the city of Zankle was founded by pirates. Strabo 1.3.2 states that early Greeks sailed for both trade and piracy.

⁵⁵ See de Souza (1999) 21-26.

⁵⁶ See Sealey (1966).

⁵⁷ For other examples of “piracy/banditry” in Herodotus see 1.166; 5.97-101; 6.5, 26-30.

⁵⁸ A similar example of a military officer turned “pirate” can be seen in Sertorius, Roman general of the early 1st century B.C., described by Plutarch in his *Life of Sertorius* 8-9. See also my note 75.

⁵⁹ Another major center of piratical activity was Cilicia. For more on the Cilician pirates, see de Souza (1999) ch. 4 and Ormerod (1997 reprint) ch. 6.

⁶⁰ Braund (1993) 202.

⁶¹ *Thuc.* 2.32; 2.69; 3.51; 3.85; 7.26; 8.35. See also de Souza (1999) 31-36.

⁶² Jackson (1973) 241 states that the privateer may be “as old as war and piracy themselves.” While the privateer became a regular feature in warfare by the early Hellenistic period, there is evidence that suggests their presence earlier. See Herodotus 6.88-89, *Thuc.* 2.67.4; 69; 5.56.3, 115.2.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 241.

⁶⁴ MacDonald (1984) 77.

⁶⁵ I borrow this term from Jackson (1973) 243.

⁶⁶ The list of examples is rather long. For more, see Jackson (1973) and MacDonald (1984).

⁶⁷ Jackson (1973) 243-44.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 244. The example given is Athens, which unable to spare a warship, set up privateers at Sunium to invade Aegina around 490 B.C.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 244-249.

⁷⁰ *1st Philippic* 32-4.

⁷¹ There seems to be scholarly consensus that this speech was written by Hegesippus, an Athenian statesman and contemporary of Demosthenes. See *OCD* entry for Hegesippus (1) 674.

⁷² *Curt.* 4.8.15. See Bosworth (1975). Also see Arrian *Anab.* 3.2.

⁷³ de Souza (1999) 38.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 39.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 43.

⁷⁶ See Griffith (1968); Miller (1987); and Rostovtzeff (1941) 474, 584, 624-5, 1072-3, 1082, 1127, 1260, 1344-6, and 1446.

⁷⁷ See Ormerod (1924) chs. 4 & 5 and de Souza (1999) ch. 3.

⁷⁸ de Souza (1999) 56.

⁷⁹ Cilician piracy was prevalent in the Mediterranean between 139-67 B.C. Cilicia was in close proximity to the trade routes connecting Italy and Greece to the east and its numerous rocky inlets and hidden anchorages (Strabo 14.1.7) made it extremely suitable for piracy.

⁸⁰ One of the greatest works of geographical investigation in antiquity dates to the *Pax Romana* of the Augustan period, namely the *Geographica* of Strabo (63 B.C. – 21 A.D.).

⁸¹ For some others examples, see Menander's *The Sicyonian* lns. 3-7; 355-9, Plautus' *Poen.* lns. 896-7, and Terence's *Eunuchus* 114-5.

⁸² See Pritchett (1991) vol. V. 272-83 for a catalogue.

⁸³ Specifically SIG 520, an inscription from the end of the third century B.C. which deals with the ransom of 280 captives from Aitolians and SEG XXIV.154, from the mid third century B.C., which honors a *strategos* who rescued people held by pirates. See also Pritchett (1991) 45-97 for more on ransoming in the Greek world.

⁸⁴ *Leokr.* 18.

⁸⁵ Although Diodorus was writing in the early Augustan period, one of his main sources for the events in Greece during the *Diadochi* (the successors of Alexander, 323-301 B.C.) was Hieronymus of Cardia. Hieronymus was a historian and statesman, as well as eyewitness, who served under Demetrios Poliorcetes. For more, see Hornblower (1981).

⁸⁶ Diod. 20.82.2. In 20.81.4, Diodorus stated that in the early Hellenistic period, the majority of Rhodes' income depended on trade with Ptolemaic Egypt and, therefore, established Rhodes' justified concern with piracy in the Mediterranean.

⁸⁷ Polyb. 4.50.3,

⁸⁸ de Souza 81 and n. 135.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 91.

⁹⁰ Quintus Sertorius (126-73 B.C.) was a Roman general and statesman who had served as legate in Italy during the Social War (89-88 B.C.) and allied himself with Marius and Cinna during the Civil War of 87. He was active in Spain and became the leader of a revolt of Iberian tribes in the late 80's B.C. In 83, Sulla, having control of Rome, exiled Sertorius who fled to Spain. It was here, on the outskirts of Roman authority, that he took up briefly with the Cilician pirates (Plutarch, *Sertorius* 7-9).

⁹¹ There are two copies of this law, a Delphic one and a Knidian one. Although the date of the law is debatable, most scholars agree that it must be between late 101 to 99 B.C. See Hassall, Crawford, and Reynolds (1974) 195-220 and Crawford, ed. (1996).

⁹² See Ward (1977).

⁹³ Cicero actually referred to Verres as a *praedo* (pirate or bandit) in four of the five books of the *Verrines*: II *Verr.* 1.46, 154; 2.141; 3.76; 4.23, 80. Verres was also dubbed a *pirata* (II *Verr.* 1.90, 154) and mentioned in terms of his *latrocinium* (II. *Verr.* 1.57, 89, 129, 130; 2.18; 4.24). See also de Souza (1999) 150-57. The *Verrine Orations* (speeches published against Verres) consist of delivered speeches: the *Divinatio in Caecilium* and the *Actio prima*; and the five written speeches referred to as *Actio secunda* or *Verrines*.

⁹⁴ IG IV.2 and IG XII.5.

⁹⁵ The phrase is formulaic and is used repeatedly at times of crisis. Cicero specifically recalls attacks in Caieta, Misenum, and Ostia (*Leg. Man.* 33). Velleius speaks of cities generally (*Pat.* 31.2); Florus mentions Sicily and Campania specifically (*Flor.* 3.6); Appian cites Brundisium and Etruria (*Mith.* 92); Dio names Ostia and other cities in Italy (*Dio* 36.22).

⁹⁶ Livy reported the same threat to the grain supply (*Per.* 99)

⁹⁷ Plutarch (*Pomp.* 26.4) confirms this.

⁹⁸ See Cicero *Leg. Man.* 35; Dio 36; Livy *Per.* 99; Appian *Mith.* 95; Florus 3.6.15. The number forty is formulaic, e.g. the flood in *Genesis* 7.4.

⁹⁹ For more on the Cilician pirates see Hopwood (1989) 171-87 and Hopwood (1998) 177-206.

¹⁰⁰ de Souza (1999) 169.

¹⁰¹ Dio 36.37 and Plutarch *Pomp.* 28.

¹⁰² Cicero, *Leg. Man.* 31-6; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 26-8; Appian, *Mith.* 95-6; and Dio, 36.37. See also Livy, *Per.* 99; Strabo, 14.3.3; and Florus, 3.6.15.

¹⁰³ Braund (1993) 203.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 204. Braund mentions the relative silence of Roman legal writers from Augustus to the Severans on piracy; however, he suggests that legal writers of this period are generally under-represented in the *Digest*.

¹⁰⁵ Fraenkel (1957) 440.

¹⁰⁶ Braund (1993) 206.

¹⁰⁷ See Reddé (1986) and Casson (1986).

¹⁰⁸ Braund (1993) 206-7. Casson (1971) 141, states that since Rome had no rival for its naval power, its chief task on the sea was to control piracy and maintain communications and transport. Therefore, the Roman ships were built for speed and maneuverability over weight. See Starr (1941, reprint 1975) for the alternate view.

¹⁰⁹ *BE* 1946-7: 337-8 no. 156.III; *AE* 1948: 78 no. 201 from Rhodes, dated to roughly A.D. 220 honors Aelius Alexander for his suppression of piracy. *IGRRP* 4.1057 from Cos, praises Publius Sallustius Sempronius Victor for his role in the fight against piracy. *IGRRP* 3.481; *ILS* 8870 dated to A.D. 256-8 from Oinoanda in Pisidia recognizes Valerius Statilius Castus as one who fought piracy.

¹¹⁰ See Haywood (1991). See also de Souza (1999) 221-229.

¹¹¹ Philostorgius' *Ecclesiastical History* 11.8

¹¹² Zosimus 4.20; 5.15-20; Ammianus Marcellinus 14.2; 19.13; Symmachus *Relat.* 9.7.

¹¹³ In Xenophon of Ephesus' novel, *An Ephesian Tale*, the hero comes ashore at the Eastern Delta and is captured by herdsmen called "shepherds" (ποιμένες), not *boukoloï*.

¹¹⁴ Heinrichs (1972) locates the human sacrifice (found on B.1 recto of the fragment) in the eastern marshes of the Nile delta near Pelusium. He argued that the ritual murder in Lollianus is comparable to the supposed sacrifice of Leucippe by *boukoloï* in Achilles Tatius (3.15) and is based on an actual rite (probably Dionysian). Additionally, he argued that the *Phoenicica* illuminates a little-known corner of religious history. However, both Winkler (1980) and Jones (1980) independently have argued that Lollianus' brigands behave more like those found in Apuleius. See Stephens and Winkler (1995) for a complete discussion of the ancient Greek novel fragments. For Lollianus *Phoenicica* see especially 314-357.

¹¹⁵ See Alston (1999).

¹¹⁶ Winkler (1980) 175-181 analyzes the geographic disparities in the various sources.

¹¹⁷ McGing (1998) 181.

¹¹⁸ Achilles Tatius (4.12.8) identifies one of the *boukoloï* villages as Nikochis.

¹¹⁹ For more on bandits in Egypt see, Baldwin (1963) and McGing (1998).

¹²⁰ Schwartz (1944) argued for an alternate date of A.D. 171.

¹²¹ The *Historia Augusta* also refers to the revolt in both in the life of Marcus Antoninus (21.2) and in the life of Avidius Cassius (6.7). Alston (1999) 130 notes the language is so similar to Cassius Dio's account that one must assume dependence.

¹²² For a map of this region, see *Barrington's Atlas of the Classical World* (#74). The *boukoloï* in Achilles Tatius, as we will see in the next chapter, infest the entire Delta region specifically around Pelousion, the easternmost mouth of the Nile, while those featured in Heliodorus' novel live in the marshes near the Herakleotic westernmost mouth of the Nile.

¹²³ See R. Alston (1995) 86-96 on the centurion.

¹²⁴ Rutherford (2000) 109.

CHAPTER 2

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES: TYPOLOGY OF OUTLAWS IN THE ANCIENT NOVEL

Introduction

The supporting role played by pirates and brigands in ancient novels has been acknowledged by many scholars. Nonetheless no thorough study has been conducted that examines their individuality and unquestionable centrality to the novels. In his exhaustive book, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, Philip de Souza devotes little attention to the role pirates play in ancient fiction.¹²⁵ While acknowledging within his discussion that pirates “are more interesting than other figures because of the nature of their activities,” de Souza characterizes literary pirates as little more than a “convenient plot device” and seemingly accounts for their presence by noting that “pirates add spice to a story.”¹²⁶ Conte, pointing out that kidnapping aboard a pirate ship is a recurring trope of the ancient novel, states similarly, “it is always the popular novel whose narrative model drives the protagonist into the snare of stereotyped situations.”¹²⁷ Braund shares this view concerning the ancient romances, observing that “by the second century <B.C.> pirates had become

commonplace.”¹²⁸ Finally, Mackay states that the pirate Theron in Chariton’s novel “serves essentially to get the heroine from here to there, and to put distance between her and Chaereas sufficient to justify the wanderings and delays preceding the reunion of the protagonists.”¹²⁹ Although the frequency of pirates and brigands in the novels has been recognized, their fundamental importance to the genre has been largely overlooked.¹³⁰ In the following pages I discuss how outlaws are significant for reasons beyond the popular stereotyped view that regards them as mere ornamentation for the plot.

In this chapter, I examine the “types” of outlaws found in the ancient novels and show how diverse they are from novel to novel. In addition, the three major types of outlaws who are featured in the novels, *i.e.* robbers, pirates, and *boukoloï*, in turn, differ from one another. The first section of this chapter focuses on the groups of outlaws (pirates, brigands, and *boukoloï*) found in the ancient novels while the second section analyzes individual outlaws highlighted in the narratives. Although the bulk of this chapter is the result of a systematic identification of all mentions of pirates and brigands (*latro*, *praedo*, ληστής, and πειρατής) in the novels, I nevertheless do not discuss every reference. Often the employment of such terms is merely descriptive (*e.g.* when brigands are used as standards to which the savage actions of animals and individuals are compared).¹³¹ The evidence presented in this chapter is necessary not only to lay the groundwork for a thorough analysis of the outlaws in the novels but also to

highlight the main activities of the outlaws, however varied those activities may be. Clearly, some outlaws or groups of outlaws play a larger role than others. Nevertheless, they are not merely a fixed group of stock characters but rather are often more varied and interesting than the main characters.

A. Groups

In this section, the three major types of outlaw groups found in the ancient novels are discussed: robbers, pirates, and *boukoloi*. The first is composed of land-based brigands--- men who pillage on land. They primarily plunder the homes of wealthy city-dwellers while they hoard their loot in the countryside. They can also be found prowling on less-traveled roads between cities. The second category consists of sea-faring pirates. These men are distinguished from the previous set chiefly because they require a ship to procure a living. They attack other ships, scavenge from shipwrecks, or plunder graves. They kidnap people and either ransom them or sell them into slavery. These devious figures typically are comprised of ill-tempered, savage men hired as “day laborers” for a specific excursion. The marsh-dwelling *boukoloi* are the third major type of outlaw. These are typically familial groups who live in the Nile Delta region and are the most barbaric and foreign assembly of outlaws found in the novels. Although their title implies an association with herdsmen, in the novels this moniker is entirely misleading since their flocks are actually never mentioned.¹³²

1. Land-Based Brigands

Land-based brigands are found chiefly in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and Xenophon's *An Ephesian Tale*.¹³³ After making some general observations about the brigands in these two narratives, the discussion turns to the brigand bands that appear in each of these two novels, highlighting their variations and disparities.

Brigands (*latrones* and λησται) are described as waiting to ambush passersby on the back-roads between cities¹³⁴ or plundering the survivors of shipwrecks.¹³⁵ Some brigands loot specifically in populated cities¹³⁶ while others prefer to attack small villages.¹³⁷ An encounter with a brigand has a number of possible outcomes: one could lose some or all of one's possessions,¹³⁸ one could be forced to protect oneself,¹³⁹ or one could be tortured¹⁴⁰ or even killed.¹⁴¹ Brigands are armed,¹⁴² have horses or other pack animals,¹⁴³ often hide out in caves,¹⁴⁴ and often are intoxicated from too much drinking.¹⁴⁵ On one occasion a wandering outlaw and the hero decide to travel together and help each other.¹⁴⁶ The brigands in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* are described as quick (*vegetes*, 2.32), with large bodies (*vastulis corporibus*, 2.32), and can be found in taverns and brothels (8.1). In Xenophon's *An Ephesian Tale*, however, the brigands tend to be young and strong (νεανίσκους ἀκμάζοντας, 3.1), more appealing figures (ἐν δὲ

τῷ πλοίῳ ἐθεράπευον αὐτὴν καὶ θαρρεῖν παρεκάλουν, 3.8),¹⁴⁷ and even have the capacity to fall in love and marry.¹⁴⁸ In both novels, there is an old woman associated with the outlaws.¹⁴⁹

The most striking and developed group of land-based brigands in any of the ancient novels is featured in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (3.27-4.27, 6.25-7.13). Although this band of outlaws dwells in an unspecified country hideout (4.7), their activities are centered in Boeotia, specifically Thebes and Plataea (4.8, 4.9, 4.13), and in the Aetolian city of Hypata (3.27). They are armed (3.28), use pack animals such as mules and horses (3.28), and exhibit characteristics typically found among soldiers---comradery, bravery, and loyalty (4.8-21). They brutally kill animals or intend to (4.5; 6.31-32), abuse old women (4.7), seldom bathe (4.7-8), sing (4.8), tell stories (4.8-21), attempt to comfort the girl they kidnapped (4.23), and honor the gods (4.22; 7.10-11). They describe themselves and their leader as heroes (*virtus* 4.8; *magnanimi* 4.11,), noble (*vexillarius* 4.10), brave (*fortem* 4.11; *fortissimi, fortissimum* 4.15), courageous (*virtutis* 4.10; *vir sublimes animi virtutisque praecipuus* 4.11; *virtutis* 4.20), worthy followers (*bonum secutorem* 4.12), and one is described as "the distinguished glory of our band" (*egregium decus nostrae factionis* 4.21).

We first encounter this band of thieves at the end of Book 3 immediately after Lucius, the main character, has been transformed into an ass (3.28). Before the antidote can be administered, however, robbers break into the house, raid the

treasury, and load part of their plunder on the altered Lucius. The robbers hasten over untrodden mountain passes at a steady speed, and before reaching their mountain cave hideout, they pass through a village where they are greeted and even dispense some of their loot to the locals with whom they are evidently on good terms. This encounter serves not only to establish the extent of their reputation but also to demonstrate that their plundering is not entirely selfish but rather is part of a larger system of coexistence.

No sooner have the robbers sated themselves on both food and wine than a second, larger group of bandits appears. The combined assembly shares jokes and songs before individuals begin recounting their tales. The robbers that had stolen Lucius boast that they completed their day's plundering without a single casualty---obviously a praiseworthy feat for such an occupation. The other group, however, was not as successful. The tales retold at this point serve a number of purposes. First of all, the stories are part of a larger system of interpolated tales concerned with narrators, audience, and the act of narrating.¹⁵⁰ Secondly, they set forth military themes and motifs that are repeated throughout their narrative. These martial images are important not only for understanding these brigands but also for analyzing their function within the novel.

The first tale involves the bandit chief (*dux*) Lamachus. During the course of a burglary, Lamachus' hand gets caught in a lock, and the homeowner defends his property by nailing Lamachus' hand to the door thereby thwarting

the thief's escape. Realizing their perilous predicament, Lamachus allows his accomplices to cut off his arm right at the shoulder joint.¹⁵¹ Although now free from imminent capture, Lamachus, unable to make his escape and to imagine life as a thief without his right hand, his instrument for stealing and strangling (*cur enim manui, quae rapere et iu<gu>lare sola posset, fortem latronem supervivere?*), takes his own life.

This story portrays Lamachus as a rather brave and honorable man, at least in the eyes of other thieves. We might expect as much considering the story is related by one of his own men. Nevertheless, it does create the impression that these bandits lived according to an unwritten code of conduct whereby the interests of the group took precedence over the needs of the individual. While the story of Lamachus ends as a failed mission, the robbers find some comfort in the fact that at least his end was "honorable."

The narrator continues with yet other stories of robbers who encounter misfortune. Despite his own cleverness, the robber Alcimus, for example, is tricked by an old woman and falls to his death after being pushed out of a window (4.12). Alcimus, however, is neither praised for his courage nor for his nobility. His end, both harsh and unjust, is blamed on fortune, not the old woman (4.12):

enim vero Alcimus sollertibus coeptis tamen saevum Fortunae nutum non potuit adducere.

For in truth, Alcimus, however, was unable to persuade Fortune's savage will to favor his clever undertaking.

While Lamachus' end is praiseworthy for its courage and "heroism", in direct contrast Alcimus' death is the result of ill-favored Fortune. "What better way to show the 'nobility' of any robber than have him slain by an act of treachery?"¹⁵² After these disastrous episodes in Thebes, the band of thieves, now deprived of its leader, journeys on to Plataea for its next series of crimes. In this third tale, we find one of the most elaborate endeavors undertaken by the thieves in all of ancient literature. Thrasyleon, one of the robbers, volunteers to have himself sewn into the skin of a dead bear, thereby gaining entrance into the house of a rich man sponsoring a public spectacle. Again, these plans do not unfold as expected. Thinking Thrasyleon is in fact a bear, the townspeople trap and kill him. Until the very end, he nonetheless remains in character, letting out growls and roars to keep up the ruse (4.21). Both his comrades who witnessed his death and those robbers simply hearing the story extol his bravery and fortitude. At the conclusion of these stories, the bandits pour a libation in honor of their fallen companions and sing hymns to propitiate Mars (*dehinc canticis quibusdam Marti deo blanditi paululum conquiescunt*).¹⁵³

In these three stories, not only do we observe the activities of robbers during their exploits, but we also learn something of their character. As mentioned above, these brigands are often described and speak in terms usually associated with soldiers (*e.g. castra nostra, dux, expugnare, Martia cohors*).¹⁵⁴ In

fact, many bands of robbers were often made up of deserters from the army.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, their associations with Mars further conjure up images of soldiers fighting wars, the most notable being the Greeks forces fighting at Troy.¹⁵⁶ The combination of martial language along with associations with Mars does, in effect, suggest that this group of brigands is to be identified with soldiers. In addition, these robbers, similar to soldiers, praise their fallen comrades and tell stories of their deaths. The need to immortalize the accomplishments and downfall of these men comes from a long tradition (*e.g.* Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8 sings about the fallen soldiers of the Trojan War).¹⁵⁷ Apuleius followed the long-standing tradition of funerary speeches and, in this episode, continued the well-established practice of praising the fallen. However, by changing it to accord with his characters, he disrupts and inverts such a tradition. These men, regardless of their attempts to align themselves with soldiers, however, are nothing more than violent outlaws. Their pretense to commemorate such unlawful men highlights not only the humor of the episode (within the larger equally entertaining framework that this is being reported by a man turned into an ass) but, in addition, serves to foreshadow their own end that will be as violent and noteworthy as many of the actions they commit against their victims.

In the next episode, Apuleius continues to represent the brigands as pseudo-soldiers. The robbers who had ventured out in search of booty return not with plunder but rather with a kidnapped maiden, Charite. We discover that

she was engaged to be married when she was forcibly snatched from her betrothed, Tlepolemus.¹⁵⁸ After a lengthy digression (the Cupid and Psyche story),¹⁵⁹ we return at 6.25 to the robber narrative where a new recruit, Haemus, actually Tlepolemus (Charite's husband) in disguise, has joined the robber band.¹⁶⁰ He is described as a young man of immense size, larger than any of the other men, with a beard just beginning to sprout, but dressed in rags (7.5). This description of Haemus/Tlepolemus is important for the ongoing representation of brigands as soldiers. The attributes the brigands find most praiseworthy in their new recruit center around his physical form. The correlations in this passage to the heroes featured in the *Teichoskopia* from Homer's *Iliad* (3.161 ff.) are noteworthy. In the *Teichoskopia*, King Priam asks Helen to identify the various Greek heroes whom he sees fighting. He points them out to her by remarking on their immense size (both height and width) and their regal appearance. Similarly, this new recruit is praised for his size and appearance and is immediately enrolled in their number based purely on his physical traits. Moreover, the tale Haemus/Tlepolemus shares with the brigands continues to reinforce the ongoing connection between brigand and soldier.

After hailing the brigands as followers of the most powerful god Mars (*fortissimo deo Marti clients*), he shares his tale with them claiming to be the famous Thracian Haemus (blood), a once powerful chief of a ruthless band of robbers (7.5-8).¹⁶¹ He claims that his father, Theron (wild beast), was also a

famous thief. Years later he made an attack that proved offensive, thus subsequently precipitating his own downfall.¹⁶² Although Haemus' men were destroyed by imperial troops, he, disguised as a woman, managed to escape. Unlike the earlier tales that featured the shortcomings and deaths of three of the brigands (in particular Thrasyleon disguised as a bear), Haemus/Tlepolemus, however, creates a history for himself that features an escape from an extremely dangerous situation because of a disguise.¹⁶³

In addition, Tlepolemus is masquerading as a ragged robber when he tells his tale, "but his story of earlier disguises does not put them on their guard."¹⁶⁴ There are many similarities in this episode with the Homeric hero Odysseus.¹⁶⁵ Besides being the sole survivor of his band of comrades, Haemus, too, is disguised in rags when he first appears among his enemies, similar to Odysseus (*Od.* 13.434-435; 17.338) when he first arrives in Ithaca. In fact, both Odysseus and Haemus will take on another form before ultimately rescuing their brides: Odysseus removes the rags to reveal his true identity (*Od.* 22.1) while Haemus dons an elegant robe, a gift from the brigands upon being unanimously named their new chief (7.9). However, Apuleius does not narrate an entirely happy reunion of the two young lovers. Again, he reverses the convention found not only in the Greek novels (where hero and heroine are reunited by the close of the tale to live happily ever after) but also its epic predecessor, the *Odyssey*. This

couple, unlike Odysseus and Penelope, meets their end at the hands of a conniving and bitter suitor, Thrasyllus, in a direct inversion of the Homeric epic.

Thrasyllus is described in 8.1:¹⁶⁶

Erat in proxima civitate iuvenis natalibus prae nobilis quidem, clarus et pecuniae fructu satis locuples, sed luxuriae popinalis scortisque et diurnis potationibus exercitatus atque ob id factionibus latronum male sociatus nec non etiam manus infectus humano cruore, Thrasyllus nomine. idque sic erat et fama dicebat.

In a nearby village, there was a certain young man of noble birth, renowned and very wealthy, but he amused himself with the pastimes found in taverns, brothels, and with daily drinking. On account of his activities, he fell in with a group of no-good thugs, and even his hands were stained by human blood. His name was Thrasyllus. His reputation was no lie.

Thrasyllus, earlier in the narrative, was described as being the most noble and the wealthiest of Charite's suitors. Nevertheless, his expensive bribes do not influence her parents, and ultimately they reject him because of his immoral character. In this episode, Apuleius reverses the Homeric tradition, once again, when the suitor ultimately kills both of the young lovers.¹⁶⁷ Even in the final episode, Apuleius inverts the Homeric antecedent: Thrasyllus, after bemoaning his actions, barricades himself within Charite's tomb where he starves to death (8.14). Thrasyllus' starvation is in direct contrast to the suitors of Penelope in the *Odyssey* who constantly eat and drink (e.g. *Od.* 1.91-92). The Homeric elements Apuleius' employed in his narrative of the brigand band and the Charite/Tlepolemus episode not only add elements of humor to his story by

attempting to portray his incompetent band of outlaws as noble, heroic, soldiers but also highlight Apuleius' artistic imitation and adaptation of earlier models.

In addition to being a rejected suitor, Thrasyllus is a wealthy young man corrupted by the vices of city life.¹⁶⁸ His regular acquaintances include drunkards, prostitutes, and other lowlives, and through them (almost as if it were the normal progression) he enters into a relationship with a band of robbers.¹⁶⁹ In the early 1st century B.C., a period of intense piratical activity, the social and intellectual elite were said to be attracted to a life of piracy.¹⁷⁰ What exactly would draw men of this social status to such a base lifestyle?¹⁷¹ Braund argues that piracy (and robber bands by association) might have fascinated people because of their violation of traditional religion.¹⁷² Plutarch notes that the pirates are described as plundering shrines, offering strange sacrifices on Mount Olympus, and performing secret rites.¹⁷³ These men seem to have entered a criminal lifestyle with a view towards illegal and immoral acts.¹⁷⁴ In addition, pirates, if successful, could be not only a physical threat to civilization, but a moral and social one as well.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, brigandage was attractive to the lower class as well. Brigand bands, in both the novels and in reality, were often composed of fugitive slaves, discharged soldiers and sailors, traders, fishermen, and shepherds.¹⁷⁶

This leads us directly to our only other robber band found in the ancient novels. The brigands featured in Xenophon's *An Ephesian Tale* are similar to those found in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in a number of ways, not only in the activities in which they are engaged but also in their basic characteristics. Recruitment is mentioned in both novels (*Meta.* 7.4; *Ephes.* 3.1), although the men who compose these bands are rarely identified. Xenophon narrates that Hippothous, the brigand chief, goes to the city of Mazacus in Cappadocia where he intends to recruit young, able-bodied men for his crew. Because he could speak Cappadocian, he had little difficulty in reconstituting his band. Obviously, in the fictional world of the ancient novels (and in the real world as discussed above), brigandage was an attractive occupation especially for those in the lower classes and those down on their luck. In fact, Hippothous is so successful at recruitment that at one point his band consists of five hundred men (4.1).

One of the other similarities of these two outlaw bands is their role in transporting the hero or heroine far from their homes and therefore initiating the action of the story. Additionally, the two brigand groups highlighted kidnap a young woman, attempt to kill her, and they are each thwarted on more than one occasion from successfully completing their criminal activities. Furthermore, the outlaws featured in the *Metamorphoses* and *The Ephesian Tale* have a special relationship with Mars/Ares that is unique to the novels. In Xenophon's novel, we first encounter the outlaws after Anthia, the heroine, is shipwrecked (2.12).¹⁷⁷

Although she survives the wreckage, Anthia is soon captured by the outlaws while attempting to find shelter in the woods. That night, moments before the brigands are about to sacrifice her to Ares,¹⁷⁸ Cilician soldiers attack them. Although their dedication to Ares is only mentioned with regard to this one episode (2.13; 3.3), it clearly parallels the depiction of the outlaws in Apuleius' narrative and their devotion to Mars. Both authors' emphasize, through this unique connection to the god of war, that the composition of their bands is in large part former soldiers.

Another comparable aspect of these two robber bands is their association with an old woman. In Apuleius' story, the old woman who cares for the robbers is despised and treated badly by them and ends up committing suicide. In a direct contrast, the old woman who travels with the Hippothous' band in Xenophon's novel is respected and valued.

In terms of the dissimilarities of the two robber bands, the brigands in Apuleius' novel are much more developed than those in Xenophon's story. Not only is there more written about them, but we also witness their daily activities and even their triumphs and defeats. In contrast, Xenophon focuses largely on the development of the chief of the brigands, Hippothous (to be discussed in detail below), whereas Apuleius avoids concentrating on any one of his bandits.

Even the three outlaws that Apuleius does expand upon are only identified by name after their deaths. In fact, Apuleius' entire outlaw band remains nameless throughout the narrative.

Moreover, the robbers in Apuleius' novel are more amusing and, therefore, less of a threat. We see them both individually (in the three robber tales) and as a group, their downfall being, in part, alcohol. In contrast, Xenophon's robbers are to be taken seriously however likeable they may appear. Although they rob and kill throughout Cappadocia, Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia, and they attempt to kill Anthia on more than one occasion, they, nevertheless, befriend Habrocomes, the hero of the novel.

These two major groups of robbers are not only exceptional in their individual novels but are also unique to the entire genre of the novel. In these two bands, we obtain a first-hand glimpse into the lives of these fictional outlaws.

2. Pirates

Unlike robbers, pirates are featured in almost every ancient novel.¹⁷⁹ Even in the fragmentary *Satyricon* of Petronius, we find pirates in the first section of the extant text. Encolpius, the hero of the novel, is complaining about the contemporary state of education and its inability to teach the art of oratorical

skills. Education, he says, has been unable to adapt to the new demands of the empire, and topics taught in the schools are becoming far removed from everyday life:

Nunc et rerum tumore et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu hoc tantum proficiunt ut, cum in forum venerint, putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos. Et ideo ego adulescentulos existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex his, quae in usu habemus, aut audiunt aut vident, sed piratas cum catenis in litore stantes, sed tyrannos edicta scribentes quibus imperent filiis ut patrum suorum capita praecidant, sed responsa in pestilentiam data, ut virgines tres aut plures immolentur...

Now the only effect of these pretentious subjects and the boastful rumbling of thoughts is that when they (students of rhetoric) arrive in the forum, they think that they have arrived on another planet. And, therefore, I believe that these very foolish youths are produced in our schools because, instead of either hearing or seeing things that are useful, they instead deal with pirates standing on the beach with chains, or tyrants writing decrees ordering sons to cut off their own fathers' heads, or oracles advising that three or more virgins be sacrificed during a plague...

Braund notes that pirates had become a major theme not only in the romances, but also in rhetorical works.¹⁸⁰ Although the subject of piracy had not yet appeared in the rhetorical treatises from the early first century B.C.,¹⁸¹ by the time of Seneca the Elder, pirates were emerging as a major topic in declamations.¹⁸² In Seneca's *Contro.* 1.6, the daughter of a pirate falls in love with one of the prisoners and aids in his escape after obtaining an oath that he will marry her. In *Contro.* 1.2, a young girl kidnapped by pirates claims that she has maintained her honor during her time with the pirates and the adventures that followed. The exact nature of the relationship between the themes in the

rhetorical works and those in the ancient novels has yet to be thoroughly discussed.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, the role of pirates and piracy had become so predictable and so conventional by the time the ancient novels were written that many scholars have overlooked not only the importance of such figures but also the individuality that can be found from novel to novel.

Most obviously, pirates have ships that they use to attack other ships, transport their stolen goods, and bring their captives to slave markets. At times they are aggressive, such as when they attempt to acquire some goods (*i.e.* when they deliberately attack another ship or steal from another group of people).¹⁸⁴ Other moments they are passive and they loot a shipwreck or plunder a grave. There are two such episodes in the novels that feature the apparent death (*Scheintod*) of the heroine and her subsequent entombment.¹⁸⁵ Both Callirhoe and Anthia are presumed dead and are buried in grand tombs along with abundant treasures. These riches attract pirates to break into the grave and to seize the funeral gifts. On both of these occasions, the heroine conveniently wakes up during the raid and is taken by the pirates to be sold at some later point. Although the heroines react quite differently to the pirates (Callirhoe thanks them for saving her while Anthia begs them to leave her in the tomb to die), the opportunistic nature of the pirates is vital to each of these novels, for without the inclusion of the greedy pirate at this juncture, the story would have ended.

Clearly, the impulsive nature and wide-ranging movement associated with pirates can be understood as fundamental to these adventure novels.

At other times, some characters classified as pirates might not appear to fit either of these two types, thus adding to the variability and individuality of pirates in the novels. These individuals can be labeled as part-time pirates, or

“opportunistic”, such as the fishermen featured in section 114 of the *Satyricon*:

Procurrere piscatores parvulis expediti navigiis ad praedam rapiendam. Deinde ut aliquos viderunt, qui suas opes defenderent, mutaverunt crudelitatem in auxilium.

Fishermen rushed forward in small boats to steal the plunder. But when they saw that the people might defend their goods, they changed their cruelty into aid.

In this situation, the fishermen were taking advantage of a shipwreck where personal items might wash up on shore. Once they see that there are survivors who might put up some resistance to their looting, they decide to offer assistance. Similarly Theron, pirate chief from Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, goes to the local brothels and taverns in order to assemble the men he needs to assist him in his latest scheme (1.7).¹⁸⁶ In Achilles Tatius’ novel, Callisthenes, a wealthy youth from Byzantium who plans on kidnapping the heroine, employs his trusted servant Zeno to do the job. Zeno, described as a “a hearty seaman and a born pirate” (ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως εὐρυστος τὸ σῶμα καὶ φύσει πειρατικός)

(2.17), rounds up some native fishermen from the village to help with the endeavor. Later in the novel, the general Chaereas also hires some local residents to kidnap Leucippe (5.3):

εἰδὼς οὖν ἀμήχανον τὸ τυχεῖν, συντίθησιν ἐπιβουλήν, ληστήριον
ὁμοτέχνων συγκροτήσας, ἅτε θαλάσσιος ὢν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ συνθέμενος
αὐτοῖς ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν.

Knowing that it was impossible to reach his goal, he arranged a plot. Being a sea-faring man himself, he collected a band of outlaws of his own sort and instructed them what things were to be done.

These opportunistic or part-time pirates reappear in the novels over and over. Again, one is reminded of Plutarch's statement claiming that many honorable men were drawn to piracy (*Pomp.* 24). These part-time outlaws are usually gathered from two professions, fishermen (who become pirates) and herdsmen (who are transformed into *boukoloï*).¹⁸⁷

Physically pirates are described as large,¹⁸⁸ long-haired,¹⁸⁹ savage,¹⁹⁰ and lustful.¹⁹¹ They are often armed with swords¹⁹² and frequently kill,¹⁹³ torture,¹⁹⁴ or sacrifice their prisoners.¹⁹⁵ In both their physical descriptions and their behaviors, pirates resemble the robbers discussed in the previous section.

Yet one of the most significant ways in which pirates differ from robbers is that almost every pirate in every novel falls in love with his captive. They fall in love with both the heroine¹⁹⁶ and the hero of the story,¹⁹⁷ and even attempt to help a fellow pirate win the object of his love.¹⁹⁸ Even the children of pirates fall in love with the prisoners.¹⁹⁹ This evidence of outlaws regularly falling in love

might help to illuminate the modern notion of the “romantic pirate.” In both the ancient novels and modern fiction, the beauty of the girl (and less frequently the young man) is regularly the impetus for the pirate’s actions. For example, in Heliodorus’ novel the pirate Trachinos falls madly in love with Charicleia and inquires about her (5.20):

“Ἄρ’ οὖν,” ἔφη, “καί ἡ κόρη αὐτοῖς ἢ παρὰ σοὶ καταγομένη
συμπλεύσεται;”
“Ἀδελον μέν,” εἶπον, “ἀλλὰ τί πολυπραγμονεῖς;”
“Ὅτι αὐτῆς,” ἔφη, “ἐρῶ μανικῶς ἅπαξ θεασάμενος· οὐ γὰρ οἶδα
προστυχῶν τοιούτῳ κάλλει, πολλὰς καὶ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐξώρους
αἰχμαλώτους ἤρηκώς.”

“And,” he said, “will the girl staying with you sail together with them?”
“I don’t know,” I (Tyrrehos) said, “but why so nosy?”
“Because the moment I saw her, I fell madly in love with her,” he
answered. “I don’t think I have ever chanced upon such
beauty, although I have captured many women who were pretty.”

Following this episode, Trachinos pursues the Phoenician merchant ship conveying Charicleia from Zacynthos all the way to the Heracleotic mouth of the Nile.

In the novels, pirates sail throughout the Mediterranean,²⁰⁰ and although they typically lack headquarters, one band of pirates has a base in Tyre.²⁰¹ They steal all sorts of goods: agricultural products,²⁰² livestock,²⁰³ and people.²⁰⁴ As discussed above, they often loot the graves of those who were recently entombed.²⁰⁵ In both of these episodes, the heroine, believed to be dead, awakens to find herself buried alive. And if that is not bad enough, soon pirates arrive on the scene to loot the tomb and kidnap her.

Pirates are known to taunt those who would stand up against them²⁰⁶ and sometimes become friends with their prisoners and reward them for good behavior.²⁰⁷ Frequently those who are being attacked defend themselves²⁰⁸ and kill the pirates,²⁰⁹ or kill themselves rather than be kidnapped.²¹⁰ Sometimes they die in a storm,²¹¹ or due to unforeseen circumstances while at sea,²¹² or they simply kill each other out of greed and lust.²¹³ Characters often compare the honorable acts of war with the detestable acts of piracy²¹⁴ or mention the number of pirate raids they survived. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, Philetas, an old herdsman, arrives at a feast and is greeted and described in the following way (2.32):

καί κατακλίναντες πλησίον αὐτῶν συμπότην ἐποιοῦντο καί οἱα δὴ
γέροντες ὑποβεβρεγμένοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλὰ ἔλεγον· ὥς ἔνεμον
ἡνίκα ἦσαν νέοι, ὥς πολλὰς ληστῶν καταδρομὰς διέφυγον·

And then they made Philetas recline at the table and join them in the feast. Then, as old men are accustomed to do when they have had some wine, they spoke about many things to one another; how when they were young they would graze their flocks, and how many pirates' raids they had escaped.

It is interesting to note that here the herdsman is in no way equated with pirates or brigands, but rather is the staunch opponent to them. In addition to recalling episodes with pirates, some characters even dream about pirates, such as Leucippe's mother in Achilles Tatius' novel. She dreams that a bandit seized her daughter, dragged her away, threw her on her back and cut her in two with his sword (2.23).

Pirates are often superstitious²¹⁵ and even debate on the best course of action.²¹⁶ These internal or external debates are clearly related to the rhetorical device of *syncrisis* (comparison).²¹⁷ In addition, pirates often purposely misrepresent themselves. We see an example of this in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*. Pyrrhian pirates approach Mytilene in a light Carian boat so as not to call attention to their true identity (1.28). Similarly in Xenophon's *An Ephesian Tale*, Phoenician pirates pose as merchants while anchored off of Rhodes and survey the traffic in the harbor (1.13). Even the men who are recruited are not what they appear to be (Chariton, 1.7):

καὶ ληστὰς ἔχων ὑφορμοῦντας τοῖς λιμέσιν ὀνόματι πορθμείου,
πειρατήριον συγκροτῶν.

and having ruffians stationed in harbors with their boats acting as
ferryman, but trained as pirates.

In Achilles Tatius, the pirates who kidnap Leucippe are fishermen who double as marauders (5.7) “πορφυρεῖς ἦσαν πειρατικοί.”

While pirates might not seem readily apparent in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, one need not look past the prologue to find these characters lurking. The narrator describes a painted picture (εἰκόνος γραφήν) he came across while hunting in a grove on Lesbos:

γυωαῖκες ἐπ' αὐτῆς τίκτουσαι καὶ ἄλλαι σπαργάνοις κοσμοῦσαι, παῖδια
ἐκκείμενα, ποίμνια τρέφοντα, ποιμένες ἀναιρούμενοι, νέοι συντιθέμενοι,
ληστῶν καταδρομή, πολεμίων ἐμβολή, πολλὰ ἄλλα καὶ πάντα
ἐρωτικά.

Women giving birth and others dressing them in swaddling clothes, babies being exposed, animals nursing them, shepherds receiving them, young people vowing love, a raid by pirates, and an attack by enemies.

All of the events featured on the picture foreshadow actual events that take place in the course of the novel.²¹⁸ The actual pirate raid that takes place at the end of 1.28-30, although hinted at in the prologue, is, nevertheless abrupt and alarming. Dorcon, Daphnis' rival for Chloe's affections, is actually killed during this attack. While pirates slaughter many subordinate characters in the novels, this episode is more shocking because up until this point, the "outside world" had not entered into the tale. This first interaction between "civilization" and the pastoral world is quite unlike the other novels in which the characters find the rural areas generally more threatening than urban centers.

It is clear that the ancient novelists frequently employed the persona of the pirate. While pirates tend to act in conventional and traditional ways, it is evident that they also vary widely from novel to novel. In certain novels, *e.g.* Chariton's and Xenophon's, they play a more central role in the story. While pirates tend to conform to a stereotype much more than the robbers do, there are individual pirates, such as Theron in Chariton's novel, who are conspicuous and essential to the story. Most of the pirates are either slaughtered during the course of the novel or fade out of the story once they have played their part.

3. Boukoloi

Boukoloi play a central role in two of the Greek novels, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* and Heliodorus' *An Ethiopian Tale*, and a very minor role in Xenophon's *An Ephesian Tale*.²¹⁹ These Egyptian herdsmen are represented to some extent in a negative light. In Achilles Tatius, they are described as (3.9):

...ἀγρίων ἀνθρώπων· μεγάλοι μὲν πάντες, μέλανες δὲ τὴν χροιάν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὴν ἄκρατον, ἀλλ' οἷος ἂν γένοιτο νόθος Αἰθίοψ, ψилоὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς, λεπτοὶ τοὺς πόδας, τὸ σῶμα παχεῖς·

...wildly savage men. All of them were large and with black skin, (not excessively black like the Indians but like an illegitimate Ethiopian), bareheaded, quick on their feet, and thick-bodied.

In the next example, the *boukoloi* are depicted as men who resemble their horses.

In addition, the *boukolos* rides a horse without any saddle, as is expected for such a man (3.12):²²⁰

καὶ τις ἵππον ἐπελαύνων ἔρχεται, κόμην ἔχων πολλὴν καὶ ἀγρίαν· ἐκόμα δὲ καὶ ὁ ἵππος. γυμνὸς ἦν, ἄστρωτος καὶ οὐκ ἔχων φάλαρα· τοιτοῦτοι γὰρ τοῖς λησταῖς εἰσιν οἱ ἵπποι.

A certain man approached on horseback who had long and wild hair. Even his horse had long hair. It was bare, without coverings and without adornment. For such are the horses of robbers.

The *boukoloi* are further depicted as speaking in a barbarian tongue, Egyptian, that does not allow them to understand and sympathize with the prayers of their prisoners.²²¹ A good number of *boukoloi* are armed,²²² several have horses,²²³ and countless fight with stony clods of dirt.²²⁴ The entire bandit community (in each respective novel) lives together in the Nile's marshes.²²⁵ Some practice human sacrifice and cannibalism,²²⁶ while others eat fish dried in

the sun.²²⁷ They cultivate the soil and engage in animal husbandry.²²⁸ Some have boats²²⁹ and others live in huts built on the small islands.²³⁰ In Heliodorus' novel, the *boukoloi* are often gullible²³¹ and stupid.²³² Additionally, Heliodorus' *boukoloi* chief, Thyamis, is described as having a gentle side²³³ although he does "kill" the woman he loves when he believes all is lost.²³⁴ Their actions are often governed by their physical desires²³⁵ and sometimes by personal interest.²³⁶ Nevertheless, they are also interested in the welfare of their own comrades.²³⁷

In Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, the hero and heroine wash ashore at Pelusium after a storm at sea. After a two-day rest, they hire a boat to take them to Alexandria where they hope to find their lost friends. While passing an unnamed city, they are attacked by *boukoloi* and attempt to save themselves (3.9):

καὶ ὁ ναύτης εἰπὼν, "Ὁ βουκόλος," μεταστρέφει τὴν ναῦν, ὥς ἐπαναπλεύσων εἰς τοῦπίσω· καὶ ἅμα πλήρης ἦν ἡ γῆ φοβερῶν καὶ ἀγρίων ἀνθρώπων· μεγάλοι μὲν πάντες, μέλανες δὲ τὴν χροιάν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὴν ἄκρατον, ἀλλ' οἷος ἂν γένοιτο νόθος Αἰθίοψ, ψιλοὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς, λεπτοὶ τοὺς πόδας, τὸ σῶμα παχεῖς· ἐβαρβάριζον δὲ πάντες. καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης εἰπὼν, "Ἀπολώλαμεν," ἔστησε τὴν ναῦν, ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ στενώτατος, καὶ ἐπεμβάντες τῶν ληστῶν τέσσαρες, πάντα μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ νηὶ λαμβάνουσι, καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἡμῶν ἀποφέρουσιν, ἡμᾶς δὲ δήσαντες καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς τι δωμάτιον, ἀπηλλάττοντο, φύλακας ἡμῖν καταλιπόντες, ὥς εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἄγοντες ἡμᾶς ὡς τὸν βασιλέα· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐκάλουν τῷ ὀνόματι τὸν ληστὴν τὸν μείζονα· καὶ ἦν ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν δύο, ὥς παρὰ τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἐαλωκότων ἠκούσαμεν.

Our captain cried out, "*Boukolos*," and attempted to turn the boat around and sail back the other way. But all of a sudden the shore was full of wildly savage men. All of them were large and with black skin, (not excessively black like the Indians but like an illegitimate Ethiopian), bareheaded, quick on their feet, and thick-bodied. They all screamed in a

barbarian tongue. "We're destroyed," the helmsman cried. He stopped the boat, for the river is very narrow at that place. Four of the *boukoloi* boarded and took everything that was on the boat even our money. They tied us up, led us into a small hut, went away, and left a guard to watch us. They said that they would lead us to the king later on. For they called their chief, king. And we heard from those who were captured with us that it was a two-day journey.

In addition to being physically described in terms of their skin color, size, appearance, and language, the *boukoloi* in this passage are depicted as wild men who instill fear. They, like many of the outlaws we have already discussed, rob and kidnap innocent people.

Not only are these men outlaws, but they are non-Greeks. This division between Greek speaker and barbarian is best exemplified in the two novels that feature *boukoloi* as their outlaws. These inhabitants of the Nile Delta region of Egypt are more dangerous because they are truly foreigners, barbarians. Not only is the countryside generally a place to be avoided in most of the ancient novels because of the dangers posed by these isolated areas,²³⁸ but the countryside abounds in inferior people, the non-educated, the non-urbane. Egypt presents a curious blend of elements in the ancient novels: "it is neither the beginning nor the end, but the in-between land, the land of exiles and resurrection, the land of age-old wisdom as well as charlatans, the land of twists and turns of plot and fate."²³⁹ As such, Egypt and Egyptian characters are generally approached with caution. When the characters in Achilles Tatius' novel encounter the *boukoloi*, they respond with stereotypical fear of the

barbarians. These men engage in human sacrifice as well as cannibalism. In Heliodorus' novel, however, the *boukoloï* are represented in a much more favorable manner. They figure prominently in the first couple of books, and their leader, Thyamis, plays a supporting, yet crucial, role in the novel.

The novel opens with a description of the predicament at the Heracleotic mouth of the Nile. The hero and heroine appear to be the only survivors of the encounter; they lie on the beach amid the remains of a feast and an apparent battle. Heliodorus begins his novel in a way quite different than all the other Greek novels. Instead of including a prologue or statement explaining the setting and main characters, he deliberately withholds this information. One of his innovations (at least for the novel genre) is to begin the action *in medias res*. Since the events that lead up to the opening of Book 1 will be explained in Books 2-5, both the reader and the bandits who appear on the scene are unaware of the circumstances. The effect of this highly visual opening and the lack of explanatory details heighten the sense of confusion and tension.²⁴⁰ The bandits, as our focalizers, are our link to the scene.²⁴¹ Their confusion becomes our confusion; their misinterpretations become ours. This link created between reader and *boukoloï* is unique to Heliodorus. In no other novel do we "see" through the eyes of an outlaw.

One of the innovations in Heliodorus' description of the *boukoloi* is his inclusion of women and children. Although we assume that the bandits in Achilles Tatius' novel have wives and children, they are never mentioned. We hear only about the young and old *boukoloi* men. Perhaps the *boukoloi* camp was in fact just that, a camp only and not a residence, and therefore not traditionally the location of women and children. In contrast to this, the marshy lair in Heliodorus is clearly more than merely a strategic military complex. We are told that the women do their weaving on the boats and bear their children there also. The addition of women and children in Heliodorus' *boukoloi* camp assists in creating an entirely different atmosphere, one in which our hero and heroine will find compassion and understanding. In direct contrast, the overall impression one gets from the *boukoloi* in Achilles Tatius is negative. They have very few redeeming qualities and show no remorse for their violent actions.

Turning to the characterization of the *boukoloi* in Heliodorus, we find a different type of brigand. The first band of brigands at the opening of the novel (not the main band of *boukoloi*) is unable to comprehend the scene on the beach (1.1); they have an eye for plunder and quick profit (1.1); they are thunderstruck with wonder and terror at the sight of Charicleia, whom they believe is a goddess (1.2); they are too scared to speak or act (1.2); and they are described as having a strange color, and robber-like appearance (1.2), and dark skinned with unkempt faces (1.3). The second, larger brigand force that appears on the beach

and scares away the first group is described in quite different terms. They, too, are confused and disturbed by the sight of the wounded man and the beautiful but desperate girl on the beach (1.3). The leader of the bandits, Thyamis, kidnaps the young lovers, Charicleia and Theagenes. Yet by placing them upon the horses while he runs beside them, there is a shift in the traditional roles of kidnapper and hostage (1.4):

Καὶ ἦν δόξης οὐκ ἐκτὸς τὸ γινόμενον· δουλεύειν ὁ ἄρχων ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὁ κρατῶν τοῖς ἐαλωκόσιν ἡρεῖτο. Οὕτως εὐγενείας ἔμφασις καὶ κάλλους ὄψις καὶ ληστρικὸν ἦθος οἶδεν ὑροτάττειν καὶ κρατεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀνήμεροτέρων δύνатаι.

And that which happened was not without honor. The leader seemed to be the slave; the captor chose to serve those he captured. In this way, a noble appearance and a beautiful face is able to tame a brigand temper and rule over the wildest of natures.

Therefore, we observe a brigand whose heart is conquered by beauty and whose very nature is tamed by nobility. Thyamis, although a bandit chief, has become captured and enslaved by Charicleia's beauty.

The *boukoloi* who are featured in these two novels differ from one another on a number of levels. Achilles Tatius' *boukoloi* are heartless, savage, and deceitful. The beauty of their captive does not sway them, unlike most of their counterparts in the novels. Instead, they both appear to carry out a human sacrifice of the heroine and also engage in acts of cannibalism. Heliodorus' *boukoloi*, on the other hand, are concerned for the comfort of their captives and are enthralled by their beauty. In order to make their captives more comfortable, they supply an interpreter who says to them (1.8):

“καὶ ἅμα Ἕλληνας ὄντας οἰκτεῖρω καὶ αὐτὸς Ἕλλην γεγονώς.”

“Ἕλλην; ὧ θεοί,” ἐπεβόησαν ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς ἅμα οἱ ξένοι. “Ἕλλην ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν φωνήν· τάχα τις ἔσται τῶν κακῶν ἀνάπνευσις.”

“I feel pity for you because you are Greek, even I am Greek myself.”

“A Greek! Oh gods!” the strangers cried out together in joy. “In truth a Greek by birth and in speech! Perhaps there will be some break from our misery.”

In Achilles Tatius’ novel, no such savior appears. Clitophon, lamenting their misfortune, cries out (3.10):

νῦν δὲ καὶ παραδεδώκατε ἡμᾶς λησταῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ἵνα μηδὲ ἐλέου τύχωμεν. ληστὴν γὰρ Ἕλληνα καὶ φωνὴ κατέκλασε καὶ δέησις ἐμάλαξεν· ὁ γὰρ λόγος πολλάκις τὸν ἔλεον προξευεῖ· τῷ γὰρ πονοῦντι τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ γλῶττα πρὸς ἱκετηρίαν διακονουμένη τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων ψυχῆς ἡμεροῖ τὸ θυμούμενον. νῦν δὲ ποία μὲν φωνῇ δεηθῶμεν;

Now you (gods) have put us in the hands of Egyptian bandits so that we might not have a chance of pity. A Greek bandit might be moved by our speech and our prayer might soften him. For speech often secures pity. The tongue as mediator serves those harassed in their soul, it conveys its viewpoint to the suppliant, and softens his angry spirit. But now in what language should we say our prayers?

Because of their inability to communicate, Achilles Tatius’ *boukoloι* appear more savage and inhuman. Every one of these variations, no matter how slight or insignificant it might seem, facilitates the creation of a completely different group of *boukoloι* outlaws who play a crucial role in their respective narratives.

B. Individual Outlaws

In this next section, three specific outlaws are featured who are conspicuous not only for their more fully drawn or elaborated characterization, but also because they either provide a stark contrast to the main characters or they play a major role in affecting the journey of the protagonists. Due to circumstances beyond their control, two of these outlaws, Xenophon's Hippothous and Heliodorus' Thyamis, were forced into their current practice of marauding. Chariton's Theron has no such excuse and therefore particularly stands out given his apparent proclivities for cunning.

1. Chariton's Theron

Theron is a unique outlaw in the ancient novels for a number of reasons. First of all, Theron is far more developed than any other pirate in the genre. One of the ways Chariton highlights his distinct personality is through Theron's numerous soliloquies and speeches. He is revealed to be both clever and greedy, a liar with a keen business sense. Not only is he important for initiating the action of the story by kidnapping the heroine and taking her far from her home, but for a good part of the novel, he is the central male figure.

Soon after the marriage of the protagonists, Chaereas (the hero) falls victim to the machinations of the jealous (rejected) suitors and strikes his new wife. She falls to the ground and appears dead. Immediately after the description of her lavish funeral, Chariton introduces the pirate Theron (1.7).²⁴²

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

There was a certain man, Theron, a criminal who sailed the sea and had ruffians stationed in harbors with their boats acting as ferrymen, but trained as pirates.

Theron, having seen the rich gifts entombed with the girl, concludes that, with one night's work (robbing the tomb), he could ultimately dispense with the risky and petty looting that thus far was all he had practiced. After methodically comprising a list of the men to join him in this venture, he proceeds to assemble them from the local brothels and taverns. Once gathered, he addresses them (1.7):

“Ἐγὼ θησαυρὸν εὐρών ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς εἰλόμην ἐξ ἀπάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἑνὸς τὸ κέρδος, οὐδὲ πόνου πολλοῦ δεόμενον, ἀλλὰ μία νύξ δύναται ποιῆσαι πάντας ἡμᾶς πλουσίους. οὐκ ἄπεροι δ' ἐσμέν τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἃ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις ἀνθρώποις ἔχει διαβολήν, ὠφέλειαν δὲ τοῖς φρονίμοις δίδωσι.”

“I have found a treasure and I have selected you from everyone to partake in it with me. For this is not a gain for one man, nor is there need of much exertion. But one night can make us all rich men. We are not inexperienced at this kind of business that foolish men condemn but brings profit to the wise man.”

In this short speech, Theron displays the qualities that have established him as leader. Not only does he alone have the wisdom to seize upon this opportunity, but he is rhetorically clever enough to see the need of winning over his men by saying that they have been hand-picked. With yet another rhetorical stroke, he appeals to their sense of fairness by saying that there is enough for all of them. This obviates any possibility of revolt as well as assuring the men that it is worth their time. He concludes with an allusion to their prior experience in thievery suggesting that such work is in their blood: such activity, he implies, suits only those shrewd enough to see its benefits. All in all it is a well-crafted speech, and the men readily agree to undertake the mission.

After eventually kidnapping Callirhoe, Theron sails to Ionia and proceeds to market. He encounters some difficulty there because his hope of selling her to a very wealthy man is frustrated since he has trouble finding one. That night, unable to sleep, he says to himself (1.12):

“άνόητος, ὦ Θήρων, εἶ· ἀπολέλοιπας γὰρ ἤδη τοσαύταις ἡμέραις ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, ὡς <ὦν> μόνος ληστής. οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἄλλοι πλέουσι πειραταί; ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φοβοῦμαι μὴ καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς ἀποπλεύσωσιν· οὐ δὴπου γὰρ τοὺς δικαιοτάτους ἐστρατολόγησας, ἵνα σοι τὴν πίστιν φυλάττωσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἄνδρας ὧν ἦδεις. νῦν μὲν οὖν” εἶπεν “ἐξ ἀνάγκης κάθεινδε, ἡμέρας δὲ ἐπιστάσης διαδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὸν κέλῃτα ῥῖψον εἰς θάλασσαν τὴν ἄκαιρον καὶ περιττὴν σοι γυναῖκα καὶ μηκέτι φορτίον ἐπάγον δυσδιάθετον.”

“Oh Theron, you’re a fool. You have left behind gold and silver in a deserted place for so many days now, as though you were the only pirate there was. Don’t you know that there are also other pirates sailing the sea? I also fear that our own men might desert us and sail off. Certainly you did not select the most honest men, who would remain loyal to you,

but the wickedest scoundrels you knew. Now you had better get some sleep, but when it becomes day, hurry onto the ship and throw that woman, who is an unfortunate addition, into the sea. And don't ever take on a cargo that's hard to get rid of."

In this speech, we observe one of the greatest hazards of being a pirate, fear of the treachery of other pirates as well as one's own men. It is this lack of trust that is the most fascinating since Theron himself is the greatest deceiver in the story. He misinforms and tricks his men on numerous occasions (1.9, 1.11, 3.3), he lies to Callirhoe (1.13), he fabricates a tale about Callirhoe to sell her (1.12-14), and he attempts to save his own life by lying to Chaereas (3.3) and to all the inhabitants of Syracuse (3.4). It is in his nature to lie and deceive, yet in this soliloquy, Chariton has presented a man with real fears and concerns, one who questions the validity of his past actions. Clearly, Theron is not a stereotypical pirate. Through his speeches, both dialogues and monologues, we are able to get a glimpse into his mind. Chariton, by presenting the mental and emotional state of Theron, has created a character who seems to have more depth than the hero of the novel.

After selling Callirhoe to the rich merchant Dionysius, we do not encounter Theron and his pirates again until Book 3 where we find them dieing from lack of water; but the always-treacherous Theron survives by stealing some water from his fellow thieves. Chaereas, searching for his wife, comes upon Theron's ship and finds him alive.²⁴³ Theron cleverly concocts a story and is taken back to Syracuse where he is led in before all the Syracusian people for

questioning. The trickster almost wins the crowd over by his pathetic lies until a local fisherman recognizes him and accuses him of lying. At first, Theron withstands the pains of the various torture devices, and even holds out when his flesh is torn, but eventually he confesses the entire story. He is crucified before Callirhoe's tomb and spends his final moments overlooking the sea.

In the pirate Theron, Chariton has created not only an entertaining antagonist but also a complex and clever character. In the opening of the novel, both Callirhoe's father, Hermocrates, and her husband, Chaereas, emerge as anything but likable: Hermocrates refuses to allow his daughter to marry, and Chaereas, tricked by some disgruntled suitors into believing that his wife is adulterous, kicks her and appears to have killed her. With the arrival of Theron at the tomb and his "rescue" of Callirhoe,²⁴⁴ he does not appear initially to be a cold-blooded criminal. He is resourceful in gathering his band and he is even to be commended for the steps he takes to abandon his current profession. His actions are not ruled by his passions, but rather his greed, thereby posing no physical threat to the heroine. It is his desire for riches that dictates his thoughts and instructs his well-crafted speeches. Ultimately, (unlike the brigands in Apuleius' novel) he confesses everything to the assembled crowd of Syracusians. His death, unparalleled in the novels, is rather gruesome: he is crucified

(ἀνεσκολοπίσθη).²⁴⁵ Up until this point (3.4), Theron had played the role of the dominant male character in the novel. With his demise, Chaereas, the novel's true hero, finally takes on this responsibility.

Theron plays a critical role in this novel both as the central male character for a good part of story and as an outlaw who desires to transform his ways (the first in the extant works). In fact, Theron declares on more than one occasion that he wants to change his criminal ways and abandon his illegal occupation. Although he does attempt to do this, ultimately he is unable to modify his wicked ways. Similar to many of the outlaws in the novels, Theron is crucial to the plot of the story, yet he, unlike the other criminals, is not the initial instigator to divide hero from heroine; Chaereas is responsible for their separation when he kicks and "kills" Callirhoe. This action immediately calls into question the character of the hero. Chaereas is impulsive, easily tricked, suspicious and jealous, quick-tempered, and negligent of his duties.²⁴⁶ It is his very inability to control his emotions that proves his downfall. Conversely, Theron is clever, careful, and in control of his emotions. He often debates issues before taking action whereas Chaereas acts first and then asks questions.

As a powerful male figure, Theron poses a threat to Chaereas' heroic status in the narrative. There can only be one hero, and Chaereas does not seem to qualify. Even when triremes are launched in search of Callirhoe, Chaereas remains hidden in the lower decks weeping (3.3). Upon discovering Theron and

returning to Syracuse to report his findings, he refuses to mount the platform and speak. Instead he stands below, weeping and unable to speak (3.4).

Chariton has created a dichotomy in these two characters. There can only be one central male figure in his tale, and it must be Chaereas. In the character of Theron, therefore, we see the Chaereas' first obstacle to achieving his heroic status. Only after the removal of Theron can Chaereas begin to reestablish himself as central male character in the story.²⁴⁷

2. Xenophon's Hippothous

In Xenophon's novel, we meet Hippothous, who, like Theron, stands out among the various outlaws that populate the ancient novels. He first appears at 2.12-13. At this point in the story, the young couple has already weathered several dangerous adventures. After falling in love, the young Anthia and Habrocomes wed. Following the advice of an oracle, they set sail from Ephesus on an unspecified mission. Their ship is attacked by Phoenician pirates, and the kidnapped couple is handed over to the pirate chief, Apsyrtus, who takes them to his estate in Tyre. Habrocomes, through a series of events, becomes Apsyrtus' steward while Anthia, after some minor episodes, is sold to Cilician merchants whose vessel is soon shipwrecked. It is at this point that Anthia falls into the clutches of the robber band led by Hippothous.

There is no physical description of Hippothous here. All we learn is that on the next day, the robber band prepares to sacrifice Anthia (2.13):

παρεσκευάζετο δὲ πάντα καὶ ἀγάλματα τοῦ Ἄρεος καὶ ξύλα καὶ στεφανώματα· ἔδει δὲ τὴν θυσίαν γενέσθαι τρόπῳ τῷ συνήθει. τὸ μέλλον ἱερεῖον θύεσθαι, εἴτε ἄνθρωπος εἴτε βόσκημα εἴη, κρεμάσαντες ἐκ δένδρου καὶ διαστάντες ἠκόντιζον· καὶ ὅποσοι μὲν ἐπέτυχον, τούτων ὁ θεὸς ἐδόκει δέχεσθαι τὴν θυσίαν· ὅποσοι δὲ ἀπέτυχον, αὐτοῖς ἐξιλάσκοντο. ἔδει δὲ τὴν Ἀνθίαν οὕτως ἱεουργηθῆναι.

They prepared everything, the statues of Ares, the wood, and the garlands. It was necessary that the sacrifice be done in the right way. The proposed victim for sacrifice, whether human or animal, had to hang from a tree, and they had to throw javelins at it from far away. The god was thought to accept the sacrifices of those who hit it. Whoever missed it, tried to placate him again. Anthia had to be sacrificed in this way.

Both robber bands (Apuleius' and Xenophon's) have a connection to Ares/Mars, god of war. However, unlike Apuleius' novel, in this passage, Xenophon includes a description of an attempted human sacrifice to the god. While cults of Ares were uncommon in antiquity,²⁴⁸ and almost no evidence remains detailing the rituals performed, it seems appropriate for a group of men, marginalized from society and depending upon surprise attacks, to find a certain kinship with the god.²⁴⁹ Naturally, the god who most contrasts with Ares on the battlefield is Athena, goddess of war. In the *Iliad*, we find a number of instances that feature Athena besting Ares on the battlefield (*Il.* 15.110-42 and 21.391-433). Athena, a much more careful and clever fighter, would naturally beat an impetuous and bloodthirsty Ares. Similarly, the brigand and outlaw bands in the ancient novels are destroyed at the hands of the structured and skilled armies of various city-states. Although Athena is never mentioned in any of these contexts,

nevertheless, the connection between these outlaws and Ares and their subsequent destruction, might call to mind episodes that feature Ares' injuries at the hands of Athena, a methodical and clever warrior. Moreover, one of Ares' sons was Cycnus, a notorious brigand who robbed tourists on their way to Delphi.²⁵⁰ Therefore, it seems natural that the associations between outlaws with Ares/Mars as a marginal god and his bandit son, Cycnus, would appeal to the sensibilities of robbers.

Just as Athena often conquers Ares, so Cilician soldiers burst onto the scene and attack the robber band just before Anthia is sacrificed. Only Hippothous escapes. Moments later he meets up with Habrocomes who has come in search of Anthia. Hippothous approaches him and says (2.14):

“ὁρῶ γάρ σε, ὦ μεράκιον, ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ, καὶ ὀφθῆναι καλὸν καὶ ἄλλως ἀνδρικόν· καὶ ἡ πλάνη φαίνεται πάντως ἀδικουμένου. ἴωμεν οὖν Κιλικίαν μὲν ἀφέντες ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ Πόντον· λέγονται γὰρ οἰκεῖν ἄνδρες εὐδαίμονες.”

“For I see, young man, whoever you are, that you are attractive and brave in addition. And your wandering about seems to be altogether unjust. Therefore, let us depart from Cilicia and go to Cappadocia and then Pontus. For they say that rich men live there.”

They swear to help each other and set out on their adventure.

In an interesting twist, Xenophon has constructed the earliest known friendship between hero and outlaw in the ancient novels. Their relationship is unique because they will discover through sharing their stories that they are, in fact, very similar to one another. One night while drinking, Hippothous confides

in Habrocomes and tells him his story. Hippothous was from a wealthy family of Perinthus, a city in Thrace. When he was younger, he and the beautiful youth Hyperanthes fell in love. Soon afterward, a leading man from Byzantium, Aristomachus, arrived who fell madly in love with Hyperanthes. After winning over the boy's father through deception, he took the boy to Byzantium. Hippothous followed them there and killed Aristomachus. The reunited lovers then set sail for Asia, but a storm off Lesbos destroyed their ship, and the boy died.²⁵¹ Unable to return home and with no way of supporting himself, Hippothous soon turned to brigandage. He quickly rose through the ranks and before long started his own band.

Hippothous is atypical among all the outlaws in the novels in many ways. First of all he was born into a socially elite family similar to the novel's hero and heroine. His love affair, unlike theirs, however, does not end on a happy note. After losing his lover and killing a man, Hippothous goes into voluntary exile and this desperate situation forces him into a life of brigandage. He befriends the novel's hero and captures the novel's heroine not once, but three times. During the course of the novel, he engages in a human sacrifice to Ares, he marries an old woman, and, in the end, he turns his entire life around and rejoins the urban elite.

Hippothous, in many ways, is a surrogate for the novel's hero. Not only are their upbringings similar, but their stories are similar. He, too, has a romantic relationship that is faced with obstacles. Yet, unlike Habrocomes, his immediate reaction is aggressive in nature, and he relies on direct action to cope with these difficulties. As Konstan has noted, the heroes of the Greek novels are generally passive in their reactions to dire situations and, in fact, often attempt suicide instead of confrontation.²⁵² Even when the protagonists are tested, they react in similar, passive ways often (mis)interpreted by modern scholars as a sign of weakness on the part of the character. Their passivity, suffering, and steadfastness arise from the mutual love that is represented in the novel.²⁵³ In fact, "the passivity of the hero is best understood as a function or condition of this equivalence."²⁵⁴ Hippothous' romance therefore is doomed to fail because of his acts of aggression and murder. Even after he has lost his beloved, Hippothous selects exile instead of suicide, an act the heroes of the novels often attempt. "Feeling that he has been mistreated by society, he became a brigand, more interested in harming the establishment than in acquiring its wealth by stealing. By good example and faithfulness of Habrocomes he returns to his former law-abiding nature and makes peace with the world."²⁵⁵ Moreover, Hippothous explains to Habrocomes that poverty caused him to turn to brigandage (3.2). Yet Cueva correctly states that this is not a satisfactory reason noting that when Hippothous faced a similar situation in Sicily, he choose to

marry instead of turning to crime.²⁵⁶ As a result of his relationship with Habrocomes, Hippothous is able to take steps toward rehabilitation.

Hippothous' reentry into society at the close of the novel is not only one of the most notable character developments in the novel genre but also reinforces what Brigitte Egger states about the nature of marriage in the novels: "marriage is the social backbone of the romances and the focus of the love plots."²⁵⁷ Marriage in the novels can be understood as legalized and acceptable heterosexuality and, as thus, is undoubtedly linked to the establishments set forth by society for its members. Swain argues that contemporaneous with the composition of the Greek novels serious discussions arose among authors concerning theories of marriage (*e.g.* Seneca, Epictetus, and Plutarch). A new and quite different attitude toward marriage resulted that presented marriage as a citizen's duty.²⁵⁸ Hippothous therefore, through his legal marriage to a woman, is able to rejoin society and become a valuable member of the conventional social order represented in the Greek novels.²⁵⁹

Hippothous is also significant in the story because he plays the liaison for the hero and heroine while they are separated from one another. He continually crosses paths with the two main characters who remain separated for the greater part of the novel (2.9-5.13). He is instrumental in their reunion and, although he tries to kill Anthia on more than one occasion, it is ultimately his purchase of her

from a brothel that saves her life.²⁶⁰ Again, we observe that his interactions and relationships with the protagonists initiate and foster his reentry into society.

3. Heliodorus' Thyamis

Thyamis is an exceptional character in the ancient novels, as well as a distinctive outlaw. He shares many similarities with Hippothous, namely that he came from a highly respected family, but, due to certain events, fell into a life of crime. He, too, rose through the ranks and became a leader of outlaws. And like Hippothous, he eventually abandons his criminal life and finds himself back among the social elite.

Thyamis is a *boukoloi* chief who lives in the Nile delta with his comrades and their families. His introduction as one of the novel's primary characters distinguishes him from outlaws in the other novels. In his initial appearance, Thyamis is depicted as not only a strong leader but also a civilized and intelligent man (1.4):

Ὅψ' ἔδῃ οὖν ποτε πλησιάσας ὁ λήσταρχος ἐπιβάλλει τῇ κόρῃ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἀνίστασθαί τε καὶ ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευεν. Ἡ δὲ τῶν μὲν λεγομένων οὐδὲν συνιῆσα τὸ δὲ προσταττόμενον συμβαλοῦσα συνεφέλκετο τὸν νεανίσκον οὐδὲ αὐτὸν μεθέεντα, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐπιφέρουσα τοῖς στέρνοις ἑαυτὴν ἀποσφάξειν ἠπείλει εἰ μὴ ἀμφοτέρους ἄγοιεν. Συνεῖς οὖν ὁ λήσταρχος τὸ μὲν τι τοῖς λεγομένοις, πλεον δὲ τοῖς νεύμασι, καὶ ἅμα σύνεργον ἔξιν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα τὸν νεανίαν εἰ περισωθεῖη προσδοκήσας, καταβιβάσας τὸν τε ὑπασπιστὴν καὶ ἑαυτὸν τῶν ἵππων ἀνατίθεται τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τὰ λάθυρα συσκευασμένους ἔπεσθαι προστάξας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκ ποδὸς παραθέων καὶ προσανέχων, εἴ ποῦ τις αὐτῶν περιτρέποιτο. καὶ ἦν δόξης οὐκ ἐκτὸς τὸ γινόμενον·

δουλεύειν ὁ ἄρχων ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὁ κρατῶν τοῖς ἐαλωκόσιν ἤρεϊτο. Οὕτως εὐγενείας ἔμφασις καὶ κάλλους ὅψις καὶ ληστρικὸν ἦθος οἶδεν ὑποτάττειν καὶ τῶν ἀύχμηροτέρων δύνανται.

After some time, the *boukoloi* chief walked up to the girl, grabbed her hand, and ordered her to rise up and follow him. She could not understand what he was saying, but deduced his meaning. As she got up, she lifted the young man clinging firmly to her, and, pointing to the sword to her breast, she threatened to kill herself unless they took both of them. And so the chief understood her meaning, partially from her words, but primarily from her motions. He thought that if the young man survived, he would make a fine comrade in the most daring missions. So, he and his second-in-command dismounted from their horses, he placed the captives on horseback and ordered the others to follow once they had finished loading the spoils. He ran on foot next to the horses, assisting his hostages whenever one of them was wobbly. And that which happened was not without honor. The leader seemed to be the slave; the captor chose to serve those he captured. In this way, a noble appearance and a beautiful face is able to tame an outlaw's temper and rule over the wildest of natures.

In this introduction, Thyamis' portrayal runs counter to the standard depictions of these outlaws. He maintains his power of position while at the same time displaying concern for his captives and an ability to communicate with them although they speak entirely different languages. His initial aim is to induce Theagenes, if he survives, to join his number. Unlike most other outlaws who are inclined to reflect upon the profit they could potentially secure from the sale of their prisoners, Thyamis, in contrast, entertains no such notions but displays a genuine concern for his captives. His noble actions are entirely unlike those that we find with the *boukoloi* in Achilles Tatius' novel. Moreover, once they arrive at

the camp,²⁶¹ Thyamis entrusts his prisoners to the care of a Greek man, Cnemon.²⁶² Here again we observe Thyamis' gentle side in placing the comforts of his captives before everything else.

Misinterpreting a dream he has that night (as is usual in many instances in the novels),²⁶³ Thyamis calls an assembly of the people and in addressing them recalls who he is and what he would like of them (1.19):

“Ἄνδρες” ἔλεγε “συστρατιῶται, τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπίστασθε γνώμην οἷον ἀεὶ κέχρημαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὥς ἴστε, παῖς μὲν προφήτου τοῦ ἐν Μέμφει γεγονώς, ἀποτυχὼν δὲ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπαναχώρησιν, ἀδελφοῦ νεωτέρου ταύτην παρελέσθαι παρανομήσαντος, ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς καταφυγὼν ἐφ’ ᾧ τε τιμωρίαν μὲν λαβεῖν τὴν τιμὴν δὲ ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ τοῦ ἄρχειν ὑμῶν παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀξιωθεὶς εἰς τὴν δεῦρο διήγαγον οὐδὲν τῶν πολλῶν ἐμαυτῷ πλέον ἀπονέμων·

Men, you know how I have always felt towards you. For I, as you know, am the son of the high priest of Memphis, but I was bereaved of the priesthood after my father's departure, since my younger brother illegally assumed the office.²⁶⁴ I took asylum with hoping to revenge him and reclaim my rightful position. You selected me as your leader, and to this day I have never taken a larger share than the rest of you.

Thyamis, like Hippothous, was driven out of civilized society and entered into a life of crime. Yet, unlike Hippothous, Thyamis was not directly responsible for his change of fortune. He rather played a very passive role as his brother took action and unlawfully usurped the office of high priest.²⁶⁵ After learning that Thyamis is not a “true” criminal but one who happened to fall into his present lifestyle out of necessity, the concern we feel for our main characters is slightly diminished since he does not seem to be a ruthless killer. In his address to the *boukoloi*, we discover that Thyamis is a kind, intelligent, and fair man, not a

bloodthirsty villain. After enumerating the many benefits he has provided for the welfare of the group, he asks for only one thing, that he might have the girl. He even suggests that he will forego his share of the booty if he is allowed to take her. His request is not rooted in sexual desire, but rather his hope is to continue his bloodline. While we have seen other examples of an outlaw discussing his plans with his band, we have never witnessed one who asks for their approval. One of the central motivating factors for a thief is acquiring booty. Here, Thyamis is willing to give up his rightful share of the spoils in order to marry, not just possess, the girl. Every one of his actions, thus far, has been ruled by decency and kindheartedness.

Although the people cheer and assent to the marriage, Thyamis nevertheless is adamant that they ask the girl how she feels about this holy union. This concern for his prisoner's feelings is singular in the novels. Here Heliodorus distinguishes himself from the other novelists by showing that his outlaw has an altruistic side.

Unfortunately, this selflessness does not last but a few days. After learning that a large army approaches²⁶⁶ and fearing for Charicleia's welfare, Thyamis orders Cnemon to take her to the cave and place her there for safekeeping. Misinterpreting his dream once more and unable to bear the thought of Charicleia with another man, Thyamis makes his way to the cave and,

following the voice of a Greek female, drives his sword through her chest and kills her.²⁶⁷ He returns to the battle hoping that he too will be killed, however, the enemy forces recognize Thyamis and take him alive.²⁶⁸

Thyamis allegedly kills Charicleia because he cannot bear to have her become the property of another. This episode is the first occasion in which we witness Thyamis as a truly brutal and savage outlaw. His actions up until this point had been admirable, although unexpected when compared to most outlaws in the novels. But his behavior at the thought of losing Charicleia (based on his misinterpretation of his dream) reveals his flawed nature.

The next time we hear about Thyamis is in Book 6.²⁶⁹ Thyamis is the leader of a new band one that includes the hero Theagenes. In Book 7, they arrive in Memphis, and Thyamis prepares to regain his rightful position. Because certain events raise suspicion about Petosiris and his elevation to high priest of Memphis, Arsace suggests that the brothers fight one-on-one for the position of high priest to avoid needless bloodshed. Thyamis accepts the challenge. Before their battle, Thyamis confides in Theagenes how he intends to fight his own brother. He says (7.5):

νικῆσαι δὴ οὖν θεοῦ νεύοντος, οὐκ ἀποκτεῖναι προήρημαι· ἡ γὰρ οὕτω ποτὲ ὀργὴ καὶ μῆνις ἐφ' οἷς προπέποντα κρατήσκειν ὥς αἵματος ἀνταδέλφου καὶ φόνου μιάσματος ὁμογαστρίου ἄμυναν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρελθοῦσι τιμὴν δέ τινα ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀλλάξασθαι.

My intention is to beat him, god willing, not to kill him. For may anger and rage of past wrongs never conquer me that I would be willing to seek vengeance for the past and honor for the future by spilling my own brother's blood and defiling my hands with fratricide.

Theagenes promises Thyamis that if he wins, he will stay and live in Memphis with him as brother. If Thyamis dies, he will take command of the brigands. Their bond of friendship is reminiscent of the camaraderie that Hippothous and Habrocomes shared in Xenophon's novel. And although both outlaws rejoin society subsequent to their acquaintance with the hero of their respective novels, Thyamis, however, will rejoin society not through a legal marriage (as Hippothous) but because of a familial bond.

During the battle, Thyamis rushes at his brother who immediately flees from the encounter. Their subsequent chase around the walls of the city is reminiscent of Achilles' pursuit of Hector around the walls of Troy.²⁷⁰ Yet, unlike the episode in the *Iliad* or that in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* between the sons of Oedipus, Eteocles and Polynices, Thyamis and his brother are reconciled when, at the climax of the chase, Calasiris, their father, appears and reunites the brothers. This brotherly reconciliation and familial reunion serves a number of purposes in the narrative. Not only does it secure the legal reentry of Thyamis into society through the proclamations of his father, but also allows his character to remain noble since he has not had to shed his own brother's blood. Had he killed his brother before the eyes of all the citizens of Memphis, his transition back into society would have been hindered, if not prevented, by familial bloodshed. Yet, just like the *deus ex machina* from Greek tragedy, Calasiris materializes and names Thyamis the new high priest of Memphis.

In the *boukoloi* chief Thyamis, Heliodorus created a multifaceted character. In his first scene, we observe Thyamis behaving in a manner highly unusual for an outlaw, or at least what we have come to expect from an outlaw. When we discover that he, just like Hippothous, was a victim of unforeseen circumstances and that he similarly fell into a life of crime out of necessity, his actions do not appear to be abnormal. As son of the high priest of Memphis, we can assume that he was raised with certain advantages and sophistication. His actions, therefore, accord with that of a person raised among the elite. When he kills Charicleia, however, we can identify another facet of his personality. Although we, as readers, must be confident that our heroine is not dead, nevertheless we must wonder at the way in which Thyamis will redeem himself of such a violent act. The answer to this lies in the identity of the woman who was killed in the cave.²⁷¹ She was Thisbe, an Athenian woman who had betrayed Cnemon. Through a series of events, she was placed in the same cave as our heroine. Although Thyamis murders her (thinking she is Charicleia), nevertheless, his one rash act is overlooked by both the characters in the novel and, therefore, the audience because if anyone deserved death, it was the immoral Thisbe.

Thyamis is no conventional brigand; rather he, like Hippothous and Theron, transforms our understanding of the traditional role associated with outlaws. Not all outlaws are bloodthirsty, greedy killers, rapists, and thieves. Rather, through an analysis of these unique and highly individualized

characters, we are able to identify multiple dimensions hitherto believed non-existent in the outlaws of the ancient novels. In his outlaw leader, Heliodorus, unlike Apuleius, Chariton, Achilles Tatius, and to some extent Xenophon, has created a likeable, honorable, selfless (except for his one act of brutality that is ultimately resolved), and ideal noble-savage. As one of the most highly individualized outlaws in the novels, he is quite distinctive. Unlike the other highlighted outlaws (Theron, Hippothous, Lamachus), Thyamis is a foreigner in the most extreme sense of the word. Hailing from the non-Greek speaking world, he requires a translator in order to communicate with his captives.²⁷² In addition, he is the son of the priest of Isis, a divinity not featured in Greek religion. Regardless of these very obvious divergences from typical outlaws in the novels (who tend to speak the same language as the protagonists as well as share a common cultural bond), Thyamis proves to be the most civilized and respectable outlaw to appear in the ancient novels. One reason for this stems from Heliodorus' desire to make changes to the standard outline of the Greek novels. His heroine is not Greek by birth but Ethiopian. Although raised as a Greek for the greater part of her life, Charicleia, unlike the other novel heroines does not return to the Greek-speaking world at the conclusion of the novel, but ultimately remains in Ethiopia. Similarly, many of Heliodorus' supporting characters (Calisiris and Thyamis) are not Greek. By intentionally including civilized and respectable non-Greeks who aid in the adventures of the

protagonists, Heliodorus eases his readers into accepting the atypical conclusion of the novel, that of the protagonists remaining in the non-Greek speaking world.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have illustrated that the outlaws in the ancient novels are not only diversified and unique but also that the ancient novelists themselves created these specialized characters and molded them to highlight and to accord with certain elements in their individual narratives. To claim that an outlaw (whether a member of a robber, pirate, or *boukoloi* band) is a stereotyped and one-dimensional character is misleading.²⁷³ While outlaws are ubiquitous and may indeed be viewed seemingly as a prerequisite for these narratives, the specific bands featured in these works, as well as certain individual outlaws, emerge as anything but ordinary and predictable. Although elements within the three types of outlaw bands tend to bear a resemblance to each other (*e.g.* all pirates have ships; the *boukoloi* live in the Nile Delta; and robbers hide their goods in caves), their differences are easily acknowledged.

The robbers featured in Apuleius' narrative differ in striking ways from their counterparts in Xenophon's novel. Apuleius' robbers relate exceptional tales about the unfortunate demise of some of their comrades. These stories not only amuse the reader but also serve to highlight the inverted military code by which these men live. Although Xenophon's brigands resemble those in the

Metamorphoses in many ways (including their similar mountain hideout and worship of the god of war [Mars/Ares]), nevertheless, they are strikingly different. Not only do these brigands befriend the hero of the novel, but a number of them fall in love with the heroine of the tale and assist in her escape from perilous situations.

Pirates in the ancient novels are the most homogeneous group of outlaws. One of the reasons for this is that no one group of pirates receives the emphasis comparable to the two bands of robbers or *boukoloi*. Their actions are more predictable than the other groups of outlaws and, except for Theron, no one pirate is highlighted to any notable extent.

Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus both present *boukoloi* herds in their novels. These two bands significantly differ from one another. Heliodorus' *boukoloi* are compassionate to their captives and, although they too are bloodthirsty outlaws, they are commanded by a man whose privileged upbringing is reflected in his leadership. Achilles Tatius' *boukoloi* are much more savage and barbarian. They allegedly engage in acts of human sacrifice and cannibalism.²⁷⁴

Finally, the three individual outlaws emphasized in this chapter represent the range of outlaws featured in the novels. Each of these men is not only unique as an outlaw, but is also central to the plot of their respective novel. Hippothous and Thyamis represent men originally from elite urban society who fell into a life of crime. Both rise through the ranks of their outlaw bands to become chief and

eventually both reject their criminal lifestyle and rejoin society at the conclusion of their novels as a result of their interactions with the protagonists. Although the leader of a band of pirates and central to the plot of *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Chariton's novel, Theron, a somewhat likeable outlaw, betrays his own men and is crucified for his actions against the heroine.

The "supporting" role outlaws perform in the ancient novels is fundamental to a genre that demands a great number of unusual and perilous situations in which to test the fortitude, loyalty, and morality of its protagonists. The episodes that serve to highlight and evaluate the main characters' true spirit and nature would be limited without the inclusion of outlaws. By their very nature (sailing the seas, living in marginal areas of society, stealing, kidnapping, selling, looting, killing, and raping), the outlaws are ideal to instigate the essential episodes that lie at the very heart of these adventure novels.²⁷⁵ By their nature as adventure novels, the Greek and Roman narratives necessitate the inclusion of pirates and brigands. Neither predictable nor stereotypical, outlaws do not serve merely as narrative devices intended to add spice to the story. They are much more complex and distinctive. In the next chapter, the numerous functions outlaws serve in the ancient novels is analyzed that both highlights and confirms their essential importance to the genre.

¹²⁵ de Souza (1999) 214-218.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 214.

¹²⁷ Conte (1996) 73.

¹²⁸ Braund (1993) 208.

¹²⁹ Mackay (1963) 148. Mackay compares Apuleius' treatment of robbers to those of the Greek novelists and concludes that although they serve the same purpose, the bandits in Apuleius are seen as a group rather than the Greek novels' focus on individuals.

¹³⁰ There are two major exceptions to this: Frangoulidis' numerous works (see bibliography) on the robber band in Apuleius as well as Riess (2001).

¹³¹ Animals likened to "brigands": Apuleius, *Meta.* 7.27-a bear tears apart a young boy; 8.15-a pack of wolves is likened to highwaymen who attack travelers as they pass.

People likened to "brigands": Apuleius, *Meta.* 8.17-a group of runaway slaves is mistaken for a large band of robbers by some estate workers; 8.18-the same slaves misconstrue the estate workers for a band of robbers eager for plunder; 9.39-a greedy estate owner's actions to steal land from other is likened to a crazed thief; 10.11-an evil slave who has procured poison for his evil mistress is called a *latronem*;

Mentions of "real" brigands: Apuleius, *Meta.* 1.7-Socrates mentions how he had been attacked by robbers; the witch Meroë even took the clothes off his back that the generous brigands had left him; 1.11-Meroë's and her sister Panthia's break-in is compared to the violence robbers use; 1.15-Aristomenes, attempting to escape the witches in the dead of night, is cautioned by the guard that the roads are infested by robbers; 1.23-Milo, Lucius' host in Hypata, explains that his lack of furniture is from fear of theft; 2.14-Diophanes recalls how a band of brigands attacked the survivors of a shipwreck; 2.32-Lucius attacks what he believes are robbers but are actually bewitched wineskins; 3.2, 3.5-6, 3.15-18-the "trial" for the murder of the wineskins/robbers; 9.8-imposters masquerading as Syrian priests who give advice to people about to engage in battle or pursue a gang of robbers; 10.15-two brothers who have acquired Lucius as their pack mule vainly try to discover the thief who keeps eating their leftovers. and 11.15-Isis reminds Lucius

how cruel Fortune has tried to subdue him both by using wild beasts and brigands and by entangling him in a variety of terrible situations.

¹³² Saïd (1999) 86 states, “But nowhere are the herds of these strange ‘herdsmen’ ever mentioned, and the pastoral character of these people seems only to lie in their names.”

¹³³ Hippothous’ band in *An Ephesian Tale* uses boats on two occasions but merely for transportation, not for plundering (4.1 and 5.2).

¹³⁴ *Meta.* 1.7, 1.15, 8.15; *Ephes.* 2.12, 4.1, 4.3.

¹³⁵ *Meta.* 2.14.

¹³⁶ *Meta.* 1.23, 2.18, 2.32-3.11.

¹³⁷ *Ephes.* 4.1, 5.2.

¹³⁸ *Meta.* 1.7, 1.23; *Ephes.* 4.2.

¹³⁹ *Meta.* 2.32, 8.17; *Ephes.* 4.5.

¹⁴⁰ *Meta.* 6.31-32; *Ephes.* 2.13, 4.6. In these examples, the person to be tortured is a young captive girl.

¹⁴¹ *Meta.* 2.14, 2.18; *Ephes.* 4.3.

¹⁴² *Meta.* 3.28; *Ephes.* 3.13-4.

¹⁴³ *Meta.* 3.28; *Ephes.* 3.14, 5.2.

¹⁴⁴ *Meta.* 4.6; *Ephes.* 4.1.

¹⁴⁵ *Meta.* 6.25; 7.13; *Ephes.* 3.9, 3.10.

¹⁴⁶ *Ephes.* 2.13. Hippothous (to be discussed in detail later in this chapter) and Habrocomes become friends and travel together for some time.

¹⁴⁷ *Ephes.* 3.8; *Ephes.* 5.2.

¹⁴⁸ *Ephes.* 4.5, a robber guarding Anthia, Anchialus falls in love with her; *Ephes.* 4.6, Amphinomus, another guard watching Anthia, falls in love with her. *Ephes.* 5.9, Hippothous falls in love with Anthia.

¹⁴⁹ The unnamed old hag in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is treated badly by the brigands and ends up committing suicide rather than face their punishment. In contrast, the old woman in Xenophon's novel is named (Chrysion) and suffers no injustice from the band. The old woman in the *Metamorphoses* is the narrator for the long and elaborate inserted tale of Cupid and Psyche told to the captive maiden to soothe her, while the old woman in *An Ephesian Tale* tells a short tragic story about the heroine.

¹⁵⁰ See Winkler (1985) Chapter 1.

¹⁵¹ Herodotus recalls the story of two Egyptian brothers who are thieves (2.121c). While raiding King Rhampsinitus' treasury, one of the brothers is caught in a trap. He convinces his brother to cut off his head realizing that his identification would implicate both of them. Rhampsinitus, recovering the headless body, orders that it be hung outside the walls of the palace hoping to ensnare the accomplice if he attempts to take down the body or shows signs of mourning. Although not a true crucifixion, the elements found in the Herodotus episode (thief caught, voluntary death, pseudo-noble action) can clearly be recalled in Apuleius' story of Alcimus (4.9-12). Many Herodotean themes and elements can be discovered in the ancient novels.

¹⁵² Tatum (1999) 173.

¹⁵³ *Meta.* 4.22.

¹⁵⁴ Hijmans (1977) 209 lists the military terminology employed by the various characters in this episode. While he cautions that not every term should be taken literally, he asserts that Apuleius did attempt to present a group of brigands who organized themselves along military lines.

¹⁵⁵ MacMullen (1966) 264-266; Hijmans (1977) 209.

¹⁵⁶ For a discussion of Hermes as the patron of pirates and robbers, see Allison (1996) 5-12.

¹⁵⁷ Demodocus, in Homer's *Iliad* Book 8, sings of the heroes of the Trojan War. In Herodotus' *Histories* we find such acts of commemoration in the epitaphs set up

for Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans (7.226-228), and in Pericles' Funeral Oration in Book 2 of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, we find one of the most famous and elaborate funeral speeches in ancient literature.

¹⁵⁸ The girl resembles the conventional heroine of the Greek novels: she is young, beautiful, chaste, and unfortunately separated from her lover.

¹⁵⁹ Numerous scholars have discussed the Cupid and Psyche tale, too many to mention individually. For links between the Cupid and Psyche episode and the main narrative, see Tatum (1969) 487-527, especially 508-514.

¹⁶⁰ For the significance of Haemus' name, see Hijmans (1978) 115-6.

¹⁶¹ Scholars have agreed that the Tlepolemus/Haemus episode has epic overtones. See Frangoulidis (1992) 60-74. Frangoulidis discusses the various epic readings of the Tlepolemus/Haemus episode, including A. van Kemphen's comparison with Vergil's description of the capture of Troy (*Aeneid*, Book 2); E.D. Finkelpearl's reading of the episode is related to the Sinon episode also in *Aeneid* 2; and B.L. Hijmans' non-epic association of Tlepolemus with Dionysus could be seen as an Odysseus/Polyphemus episode (*Odyssey*, Book 9). Hijmans systematically goes through the entire scene and makes direct comparisons. He quite rightly calls to our attention the items which are incompatible and inverted aspects of the Homeric epic.

¹⁶² Lindsay (1962) 151 translates this line: "For I had made an attack, frowned-at by Mars..." The Latin text, however, does not explicitly name Mars in this context.

¹⁶³ Frangoulidis has written many articles that showcase the epic predecessors to the robber episode. See the Bibliography.

¹⁶⁴ Tatum (1999) 175.

¹⁶⁵ See also Frangoulidis (1992) who compares this episode to Odysseus in the cave of Polyphemus.

¹⁶⁶ A similar plot device featuring a disgruntled suitor plays a role in Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* (1.2-4). In this case, the suitor manages to cause a fight between the newlyweds. Chaereas has been hoodwinked into believing that his wife has been unfaithful and, therefore, he kicks her in her diaphragm so hard that it stops her breathing, making her to appear dead.

¹⁶⁷ Thrasyllus kills Tlepolemus while they are hunting (8.5), and Charite, after blinding Thrasyllus, kills herself (8.13).

¹⁶⁸ Likewise, in *Meta*. 2.18, a band of upper class youths from Hypata terrorize the streets in a manner associated with brigands.

¹⁶⁹ In Charitons' *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Theron, the chief pirate assembles his band from men who frequent maritime brothels and taverns. Theron will be discussed later in this chapter. See the unpublished work of Rauh and McClain, "Praecia's Power: Conspiracy Networks and Mediterranean Tavern Culture in the Late Roman Republic," especially note 9.

¹⁷⁰ Plut. *Pomp.* 24:

εἴτα Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις περὶ θύρας τῆς Ῥώμης συμπεσόντων, ἔρημος οὕσα φρουρᾶς ἢ θάλασσα κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐφείλκετο καὶ προῆγεν, οὐκέτι τοῖς πλέουσι μόνον ἐπιτιθεμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ νήσους καὶ πόλεις παραλίους ἐκκόπτοντας. ἤδη δὲ καὶ χρήμασι δυνατοὶ καὶ γένεσι λαμπροὶ καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν ἀξιούμενοι διαφέρειν ἄνδρες ἐνέβαινον εἰς τὰ ληστρικὰ καὶ μετεῖχον, ὥς καὶ δόξαν τινὰ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἔργου φέροντος.

Then while the Romans were fighting each other in civil wars at the gates of Rome, the sea was left unguarded and so the pirates were gradually enticed further and further on until, instead of confining their operations to attacks on navigation, they began to lay waste islands and cities on the coasts. Soon men of wealth and of good family, men who would claim for themselves exceptional intelligence, began to join the pirate fleets and to share in their enterprises, regarding piracy as a profession in which honor could be gained and ambition satisfied.

See Braund (1993) 195-212, especially 197-8.

¹⁷¹ Sertorius, Roman statesman and officer, joined forces with the anti-Sullan movement and was in league with both the Cilician pirates and Mithridates. See Plutarch's *Vit. Sert.*

¹⁷² Braund (1993) 198.

¹⁷³ Plut. *Pomp.* 24. In both Achilles Tatius' novel (3.15) and in Xenophon's novel (2.13), there are examples of the outlaws engaging in rather depraved sacrifices.

¹⁷⁴ An inversion of this can be seen in Heliodorus' *An Ethiopian Tale*. The robber chief, Thyamis, resorted to a life of crime only after his younger brother usurped

the office of high priest at Memphis from him (1.19). More on Thyamis later in the chapter.

¹⁷⁵ Braund (1993) 198.

¹⁷⁶ See also Braund (1993) 206.

¹⁷⁷ Anthia has already been through a series of ordeals at this early stage in the novel. After being attacked and taken prisoner by pirates, she is handed over to a goatherd to eventually become his wife. The goatherd takes pity on her and, instead of forcing himself on her, sells her to Cilician merchants. It is while aboard the Cilician ship that a storm destroys the ship and she is kidnapped by Hippothous' band of brigands.

¹⁷⁸ No other band of outlaws (pirates or *boukoloi*) is outwardly committed to any one god.

¹⁷⁹ The only exception is Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

¹⁸⁰ Braund (1993) 208. Rhetorical exercises based on capture by pirates include, Seneca *Controv.* 1.2; 1.6; 1.7; 3.3, 7.1; 7.4. Quintilian, *Declam.* 5, 6, 9; and *Decl. Min.*, 257, 367, 378.

¹⁸¹ This is based on references to themes of declamation in *Rhet. Her.* See Kennedy (1972).

¹⁸² Other standard topics included adultery and murder. See Kennedy (1972) 334.

¹⁸³ I do not plan on addressing this relationship in this analysis. See Reardon (1974) and Bartsch (1989) Chapter 1.

¹⁸⁴ *D. & C.* 1.28; *Ephes.* 1.13; *Aeth.* 5.24.

¹⁸⁵ Three other examples of *Scheintod* take place in the ancient novels and all deal with the apparent death of the heroine. Two are found in Achilles Tatius (3.15 ff; 5.7.8 ff) and one in Heliodorus (2.30-31).

¹⁸⁶ The name of Haemus' notorious outlaw father in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is also Theron. The name clearly is related to the Greek words *θηρίον* "wild beast"

and θηρεύω “to hunt”. See Hijmans (1978) pp. 107-122. For more on Chariton’s Theron, see Mason (1978) 8-9 and Helms (1966) 88-93 and 140-141.

¹⁸⁷ See also Dio Chrys. 7.32 and Plato, *Laws*, 823e. In addition, merchants could be confused with pirates because of their behavior and lifestyle. In the novels, pirates pose as merchants at *Ephes*. 1.13

¹⁸⁸ *Ephes*. 1.13; *L. & C.* 5.7.

¹⁸⁹ *Ephes*. 1.9, 1.13.

¹⁹⁰ *Ephes*. 1.13; *D. & C.* 1.29; *Aeth.* 5.25.

¹⁹¹ *Ephes*. 2.1.

¹⁹² *D. & C.* 1.28; *C. & C.* 1.9; *Ephes*. 1.13; *Aeth.* 5.25; *L. & C.* 5.7.

¹⁹³ Dorcon, the cowherder, is killed by Pyrrhian pirates in *D. & C.* 1.29. *Ephes*. 1.13, 14; *L. & C.* 5.7, the pirate band kill a woman believed to be Leucippe by cutting off her head. *Aeth.* 5.25, pirates board a merchant ship carrying the protagonists and begin killing.

¹⁹⁴ *Ephes*. 4.6. Hippothous attempts to punish Anthia after she kills the robber Anchialus by putting her in a ditch with two large, frightening Egyptian hounds.

¹⁹⁵ *Ephes*. 2.13. Hippothous’ band prepares to sacrifice Anthia.

¹⁹⁶ *Ephes*. 1.15, Euxinus falls in love with Anthia; *Aeth.* 5.20, Tyrrhenos, admits his love for Charicleia; *Aeth.* 5.26, the pirate Trachinus also falls under Charicleia’s spell.

¹⁹⁷ *Ephes*. 1.14, the pirate lieutenant, Corymbus, falls in love with Habrocomes.

¹⁹⁸ *Ephes*. 1.16. Euxinus speaks to Habrocomes on behalf of Corymbus and Corymbus speaks to Anthia about Euxinus’ love.

¹⁹⁹ *Ephes*. 2.3, Manto, daughter of the pirate chief, Apsyrtus, falls in love with Habrocomes. She even sends him a letter confessing her love (2.5). After he rejects her, she falsely accuses him of rape. Apsyrtus beats Habrocomes and confines him to a dark cell (2.6).

²⁰⁰ Places typically visited include Italy, Greece, Byzantium, Syria, Persia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Cilicia. For detailed maps tracing the routes taken in the novels, see Alvares (1996).

²⁰¹ *Ephes.* 1.14. Brigands and *boukoloi*, being more geographically limited, are more likely to have a hideout.

²⁰² *D. & C.* 1.28 (wine, wheat, and honey).

²⁰³ *D. & C.* 1.28.

²⁰⁴ *D. & C.* 1.28; *C. & C.* 1.9; *Ephes.* 1.13, 2.12, 3.8; *Aeth.* 5.27, 6.2; *L. & C.* 5.7.

²⁰⁵ *C. & C.* 1.9; *Ephes.* 3.8.

²⁰⁶ *L. & C.* 5.7.

²⁰⁷ *Ephes.* 2.10. Apsyrtus comes across his daughter's letter confessing love, sets Habrocomes free, and even makes him steward of his household.

²⁰⁸ *Ephes.* 1.13; *L. & C.* 5.7.

²⁰⁹ *Ephes.* 4.5. Anthia, protecting herself against rape, kills the robber Anchialus. *Aeth.* 5.32, Charicleia kills many of the pirates with her bow and arrow.

²¹⁰ *Ephes.* 1.13.

²¹¹ *D. & C.* 1.29; *Ephes.* 2.12.

²¹² *C. & C.* 3.3. Theron's men die of thirst when they run out of water.

²¹³ *Aeth.* 5.30 ff.

²¹⁴ *D. & C.* 3.2. Here Hippasus who is leading the Mytileneans against the Methymneans claims that he does not raid field or plunder herds and the property of farmers and shepherds because he regards those exploits as acts of piracy not of a general.

²¹⁵ *C. & C.* 1.9. The first pirates into the tomb think that Callirhoe is a spirit guarding the dead body.

²¹⁶ C. & C. 1.11.

²¹⁷ Sections on *syncrisis* from the four grammatical texts (progymnasmata) are as follows: Aelius Theon (Spengel section 9, Kennedy section 8); Hermogenes (Spengel and Kennedy section 8); Nicolaus (Spengel and Kennedy section 9); and Aphthonius (Spengel and Kennedy section 10). See Spengel (1954-56) and Kennedy (2003).

²¹⁸ The first two descriptions correspond to the birth of the novel's hero and heroine. The four images that follow correlate to events in Book 1, while the enemy attack foreshadows the Methymnean excursion situated in Book 2. The remainder of the novel falls into the vague category of "romantic."

²¹⁹ L. & C. 3.9 ff; Aeth. 3.5 ff; Ephes. 3.12. *Boukoloi* also appear in the very fragmentary *Phoenicia* of Lollianus. In *frag. B*, a rather vivid description of human sacrifice and cannibalism is featured. See Henrichs (1969), Henrichs (1972) Winkler (1980), and Stephens and Winkler (1993).

²²⁰ At Aeth. 2.20, a "prisoner turned *boukoloi*" escapes and, in order to appear less fearsome, cuts his hair which he had grown long in the custom of the herdsmen. Their appearance is described:

Βουκόλοι γὰρ ἄλλα τε πρὸς τὸ φοβερώτεροι φαίνεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν κόμην εἰς ὄφρυν ἔλκουσι καὶ σοβοῦσι τῶν ὤμων ἐπιβαίνουσιν, εὖ τοῦτο εἰδότες ὡς κόμη τοὺς μὲν ἐρωτικούς ἱλαρωτέρους τοὺς δὲ ληστρικούς φοβερωτέρους ἀποδείκνυσιν.

"The *boukoloi* cultivate an alarming appearance, particularly as regards their hair, which they pull forward to meet their eyebrows and toss violently as it falls over their shoulders, for they are well aware that long hair makes lovers seem more alluring but robbers more alarming."

²²¹ L. & C. 3.9.2, 10.2-3; Aeth. 1.4.

²²² L. & C. 3.15.2; Aeth. 1.29.

²²³ L. & C. 3.12.1; Aeth. 1.3.

²²⁴ L. & C. 3.13.2-3.

²²⁵ L. & C. 3.14.1, 3.24.2; Aeth. 1.5.

²²⁶ *L. & C.* 3.15.1-5.

²²⁷ *Aeth.* 1.5.4

²²⁸ *L. & C.* 4.12.1.

²²⁹ *L. & C.* 4.12.1; *Aeth.* 1.5, 31.

²³⁰ *L. & C.* 4.12.7; *Aeth.* 1.7, 24

²³¹ *Aeth.* 2.18.1. Thermouthis, the second in command, is tricked by the main characters.

²³² *Aeth.* 1.7.2. Some of the *boukoloi* who had remained at the camp when they saw Charicleia, thought she was a statue taken from a temple.

²³³ *Aeth.* 1.19, 21.

²³⁴ *Aeth.* 1.30.

²³⁵ *Aeth.* 1.23; 2.12.5.

²³⁶ *Aeth.* 1.32.4.

²³⁷ *Aeth.* 1.19-20. See also Saïd (1999) 86.

²³⁸ See Saïd (1999) Swain (1996) 114-118.

²³⁹ Nimis (2004).

²⁴⁰ For the visual aspects of the opening of Heliodorus' novel, see Weinreich (1962), Bühler (1976), and Palm (1965).

²⁴¹ See D. Fowler (1991) 25-35.

²⁴² Callirhoe is, in fact, not dead. After being kicked in the diaphragm by her newly married husband (he fell victim to the jealousy of a scorned suitor, Acragas), she lay unconscious and not breathing. Because she seemed dead, the family entombs her.

²⁴³ Chaereas, who by this point had found the open and emptied tomb of his wife,
vows to find the thieves who took her.

²⁴⁴ Callirhoe herself calls Theron her savior (1.9).

²⁴⁵ In Petronius' *Satyricon* (111), some thieves are crucified in Ephesus. Hengle (1977) 22 states, "As a rule, books on the subject say that crucifixion began among the Persians in Herodotus, and these can be supplemented by later evidence from Ctesias." He cites Hdt., *Hist.* 1.128 (ἀνεσκολόπισε), 3.125 (ἀνεσταύρωσε), 3.132 (ἀνασκολοπιῖσθαι), 3.159 (ἀνεσκολόπισε), 4.43 (ἀνασκολοπιῖσθαι), 6.30 (ἀνεσταύρωσαν), and 7.194 (ἀνεσταύρωσε). LSJ defines ἀνασκολοπίζω: fix on pole or stake, impale. It is often used in place of ἀνασαυρόω.

²⁴⁶ See Helms (1967) 29-37.

²⁴⁷ By the end of the novel, Chaereas has achieved his heroic status yet other male characters will prove to be obstacles to his evolution throughout the narrative.

²⁴⁸ Temples to Ares are most abundant in Crete and the Peloponnese. See Burkert (1985) 169-170.

²⁴⁹ Myths associated with Ares are limited, and it is not until the Roman period when Augustus reinvented him as Mars Ultor that he is finally central. As father to Romulus and Remus, Romans naturally trace their ancestry to Mars. Additionally, Ares favored the Trojans in the *Iliad*. Although Ares is important in the *Iliad* and is included among the twelve Olympians, he, nevertheless, repeatedly remained outside of day-to-day worship.

²⁵⁰ Cycnus is featured in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* (57-121, 320-480). The only other known work is the fragmentary *Cycnus* of Stesichorus. Unfortunately, the *Suda* merely lists the title.

²⁵¹ Hippothous tries to save the boy but fails. He buries the body and sets up a small grave marker. This tragic ending of a homosexual love affair is similar to that found in Achilles Tatius' novel (2.34). There are many stories of homosexual love in the ancient world and in mythology. For more on this see Sargent (1987).

²⁵² Konstan (1994) 14-26.

²⁵³ Cueva (1995) 395.

²⁵⁴ Konstan (1994) 26.

²⁵⁵ Schmeling (1980) 107.

²⁵⁶ Cueva (1995) 397.

²⁵⁷ Egger (1994) 260.

²⁵⁸ Swain (1996) 120.

²⁵⁹ Cnemon, a Greek prisoner of the *boukoloi* in Heliodorus' novel and friend to the protagonists, falsely accused of murder was exiled from Athens. He, too, marries a woman prior to his reentry into Athenian society (6.8).

²⁶⁰ See Cueva (1995) 393-404 for Hippothous' role as mediator in their love story.

²⁶¹ The *ekphrasis* of the *boukoloi* camp will be analyzed in Chapter 4.

²⁶² Cnemon was once a prisoner himself but now is part of the band of *boukoloi*.

²⁶³ See Bartsch (1989) 80-108. Misinterpretation of dreams is also a typical Herodotean element.

²⁶⁴ Morgan (1989) 369, n. 22, notes that by the fifth century B.C., Egyptian priesthoods had nearly become hereditary, passing from father to eldest son. See Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.37.

²⁶⁵ In Book 7, we learn that Arsace, wife of the satrap Oroondates, played a hand in helping Petosiris usurp Thyamis' rightful position. Years before, Arsace lusted after Thyamis. Although he rejected her, Petosiris found out about Arsace's advances, told Oroondates about his wife's illicit behavior, and falsely added that Thyamis had entered into an affair with her. Oroondates drove Thyamis into exile and appointed Petosiris as high priest of Memphis (7.2).

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 27 mentions that this scene is very similar to one in *Iliad* 6.321ff. where Hector finds Paris preparing his weapons in his bedroom.

²⁶⁷ This is another example of *Scheintod*. The woman killed is actually the Athenian Thisbe---a minor character. See note 110.

²⁶⁸ In fact, we find out that these are the bandits from the beginning of the novel who were chased off by Thyamis and his men and thus were robbed of “their” property. But this revenge is only part of the reason for their attack. Petosiris, Thyamis’ younger brother who had usurped the priesthood, found out about Thyamis and his *boukoloi* and, fearing his brother’s revenge, offers a reward to those who can capture Thyamis.

²⁶⁹ At 2.25 Calasiris, guardian of Charicleia and Theagenes, confesses to Cnemon that he was high priest of Memphis and that Thyamis is his son.

²⁷⁰ *Iliad* 22.137ff.

²⁷¹ Thisbe, an Athenian woman, was partially responsible for the events that led to Cnemon’s banishment. Cnemon’s stepmother had enlisted the aid of her slave Thisbe to ensnare her young stepson. When everything advanced as planned, and Cnemon was charged with adultery and subsequently exiled, Thisbe proceeded to murder her own mistress. Before she could be charged, she sailed away with a merchant, Naucratis. Thermouthis, Thyamis’ second in command, attacked Naucratis’ party, kidnapped Thisbe, and hid her in the cave after falling in love with her. With the identity of the dead woman revealed, therefore, we can reconsider our evaluation of Thyamis. Yes, he wanted to kill Charicleia, but he did not succeed. Instead, he murdered a woman who deserved death. When we encounter Thyamis again just before he is about to reclaim his rightful position, there is no indication that his earlier passionate act of murder tainted his character.

²⁷² Their different languages pose no problem for Thyamis and Theagenes in Book 7. Although Heliodorus does not explicitly state how they are able to communicate, it seems that the reader must assume that Theagenes learned, through his travels with Thyamis, Egyptian.

²⁷³ Conte (1996) 73, Braund (1993) 208, and de Souza (1999) 214.

²⁷⁴ For purposes of clarification, the *boukoloi* do not actually commit these heinous acts, but rather certain characters pretending to be *boukoloi* engage in them. These characters are simply following standard procedure of the “real” *boukoloi*.

²⁷⁵ Omerod (1924) 267, claims that the adventures with pirates form such a large part of these romances.

CHAPTER 3

INNOVATIVE ROLES: FUNCTIONS OF OUTLAWS IN THE ANCIENT NOVEL

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I considered the various types of outlaws featured in the ancient novels. Now, I focus my analysis on identifying the key functions of these outlaws and the various roles they perform in developing the themes and advancing the plots of their respective narratives.

Outlaws have several major functions in the novels. Some of these are directly related to their interactions with the hero and the heroine, while others operate independently of this relationship. One of their obvious roles involves simply facilitating the movement of the hero and heroine from one geographic setting to another---a narrative progression that is actually quite significant given the novels' predilections for exotic locales. Pirates understandably have the ability to take these main characters farther away from their homes than land-based brigands since the sea expedites travel to remote lands. In addition,

pirates and brigands become the means by which a novelist is able to create the perilous situations for the main characters that lie at the very heart of these fantastic tales of adventure.

Some of the other major functions of the outlaws in the ancient novels do not necessarily depend on the direct interaction between outlaw and main character. As we have seen, one such role is to provide the reader with a standard of comparison to which the morally upstanding behavior of the hero/heroine may be contrasted. Finally, the outlaws in the novels regularly serve as entertainment. They provide opportunities for the telling of marvelous and often tragic tales. The stories told within the confines of outlaw camps, although frequently sad tales, often provide comic relief or a pause to ease the tension built up during the course of the narrative.

A. Geographic Function

One of the most salient characteristics of the genre is the prevalence of lavish descriptions of wide-ranging geographic locales visited by its characters.²⁷⁶ Hero and heroine tend to begin their adventures in well-known Graeco-Roman cities (Syracuse, Ephesus, Mytilene, Delphi, and Thessaly)²⁷⁷, but soon either leave voluntarily or are forcibly taken from these safe urban centers, ending up in foreign environs (*e.g.* the Nile Delta region, Ethiopia, and Persia). The ways in which the main characters arrive in these bizarre locations usually

depend on a combination of sea voyage, subsequent shipwreck, and abduction by outlaws.²⁷⁸ In this next section, I will discuss the role that outlaws play in dictating the geographic setting of the ancient novels.

Of the seven extant ancient novels, only five are relevant for this discussion. The Roman novel of Petronius (the *Satyricon*) and Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* are not pertinent because little or no geographic movement can be attributed to outlaws. We might recall that the events in Longus' novel take place entirely on the island of Lesbos---the pirates in that narrative come to a predetermined, fixed geographic setting. There are various mentions of pirates in the *Satyricon*, but no one outlaw or group of outlaws ever affects the movement of the story.²⁷⁹

In the five remaining novels, the main characters travel far more extensively, and this wide-ranging geographic movement can often be directly attributed to the dealings and interactions with various outlaws. Before turning to the novels significant for this discussion, a few words about the relationship between fictional narratives and geography must be said.

The ancient novel has often been seen as an amalgam of most, if not all, earlier genres, including historiography, biography, tragedy and comedy, epic, erotic poetry, and travel tales. In fact, the groundwork for the investigation into the relationship between prose fiction and geography was conducted by Erwin Rohde in his important study *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*. First

published in 1876, Rohde's book sets the stage for all subsequent studies on the novel. Rohde's main thesis basically proposes that the novel developed from a combination of Hellenistic love poetry, paradoxographical literature,²⁸⁰ and fictional travel-logs couched within a philosophical framework.²⁸¹ Basing his analysis on two passages of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca Historica* (2.55-60 and 5.41-46), Rohde credits the descriptions of certain islands in the south to Diodorus' summaries of older prose works,²⁸² novels that featured fantastic travel accounts. Indeed, the preoccupation with incredible travel stories can most obviously be traced back to one of the first works of Greek literature, the *Odyssey*. After leaving Troy, Odysseus and his crew sail to Ismarus and Meninx (events include the sack of the Ciconians and the Lotus-eaters). After these initial adventures, they sail in and around the Italian coast, Corsica, Sicily, and the Aeolian Islands. There they encounter Polyphemus, Aiolos, the Laestrygonians, and Circe. After passing the island of the Sirens, and Scylla and Charybdis (the straits of Messina), they sail to the island of Ogygia where the entrance to the Underworld was presumably located (the far west). Finally, after losing his men and his ship, Odysseus returns to his home in Ithaca.

Herodotus continues in this strain of geographic analysis in his *Histories*, but is more scientific in his approach to ethnography and geography than earlier authors. This is most clearly seen in Books 2-5, which focus on Egypt, Scythia, and the Black Sea regions as well as other geographic locales. Herodotus'

investigation and critique of geographers before him (most of whom he asserts had been poets) creates a dramatic shift in the study of geography. Herodotus' combination of scientific investigation along with eyewitness accounts led to the development of "empirical geography."²⁸³

Closely associated to the ancient novels, and often regarded as a specialized branch of them, are the utopian or fantastic travel novels. These "fringe" novels differ from the comic-realistic (Roman novels)²⁸⁴ and idealistic novels (Greek novels) "in their outward form, plot, motifs, and even in their ideology."²⁸⁵ The most famous of these are Lucian's *True History* and Antonius Diogenes' *The Wonders Beyond Thule*. Both of these works take the form of an explorer's log, consisting of long voyages into unknown lands, and are sometimes considered a combination of satire, comic fiction, and science fiction.²⁸⁶ The "journey to far-off lands"²⁸⁷ forms a link between these "fringe" novels and the more popular and canonical novels. The ancient novelists often cloaked their imaginary tales in a historical guise in order to lend credence to their works.²⁸⁸ One of the simplest ways to do this was to include a detailed catalogue of places visited by the main characters. This served two purposes. The first purpose would be to set the story in a long tradition of historical/geographical works, thus making them appear more credible. Secondly, by including far-off places within the narrative the author is able to

invent fantastic situations, people, and environments, and at the same time authorizes his readers to accept the authenticity of these oddities because of the exotic nature of their seemingly real geographical locales.

Nevertheless, the utopian/fantastic travel tales and the idealistic Greek novels (and to some extent the comic-realistic Roman novels) do share a common characteristic: they are all forms of escapist literature.²⁸⁹ Holzberg defines escapist literature as “principally designed to indulge the consumer’s need to compensate private problems by withdrawing into a make-believe world.”²⁹⁰ In the ancient novels, especially in the idealistic Greek novels that feature the adventures of mutually devoted hero and heroine, it would be unacceptable for these young lovers willingly to leave their safe urban centers in search of adventure. One of the ways to set their adventures in motion would be to make them participants in a sea journey. The ancient novelists did this in a number of different ways.²⁹¹ In the following section, I will consider the role the outlaws play in propelling the characters along on the journeys that make up the narrative.

In Achilles Tatius’ novel, the young hero and heroine, secretly planning to elope, leave their home in Tyre and sail to Alexandria. Before they reach their destination, they are shipwrecked at Pelusium. Leucippe is kidnapped by *boukoloï* and taken to their hideout in the Nile Delta. After escaping from the *boukoloï*, Leucippe and Clitophon make their way to Alexandria. There Leucippe

is again kidnapped by some local part-time pirates and eventually is held in an unnamed location. Although Achilles Tatius highlights outlaws at various points in his narrative, very little geographic movement can be linked to these figures. The attempted elopement of Leucippe and Clitophon at the start of the story is the initial motivation for their wide-ranging journey. But in the remainder of the novel, after being sold into slavery, their travels are wholly dependent on the whims of their owners.

Likewise, in Heliodorus' novel, some geographical movement can be attributed to the outlaws in the narrative. The lovers Theagenes and Charicleia flee from Delphi with Calasiris, their guide and father-figure.²⁹² After passing a winter on Zacynthus, the three attempt a hasty departure in order to get away from the pirate Trachinus. Shortly after sailing past Crete, the pirates seize their ship and take them to the mouth of the Nile. There they are all attacked by not one, but two independent bands of *boukoloi* herdsmen. After the separation of the lovers, Theagenes journeys from Bessa to Memphis with his new *boukoloi* comrades, with Charicleia hot on his trail.

In Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, the young lovers are married soon after the story begins in Syracuse (1.1). After a string of events²⁹³ that leads to Callirhoe's apparent death, she is interred along with many valuable treasures. Theron and his band of pirates break into the tomb for the expected booty, but

their plans quickly change when they realize that Callirhoe is not, in fact, dead. In addition to absconding with the splendid funerary gifts, they unanimously elect to abduct and sell her.

They first sail to an island in the vicinity of Attica and anchor in a sheltered location. Fearing the suspicions of inquisitive and meddlesome Athenians (1.11), they decide to sail to Ionia and locate a suitable buyer.²⁹⁴ Stopping a short distance from the city of Miletus, the pirates waste no time in beginning their search for a rich Milesian man to purchase Callirhoe. Theron succeeds in locating a buyer for Callirhoe, and after he makes all of the arrangements, he and his crew sail away.

Although the physical distance traveled by Callirhoe is hardly remarkable for an ancient novel (Syracuse to Miletus), nevertheless this initial journey sets the stage and is in fact crucial for the remainder of the novel. The pirates are responsible for transporting Callirhoe to a location from which all of her subsequent adventures will commence including: standing trial before the actual king of Babylon; a beauty contest; and a trial to determine who is the rightful husband of Callirhoe.

In this novel, we discover that pirates are responsible for Callirhoe's initial journey and subsequent adventure. In Miletus, Callirhoe finds herself in an unusual predicament:²⁹⁵ she is married to one man but is pregnant with Chaereas' child. Her beauty, of course, proves to be a double-edged sword, both

the cause of her circumstances and yet, at other times, her salvation from harm.

In fact, it is her beauty that prevents Theron from killing her in the tomb when he realizes that her good looks are worth more than all the treasures entombed with her.

In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, Lucius is taken from Hypata in Aetolia to the robber-hideout located in an unnamed mountainous region. The robbers chiefly target Thebes, Plataea, and Hypata for plundering, so we might assume that their hideout is located somewhere between these urban centers. While Lucius thus does not travel outside of central Greece during his time with the robbers, the fact nevertheless remains that he is taken from his ostensibly safe urban location and conveyed into the wild and hazardous countryside. Clearly, metropolitan areas in the novels do not guarantee safe haven from the perils typically associated with rural areas. The principal band of robbers in Apuleius' novel actually prefers to target well-populated urban centers for their unlawful escapades (Thebes, Plataea, and Hypata). Elsewhere in Apuleius' novel, outlaws operate predominantly in the countryside.²⁹⁶ Apuleius' main robber band primarily functions as the means by which Lucius is transported into an unfamiliar world where he will become an eyewitness to the curious events that take place there. While in the guise of an ass, Lucius can observe and freely comment on his captors' behavior without their knowledge.

Turning to Xenophon's novel, we find outlaws who more obviously serve as the narrative device by which the main characters are conducted into remote lands.²⁹⁷ Contrary to the plot of Chariton's novel, the initial adventure in Xenophon's novel results from a response to an oracle rather than the interference of marauders. The two young lovers journey from Ephesus to Samos,²⁹⁸ and, after a brief stop on Rhodes, their ship is overtaken by Phoenician pirates. Habrocomes and Anthia are captured and taken to the pirates' lair in Tyre. In Antioch, Apsyrtus, the pirate chief, entrusts Anthia to his daughter Manto. Eventually, Anthia is sold to Cilician merchants whose vessel is shipwrecked near Tarsus on the Cilician coast. Here, Hippothous and his band of brigands kidnap Anthia, who after undergoing many trials, finds herself in Alexandria where she is sold to the Indian Psammis.

Unlike most characters in the novels, Habrocomes actually befriends a brigand and travels with him from Antioch to Mazacus. He sails to Alexandria, the last known location of Anthia, but unfortunately he is shipwrecked near the Paralian mouth of the Nile and captured by local *boukoloï*. They take their prisoners to the city of Pelusium where Habrocomes' interaction with outlaws comes to an end.

Anthia, on the other hand, and Psammis are attacked by Hippothous' new band in the vicinity of Coptus where Anthia again winds up the prisoner of Hippothous' band. After Anthia escapes from both the bandits and her seemingly inevitable death, her travels are no longer controlled by the movements of the robbers.

The journey motif is found in both the fantastic travel-tales as well as the ancient novels. While some novels highlight this theme more than others, and the distance traveled varies from narrative to narrative, the geographical movement of the protagonists as a consequence of their interactions with outlaws is central to the novel genre. Abduction by outlaws provides a means for the hero and heroine to relocate to exotic, foreign locales, and outlaws themselves are typically the greatest travelers in the ancient novels.

B. Kidnapping, Slavery, and Sacrifice

Once in the company of outlaws, the main characters are at once embroiled in a series of perilous situations. In addition to being seized by brigands, the hero and heroine, because of their association with these outlaws, are often seemingly killed, sold into slavery, sexually assaulted, and, on occasion, very nearly sacrificed. In this section, I discuss various episodes that occur on account of the interactions between the protagonists and the outlaws. By considering the specific situations that arise after these characters encounter one

another, we can more accurately identify another role or function of brigands in the ancient novels, namely to facilitate the introduction of the perilous adventures around which the plot pivots.

In all of the ancient novels (excluding Petronius' *Satyricon*), the situations that subject the main characters to life-threatening hazards as well as potentially permanent separation typically result from the encounter between the protagonists and outlaws. As we have seen, brigands in the ancient novels are lawless, abiding by their own set of rules and principles, and dwell outside of civilized society where pillage and murder play a central role in their daily lives. These very activities (including attacks on and looting of ships as well as confrontations with local law-enforcement), by their very nature, entail substantial risk to those involved, including hostages in their custody.

The heroine is indeed more predisposed to find herself in less familiar surroundings and more bizarre circumstances than the hero of the novels, since, as a maiden, her early years would hitherto have been largely insulated. Once kidnapped by outlaws, she often becomes either the innocent victim of a purification sacrifice or the main attraction at a slave market. Additionally, her very beauty regularly attracts the attention of some unsavory brigand who either falls in love with her or attempts to rape her. All of these perilous circumstances serve a similar purpose, to test the resolve and fidelity of the heroine. Each of the Greek novels shares a similar plot structure that revolves around the

heterosexual relationship of the protagonists. Isolde Stark, commenting on the unchanging, underlying theme of eternal love and fidelity found in the novels, states that they are best confirmed when tested and caused to undergo the most hazardous of situations.²⁹⁹ The hero, on the other hand, is more likely to be either coerced into joining the brigands as a new recruit or forcibly removed from the scene since his youth and physique often pose a tangible and significant threat to the band. But much like the heroine, the hero's fidelity and love is tested. Obstacles to the relationship come in a variety of forms, yet few are as prevalent as the violent lust of pirates and brigands for the heroine.

In some cases, brigands kidnap innocent, affluent people to ransom them back to their families³⁰⁰ or else to simply peddle them in the slave market. In every ancient novel, an outlaw or group of outlaws abducts an individual or two at least once, with some novels even involving multiple abductions.³⁰¹ Kidnapping usually sets in motion a string of events that would naturally be disparate to the prior experiences of the virtuous hero and heroine, and these new situations transport the characters (and the readers) into a fictional world populated with criminals where anything can happen.

In Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, the lives of the protagonists are idyllic, at least until the arrival of the pirates. Book One recalls the story of their upbringing and initial feelings of affection. Dorcon, the cowherd, is Daphnis' main rival for Chloe's affections. After losing a beauty contest to Daphnis, he

tries to bribe Dryas, Chloe's father, with gifts for her hand in marriage but is ultimately refused. Their idyllic world is shattered when the Phoenician pirates arrive. Although they kill Dorcon and kidnap Daphnis, Chloe saves the day and rescues Daphnis. Because of these highly melodramatic events, Daphnis and Chloe not only have their first encounter with death, but the enormity of the situation also strengthens their mutual love. After Dorcon's funeral, Chloe leads Daphnis to the cave of the Nymphs to bathe him (as she has done numerous times before). But on this occasion, she allows him to watch her bathe. Daphnis' love for Chloe takes on a physical manifestation (1.32):

ἔδόκει τὸ λουτρὸν εἶναι τῆς θαλάσσης φοβερώτερον· ἐνόμιζε τὴν ψυχὴν
ἔτι παρὰ τοῖς λησταῖς μένειν, οἷα νέος καὶ ἄγροικος καὶ ἔτι ἄγνοῶν τὸ
Ἔρωτος ληστήριον.

The bath seemed more frightful than the sea. He thought his life still remained with the pirates, for he was a young country boy still unaware of the "piracy" of love.

The metaphorical piracy alluded to in this passage suggests that falling in love has its own set of dangers. For Daphnis and Chloe, our innocent protagonists, this new set of "erotic" risks remains to be confronted and overcome. This episode, triggered by the arrival of the pirates, not only introduces the naïve young lovers to that which is completely unfamiliar and foreign, but it also inserts an element of danger into the narrative. If the pirates had not come, Dorcon would have continued to function as Daphnis' rival, thereby hindering the evolution of the lovers' relationship. Dorcon, as a surrogate for Daphnis,

must be eliminated so that the primary bond is allowed to grow and fulfill its potential. That Longus selected to remove him in such an absolute manner was just one of a number of possibilities available to him. The violence of the scene threatens the tranquility of their pastoral existence. Nonetheless, they manage to overcome all obstacles, and their relationship actually intensifies as a result.

In fact, this episode in Longus' first book clearly illustrates what becomes a hallmark of all of the novels: the hero and heroine, either together or separately, embark upon a series of adventures that test their fidelity and affection for one another. Interactions with pirates, robbers, and *boukoloi* often provide the main characters with the obstacles to love's fulfillment. Yet, with each subsequent episode, their love grows: the more dangerous or challenging the episode, the more their love for one another increases.

Once the hero or heroine has been abducted, the outlaws regularly proceed to a slave market to sell their booty to the highest bidder. In Chariton's novel, Callirhoe is taken from her tomb and sold to a rich man in Miletus. Callirhoe's first lengthy monologue comes immediately after she is sold by the pirates (1.14):

“ἴδου” φησὶν “ἄλλος τάφος, ἐν ᾧ Θήρων με κατέκλεισεν, ἐρημότερος ἐκείνου μάλλον· πατήρ γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖ μοι προσῆλθε καὶ μήτηρ, καὶ Χαιρέας ἐπέσπεισε δακρύων· ἡσθόμην ἂν καὶ τεθνεῶσα. τίνα δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλέσω; διώκουσα, Τύχη βάσκανε, διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν οὐκ ἐπληρώθης, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἐραστήν μου φονέα ἐποίησας· Χαιρέας, ὁ μὲν δὲ δοῦλον μὴδέποτε πλήξας, ἐλάκτισε καιρίως με τὴν φιλοῦσαν· εἴτα με τυμβωρύχων χερσὶ παρέδωκας καὶ ἐκ τάφου προήγαγες εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ τῶν κυμάτων τοῦς πειρατὰς φοβερωτέρους ἐπέστησας. τὸ δὲ περιβόητον κάλλος εἰς τοῦτο

ἐκτησάμην, ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ Θήρων ὁ ληστής μεγάλην λάβῃ τιμὴν. ἐν ἔρημίᾳ πέπραμαι καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς πόλιν ἠνέχθην, ὥς ἄλλη τις τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων· ἐφοβήθης γάρ, ὦ Τύχῃ, μή τις ἰδὼν εὐγενῇ δόξῃ. διὰ τοῦτο ὥς σκεῦος παρεδόθην οὐκ οἶδα τίσιν, Ἕλλησιν ἢ βαρβάροις ἢ πάλιν λησταῖς.”

“Behold,” she said, “Another tomb in which Theron has enclosed me! It is lonelier than the first one! My father and my mother would have come to me there, and Chaereas would have poured out tears for me; and I would have been aware, although dead. But whom can I summon out here? Envious Fortune, you are pursuing me on land and sea. You have not had your fill of my misfortunes. But first you made my lover my murderer. Chaereas, who had never even struck a slave, kicked me who loved him and killed me. Then you delivered me into the hands of tomb robbers and led me out of the tomb into the sea, and set pirates over me who were more frightening than the waves. So this is why I was given my notorious beauty so that the pirate Theron should get a high price for me. I have been sold in an insolated place and was not even taken to a city like any other slaves. For you were afraid, Fortune, that people would think me a noble after seeing me. For this reason I have been handed over like some inanimate object to whom I know not, Greeks or barbarians or pirates once more.”

In this speech, Callirhoe recalls the dangerous predicaments that she has faced since her marriage. With each subsequent and more challenging dilemma, Callirhoe grows less hopeful and more realistic. When she discovers that she is pregnant, she decides to marry her new master for the sake of her child. If the pirates had not kidnapped Callirhoe, none of the ensuing events would have taken place. Chaereas, we are told, in his grief for Callirhoe, visited her tomb the day after her funeral only to find her missing (2.3). Hence, the function of the pirates at this point in the narrative is to thwart her imminent rescue by Chaereas by removing Callirhoe from her home and thus initiating her next adventure.

A similar event takes place in Xenophon's novel. Again the heroine is presumed dead and buried, her suicide having been foiled by a mere sleeping potion. Word of the treasures buried with Anthia reaches the pirates who break into her tomb. When they realize that she is alive, they recognize the greater profit that she would bring if sold to the right buyer and decide to take her to the slave market in Alexandria. Anthia laments her unfortunate predicament (3.8): "πάλιν" ἔφησε "λησταὶ καὶ θάλασσα, πάλιν αἰχμάλωτος ἐγώ." ("Once again," she cried, "pirates and sea! Once again I am a prisoner!"). Pirates and the sea are two ingredients featured in many of the ancient novels that each author has manipulated to suit his own purpose.

While the abduction of one of the protagonists and her subsequent auction at a slave market adds excitement to the narrative, the shocking element of sacrifice or execution heightens the tension considerably. In many of the ancient novels, the heroines are subjected to the threat of human sacrifice and execution at the hands of outlaws.

Hippothous and his band of brigands kidnap Anthia after she washes up on the Cilician shoreline. The very next day they prepare to sacrifice her by hanging her from a tree and throwing javelins at her, all in honor of Ares (2.13). Although the passage is rather short (only eleven lines)³⁰² and focuses mainly on the preparations for the sacrifice, it nevertheless represents a repeated motif found in the ancient novels.

Human sacrifice in the ancient world is rare,³⁰³ yet there is ample evidence of its practice in the ancient novels: Xenophon 2.13; 4.6; Heliodorus 1.31; 9.24 & 10.7; Achilles Tatius 3.12-15; Apuleius 6.31.³⁰⁴ Of these six examples, five are associated with outlaws. In *An Ephesian Tale* 4.6, Anthia is thrown into a pit with two Egyptian hounds and left to die.³⁰⁵ In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the bandits suggest that Charite be sewn into the hollowed out belly of the ass (Lucius) and thrown over the cliff to be consumed by animals.³⁰⁶ The passage from Heliodorus features Thyamis stabbing the woman he thinks is Charicleia (1.31).³⁰⁷

The most famous and indeed most elaborate sacrifice of a heroine by outlaws in the ancient novels appears in Achilles Tatius' *Chaereas and Callirhoe* (3.12; 15; 21). An unnamed bandit makes off with Leucippe to serve as the virginal victim for a purification sacrifice (3.12). Achilles Tatius postpones his description of the sacrifice by having his narrator, Clitophon, first recount some details about the hero, Chaereas. The sacrifice is finally described a few chapters later (3.15): after fashioning a makeshift altar out of earth, the girl is led to the place of sacrifice and a libation is poured over her head. While the priest chants a hymn, the girl is forced to walk around the altar. She is subsequently placed on the ground with her hands bound together. The priest then cleaves her open from chest to abdomen. The attendants subsequently remove her intestines and eat them.³⁰⁸ We learn later that the entire sacrifice was a hoax. Friends of the

protagonist actually utilized some theatrical props (a sword with a retractable blade and a fake stomach with animal intestines sewn inside) to pull off the deception. Because the narration of the actual events surrounding the sacrifice is delayed, tension and suspense are heightened, and the events are focalized through the eyes of the characters, thereby adding verisimilitude to the scene.

Unlike Xenophon's sacrifice that ends almost as quickly as it begins, the *Scheintod*³⁰⁹ in Achilles Tatius' novel is more engaging not only because of its length and its extent of details, but also because the heroine apparently does die. Achilles Tatius, fond of the *Scheintod* motif, features another one at 5.7. In this episode, Leucippe is beheaded by some local pirates sent to kidnap her. We find out later (7.4) that it was some other woman who was beheaded.

Outlaws in the novels propel the main characters into the perilous situations that comprise the narrative. Although serving as a conventional stimulus for a number of adventures, abduction typically culminates in a variety of incredible and hazardous predicaments, including sacrifice and slavery. Although no hero or heroine is mortally wounded in these episodes, some minor characters do perish as a result of their interactions with brigands. The utilization of the *Scheintod* motif enables the authors of the ancient novels to draw even more attention to the dangers incurred from interactions with outlaws.

C. Sexual Assault and Lust

A wide assortment of characters regularly falls in love with the heroine of the novel (and on occasion, the hero), including kings, wealthy prominent men and women, pimps, and even goatherds. Contending with the unwanted affections of various figures proves rather distressful for a young man or woman struggling to remain faithful to his or her true love; but the desires of a blood-thirsty villain can be even more disconcerting. Although every novel features attempts to seduce the protagonist (including the woman who falls in love with Apuleius' Lucius though he is still magically transformed into a donkey),³¹⁰ only Xenophon's *An Ephesian Tale* and Heliodorus' *An Ethiopian Story* feature outlaws who fall in love with their captives.

Pirates and brigands fail to exhibit the virtues of self-control that typically characterize the protagonists. In the Greek novels, the relationship between the hero and heroine is based upon mutual affection, or what Konstan labels symmetrical or reciprocal love.³¹¹ It is this mutual affection that distinguishes the form of *eros* in the Greek novels from all other amatory literature in the classical world. While most forms of *eros* are dependent upon an unequal love (a dominant male character and a dominated female character),³¹² the balance of power in the Greek novels is fundamental to the genre and ultimately responsible for the triumphal conclusion to the story. Massimo Fusillo succinctly explicates the importance of this equal love:³¹³

“In all the novels, albeit in various ways, there is invariably stressed the equilibrium of the couple: the two lovers are of the same age, the mythicized adolescence of classical civilization (by contrast, canonical personal relations were always characterized by a disparity in age, whether between husband and wife or between lover and beloved); the same extraordinary beauty, which enchants all the other characters, who are wonder-struck as though in the presence of a divine epiphany...; the same elevated social position, sometimes associated with ritual duties; the same, exceedingly intense burden of passion, which induces them to desire death in times of separation and keeps them faithful even in the face of those thousands of snares in time and space—an exclusiveness destined for ultimate triumph.”

When love is represented as asymmetrical or unequal (*i.e.* a vast difference in the social status or age of the two participants), the *eros* will be both fruitless and disastrous. Pirates and brigands fall in love with many of their captives, but this love is doomed to fail because of the unequal *eros*. Because outlaws are in a position to exploit their power in the service of their passion and, therefore, assume an active and dominant role, the protagonists are forced into a passive and defenseless position, an arrangement that will find no success in a genre characterized by its symmetry of *eros*. Likewise, scholars have argued that what many define as a weakness and passivity in the heroes of the novels, *i.e.* their inability to sweep in and save the heroine, is, in fact, not a weakness but rather a reaffirmation of their mutual love.³¹⁴ If the hero were to take direct action, then this would ultimately place him in a position of power, and the result would be asymmetrical love. Similarly, the heroines are neither portrayed as helpless nor passive as their counterparts in other genres tend to be depicted.³¹⁵

In Xenophon's story, some Phoenician pirates take Anthia and Habrocomes prisoner soon after they sail away from their home in Ephesus (1.13). Corymbus, the pirate lieutenant, falls in love with Habrocomes while his comrade, Euxinus, desires Anthia. They soon make plans to assist one another in their romantic endeavors (1.15):

ὁ δὲ Εὐξείνιος ἄσμενος ἀκούει τὰ περὶ τοῦ Κορύμβου· καὶ γὰρ αὐτός ἐπ' Ἀνθίᾳ διέκειτο πονήρως καὶ ἦρα τῆς κόρης σφοδρὸν ἔρωτα· λέγει δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κόρυμβον καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεβούλευσε μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπανιᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἔργου ἔχεσθαι· “καὶ γὰρ” ἔφη “σφόδρα ἀγεννὲς κινδυνεύοντας καὶ παραβαλομένους μὴ ἀπολαύειν μετὰ ἀδείας ὧν ἐκτησάμεθα πόνῳ· δυνησόμεθα δὲ αὐτούς” ἔλεγεν “ἐξαιρέτους παρὰ Ἀψύρτου λαβεῖν δωρεάν.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν ῥαδίως ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ἐρῶντα· καὶ δὴ συντίθενται κατὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ποιήσασθαι λόγους καὶ πείθειν οὗτος μὲν Ἀβροκόμην, Κόρυμβος δὲ Ἀνθίαν.

Euxinus was happy to hear of Corymbus' affair, for he himself was intensely affected by Anthia and had a fierce desire for the girl. He confessed his feelings to Corymbus and counseled him not to be aggravated any more but to take control of the matter. "For it would not unmanly," he said, "for us taking risks and exposing ourselves to dangers to fail to enjoy with impunity what we have gained by pain. But we will be able to select them as a gift from Apsyrtus." Saying these things, he easily persuaded Corymbus, being in love. And so they contrived to put in a good word for the other; Euxinus would talk to Habrocomes; Corymbus to Anthia.

All of their planning, however, is proven fruitless when Apsyrtus, the pirate chief, claims the young couple for himself. Not only does this episode feature forms of asymmetrical eros (both homosexual and heterosexual) and, therefore, is doomed to failure, but it also lays the ground-work for many other episodes to follow which continue in this mode of unequal love. Following the chief's demand for the protagonists, Apsyrtus' daughter, Manto, also falls in love with

Habrocomes but he rejects her. Once again we see a form of unequal love manifest itself in a way that calls to mind Phaedra's obsession for Hippolytus.³¹⁶ Manto's passionate feelings are analogous to the desires of Corymbus and Euxinus, yet ultimately fail to her dismay.

In Book Four, Anthia is once again the object of an outlaw's affection (4.5). Anchialus attempts to rape her, but she defends herself from his advances and kills him in the struggle. Consequently, she is placed into a pit to die. Once again her guard falls in love with her and helps her escape. After a series of adventures, Anthia winds up in Italy where she is eventually sold to the brigand Hippothous (5.9). From daily contact with her, he, too, falls for Anthia. Yet this lust immediately evolves into friendship when Hippothous learns her true identity. The common element in these situations is the one-sided, unreciprocated nature of the outlaws' obsession, and their power over the lives of the protagonists.³¹⁷ In contrast, the hero and heroine maintain a mutual love that is in the end bound to succeed.

Although Anthia manages to escape all of the advances made toward her by outlaws to preserve her chastity, Charicleia is not so lucky. In Heliodorus' novel, Charicleia is captured by the *boukoloi* chief, Thyamis. He falls in love with her and plans to marry her. Moments afterward, the news of an enemy attack arrives, he has her placed in a cave for safekeeping. During the battle, he fears that she will be taken from him and proceeds to the cave to kill her. Upon

entering the cave, Thyamis, after following the voice of a Greek woman he believes to be Charicleia, he kills her and quickly departs. Fortunately for Charicleia, the darkness of the cave concealed the true identity of the woman murdered, Thisbe, a woman also placed in the cave for protection by her lover.

In this episode, Thyamis wields all the power and assumes the active role of pursuer. Earlier, however, prompted by a dream and its subsequent misguided interpretation, Thyamis decides to marry Charicleia and proceeds to secure the blessings and good will of his people for this union. When Thyamis next inquires into Charicleia's feelings on the matter, we are initially surprised by this gesture. By asking Charicleia to submit to the marriage of her own free will, Thyamis appears to be making overtures towards mutual *eros*. Yet, at no point in this episode is Charicleia on equal footing with Thyamis. He remains the chief and her captor. Following Konstan's theory of symmetrical love, this relationship is ultimately doomed to failure as are all relationships of unequal love in the novels.

D. Comparison of Outlaws with Other Characters

In the last chapter, I discussed three individual outlaws (Theron, Hippothous, and Thyamis) who, as distinctive and elaborately drawn characters, stand out in the ancient novels. Their behavior and conduct, as well as that of their fellow outlaws, are repeatedly compared and contrasted to those of the

main characters.³¹⁸ One of the reasons for this comparison stems from the notion that these outlaw chiefs (Theron, Hippothous, and Thyamis) play an undeniable rival to the hero of the novel. Not only does their contribution to the narrative play a decisive role affecting the course of the action but also they regularly take the place of the hero when he is otherwise occupied or stand in for him when he is absent. The surrogate position Theron, Hippothous, and Thyamis assume in their novels is important and central because, as substitutes for the hero, they simultaneously prove to be quite distinct from him, thereby highlighting the hero's weaknesses and strengths, and yet through this comparison reveal their own potential to be just as good or better than the hero. In the following analysis, I consider the various ways these two groups, outlaws and main characters are compared and contrasted.

In the Greek novels, our protagonists are a beautiful young man and strong-willed and innocent woman, both from distinguished families.³¹⁹ In the two Roman novels, the main character is male, and, although he also hails from notable lineage and is strong-minded, he is far from innocent.³²⁰ As stated above, one of the chief functions of the outlaws in the novels (most notably the Greek novels) is to represent a complete antithesis to the main characters. Because of their preoccupation with testing the chastity and fidelity of the protagonists throughout their challenging ordeals,³²¹ the authors of the Greek novels present many more opportunities to test and showcase the virtue of their protagonists

than do the authors of the Roman novels. One of the ways in which the authors illustrate the loyalty and faithfulness of the protagonists is to draw a distinction between their mutual devotion and the perfidy of the outlaws.

As we have seen time and time again, outlaws are often ruled by their passions. While the chastity and loyalty of the protagonists are highlighted throughout the Greek novels, the outlaws consistently succumb to their desires. This often leads directly to the loss of what they most want or even their destruction. As discussed earlier, Anchialus' attempt to rape Anthia fails and, in the course of her defense against his advances, she kills him. The erotic desires of Corymbus and Euxinus for Habrocomes and Anthia are also a noteworthy situation. These two pirates attempt to help each other win over the protagonists by means of promises and threats but ultimately fail when the hero and heroine are claimed by the pirate chief, Apsyrtus. In Heliodorus' novel, Trachinus and his fellow pirates all perish when Trachinus and his second in command, Pelorus, fight over Charicleia.

Heliodorus underscores another chief and his second-in-command: Thyamis and Thermouthis. These outlaws, however, do not fight each other for the possession of a girl, but rather in a unique twist are doublets of each other and have prisoners who are in turn also doublets: Thyamis possesses Charicleia while Thermouthis controls Thisbe.

Thermouthis, the second in command of the *boukoloi*, places Thisbe in the same cave in which Thyamis had placed Charicleia for safekeeping. Rather than risk the possibility of having her fall into the hands of another, Thyamis goes to the cave bent on killing Charicleia. He kills Thisbe thinking that she is Charicleia. Earlier in the story, Thermouthis had kidnapped Thisbe from the merchant Nausicles and had fallen madly in love with her. He, too, placed her in the cave for her own protection, but she is murdered. As doublets, both men employ force upon the women they desire and are ruled by their own passions. Ultimately, Thermouthis loses Thisbe and Thyamis, Charicleia.

Heliodorus initially characterizes Thisbe as the worst kind of woman, one who seduces, lies, and even kills (1.11-17). In the end, she recognizes the error of her ways and begs Cnemon, the man she betrayed, to rescue her from Thermouthis' imprisonment (2.10). Like Charicleia, Thisbe, therefore, is the unwilling prisoner of an outlaw, yet her previous actions eventually catch up to her. Cnemon says over Thisbe's body (2.11):

ὁ δὲ Κνήμων, “ὦ Θίσβη,” ἔφη, “σὺ μὲν καλῶς ποιούσα τέθνηκας καὶ γέγονας ἡμῖν αὐτάγγελος τῶν ἐαυτῆς συμφορῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγχειρίσασα τῶν σῶν σφαγῶν τὴν διήγησιν. Οὕτως ἄρα τιμωρὸς Ἐρινὺς γῆν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐλαύνουσά σε οὐ πρότερον ἔστησε τὴν ἔνδικον μάστιγα πρὶν καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ με τυγχάνοντα τὸν ἡδίκημένον θεατὴν ἐπιστῆσαι τῆς κατὰ σοῦ ποινῆς.”

Cnemon said, “Thisbe, it’s a good thing that you are dead and that you yourself were the messenger to us your misfortunes, delivering the narrative of your murder. An avenging Fury, it seems, pursued you over the entire world and did not stay her just whip until she brought you to Egypt, where I happened to be, the unjust victim, now the observer of the your punishment.”

So, Thisbe's murder can be understood as a just punishment for her previous indiscretions. Charicleia, as her counterpart, is innocent of all crimes and therefore escapes Thyamis' blade. As a foil to Thyamis, Thermouthis likewise dies. Upon his death as a result of a poisonous snakebite, the narrator comments (2.20): μοιρῶν τάχα βουλήσει πρὸς οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον τοῦ τρόπου τὸ τέλος καταστρέψας: "Perhaps it was fate's will that his death take place in such a way that suited his character".³²² Although Thyamis appears quite malevolent in his attempt to kill Charicleia, he is not punished for his actions, but Thermouthis is in his stead. There are a number of reasons that Thermouthis is eliminated while Thyamis remains alive. First, the events that led each of them into a life of crime are emphasized. Thyamis was betrayed by his own brother and unwillingly forced into a life of crime. Thermouthis has no such excuse. From the start, Thyamis therefore is not the typical outlaw we find in the novels. Secondly, Thyamis does not attempt to forcibly claim Charicleia as his prize, but rather asks his people for their approval as well as asking Charicleia herself (1.19-20; 1.21). We may recall that Thermouthis kidnapped Thisbe and held her against her will. Finally, Thyamis' actions in the cave are described by the narrator as fairly honorable for a savage barbarian (1.30):

Δυσανάκλητον δὲ πρὸς ὅπερ ἂν ὀρήσῃ τὸ βάρβαρον ἦθος· κἂν ἀπογνῶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν, προαναιρεῖν ἅπαντὸ φίλον εἴωθεν, ἥτοι συνέσεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἀπατῶμενον ἢ χειρὸς πολεμίας καὶ ὕβρεως ἐξαιρούμενον.

Once set in motion, it is hard to call back the temper of a barbarian. And when he loses all hope for his own safety, he will kill everything he loves, whether deluded by the belief that he will be reunited with it after death or to save it from the hands and insults of his enemies.

Thisbe, on the other hand, describes her imprisonment at the hands of

Thermouthis on a tablet that Cnemon finds hanging around her neck (2.10):

Ἔπειτα φράζω κατὰ τήνδε με νυνὶ εἶναι τὴν νῆσον δεκάτην ἤδη ταύτην ἡμέραν πρὸς τινος τῶν τῆδε ληστῶν ἀλοῦσαν, ὃς καὶ ὑπασπιστὴς εἶναι τοῦ ληστάρχου θρύπτεται καὶ κατὰ κλείσας ἔχει μηδὲ ὅσον προκύψαι τῶν θυρῶν ἐπιτρέπων, ὥς μὲν αὐτὸς φησι, διὰ φιλίαν τὴν περὶ ἐμὲ ταύτην ἐπιθεὶς τὴν τιμωρίαν, ὥς δὲ ἔχω συμβάλλειν, ἀφαιρεθῆναι με πρὸς τινος δεδιώς. ... Ἐξελοῦ δὴ με χειρῶν ληστρικῶν καὶ ὑπόδεξαι τὴν σαυτοῦ θεραπαινίδα· ... βέλτιον γὰρ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνηρῆσθαι τῶν σῶν καὶ κηδείας μεταλαβεῖν Ἑλληνικῆς ἢ θανάτου βαρυτέραν ζωὴν καὶ φίλτρον βαρβαρικὸν ἔχθρας ἀνιαιρότερον τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνέχεσθαι.

Next I tell you that this is now my tenth day on the island. I am the captive of one of the bandits who lives here who claims that he is the chief's second-in-command. He keeps me locked away and does not allow me to look outside the door, saying that he has imprisoned me because he loves me, but I think that he fears that someone might take me from him. ... Save me from the hands of these brigands and receive me as your maidservant. ... For it is better to die at your hands and have a Greek funeral than to endure a life worse than death and bear the love of a barbarian more grievous than the hatred of the Athenians.

Both Thisbe and Charicleia despise their imprisonment. Thisbe however is permitted no freedom, no communication with others. Charicleia, on the other hand, is allowed to stay with Theagenes (claiming he is her brother). The hero and heroine are entrusted to the care of a Greek-speaking prisoner (Cnemon), and orders are given that they should be treated well. While Thyamis attempts to kill Charicleia (and does kill Thisbe), his actions are not regarded as hostile as those of Thermouthis. If anything, his actions are deemed praiseworthy since

Thisbe was wicked and deserved to die. As doublets of each other, if Thisbe dies, so must Thermouthis. Similarly, Thyamis must live if Charicleia survives. The unprincipled passions that drive outlaws to act are often contrasted to the restrained behaviors of the protagonists in the novels, thereby highlighting the latter's chastity and fidelity.

Another technique that showcases the conventional morality of the main characters in the Greek novels is the comparison between heterosexual and homosexual love.³²³ In Xenophon's story, the outlaw Hippothous explains the circumstances which led him into a life of crime (3.2). He states that, after his lover (Hyperanthes) was sold to a rich merchant (Aristomachus), he followed the two of them from Thrace to Byzantium and killed the merchant. During their escape, their ship capsized, Hyperanthes drowned, and Hippothous turned to brigandage for survival.³²⁴ This is not the only homosexual affair to end tragically in the novels.³²⁵ Achilles Tatius narrates two stories of homosexual love that also end tragically (1.12 and 2.34). Although neither of these episodes deals with outlaws, the authors appear to be passing judgment in their respective narratives on what type of love is acceptable and what type is not. It is noteworthy that Hippothous' method of re-entering society is through marriage to a woman (5.9):

Ὁ δὲ Ἰππόθοος ὁ Περίνθιος ἐν τῷ Ταυρομενίῳ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διῆγε
πονήρως ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἡράσθη
πρεσβῦτις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔγημέ τε ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν
πρεσβῦτιν, καὶ ὀλίγῳ συγγενόμενος χρόνῳ· ἀποθανούσης αὐτῆς
πλουτὸν τε διαδέχεται πολὺν καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν·

Meanwhile, Hippothous of Perinthus, now in Tauromenium, was at first down on his luck because of his poverty. In time, an old woman fell in love with him, and, because of his circumstances, he was forced to marry her. He had lived with her for only a short time when she died, and he inherited her great wealth and good fortune.

Almost immediately after she dies, he takes up with an Italian youth, Cleisthenes, who shares all of Hippothous' possessions (5.9). Although the exact nature of their relationship is never mentioned explicitly, some scholars interpret their relationship as homosexual.³²⁶ Although Hippothous decides to share all his newfound wealth with Cleisthenes, and the two move to Ephesus to live out their days with their friends Habrocomes and Anthia, the story concludes with Hippothous' adoption of Cleisthenes (5.15). This suggests that their relationship is not homoerotic. The tomb that Hippothous constructed for Hyperanthes after his death (3.2) represents his undying love and fidelity to that relationship,³²⁷ while his adoption of Cleisthenes "marks the termination of the pederastic relationship."³²⁸

The role Hippothous plays in Xenophon's novel is exceptional to the genre.³²⁹ In addition to being one of only two characters who is forced to abandon his privileged existence and enter into a life of crime,³³⁰ Hippothous also undergoes adventures with the protagonists individually and, therefore, has quite different relationships with both the hero and heroine of the novel. Not

only does he act as a link between the main characters while they are separated, but his love for Hyperanthes, though ending tragically, follows a pattern similar to that of Anthia and Habrocomes.³³¹

Like Habrocomes, Hippothous hails from a wealthy and important family (1.1, 3.2) and both men experience their initial feelings of love at a religious festival. In addition, they are both separated from their lovers and blame a deity for their unfortunate circumstances. The two differ in their response to their unfortunate situations.³³² Unlike most of the heroes, Hippothous decides on direct and violent action, whereas Habrocomes is hesitant to act in a similar fashion.³³³ Hippothous, thus, stands out immediately from other male characters because of his spontaneous and impulsive response to his immediate circumstances. When his lover is taken from him, Hippothous follows in hot pursuit, kills his lover's abductor, and attempts to escape. Unfortunately, his actions lead to disasters: his lover Hyperanthes drowns, and he is forced into exile and eventually brigandage.

It is worthwhile to note the changes in Hippothous throughout the story. When he is first introduced, he is an armed outlaw, devoted to Ares, and preparing to sacrifice Anthia. Yet after escaping destruction, he joins up with Habrocomes, and the two become the best of friends.³³⁴ After recruiting a new band, he again kidnaps Anthia (though neither recognizes the other), but this time does not immediately attempt to sacrifice her. Rather, he punishes her only

after he learns that she has killed one of his comrades during an attempted rape. Soon afterwards, Hippothous' second band of brigands is destroyed and once again he alone escapes. On this occasion, however, he throws away his weapons (ἀπορρίψας τὰ ὄπλα), a direct contrast to his reaction after his first robber band was destroyed.³³⁵ Afterwards, Hippothous travels to Sicily and, although in terrible straits, he makes a determined effort not to return to a life of crime. He instead marries an old woman: he abandons Ares for Aphrodite. Although Hippothous initially convinced Habrocomes to enter into his criminal lifestyle, he now chooses to follow Habrocomes' way of life and rejoin civilized society.

But Hippothous is exceptional among brigands. In fact, although many outlaws can be considered "honorable" despite their associations with villainous gangs, most outlaws are not so praiseworthy. In addition to their treachery in matters of the heart, outlaws often betray their own people. While we would expect the brigands in the novels to abuse their captives, we may find it surprising when they similarly mistreat their comrades. In Chariton's novel, for example, Theron shows an utter lack of concern for his fellow pirates from the start. Early in the narrative (1.10), he misleads his companions as to the reason why he is keeping Callirhoe alive, claiming that he intends to return her to her parents. By consulting his comrades as to what should be done with the girl, he feigns genuine interest in their advice, all the while fully intending to do precisely what he wants. When sailing near Athens (1.11), his fellow pirates

suggest they try to sell her in the marketplace. Although they all agree on this course of action, Theron dismisses the suggestion claiming that Athenians are too nosy.

While Theron repeatedly attempts to deceive Callirhoe into thinking that he intends to return her to her parents (1.9, 10, 13), the highpoint of his deception comes later in Book 3 after a storm at sea. The ship drifts aimlessly for days with the crew's water supply nearly exhausted. Always resourceful and cunning, Theron pilfers water from his fellow thieves, and therefore is able to outlast his shipmates (3.3). When Chaereas discovers the ship in his search for Callirhoe, he finds that Theron is the sole survivor. In addition, he discovers on board the funeral offerings that were buried with Callirhoe. Theron, of course, lies about his identity, claiming that his piety saved him. He is then taken back to Syracuse and interrogated. During the inquiry, Theron, so adept at lying, nearly convinces the Syracusans of his innocence. Ultimately, however, he is tortured and, after confessing the truth, is crucified.

Theron is clearly nothing more than a clever thief and liar. While he may be a leader of pirates, he displays almost none of the redeeming qualities that good outlaws in the novels possess. Thyamis and Hippothous, for example, are appreciated by their respective gangs due to the genuine concern they have for the welfare of their crew, a concern in no way shared by the treacherous Theron. Given Theron's consistent pattern of deception and betrayal, it seems fitting that

Chariton should have this pirate meet a more violent end. Although entire bands of outlaws are destroyed regularly,³³⁶ the crucifixion of Theron, albeit a standard form of punishment at the time, is exceptionally brutal for the novels.

In direct contrast to Theron is Chaereas, the hero of the novel. Although Chaereas kicks Callirhoe in a fit of jealousy, knocking her out to such an extent that all believe she is dead, he nevertheless ultimately becomes the pawn of envious suitors. Unlike the other novelists who flaunt their hero from the start of their respective narratives, Chariton has his hero temporarily depart from the main narrative (1.6-3.3) and replaces him with Theron as the strongest male character for the first few books. Despite his crimes, Theron has not done anything on par with Chaereas' impulsive kick. He appears to take on a genuine concern for Callirhoe, though we find out later that his motivating factor is mere profit. In contrast to Theron's preoccupation with self-gain, Chaereas' motives are more altruistic. When his father falls from a ladder, Chaereas goes to visit him immediately although he was just married and Anthia is not yet allowed to appear in public (1.3). Later in Book 8, not only does Chaereas not force his Egyptian comrades to leave their families to go to war (8.2), but he also makes a point of sharing the spoils equally with his men who do serve (8.3). Although initially he seems to be a rather weak hero,³³⁷ once Theron is removed from the narrative, Chaereas unmistakably asserts himself as the dominant male character.

Another example of an outlaw's betrayal of his own kind is found in Heliodorus' *An Ethiopian Tale*. We recall that Heliodorus' novel opens to reveal a beach scattered with slain bodies, remnants of a feast, and the badly wounded Theagenes lying at the feet of the deeply distressed Charicleia.³³⁸ Before any explanation can be given, Thyamis and his band of *boukoloi* capture the two lovers. Later in Book 5, we learn about the events that led to this perplexing episode. Soon after the two young lovers leave Delphi with their chaperone Calasiris, their ship is attacked by the pirate Trachinus. A storm at sea soon shipwrecks the pirates along with their three prisoners on the coast of Egypt. Trachinus proclaims they will honor the gods with a sacrifice, although he actually plans to wed Charicleia. He confides in Calasiris who is posing as her father. In order to prevent the ceremony, Calasiris tells Peloros, second in command, that Charicleia is in love with him. Peloros claims that he has sensed her desire for him and defiantly declares that he will take Charicleia as part of his well-earned booty. Trachinus, however, refuses to hand her over to him. A battle breaks out between the two factions and, as a result, all the pirates are killed. Calasiris has successfully managed to turn pirates' jealousy and greed against themselves.

Thyamis, the *boukoloi* chief, stands in stark contrast to the pirates Trachinus and Peloros. When Trachinus decides to wed Charicleia, he approaches her supposed father, Calasiris, and says the following (5.28):

Ἰὼ πάτερ, ἔφη, θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν ἑμαντῶ γαμετὴν ἐμνηστευσάμην καὶ τοὺς γάμους ὡς ὀρᾷς ἐστίαν μέλλω τήμερον, ἐορτῶν τὴν ἡδίστην θυσίᾳ τῇ τῶν θεῶν ἐπισυνάπτων. Ὅπως οὖν μὴ αὐτός τε ἀνήκοος στυγνότερον συμποσιάζῃς ἢ τε παῖς διὰ σοῦ μαθοῦσα δέξεται χαίρουσα τὸ ἐσόμενον, ἐδικαίωσα προειπεῖν σοι τὴν ἑμαντοῦ γνώμην, οὐ βεβαιωθῆναι παρὰ σου ταύτην βουλόμενος, ἔχω γάρ μοι κατεγγυῶσαν τὸ βούλημα τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' αἴσιον ἄλλως καὶ εὐπρεπὲς δοκιμάζων εὐπειθεστέραν εὐτρεπίσαι τὴν νύμφην, διὰ τοῦ φύντος προμαθοῦσαν τὸν γάμον.

“Father,” he said, “I am engaged to your daughter, soon to be my wife, and I intend to celebrate the wedding today, as you can see, by combining a most joyful festival with a sacrifice to the gods. So that you not be rather hateful while drinking at the revels because no one told you what was happening and so that your daughter receive gladly the news from you what the future holds for her, I have decided that you ought to know my intentions beforehand, not because I want you to confirm them---for my position secures my will---but because I consider it right and proper that my bride be prepared by learning about the marriage from her father.”

In this speech, Trachinus reveals not only his selfish motives, but also his utter disregard for the wishes of Charicleia and her father. Recognizing Trachinus' impulsive passion, Calasiris cleverly creates a foe for Trachinus in his second-in-command, Pelorus. Pelorus, too, is rash in his reactions to the situation. While claiming that he is entitled to Charicleia since he was first to board the ship, he furthermore is quick to turn on his captain and plan his attack on Trachinus. Thyamis, too, falls in love with Charicleia but, in contrast to the other outlaws, he asks for the approval of his people and of Charicleia herself (1.19-21). In addressing his followers, he states that he could take her for himself but he would stand to gain nothing from such coercion. He also claims that their match, priest to priestess, is not for bodily pleasure but rather to continue his line.

Although all the people applaud and bless their union, Thyamis is eager to gain Charicleia's approval too. For in the case of a marriage, he claims, the assent of both parties is necessary.

Heliodorus clearly distinguishes Thyamis both from his second-in-command, Thermouthis, as well as from the pirates Trachinus and Pelorus. Had Thyamis behaved in a similar fashion as these outlaws, his transformation and return to society in Book 7 would not only have been entirely unexpected and implausible, but also would point to a serious flaw in Heliodorus' (generally impeccable) narrative technique.

Certain outlaws not only stand in contrast to the main characters of the novels, but, as we have seen, differ from other criminals as well. While we can state with certainty that they are more prone to succumb to their passions and desires, there are a number of specific instances that reveal a different type of criminal. On the rare occasion, however, when a friendship develops between an outlaw and a hero, we witness a fundamental change in the outlaw which ultimately leads to his return to civilized society.

E. *auresque tuas benivolas lepidi susurro permulceam...*

Apuleius begins his *Metamorphoses* by telling his readers that he will string together a number of tales that will delight their ears (1.1):

At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram auresque tuas benivolas lepidi susurro permulceam---figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursum mutuo nexu repectas ut mireris.

But I will weave together for you various stories in a Milesian tale and I will thoroughly delight your kind ears with a pleasant murmur---so that you will marvel at the figures and fortunes of men changed into other forms and then turned back again.

And to this he holds true. Winkler identifies fifteen inset tales within the *Metamorphoses* and claims that these fifteen episodes comprise almost sixty percent of the entire novel.³³⁹ Of these fifteen tales, seven of them deal directly or indirectly with brigands.³⁴⁰ I have already discussed the tales of the robbers in Chapter 2, but let me recall them briefly. After Lucius' metamorphosis at the close of Book 3, he is kidnapped by brigands and is led to their mountain hideout where he overhears their tales of brigandage (4.9-21).³⁴¹ The first story recalls the bravery and death of their leader, Lamachus, during a burglary of Chryseros' house (4.9-11). The second tale recounts Alcimus' fall from a window and subsequent death after being duped by an old woman (4.12). The final tale recollects the account of Thrasyleon as he attempted to sneak into Demochares' house while disguised as a bear (4.13-21).

These three stories are not only highly entertaining due in large part both to the bizarre and amusing antics of the robbers as well as the reactions of their victims, but also because they portray these ruthless outlaws as victims of chance and fate. As Tatum remarks, the brigands, "for all their dire threats, never quite get around to killing anyone, and are more boasting and talk than action."³⁴² In fact, the robbers are portrayed as foolish and incompetent in performing their

criminal activities. And similar to the entertaining narratives found in the Greek novels where hero and heroine embark on a series of adventures (each one being more fantastic than the one preceding), the tales of the brigands recall the same adventurous elements, and each successive narrative attempts to outdo the previous one.

The longest, most elaborate, and certainly most discussed tale in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is the Cupid and Psyche narrative (4.28-6.24).³⁴³ This tale is told to Charite in the hopes of both diverting her attention from her current predicament and providing her with hope in the favorable outcome of her plight. Although the story of Cupid and Psyche is usually considered in light of its allegorical features and connections to Book 11, I would like to analyze the tale within the context of the surrounding narratives, those of the robber band tales and the Charite and Tlepolemus story.³⁴⁴

Some members of the robber band return to the mountain-lair with a young woman they had recently captured (4.23). Charite shares her tale of woe with the old woman, explaining that she was kidnapped on her very wedding day while dressed in her bridal attire. In attempting to console the poor girl, the old woman narrates the tale of Cupid and Psyche.

There are many parallels between the romance of Charite and Tlepolemus and those regularly found in the Greek novels. Both protagonists are beautiful, young, from good families, and find themselves unwillingly separated from each

other. Similar to many of the heroines in the Greek novels, Charite is kidnapped by robbers and taken away from her home and her beloved. With the conclusion of the Cupid and Psyche story, an unnamed robber introduces a potential new recruit (Haemus/Tlepolemus) to the band. This man, described as tall, young, and solidly built, was persuaded to leave his employment and embark on the more lucrative career of brigandage (7.4). As we have seen, this same situation of the hero joining a band of outlaws occurs in many of the Greek novels (Habrocomes joins Hippothous in Xenophon's novel; Theagenes joins Thyamis in Heliodorus' novel).

This man shares his story with the brigands revealing the following details (7.5-8): he is the famous bandit Haemus of Thrace; his father was Theron, an equally famous robber; he was reared on human blood and is more interested in fighting than in booty; and his entire band recently had been destroyed.³⁴⁵ He proceeds to explain the circumstances that led to their destruction. Through the machinations of a noble lady, Plotina, who, disguised as a young man, accompanied her husband into exile, his band was destroyed. On the night selected by Haemus and his band to attack the inn in which they were staying, she managed to raise the alarm and rescue everyone. Because of her strong will and nobility, her husband was pardoned, and the emperor vowed to destroy Haemus' entire band of brigands. Haemus claims that he alone managed to escape destruction by dressing like a woman.³⁴⁶

The recurring motif of hidden identity or disguise in the tale of Thrasyleon, the Haemus/Tlepolemus episode, the Plotina scene, and the “Cupid and Psyche” story function to highlight Lucius’ own ‘asinine’ appearance as well as the overall theme of metamorphosis found in the novel.³⁴⁷ The robbers do not connect the element of disguise featured in Haemus’ story (or even in the story of Plotina) with that of their own fallen comrade’s disguise nor do they find it suspicious in any way. The repeated theme of disguise alerts readers to its importance and its centrality within the tales; the fact that the robbers dismiss it only serves to stress their gullibility.

Within the account of the main robber band (3.27-4.27, 6.25-7.13) lies the narrative recounting the romance of Charite and Haemus/Tlepolemus which itself surrounds the tale of Cupid and Psyche, doublets for Charite and Tlepolemus. Many scholars have recognized and analyzed the correspondences between the two sets of lovers in the *Metamorphoses* (Charite/Haemus-Tlepolemus and Psyche/Cupid).³⁴⁸ Clearly, Apuleius’ two love stories are equivalent to those found in the Greek novels. The pattern of two young lovers separated from one another, their struggle to remain faithful in the midst of their perilous adventures, and their eventual reunion is a *sine qua non* of these narratives. The conclusion of the Cupid and Psyche story is also similar to those found in the Greek novels featuring a happy reunion and marriage. In contrast, however, the story of Charite and Tlepolemus ends disastrously. Departing from

Greek novelists, Apuleius has chosen instead to add tragedy into his novel. In accord with the notion of subverting the conventions of the Greek novels, Apuleius features outlaws who are comical, gullible, and incompetent. While many of the outlaws in the Greek novels are likewise inept and amusing, they are far more dangerous and thus more successful in their nefarious endeavors. Therefore, while in many respects the robbers in Apuleius' novel behave like their Greek counterparts (they transport characters geographically, they kidnap, and thus separate the lovers), they are in essence quite different. The Greek novelists focus on the leaders of outlaw bands (Theron, Hippothous, Thyamis) in contrast to Apuleius' robbers who are leaderless.³⁴⁹ Besides the three dead brigands, no other member of the band is emphasized either by being named or physically depicted.³⁵⁰ In addition, none of the robbers falls in love with Charite (a common feature in the Greek novels), but rather they threaten her with a rather cruel punishment (6.31-32).

In the Greek novels, many entertaining but equally tragic tales are told within the confines of an outlaw camp. In Xenophon's novel, Hippothous recalls his tragic love story with Hyperanthes to Habrocomes (3.2), and Cnemon shares his unhappy tale with Charicleia and Theagenes while in the custody of Thyamis and his *boukoloi* band (1.9-17). There seem to be a number of reasons why these stories are shared within the context of an outlaw camp. First, the arrival at a brigand hideout usually follows a highly climactic episode in the story, typically

the kidnapping of the protagonist(s). A novelist who inserts an additional dramatic episode on the heels of a high point in the narrative, runs the risk of possibly undermining the initial climax. Despite the continuous progression of their typically fantastic plots, the novels do in fact incorporate a number of rhetorical devices to create temporary pauses in the narrative, including soliloquies, anecdotes, descriptions, and comparisons.³⁵¹

With the description of an outlaw hideout or the encountering of an outlaw, some novelists create a narrative pause not only to introduce new characters into their stories to share their tales,³⁵² but also to provide a respite for the main characters from danger and adventure. In Heliodorus' *An Ethiopian Tale*, the main characters request to hear Cnemon's story before sharing their own, believing that his tale of misery would serve as a consolation.³⁵³ The stories told in this setting are usually tales of misfortune that serve as a distraction from the hardships of the main character(s). This inclusion of an inserted tale provides a pause and respite for the readers also. In addition, these secondary stories, because of their thematic similarity to the primary story, serve as reminders of and parallels to them. While characters in the narrative may not notice or fully understand the significance of these inset tales, readers are expected and required to appreciate their relevance. For example, in the tale that Haemus/Tlepolemus tells the brigands in Apuleius' novel, a woman escapes notice by dressing as a man while he himself claims to employ a similar method

of cross-dressing to save his own life. Had the brigands detected the obvious elements of deception, perhaps they would have discovered his true identity and thwarted his revenge. So while these narrative pauses present opportunities to both the characters and the readers to reflect on preceding events and take a much-needed break from the dramatic action, it is during these breaks in the action that explanations are often revealed and solutions can be discovered.

In the two Greek novels relevant in this discussion, the three characters (all outlaws) that share their stories with other characters become crucial to the plot. Hippothous not only convinces Habrocomes to join him and rebuild his brigand band, but they also become best of friends. It is due to the impact of this friendship that Hippothous eventually rejoins society. Cnemon (a Greek who was kidnapped by Thyamis and eventually recruited into the band), assigned to care for Charicleia and Theagenes, quickly befriends them and helps them escape.³⁵⁴ Thyamis likewise befriends Theagenes and with the latter's help Thyamis reclaims his rightful position as heir to the high priest of Memphis.

Another notable story disclosed is the Cupid and Psyche tale³⁵⁵ in Apuleius' novel. When Charite arrives at the robber hideout, she is distressed, yet offered comfort by the old woman. She, after hearing Charite's tragic story, attempts to assuage the young girl's grief with the pleasant tale of Cupid and Psyche (4.27):

sed ego te narrationibus lepidis anilibusque fabulis protinus avocabo,

But immediately I will tell you a pleasant fairytale³⁵⁶ and an old woman's story,

This statement recalls the prologue to the work where the narrator also claims that he will tell a number of stories to delight the listeners.³⁵⁷ The stories told within the context of the main robber band clearly function as genuine entertainment.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have discussed and analyzed the main functions of outlaws in the ancient novels. The variety of their roles is as vast as their characterization. Not only do they function to transport the main characters (and the readers) to exotic locales, but they also call to mind other genres, such as epic, history, and fantastic travel tales. As we have seen, outlaws in the Greek novels regularly fall in love with their captives and are ruled by their passions into action. When they attempt to punish the protagonists, they are quite ruthless and often attempt human sacrifice. The situations that arise once in the company of outlaws are not only unpredictable but also are filled with dangerous activities. In addition, outlaws frequently behave in ways that necessitate comparison or contrast with the main characters. Whether the outlaws behave in ways harmful to their own kind or to the protagonists, or whether they adapt or change their behavior because of contact with the hero or heroine, the novels

highlight these characters, especially the three outlaw chiefs, and clearly point out the wide-ranging functions they perform in the narrative. Finally, the outlaws tell entertaining stories or set the stage for these tales to be told. Often when the main characters enter camps or hideouts of brigands, the story pauses briefly not only to introduce other minor characters, but the stories told within these settings also provide a respite for the main characters on their adventurous journeys.

In the next chapter, I will be discussing in detail the three descriptions (*ekphraseis*) of the outlaw camps that are included in the novels. The camps not only are fundamental to the way in which the outlaws are characterized, but the descriptions of the camps also regularly serve the narratological function of foreshadowing events, in particular the very destruction of the camp and its inhabitants.

²⁷⁶ For example, toponyms mentioned in Xenophon's *An Ephesian Tale* include: Ephesus, Ionia, Samos, Rhodes, Tyre, Phoenicia, Antioch, Syria, Xanthus, Cilicia, Tarsus, Mazacum, Alexandria, Pelusium, Memphis, Coptus, India, Ethiopia, Tarentum, Syracuse, Nuceria, and Cyprus.

²⁷⁷ The cities refer, in order, to Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*; Xenophon of Ephesus' *An Ephesian Tale*, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*; Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*; Heliodorus' *An Ethiopian Tale*; and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Petronius' *Satyricon* is too fragmentary and so cannot be discussed in this context.

²⁷⁸ In the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (the Story of Apollonius King of Tyre), Tarsia, daughter of the king, is kidnapped by pirates (32) and is taken from Tarsus to Lesbos where she is sold to a pimp (34). For more on the nature of this novel (Greek vs. Latin origins) and its possible Christian connections, see Schmeling (1996) 517-551.

²⁷⁹ The extant text "begins" near Puteoli and Baiae and "ends" in Croton. Schmelling (1990) 462 (among many others) suggests that the novel would have begun in Massilia. This is based on fragments I and IV attributed to Petronius. The novel might have ended in Lampsacus, birthplace of Priapus. Encolpius' violation of the secret worship of Priapus is mentioned in sections 16-26, 133, and 139.

²⁸⁰ The *Odyssey* and Herodotus' *Histories* are some examples of this type of incredible literature. See the entry in the *OCD*, 3rd edition.

²⁸¹ See Swain (1999) 13.

²⁸² 5.41-46 is based on Euhemerus of Messene's fragmentary *Sacred Inscription*. In it the tale of an imaginary voyage to a collection of islands in the Indian Ocean and the daily life of its leading island, Panchaea, was narrated. The other passage, 2.55-60, is ascribed to a lost text which features Assyrians, Medes, Indians, Scythians, Amazons, and Hyperboreans. Diodorus credits a Hellenistic author of utopian travel, Iambulus, as his main source. Although his tale is lost, Diodorus provides a summary in his work. On a journey to Arabia, Iambulus claims to have been captured first by brigands and later by Ethiopians who took him to one of these islands in the south.

²⁸³ For more on Herodotus and geography, see Romm (1992) especially 32-41.

²⁸⁴ The two Roman prose narratives have often been labeled “comic-realistic” while the five Greek novels are characterized as “idealistic.” While my analysis does not strictly depend upon these two sub-divisions, in the present discussion it does serve to elucidate the greater “lack” of geographic movement in the Roman novels. Simply stated, the comic-realistic novels “use essentially the same narrative technique as the others” (*i.e.* idealistic novels), “but in their narrative motifs they clearly parody the themes treated there.” The comic-realistic novels represent the adventures of the main characters as either “a comic distortion of the usual adventures undergone elsewhere by the two lovers... or they are depicted in a harshly realistic manner.” (Holzberg (1986) 7) In the comic-realistic novels, a comic or realistic description replaces the unrealistic depiction of a fictional reality. The comic-realistic settings (both time and place) are usually contemporary with and linked to the author. The typically favored setting for these adventures is not Asia Minor or the Near East, but rather Italy and Greece. The other two novels typically categorized as “comic-realistic” are the fragmentary *Iolaus* and the abridged *Ass Romance*, incorrectly ascribed to Lucian. For more on this, see Holzberg (1986) and Hägg (1983).

²⁸⁵ Holzberg (1986) 11.

²⁸⁶ Romm (1992) 202-3.

²⁸⁷ I borrow this term from Holzberg (1986) 12.

²⁸⁸ I will be dealing more with this idea of credibility in the following chapter.

²⁸⁹ Holzberg (1996) 624.

²⁹⁰ Holzberg (1995) 30.

²⁹¹ In Achilles Tatius’ novel, the young couple leave Tyre to elope; in Heliodorus’, Calasiris convinces the protagonists to leave Delphi and to travel with him to Ethiopia where Charicleia will be reunited with her birth parents; in Xenophon’s tale, they depart Ephesus relying on the words of an oracle. Only in Chariton’s novel does the impetus of the adventures depend on outlaws.

²⁹² Calasiris, priest of Isis at Memphis, was instructed by an oracle to find the daughter of the Ethiopian queen (none other than Charicleia) and return her to her rightful place in the Ethiopian kingdom.

²⁹³ Soon after the wedding, several rejected suitors concoct a plan to break up their marriage. Chaereas, believing that Callirhoe is being unfaithful to him, kicks her in the diaphragm which causes her to stop breathing. Believing her to be dead, Cheareas arranges her funeral.

²⁹⁴ For the view of Athenians being probing and litigious, see Aristophanes' *Birds* and *Wasps*.

²⁹⁵ In fact, Callirhoe is the only heroine in the novels to be pregnant and married to two different men.

²⁹⁶ Books 1 and 2 feature a number of incidents that involve outlaws. 1.7: Socrates is attacked by some bandits in the countryside near Macedonia; 1.23: Milo states that his lack of furniture stems directly from his fear of burglars; 2.14: Diophanes' brother is attacked and killed by a gang of robbers after a shipwreck; 2.18: Photis warns Lucius that a gang of young men are prowling the streets and murdering people.

²⁹⁷ For more on Hippothous' journeys in Egypt, see Henne (1936) 97-106.

²⁹⁸ The fathers of the newly married couple, following the oracular response, send their children away from Ephesus. Their "honeymoon cruise" sails to various cities and lands, but has no particular locale as its objective.

²⁹⁹ Stark (1989) 82-83.

³⁰⁰ In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, Charite is the young girl kidnapped by the robbers (4.23). Although this is a Roman novel, the standard hero and heroine found in the Greek novels are present. The robbers attempt to soothe Charite telling her that she will be released once they collect a sizeable ransom from her parents.

³⁰¹ In Xenophon's *An Ephesian Tale*, Anthia is kidnapped a number of times. Similarly, Callirhoe (in Achilles Tatius' novel) is captured more than once by brigands.

³⁰² Some scholars have attributed the brevity of the episode to Xenophon's lack of interest in creating suspenseful moments. See Schmeling (1980) 50. Others note that the existing version of Xenophon's novel may actually be an epitome of the original. See Bürger (1892); Zimmerman (1949-50); and Gärtner (1967). For the opposing view, see Hägg (1966).

³⁰³ Human sacrifice is usually confined to mythology and outrageous stories of a scandalous nature, e.g. Iphigenia (Aesch. Ag. 184-249; Eur. IA; Lucr. 1.84-101). The conventional wisdom is that these are either barbarian practices or memories of a ritual that have gone out of use. See Hughes (1991) and Burkert's *Homo Necans* (1983).

³⁰⁴ Winkler (1980) 155-181, especially 166-170, discusses these passages with a very different aim. He considers how the role of 'religious' details in the ceremony are optional and variable and how the essential design of the episodes are melodramatic. Winkler concludes that all of these episodes follow the same narrative formula: "Innocent Victim vs. Cut-throat Gang."

³⁰⁵ In Iamblichus' *A Babylonian Story* 77a (= Photius' *Bibl. cod.* 44), Sinoinis, the heroine is believed to have been eaten by a dog but it is actually Trophima.

³⁰⁶ This episode corresponds to *Onos* 25.

³⁰⁷ In Heliodorus' *An Ethiopian Tale* 10.7, the Ethiopians demand a human sacrifice to commemorate their victory over a foe.

³⁰⁸ A similar sacrifice is described in a fragment of Lollianus' *A Phoenician Story*. In fragment *B1 recto*, a boy is killed, his heart is removed, soaked in olive oil, and cooked. All present share in the meal and are ordered by the leader to swear an oath on the blood to neither abandon nor betray him. See also, Winkler (1980). Cannibalism in antiquity is usually the work of barbarians or the enemy as in the case of Potidaea (*Thuc.* 2.70.1).

³⁰⁹ *Scheintod*, or apparent death, is limited to the heroines of the novels. See Chapter 2, 16.

³¹⁰ *Meta.* 10.19 ff.

³¹¹ Konstan (1994).

³¹² In the *erastes* and *eromenos* relationship, both are male characters. The active role of the *erastes* (lover) is the elder of the two men, while the *eromenos* (beloved) is significantly younger. See Dover (1978).

³¹³ Fusillo (1989) 189.

³¹⁴ Konstan (1994) Chapter 1, 14-59 and Muchow (1988).

³¹⁵ E.g. Penelope in the *Odyssey* and Helen, Briseis, and Chryseis in the *Iliad*,

³¹⁶ Eur. *Hipp*.

³¹⁷ Konstan (1994) 45.

³¹⁸ In the case of Thyamis, *boukoloi* chief from Heliodorus' novel, comparisons are slightly altered. He, like the protagonists, is compared to other outlaws and is often shown to be more honorable.

³¹⁹ In Longus' novel, Daphnis and Chloe are found as children (along with their birth tokens) and raised by herdsman. By the end of the novel, their true identities are revealed and they are reunited with their affluent parents. In Apuleius' narrative, Charite and Tlepolemus assume the role of the hero and heroine found typically in the Greek novels.

³²⁰ Encolpius, in Petronius' *Satyricon*, unlike his chaste Greek counterparts, is a highly sexual character. Many of his mishaps are linked to sex. Likewise in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, sex is at the center of numerous episodes for Lucius and for many of the subordinate characters. For more on the differences of love in the Greek vs. the Roman novels, see Konstan (1994) 60-138.

³²¹ Konstan (1994) 8 rightly points out that fidelity is not the same as chastity. There are a number of examples in which one of the main characters has a sexual encounter with someone other than their beloved. Yet, this does not seem to undermine or forfeit the notion of faithfulness. Daphnis, in Longus' novel, receives a sexual education from the urbane Lycaenion (3.18) while Chloe shares a final kiss with Dorcon before he dies (1.30). Neither shares this "infidelity" with the other. In Achilles Tatius' novel, Clitophon, believing that Leucippe is dead, finally agrees to marry the widow Melite but avoids consummating the marriage for some time. After learning that Leucippe is alive and that he will soon be reunited with her, he agrees to give into Melite for one night of passion (5.27). Callirhoe, in Chariton's novel, remarries Dionysius, after being sold to him and finding herself pregnant with Chaereas' child. Although she never falls in love with Dionysius, it is made explicitly clear that Dionysius believes the child to be his (3.8).

³²² According to Aelian (NA 10.31), *thermouthis* was the proper name of an asp whose bite was supposed to be fatal only to the wicked.

³²³ There are a number of homosexual relationships featured in the Greek novels. Achilles Tatius highlights the stories of two such couples and Xenophon includes one. Although Schmeling, (1980) 52, 54, 56, suggests that Hippothous and Habrocomes strike up a homosexual relationship after they first meet (2.14). Konstan (1994) 29 states that the unhappy outcomes of the homoerotic affairs does not suggest the authors' "disapproval of such attachments per se. Homosexuality serves as a way of marking an unequal or asymmetrical relationship. It is doomed in each case because the (Greek) novel as a genre favors the fully reciprocal passion of the protagonists." Because an unequal love is present in the homosexual relationships (with one lover active, the other passive), they fail.

³²⁴ Schmeling (1980) 52 suggests that Hippothous is actually bisexual. In addition to his love for Hyperanthes, Hippothous also falls in love with Anthia and marries a woman from Tarentum. See also, Effe (1987). However, Dalmeyda (1926) xxii-iii, n. 2, rejects this stating that Habrocomes protested earlier (2.1) against Corymbos' suggested relationship.

³²⁵ In direct contrast to this is Petronius' *Satyricon*, which features Encolpius in a homosexual love affair with Giton. Conte (1994) 460 sees this relationship as a parody of the typical romantic love found in the Greek novels.

³²⁶ See Schmeling (1980) 71.

³²⁷ Alvares (1995) 404.

³²⁸ Konstan (1994) 39, n. 38.

³²⁹ See Alvares (1995).

³³⁰ The other example being Thyamis in Heliodorus' novel.

³³¹ Schmeling (1980) 54-55, charts the two tales side by side to show their similarities and differences. Konstan (1994) 27 points out the parallels in the names Anthia and Hyperanthes. Anthia's name comes from the Greek word for flower, whereas Hyperanthes' name suggests flowers in excess and marks him as a counterpart of Anthia. See also Hägg (1971) 36.

³³² See Muchow (1988) who analyzed the male hero's passiveness in Xenophon, Chariton, and Heliodorus.

³³³ Konstan (1994) 8 explains that the typical Greek novel hero is not the active type to come to the rescue of his damsel in distress. Rather he, unlike the modern idea of chivalrous heroes, behaves in a ways similar to the heroine (he is quick to tears and suicide attempts). Konstan argues that this atypical hero is exactly what the genre calls for when a symmetry of love between hero and heroine is at its core. Alvares (1995) 395 likewise points out that heroes “generally do not express their virtue by heroic, aggressive or transgressive action, but by suffering and steadfastness.”

³³⁴ Alvares (1995) 399 points out why Hippothous is such a favorite character. “But the story of Hippothous is more complex (and, I think, more satisfying) because his character and status are problematical. Hippothous’ status as an erotic hero is something given to him by the gods, but its full enjoyment depends upon his own deeds. It is not clear whether the sentimental lover or the murderous robber will win out, nor is Hippothous’ success, like that of the hero and heroine, governed by the conventions of the genre of romance.”

³³⁵ *Ibid.* 402. Alvares points to an earlier description of Ares on Anthia’s and Habrocomes’ wedding canopy (1.8). Alvares explains that just as Ares is without weapons and ruled by “Love”, so Hippothous rejects violence and gives in to love.

³³⁶ Entire bands of outlaws are destroyed in Apuleius, *Meta.* 7.13; Xenophon 2.13 and 5.3; Longus 1.30; and Achilles Tatius 4.18.

³³⁷ Helms (1966) 29-37 categorizes Chaereas’ weakness into the following groups: he lacks resoluteness of character as is evidenced by his inability to continue normal activity because of despair and self-pity; he is easily deceived’ he is suspicious and jealous; he is quick tempered; he blames others for his misfortune; and he feels sorry for his actions.

³³⁸ See Chapter 2, 92-93. See also Bühler (1976); Hägg (1983) 54-56; Holzberg (1995) 99-100; and Bartsch (1989) 45-48.

³³⁹ Winkler (1985) 25-26.

³⁴⁰ In “Aristomenes’ tale of Socrates,” Socrates is attacked by brigands who take all of his possessions. This is the impetus that drives him into the hands of the witch, Meroe. Similarly in “Milo’s tale of Diophanes,” Diophanes’ ship is destroyed by a storm at sea, and brigands kill his brother. The remaining five

tales are directly related to the main robber band in Apuleius' novel and will be discussed in this section.

³⁴¹ See Junghanns (1932) 61-78, 141-143, and 156-65; Lesky (1941) 50-61; and MacKay (1963).

³⁴² Tatum (1999) 174.

³⁴³ Winkler (1985) 89-90 states his opposition to this story's "unauthorized" title of Cupid and Psyche saying that it is "fundamentally abusive to the narrative technique of the tale. To be faithful to the story as it unfolds and to the *volte-face* effect of reidentification, we should not give away that the invisible bridegroom's name is Cupid, nor even that the beautiful princess's name is Psyche." For reasons of clarity, I will refer to this as the "Cupid and Psyche" tale.

³⁴⁴ Tlepolemus is Charite's betrothed, but when he infiltrates the brigand band, he takes on the name Haemus.

³⁴⁵ For more on the Haemus/Tlepolemus episode and its epic allusions, see Frangoulidis' various articles from 1991 and 1992.

³⁴⁶ Twice Hippothous (in Xenophon's novel) is the only brigand to survive an attack that annihilates his entire band.

³⁴⁷ Further parallels can be drawn between Cupid's unknown identity and Haemus' changing identity. Psyche's husband, according to an oracle, will not be human, but a cruel and fierce serpent (4.33). Later in the story, her mysterious husband is described in a multitude of forms including a man (5.4), a handsome young hunter (5.8), and as a middle-aged businessman (5.18). Haemus, like Cupid, undergoes a number of transformations. He first appears to the robbers dressed as a peasant but explains that he is, in fact, a famous brigand (7.5). He then proceeds to tell them the story of his escape from imperial troops by dressing like a woman. The band is so impressed with him that after voting him in as a new recruit, they elect him their new leader and present him with an elegant robe, thus replacing his tattered clothes. Before revealing himself as Tlepolemus (the husband and savior of Charite) Haemus takes on the role of the old woman (now dead) when he prepares and serves food and drink to all the men.

³⁴⁸ Tatum (1999), Winkler (1985), and Haight (1943).

³⁴⁹ Their leader, Alcimus, is mentioned only after he has died. They remain leaderless until they elect Haemus, the newest recruit, as their new chief. See MacKay (1963) 150.

³⁵⁰ For names in the novels, see Brotherton (1933-34) 36-52; Hijmans (1978) 107-122; Billault (1996) 115-129, especially 123-125; and Hägg (1971) 25-59.

³⁵¹ During the period known as the Second Sophistic (first through fifth centuries A.D.), the Greco-Roman world witnessed a heightened interest in the art of rhetoric and rhetorical training. Treatises called Προγυμνάσματα (*Progymnasmata*) or “handbooks delineating exercises of rhetorical and historical composition for students in the schools of the Hellenistic East” were composed. Four such handbooks survive which include the works of Aelius Theon, Hermogenes of Tarsus, Aphthonius of Antioch, and Nikolaos of Myra. The *Progymnasmata* consist of different types of exercises varying in number from ten to fourteen: μῦθος (myth); διήγημα (narration); χρεία (ethical maxim); γνώμη (maxim); κατασκευή καὶ ἀνασκευή (confirmation and refutation); κοινὸς τόπος (commonplace); ἐγκώμιον καὶ ψόγος (encomium and invective); σύγκρισις (comparison); ἡθοποιία (delineation of character); ἔκφρασις (description); θέσις (thesis); and νόμον εἰσφορά (proposal of a law). These rhetorical exercises not only trained men headed for public service to speak persuasively, but they also imparted the fundamentals of literary composition. The literature of the Second Sophistic, particularly the Greek prose romances, clearly demonstrates the prevalence of this rhetorical training. We see this most clearly in courtroom scenes and monologues but it is evident in the frequent use of *ekphrasis* as well. See Kennedy (1983) 54-73 for a summary of the various extant *Progymnasmata*. The dating of these grammarians is accepted as follows: Theon-early second century; Hermogenes-late second century; Aphthonius-fourth century; and Nicolaus-fifth century. Clark (1957) suggests this dating. Kennedy (1983) suggests an earlier date for Theon (first century). Bartsch (1989) 7-8 argues that these “descriptive passages” (descriptions of paintings and artwork, animals and plants, gardens and rivers, dreams and oracles, cities, processions and theatrical spectacles, as well as frequent digressions on religion, psychology, and natural history) not only constitute an integral part of the text (the *Progymnasmata*) but even provide a key to the correct understanding and interpretation of the text. In her first chapter, she focuses on the role of the Second Sophistic and the constituent parts of the *Progymnasmata*.

³⁵² In Xenophon’s novel, Hippothous and Habrocomes meet in the final chapter of Book 2 (2.14), and Hippothous’ story is told in 3.2. Cnemon, in Heliodorus’ story, shares his sad story only lines after he is introduced (1.9-17). Just two

chapters later (1.19), Thyamis shares the tragic story of how he came to be the *boukoloï* chief. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, Lucius overhears first the three robber stories (4.9-21) followed by Charite's story (4.24-26), and then both he and Charite hear the extended tale of "Cupid and Psyche" although it is told solely for her benefit (4.28-6.24).

³⁵³ (1.9):

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνίεσαν ἀλλὰ παντοίως λέγειν ἰκέτευον, μεγίστην ἡγούμενοι
παραψυχὴν τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων ἀκοήν,...

But they would not let him off and begged him by all means to tell his tale, thinking that a story of sadness like their own would be the greatest consolation.

cp. Hom. *Od.* Books 9-12 where Odysseus recalls his tale.

³⁵⁴ It is interesting to note that Cnemon later in the story plays the role of the eager listener. Cnemon, planning to meet Theagenes and Charicleia at a designated location, departs from the lovers. On his way to the village of Chemmis, he meets an old Egyptian man, Calasiris. Cnemon, when asked to tell his story, refuses and demands to hear Calasiris' story first. Of course, it would be redundant for Cnemon to repeat his story at this point, and so Heliodorus has Cnemon demand to hear Calasiris' story before sharing his own tale.

³⁵⁵ The scope of the present study does not permit any type of thorough analysis of the Cupid and Psyche tale.

³⁵⁶ The usual translation "fairytale" is taken from the opening lines of the story itself (4.28): *erant in quadam civitate rex et regina*. (in a certain kingdom lived a king and queen.) This is often translated, "Once upon a time there lived a king and queen." For more on the fairytale quality of the "Cupid and Psyche" story, see Anderson (2000) 61-71, Ch. 4: *Cupid and Psyche* and *Beauty and the Beast*. Kenney (1990) 17, also acknowledges the Cinderella motif produced with the inclusion of two evil sisters. See also Schlam (1993).

³⁵⁷ See Kenney (1990) 13, Heiserman (1977) 159, and Wlosok (1969) 70.

CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTIVE DWELLINGS: HISTORICAL REALISM, *EKPHRASIS*, AND OUTLAWS

Introduction

Authors of ancient novels who wished to make their fictional works believable and plausible employed certain techniques to ensure that their audience thought that what they were reading was true.³⁵⁸ One such technique was the control the author exercised over his imagination in a manner similar to a writer of history. Although they usually deal with predetermined events, real people, and actual motives, historians are often called upon to provide the missing pieces such as speeches and dialogues, a process Morgan labels “recovery and reconstruction.”³⁵⁹ Similarly, by adopting a historiographical pose, the authors of ancient fiction render their stories with an aim toward realism.³⁶⁰ One specific type of historiographical pose is for the authors to situate their respective novel’s opening events in actual geographic settings.³⁶¹ By evoking a specific locale, the author may be attempting to evoke certain geographic associations for his readers that will in turn give some sense of the

subjects to be treated in the work.³⁶² These geographic associations may even suggest the literary genre to which the work belongs. For example, Apuleius begins his novel with Lucius travelling to Thessaly (1.2), a place long associated with witchcraft and magic. Therefore, his audience might expect the supernatural to be prevalent in his work. Although the standard designations employed today for the titles of the Greek novels may not correspond to their original name in antiquity, nevertheless we might expect the titles of these works to allude to the importance of geographical settings in the work as a whole.³⁶³ Such works as Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* and Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* localize these novels in a specific geographic environment that, in turn, has a direct bearing on what happens in these works.³⁶⁴

Another way this historical realism is effected is through incidental details used in characterization. A character's geographical origin further adds realism to the work through the author's attention to such additional details. In Apuleius, for example, the narrator tells us that his mother's family can be traced back to Plutarch and to his nephew Sextus (1.1), while Chariton, who is himself the narrator of his novel, feels compelled to mention his occupation and employer (1.1):³⁶⁵

Χαρίτων Ἀφροδισιεύς, Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ ῥήτορος ὑπογραφεύς, πάθος ἐρωτικὸν ἐν Συρακούσαις γεγόμενον διηγέσομαι.

I, Chariton of Aphrodisias, clerk of the lawyer Athenagoras, am going to tell you a love story that took place in Syracuse.

These opening lines are certainly reminiscent of earlier historical works such as the opening of Herodotus' *Histories* (1.1):

Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέος ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμάστιά.

This is the publication of the inquiry of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, so that neither the things done by men nor their great and amazing deeds be forgotten in time.

Likewise, the opening to Thucydides reflects a similar sentiment (1.1):³⁶⁶

Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων...

Thucydides of Athens wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians.

In addition to their titles and opening lines, the ancient novels are reminiscent of historiographical works in structure, division into books, diction, and style.³⁶⁷

Moreover, both genres are similar in that they are lengthy prose works typically composed in the third person³⁶⁸ and tend to be set in the past with various digressions on mythological, geographical, and ethnographical subjects.³⁶⁹ Such digressions on the geography and ethnography of countries through which the main characters are traveling may also add realism to narratives of fiction.³⁷⁰

Work has been done on the use of both geographic and ethnographic descriptions in the novels, specifically as concerns the novel of Heliodorus.³⁷¹

Morgan, commenting on the superabundance of details in Heliodorus, states:

“...the more irrelevant the detail the more real it seems. We are made to feel that we are not dealing with a tidily confined fictional world but with

an altogether more real world, in which not every occurrence can (or need) be related to the central theme. The reader thinks, 'There would no point in including this if it were not true.'"³⁷²

Morgan's observation can be applied to all of the novels. The point of including so many details and attempting to describe such a variety of topics as people, animals, and places is not merely an exercise in erudition; it also lends an air of verisimilitude to the events narrated by the author.

The descriptions of people and places outside the metropolitan cities of Greece and Italy were of interest to the novelists. The inhabitants of fringe spaces of society are typically the protagonists of these novels³⁷³ and therefore they provide an opportunity to deal with the exotic and foreign.³⁷⁴ By their very strangeness, these characters and places draw the attention of the reader and, paradoxically, make the narrative seem all the more credible.

The focus of this chapter is to examine the habitations of the outlaws typically described in *ekphraseis*. These outlaw characters are figures outside of society and as such inhabit and function in uncivilized spaces. They are liminal in that they do not belong to a socially acceptable group and dwell in spaces that are located on the margin or threshold.³⁷⁵ Included in this category are the ambiguous areas defined as the place where land meets water (shores, lakes, rivers)³⁷⁶ and transitional spaces such as caves³⁷⁷ and labyrinths.³⁷⁸ Any literal boundary or threshold such as a building, wall, door, or room, can also be considered liminal.³⁷⁹

One topic of *ekphraseis* in the ancient novels that centers upon the liminal spaces is the outlaw camp. Although only three outlaw camp descriptions appear in the extant novels (the mountain cave dwelling of the brigands in Apuleius and the Nile Delta dwellings in Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus),³⁸⁰ very few scholars to date have attempted a careful analysis of this type of *ekphrasis*.³⁸¹ Those who have limit their study entirely to Apuleius' brigand camp. In examining the passages that describe their dwellings, I hope to show that these representations are not merely embellishments but rather aim toward verisimilitude by the superabundance of details that prevail in these descriptions. It is specifically in these illustrations that we both gain insight into the true nature of those who inhabit the dwelling as well as discover that their living spaces are a reflection of society, very close to a "simulated" city.

Another aim of examining the portrayals of outlaw dwellings is to understand how the brigands and *boukoloi* offer the semblance of realism in these texts while not necessarily alluding to the practices of historical pirates or brigands. Since descriptions of the criminals aim at verisimilitude, it is ironic that it is through encounters with these outlaws that the protagonists eventually embark on the fantastic adventures that form the plot. Despite the novelists' pursuit of historical realism, my interest in outlaws is not fundamentally concerned with their historical role in antiquity. Not discounting the potential significance of historical piracy and brigandage in the novel,³⁸² I instead focus

my study in this chapter primarily on how the novelists employ *ekphraseis* of the liminal spaces the outlaws inhabit, and, in a broader sense, the descriptions of settings themselves in the narrative to convince their readers of realism.

In this chapter, I will look closely at these descriptions and analyze them in terms of where they occur in their respective novel and their function within the individual texts. I will also consider their literary predecessors and how these works play a role in these passages. Finally, I will look at how historical realism is achieved through the utilization of a historiographical pose.

Robbers' Mountain-Lair (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 4.6)

At the end of Book 3, after watching the witch, Pamphile, rub an ointment onto her body and turn into an owl, Lucius, in turn, attempts to do the very same thing. Yet, he misguidedly applies a different ointment and is metamorphosed into an ass. Photis, the slave girl of Pamphile, tells him to stay in the stable for the night and assures him that she will bring him the antidote (roses in this case) at daybreak. Unfortunately, during the night, robbers break into the house, raid the treasury, and load part of their plunder on the transformed Lucius and another ass. The evening after his capture, Lucius finally arrives at the camp of the robbers. It is during this scene in the novel that Lucius demonstrates that he still possesses his mental faculties despite being transformed into a donkey. He asserts (4.6):³⁸³

Res ac tempus ipsum locorum speluncaeque illius, <quam> latrones inhabita<ba>nt, descriptionem exponere flagitat. Nam et meum simul periclitabor ingenium, et faxo vos quoque, an mente etiam sensuque fuerim asinus, sedulo sentiatis.

The topic and the circumstance itself demand that I offer a description of the locale and the cave that the robbers inhabited. For simultaneously I will test my own literary talent and also allow you to judge precisely whether I was in mind and understanding an ass.

The opening two sentences (to this *ekphrasis*) should strike us as both familiar and peculiar: familiar because it is a stock phrase found in various authors;³⁸⁴ peculiar because Lucius is clearly exchanging his role as main character of the tale with that of its narrator. Although Lucius has been the narrator from the onset of the novel,³⁸⁵ the deliberate confusion due to the various layers of narration in the story has obscured Lucius' role as main narrator. The narrative technique employed here reinstates Lucius as narrator by directly addressing the reader. Romberg states: "After thus establishing direct contact with the reader outside the framework of his narrative, he further emphasizes this contact by generously endowing the reader with the responsibility of assessing his narrative talent."³⁸⁶ Indeed, the author's double explanation of why he should offer an account of the brigands' hideout clearly states that he wants to test his literary talent (*ingenium*) and to prove that he was still in control of his mental faculties despite being transformed into a donkey.

The delay in the narrative produced by Lucius' statement of intent coincides with a halt in the journey of the band of brigands. After their long expedition, the end is at hand (4.5):

clementi denique transmisso clivulo pervenimus ad locum destinatum, ubi rebus totis exsolutis atque intus conditis iam pondere liberatus lassitudinem vice lavacri pulver<e>is volutatibus degerebam.

Finally, after climbing a gentle slope, we arrived at our destination, where the booty was unloaded and stowed away inside, and liberated from my load at last, I tried to recover from my exhaustion with a roll in the dust in place of a bath.

These coincidental pauses follow directly after Lucius has decided to behave as he believes a "good donkey" would. In 4.5, Lucius had determined that he had had enough of being a donkey and, moreover, being treated as one. He planned to feign exhaustion and collapse as if he were dead in the hopes that the robbers would leave him where he lay. The other ass, as if foreseeing his plan, dropped to the ground first. The robbers, after beating him and attempting to get him to his feet by every means possible, cut his hamstrings and throw him off the cliff.

Lucius says (4.5):

Tunc ego miseri commilitonis fortunam cogitans statui iam dolis abiectis et fraudibus asinum me bonae frugi dominis exhibere.

Witnessing the fate of my wretched comrade, I immediately decided to abandon all tricks and deceptions and to present myself to my masters as an honest and good ass.

Therefore, only moments after Lucius has decided to play the role of a good donkey, he also rejects this new guise by reinforcing the fact that he is still a man

inside and hopes to prove this by recounting a description of the robbers' hideout. Why would this specific description prove to us, the readers, that he was still in possession of his mental faculties? Had he not already managed to narrate the adventures from his capture (3.28) to his arrival at the robbers' cave (4.6)? In addition, the entire story is being narrated after the fact. That is, Lucius is telling the story of his adventures after they have taken place in the comfort of his restored human form. Recall the opening of the novel (1.1):

At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram aureque tuas benivolas lepidi susurro permulceam-...-figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursus mutuo nexu reffectas ut mireris.

In this Milesian tale, I will string together for you various stories and to charm your ears, kind reader, with a pleasing whisper-...-so that you marvel at the figures and fortunes of men changed into other forms and then restored again into their own shape.

We know that the tale is told as a series of stories meant to charm and cause admiration. So why go to great lengths to prove that Lucius the donkey still had the mental capacity of Lucius the man when the story is actually told from a point of view after the adventure? And why would a description be the deciding factor for both talent and rationale? There is obviously more to it than just proving his literary talent and state of mind. By utilizing *ekphrasis*, both a long-established tradition in literature³⁸⁷ as well as an important rhetorical exercise, Apuleius is placing a signpost for his readers that this passage is important to analyze on multiple levels. The descriptive passage that he includes emphasizes important themes in the novel, provides foreshadowing for events to follow, and

indirectly comments on the personality of the characters who inhabit the space. Landscapes were tools used by writers to present the important themes of nature and civilization. In this passage, therefore, the setting both so elaborately described and firmly set within a long tradition alerts the reader that it is more than mere coloring of the scene.

The arrival at the cave marks the beginning of a new episode that includes both the stories told by the robber band of their recent escapades (4.8-22) and also the tale narrated by the old cook to the captive girl, the Cupid and Psyche story (4.28-6.24). With this new episode comes a description of the location that, I believe, foreshadows the events that will follow. Lucius has already lived through the events and can, therefore, arrange and color the descriptions in his tales to suit his needs, *i.e.* to charm us so that we will marvel (1.1: *permulceam...ut mireris*).

Turning our attention to the *ekphrasis* of the robbers' mountain cave, we should keep in mind how this description both demonstrates Lucius' literary talent and sanity as well as provides a setting that will foreshadow future events.

Mons horridus silvestribusque frondibus umbrosus et in primis altus fuit. Huius per obliqua devexa, qua saxis asperrimis et ob id inaccessis cingitur, convalles lacunosae cavaeque nimium spinetis aggeratae et quaqua versus repositae naturalem tutelam praebentes ambiebant. De summo vertice fons affluens bullis ingentibus scaturibat perque prona delapsus evomebat undas argenteas iamque rivulis pluribus dispersus ac valles illas agminibus stagnantibus inrignas in modum stipati maris vel ignavi fluminis cuncta cohibebat. Insurgit speluncae, qua margines montanae desinunt, | turris ardua; caulae firmae solidis cratibus, | | ovili stabulationi commodae, porrectis undique lateribus ante fores exigui tramitis vice structi parietis attenduntur. Ea tu bono certe meo periculo

latronum dixeris atria. Nec iuxta quicquam quam parva casula cannulis temere contacta, qua speculatores e numero latronum, ut postea comperi, sorte ducti noctibus excubabant.

There was a wild mountain shaded with dense woods and very high. Its steep sides, surrounded by very sharp and inaccessible cliffs, were crossed by deep chasms, full of channels and thorny vegetation and because they stretched out in every direction, offered a natural defense. From the highest summit a flowing spring gushed out with huge bubbles and ran down the slope in silver ripples. Then it split into various branches and filled the valley with standing pools and enclosed the entire area like a landlocked sea or a slow-moving river. A high tower rose up above the cave on the lower slopes of the mountain. It was sturdy solidly built wickerwork suitable for a sheepfold with extended flanks in every direction. Before the doors there ran a meager path like a wall. You could call this, I fear, the bandits' reception room. There was nothing else near it except a small hut roughly covered with reeds where, as I learned afterward, and lookouts chosen by lot kept guard at night.

The description of the cave or, to be more precise, the mountain in which the robbers' cave is located begins with general and non-specific details (*mons, horridus, umbrosus*). The *ekphrasis*, focalized or seen through Lucius' eyes, moves from these rather non-descriptive characteristics to more detailed ones, almost replicating the actual process of vision *i.e.*, moving from the broad and general to the more specific. The mountain is described as rough, shady, and tall (*horridus, umbrosus, altus*). These words conjure up dual images and create ambiguity. On the one hand, the mountain can be seen as wild, shaded by the presence of numerous leaves on its trees, and noble or majestic. On the other hand, *horridus* can be translated as frightening, *umbrosus* as dark (and, therefore, ominous), and *altus* as towering thereby fostering a more negative image.³⁸⁸ Mountains, by their very nature, are old, large, and unchanging. The mere mention of them in

literature often represents obstacles to be crossed and gives the impression of tremendous effort being exerted on the part of the characters.³⁸⁹ The next phrase, continuing in this train of thought, describes further obstacles that the mountain exhibits, namely the very steep slopes (*perobliqua devexa*) surrounded by sharp and inaccessible rocks (*saxis asperrimis ... inaccessis cingitur*). These details render the mountain as less idyllic and more frightening and ominous. The sharp rocks conjure up images of swords and spears that cut and kill foreshadowing the actions of the cutthroats that inhabit its caves.³⁹⁰ These crags are further linked with martial imagery just a few lines later where they help constitute the mountain's overall natural defenses. The valleys (*convalles*) full of ponds (*lacunosae cavae*) and filled up with many thorns (*nimum spinetis aggeratae*) stretching out in all directions continue to add to the feeling of impending danger. The natural defense created by the sharp rocks, valleys of water, and thorns in conjunction with the inauspicious, towering mountain would be desirable for robbers to keep out unwanted visitors, both human and animal.

The spring flowing down from the highest summit produces silvery streams that branch out into many channels and fill the ravines with pools of water and create a landlocked sea or slow river. The movement inherent in the downflow of the spring ends abruptly in the standing pools of water (*valles illas agminibus stagnantibus inrigans*). The juxtaposition of *agminibus* with *stagnantibus* is somewhat paradoxical since an *agmen* is a forward procession that is generally

associated with a marching army, while *stagnans* implies a lack of movement. While adding tension, this paradox proves to be rather appropriate when we consider that the natural defenses of the mountain conjure up images of soldiers³⁹¹ defending some structure with their sharp swords while the pools of water that surround the mountain add to the natural defense of the area by making the mountain less accessible.³⁹² So together the words work to simulate standing pools of water that provide protection. The next line introduces the structures that guard the cave in addition to the natural defences of the mountain provides. A tower rises above the cave (*ardua turris*) surrounded by a dense wickerwork fence with a front entrance. This entrance is described as an atrium or reception room.³⁹³ It is interesting that the tower is both the provider of defense and in turn protected by the natural defenses of the mountain and the man-made wickerwork fence. The passage ends with a description of a small hut thatched with reeds where scouts, chosen by lot from the band of robbers, keep watch nightly.

In the *ekphrasis* of the mountain hideout at 4.6, Apuleius has employed certain motifs to heighten the sense of reality, specifically by using words that arouse the readers' senses.³⁹⁴ A modern "cinematic" analysis can be applied to the catalogue of descriptive features found on the mountain.³⁹⁵ The initial focus is on the mountain peak and its surrounding topography. Lucius then proceeds to describe all aspects of the mountain in a linear fashion (up and down and up

again). The literary lens follows the flow of water beginning at the very top of the mountain and traces it all the way down to the valleys where the water fills the ravines and the mountain's base becomes a watery refuge. As we proceed upwards again, we but briefly glimpse the cave, the implied topic of the *ekphrasis*.³⁹⁶ The final focus is on the area above the cave and the lower slopes of the mountain where the look-out tower as well as the stable, wall, and hut are located. Therefore, the implied "cinematic" technique employed in this representation serves to illustrate both that Lucius still had control of his mental faculties and that his powers of description still remained with him. The end result is a credible account.

By including an abundance of seemingly trivial details, the *ekphrasis* appears to come alive before our eyes and therefore seems to be more realistic. The most illustrative example of this is found in the extensive description of the water that runs down and encircles the mountain.

De summo vertice fons affluens bullis ingentibus scaturibat perque prona delapsus evomebat undas argenteas iamque rivulis pluribus dispersus ac valles illas agminibus stagnantibus inrigans in modum stipati maris vel ignavi fluminis cuncta cohibebat.

From the highest summit a flowing spring gushed out with huge bubbles and ran down the slope in silver ripples. Then it split into various branches and filled the valley with standing pools and enclosed the entire area like a landlocked sea or a slow-moving river.

The water is extremely active; it flows (*affluens*), bubbles (*scaturibat*), glides down (*delapsus*), vomits forth (*evomebat*), scatters (*dispersus*), inundates (*inrigans*), and

encloses (*cohibebat*). The water itself comes in different forms; it has huge bubbles (*bullis ingentibus*), silvery ripples (*undae argenteae*), many rivulets (*rivulis pluribus*), and standing pools (*agminibus stagnantibus*). Finally it encloses the entire area in the manner of a landlocked sea (*stipati maris*) or a slow-moving river (*ignavi fluminis*). This extensive treatment of the water (*fons*) found here in the longest sentence of the *ekphrasis* points to a significance not necessarily understood at first. Parker reminds us that “often in depictions of *loci amoeni* water holds a central position, and Apuleius may be playing upon this.”³⁹⁷ With the inclusion of water in a description of a landscape, one might automatically conclude that the description is that of a *locus amoenus*. Yet, as one proceeds through the *ekphrasis*, it becomes entirely clear that this is not a pleasant place, but rather dark and treacherous, a quite appropriate place for rogues to live.

The mountain-lair *ekphrasis* serves a dual function. First it conjures up images of recklessness and danger that characterizes the men who inhabit the space. We might recall that the brigands just after this *ekphrasis* are compared to the Lapiths and the Centaurs as they dine (4.8). This mythological reference, most fully expounded in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (12.210-458), conjures up images of violence, bloodshed, and rape.³⁹⁸ Additionally, the recklessness and danger of the mountain and the men is made manifest in the three disastrous tales told by the robbers.³⁹⁹

All three of these tales or rather the violent deaths described in them can be linked to the *ekphrasis* of the mountain-lair. The sharp thorns and crags of the mountain that serve to protect the cave are recalled in the sharp nail that is pounded into Lamachus' hand and thus protects Chryseros' home. The height and steepness of the mountain as well as the high tower and rockiness of the mountain are evoked in Alcimius' fall, which was from a considerable height, landing on the stones below.⁴⁰⁰ This should also recall the earlier death of the ass that the robbers throw off the cliff after cutting its hamstrings. The final episode recalls the death of Thrasyleon by both a ferocious pack of dogs that tear him apart and the townspeople who rip him apart with their spears and swords. This likewise evokes images of the sharp crags and peaks of the mountain.

In this *ekphrasis*, Apuleius has not only made use of literary echoes from both Homeric and Vergilian epic,⁴⁰¹ but he has also colored the narrative that follows with details. The sheer length of the *ekphrasis* and its placement both at a pause in the narrative (the arrival at the headquarters) as well as at the beginning of Book 4⁴⁰² intimates that this is a significant setting in the narrative. Although Lucius is our main character, he has been "absent" previously from the novel in the embedded tales told in Books 1-3 (Aristomenes' tale of Socrates 1.2-20; Milo's tale of Diophanes 2.11-15; and Thelyphron's tale 2.21-30). Here again in Book 4 Lucius will step into the background during the stories told by the robbers (4.9-21), Charite's arrival at the camp (4.26-27), the inserted tale of Cupid and Psyche

told by the old woman to Charite (4.28-6.24), and the final outcome of the real-life lovers, Charite and Tlepolemus (7.5-8, 8.1-14). It is significant then that a description of a setting takes place that signals the beginning of a new section, one where Lucius, for the most part, is absent.

The literary echoes found in the *Metamorphoses* have been studied extensively.⁴⁰³ Nevertheless, few scholars have attempted an analysis of the *ekphrasis* at 4.6.⁴⁰⁴ The correspondences found between the lines just prior to this *ekphrasis* and those found in historical texts add to the sense of realism because they are based directly on an established genre that purports to give an account of events.⁴⁰⁵ In addition, the stock motifs found in the account can be linked directly to Homeric and Vergilian themes, whose familiarity to readers would have strengthened their credibility.⁴⁰⁶

The major literary predecessors identified by scholars include Homer's description of Polyphemus' cave and the mountain in which it is found.⁴⁰⁷

Odyssey 9.113-14:

ἀλλ' οἳ γ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα ἐν σπέεσι γλαφυροῖσι...

rather they [the Cyclopes] live in hollow caves in the peaks
of the high mountains...

and *Odyssey* 9.182-86:⁴⁰⁸

ἔνθα δ' ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ σπέος εἶδομεν ἄγχι θαλάσσης
ὑψηλόν, δάφνησι κατηρεφές· ἔνθα δὲ πολλὰ
μῆλ', οἷές τε καὶ αἴγες, ἰαύεσκον· περὶ δ' αὐλή
ὑψηλή, δέδμητο κατωρυχέεσσι λίθοισιν
μακρῆσιν τε πίτυσιν ἰδὲ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν.

There we saw a cave at the edge of the land, close to the sea with a high entrance overgrown with laurels. Here large flocks of sheep and goats were stabled, and around it there was a fenced yard built with a high wall of stones and tall pines and oaks with high branches.

The correspondences between the height of the mountains, the dense forest foliage, the rocks, and the stable that appears in both works clearly endorse Apuleius' debt to Homer.⁴⁰⁹ In addition, Schiesaro has alluded to the connections with the mountain locale of Turnus' ambush at *Aeneid* 11.522-26:⁴¹⁰

*Est curvo anfractu valles, accommoda fraudi
armorumque dolis, quam densis frondibus atrum
urget utrimque latus, tenuis quo semita ducit
angustaeque ferunt fauces aditusque maligni.
hanc super in speculis summoque in vertice montis
planities ignota iacet tutique receptus,*

There was a winding valley designed for ambush and the surprise, confined by dense foliage and dark on either side. It can only be reached by a small path, a narrow gorge, and a scanty entrance. Over this among the summit and highest peak of the mountain lies a secret plain and a safe retreat.

The connections between the Vergilian and Apuleian passages can be most clearly observed in the "borrowing" of the dark leaves, the narrow path, the entrance, and, finally, the mountain itself. The mood implied in the Vergil passage is dark and foreboding, mysterious and treacherous, not unlike the brigand mountain camp.

By invoking both Homeric and Vergilian themes and distorting them, the once heroic themes take on a new life. Apuleius has created tension and humor by comparing the robber cave to Polyphemus' cave and further links the entire episode at the robber camp to various aspects of the *Odyssey*.⁴¹¹ In the next section, I will be analyzing the *ekphrasis* of Cupid's palace complex. We will readily observe the similar yet inverted techniques employed there by Apuleius.

Cupid's Palace (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 5.1-5.2)

Although not a description of an outlaw dwelling, the *ekphrasis* of Cupid's palace is relevant in this discussion for a number of reasons. First of all, it is told within the narrative of the main robber band, thus making it ostensibly a part of that narrative. Secondly, Cupid's palace provides a stark contrast to the outlaw hideout, thereby aiding in the characterization of the characters who inhabit these dwellings. Before turning to the actual description, we should keep in mind that this *ekphrasis* takes place in the extended tale of Cupid and Psyche told by the old woman to conciliate the recently imprisoned Charite.⁴¹² The old woman says to Charite:⁴¹³

sed ego te narrationibus lepidis anilibusque fabulis protinus avocabo.

But immediately I will tell you a pleasant fairytale and an old woman's story.

The fairytale quality of the story suggested with the words *lepidis anilibusque fabulis* in conjunction with its purpose, to pacify the young girl, work together to undermine the story's credibility even before the tale is told.⁴¹⁴ These works recall the opening lines of the work itself. We have already been told that the story we would hear would be one to delight us and cause us to marvel. The events prior to Lucius' arrival at the robber camp, we will recall, were full of magic and witchcraft, and, as a result, were extremely entertaining.⁴¹⁵ In contrast to those remarkable stories and episodes, the robbers seem to be straight out of the real world (although still amusing). The Cupid and Psyche story, we are told, is purely fictional.⁴¹⁶ As the only tale in the novel purported to be unreal, it provides a stark contrast to the robber tales, and the *ekphrasis* of Cupid's palace offers a point of comparison to the description of the mountain hideout.

The story leading up to the *ekphrasis* of the palace is as follows: a young girl, Psyche, daughter of a king and queen, is so beautiful that people worship her as a new Venus. As a result, Venus, jealous, punishes Psyche by sending her son Cupid to enflame the girl with love for the most vile creature. Because she has remained unwed, her father consults the oracle of Apollo at Miletus. The oracular response advises the king to expose his daughter on a mountain peak in wedding/funerary clothes where she will meet her monster-husband. Psyche agrees to this believing that she is being justly punished for her beauty and awaits her cruel fortune alone on the mountain peak. In spite of what they

(Venus, the townspeople, and Psyche) believe will happen, Psyche is whisked away (unknown to anyone) and carried down the mountain slope and laid on the grass by the soft blowing Zephyr. She immediately falls asleep on the cool and dewy grass. When she awakens she sees a grove of trees, a fresh spring and a palace in the center.⁴¹⁷ The palace complex is described at length (5.1-5.2):

Videt lucum proceris et vastis arboribus consitum, videt fontem vitreo latice perlucidum; medio luci meditullio prope fontis adlapsum domus regia est, aedificata non humanis manibus, sed divinis artibus. Iam scies ab introitu primo dei cuiuspiam luculentum et amoenum videre te diversorium. Nam summa laquearia citro et ebore curiose cavata subeunt aureae columnae, parietis omnes argenteo caelamine conteguntur bestiis et id genus pecudibus occurrentibus ob os introeuntium. Mirus prorsus [magna artis] homo, immo semideus vel certe deus, qui magnae artis suptilitate tantum efferavit argentum. Enimvero pavimenta ipsa lapide pretioso caesim deminuto in varia picturae genera discriminantur: vehementer, iterum ac saepius beatos illos, qui super gemmas et monilia calcant. Iam ceterae partes longe lateque dispositae domus sine pretio pretiosae totique parietes solidati massis aureis splendore proprio coruscant, ut diem suum sibi domus facia[n]t licet sole nolente: sic cubicula, sic porticus, sic ipsae valu[e]ae fulgurant. Nec setius opes cetera maiestati domus respondent, ut equidem illud recte videatur ad conversationem humanam magno Iovi fabricatum caeleste palatium.

She saw a grove planted with lofty and large trees; she also saw a spring flashing with crystal-clear water. In the middle of the grove near the outpouring spring, there was a palace built not by human hands but by divine skill. Immediately upon entering it you knew that you were looking at the pleasure-house of a god. For the lofty ceiling was made of citron-wood⁴¹⁸ and ivory that was artfully carved. The columns supporting it were of gold. The walls were completely covered in embossed silver, while shapes of wild beasts and other animals confronted the visitor upon entering. A marvelous man or a demigod or indeed a god it was who had so artfully given animal life to all that silver. Moreover, the pavement itself was divided into different kinds of pictures all in mosaic of precious stones. He must be marvelously happy, more than marvelously happy, whoever walks on gems and jewels. The rest of the palace, as far and wide as it extended, was similarly splendid beyond estimation. The walls, built of solid blocks of gold, lit the room with their own brilliance, so that the palace provided its own daylight, whether there

was sun or no sun. Such was the brilliance of the rooms, the colonnades, and doors. The furnishings likewise matched the splendor of the building, so that it would seem fair to say that great Jove had fashioned a heavenly palace when visiting mankind.

The depiction of the palace complex begins with an account of the grove and spring and eventually progresses to the interior of the palace proper. The general consensus among scholars is that the grove and spring work together to create a *locus amoenus*.⁴¹⁹ The practice can be traced back to the descriptions in the *Odyssey* of Calypso's cave with its surrounding grove (*Od.* 5.55 ff) and Alkinoös' garden and palace (*Od.* 7.112 ff.). In fact many authors employ *ekphraseis* of palaces and royal homes including Homer's description of Priam's palace (*Il.* 6.242 ff.), Apollonius' description of the palace of Aeetes (*Argon.* 3.213-37), and Ovid's description of the palace of the Sun (*Meta.* 2.1-18). Additionally, Pliny the Younger describes to Gallus (*Ep.* 2.17) in great detail why his Laurentian villa brings him such joy, including an account of its layout, amenities, garden, and terrace.⁴²⁰

Descriptions of *loci amoeni*, similar to the one found here typically work in conjunction with a dwelling place. However, Apuleius has reversed the normal or expected order of typical *loci amoeni* (dwelling first; garden second) by beginning with the surrounding topographical features followed by the actual dwelling place. Additionally, Apuleius highlights the importance of the palace by both describing the structure last (and extensively) and by placing it in the very center of the garden (5.1.2 *medio luci meditullio*). The grotto and spring that

are described first add to the peaceful setting with which Book Five opens (5.1.1 *teneris, herbosis, roscidi graminis, suave, sedata, dulce conquievit, recreata somno placido resurgit animo*). The contrast between the high, rocky mountain site where Psyche is left to suffer her fate (4.35.2 *ad...scopulum montis ardui, in summo cacumine*)⁴²¹ and the peaceful, beautiful, and lush palace complex creates tension. How did Psyche come to be in such a wonderful place? Who has intervened and for what purpose? The narrator through his inclusion of such a cheery setting implies that Psyche is, in fact, not doomed to marry a cruel, fierce, and serpentine creature (4.33). Rather she is fated for something extraordinary.

The *ekphrasis* of the palace complex begins and ends with an air of mystery. Who lives in this magnificent structure? The only logical conclusion the narrator suggests is that it belongs to some god (5.1.3: *iam scies ab introitu primo dei cuiuspiam luculentum et amoenum videre te diversorium*). The air of mystery continues as Psyche enters the palace where again she ponders the identity of the artist (5.1.4: *mirus prorsum magnae artis homo, immo semideus vel certe deus, qui magnae artis suptilitate tantum efferavit argentum*). The lighting in the house is also quite astonishing and mysterious. The abundance of gold, silver, and glimmering jewels found on the walls, floors, and columns creates its own radiance so that, day or night, the house gleamed. Psyche, drawn on by the delights of the home and feeling much more courageous, crosses the threshold and begins to inspect every item. At the far end of the palace, Psyche discovers

storehouses of all kinds of treasures. Astonished at the amount of wealth before her, Psyche is further baffled by its missing lock, bolt, or guard. Immediately Psyche hears voices that tell her that all she sees belongs to her.⁴²² The invisible servants whom Psyche encounters are kind, attentive, and soothing. They dispel her worries and anxieties and work together with the idyllic landscape of grotto, spring, and palace to provide harmony and serenity, however mysterious they might be. She is encouraged to rest, bathe, and enjoy a forthcoming banquet. The entertainment after the feast includes an invisible singer, lyre performance, and a choir (5.3.5: *post opimas dapes quidam introcessit et cantavit invisus et alius citharam pulsavit, quae videbatur nec ipsa. Tunc modulatae multitudinis conferta vox aures eius affertur, ut, quamvis hominum nemo pareret, chorus tamen esse pateret.*). These forms of entertainment are in contrast with the three unfortunate robber tales told in the robbers' lair (4.9-21). In addition, the only servant the robbers have is an old woman on whom they heap abuse. The brigands mock her and call her disgraceful, lazy, and an alcoholic (4.7):

"etiamne tu, busti cadaver extremum et vitae dedecus primum et Orci fastidium solum, sic nobis otiosa domi residens lusitabis nec nostris tam magnis tamque periculosis laboribus solacium de tam sera refectioe tribues? Quae diebus ac noctibus nil quicquam rei quam merum saev<i>enti ventri tuo soles aviditer ingurgitare."

"All right," they shouted, "you old corpse, you disgrace to life, you disgusting cast off from hell, are you going to sit there lazy all day? Why don't you have late-night refreshments prepared for us after all our trouble and danger? All you do night and day is guzzle down wine into that unquenchable belly of yours."

Besides the types of entertainment witnessed in both dwellings and the characteristics of the servants, there are many other connections between the description of the brigands' lair at 4.6 and that of Cupid's palace complex. Before turning to analyze these parallel features and contrasting elements, Murgatroyd offers an alternate theory, claiming that, "Because of its ecphrastic nature and various verbal and thematic correspondences, 5.1.2 ff. is clearly related to the *ekphraseis* which immediately precede and succeed it, *i.e.* Venus' return to the sea at 4.31.4-7⁴²³ and Cupid sleeping at 5.22.5-7."⁴²⁴ He argues that there are numerous connections besides the Cupid-Venus bond, including bright water and unearthly beauty.⁴²⁵ While these passages may be connected, I would argue that a stronger link can and should be made with the account of the mountain-lair of the robbers (4.6). Both descriptions come after a pause. Lucius's arrival at the robber lair at 4.5 comes after he has descended a hill and is finally given an opportunity to rest after his harrowing journey. For Psyche, the pause comes after she has been carried down the slopes of the mountain by the Zephyr and placed upon a grassy valley where she naps. When she awakens at 5.1, she immediately looks about to see where she is. What she sees is next described in the passage after this initial pause. In addition, both of these *ekphraseis* provide descriptions of settings.⁴²⁶ The mountain (and the cave) where the robber band

dwelling is the setting for all the events from 4.6-7.13 (except for the inserted Cupid and Psyche tale) and the description of Cupid's palace is the setting for almost all of Book 5 (5.1-24) of the inserted tale of Cupid and Psyche (4.28-6.24).⁴²⁷

The contrasts between these two *ekphraseis* can also be considered in much broader terms. The liminality of both dwellings is not only a reflection on its inhabitants, but is also an important place of transformation for its main characters.⁴²⁸ We might recall the discussion above that compared the brigands and their characterization to the actual *ekphrasis* of their habitation. Likewise, Cupid and his characterization can be compared to his palace. But is Cupid a liminal figure? Is his palace a liminal space? I would argue that both Cupid and his palace are liminal.

Liminal spaces, as defined above, tend to be located on the margin or threshold and are usually a home of the nameless or improperly identified characters acting outside of their proper function and role.⁴²⁹ In Apuleius, the brigands are nameless until they are dead. Lamichus, Alcimus, and Thrasyleon are identified only after the surviving brigands recollect their horrific deaths.⁴³⁰ Likewise, Cupid remains the mysterious husband until Psyche is coerced by her evil sisters into discovering his identity. Cupid was ordered by Venus to shoot Psyche with one of his arrows and cause her to fall in love with the most vile creature and enter a most degrading marriage (5.24.3). However, Cupid falls in love with Psyche and must keep both the marriage a secret from his mother and

his identity hidden from Psyche. Cupid conceals his true identity by remaining invisible and unidentified to Psyche. By failing to continue to engage in his godly duties, he is not functioning in his proper role. Therefore, Cupid, now a liminal figure in the eyes of the immortals, whisks Psyche away to his palace located somewhere between the realms of earth and heaven, a veritable marginal space. When Psyche crosses the “literal” threshold of the palace at 5.2.1 (*intra limen sese facit*) she in fact initiates her own transformation from mortal to divine being. Similarly, Lucius begins his journey when he metamorphoses into an ass. His escapades and challenges after his escape from the brigand camp that comprise Books 7-10 clearly parallel Psyche’s laborious tasks in Book 6.

The initial pause prior to the *ekphrasis* signals to the reader that something has ended (closure of the preceding episode) and something else will begin. It also alludes to a change in the fate of the characters. Both the robber band and Psyche experience a reversal of fortune that is made manifest after each of the respective *ekphraseis*. For the robber band, the menacing portrayal of the mountain both reflects their character and hints at the stories of failure about to be related. On the other hand, Psyche’s new locale reflects the surprisingly good fortune into which she has literally fallen.⁴³¹ Therefore, just as the mountain and its inhabitants mirror one another, so do Cupid’s palace and its inhabitants: both the hospitable, invisible staff and the lovers, Cupid and Psyche.

Additionally, both these *ekphraseis* deal with what Smith calls “hard and soft landings.”⁴³² As discussed earlier, Lucius (as ass) decides to fake lameness in order to shirk his duties of carrying the heavy bundles (4.4) but the other ass beats him to the punch, and is thrown off of the cliff although still alive (4.5). Later in the robber camp, the robbers recall the “fall of Alcimus” (4.12) who, after being pushed out the window, lands on a large stone and dies. Lucius himself contemplates jumping off the cliff at 6.26 thinking that at least this kind of death would be less horrible than what the robbers might have in store for him. Likewise, the old woman narratrix, unable to stop Lucius and Charite from escaping, hangs herself from a cypress tree fearing what the robbers would do to her (6.30). The robbers, showing no sorrow or remorse, simply cut her down and toss her off the cliff. Finally, within the Cupid and Psyche tale, the wicked sisters of Psyche are tricked into jumping to their deaths from the mountain-top (5.27.1-5).

These instances of “hard” landings contrast with the initial soft landing of Psyche at the close of Book 4.35:

*Psychen autem paventem ac trepidam et in ipso scopuli vertice deflentem mitis
aura molliter spirantis Zephyri, vibra[n]tis hinc inde laciniis et reflato sinu
sensim levatam suo tranquillo spiritu vehe[me]ns paulatim per devexa rupis
excelsae, vallis subditae florentis cespitis gremio leniter delapsam reclinat.*

Psyche, however, was frightened, trembling, and weeping on the top of the crag. Just then a gentle breeze from softly breathing Zephyr fluttered the edges of her dress on this side and that and puffed them out, and

indiscernibly lifted her up. It carried her on its gentle breath effortlessly down the slope of the lofty peak and laid her softly on the flowery grass in the lap of the valley.

When Psyche awakes at the opening of Book 5, she sees the garden, spring, and palace of Cupid.⁴³³ In contrast to the sinister and foreboding robber camp description at 4.6 focusing on the darkness of the place, the depiction of the mountain as *umbrosus* (shady), and lookouts who are stationed in the tower at night (*sorte ducti noctibus excubabant*), Cupid's palace shines brilliantly: 5.1.2: *fontem vitreo latice perlucidum* (a spring bright with brilliant water); 5.1.3: *luculentum* (bright), *aureae* (gold), *argenteo* (silver); 5.1.4: *argentum* (silver); and 5.1.6:

iam ceterae parietes longe lateque dispositae domus sine pretio pretiosae totique solidati massis aureis splendore proprio coruscant, ut diem suum sibi domus faciant licet sole nolente: sic cubicula, sic porticus, sic ipsae valvae fulgarant.

The rest of the palace, as far and wide as it extended, was similarly splendid beyond estimation. The walls, built of solid blocks of gold, lit the room with their own brilliance, so that the palace provided its own daylight, whether there was sun or no sun. Such was the brilliance of the rooms, the colonnades, and doors.

The treasury, unlike the robbers' cave, is conspicuously lacking guards (5.2.2):⁴³⁴

sed praeter ceteram tantarum divitiarum admirationem hoc erat praecipue mirificum, quod nullo vinculo, nullo claustro, nullo custode totius orbis t<h>ensaurus ille muniebatur.

But even more amazing than these vast riches was the remarkable fact that there was not one single lock, not one bolt, nor any guard protecting this treasure of the entire world.

Therefore, the palace of Cupid, bright and secure, directly contrasts to the robbers' dark and sinister mountain cave that is constantly guarded. The cave and mountain are described as natural creations with only a few man-made elements to help with its security (the tower and surrounding pen). Obviously the robbers are concerned with being caught by the authorities and, therefore, station men to keep watch nightly. Additionally, the entrance to the cave has a pseudo-atrium mimicking the entranceway of a typical (Roman) residence. Yet, the robbers that live there are not typical, nor is their abode. They are living in a wild mountain-lair, far from society and culture. Although the robbers do bathe in hot water and rub down with oil before they dine (4.7: *et flammae largissimae vapore recreati calidaque perfusi et oleo peruncti mensas dapibus largiter instructas accumbunt*), almost as if feigning civility and refinement, they are, nevertheless, compared to the Lapiths and Centaurs (4.8: *clamore ludunt, strepitu cantilant, conviciis iocantur, ac iam cetera semiferis Lapithis cenantibus Centaurisque similia*). In contrast, Psyche presumes that either a demi-god or god must have constructed the palace she sees when she awakens. Additionally, invisible servants who likewise provide a bath and food for their occupant keep this *domus regia*. Unlike the old woman who serves the robbers for fear of her life, the invisible servants in Cupid's palace are pleasant and hospitable, and the musical entertainment they provide contrasts the rowdy tales told by the robbers.

Another interesting point of comparison with these two *ekphraseis* is in their arrangement of details. Again we are able to point out the “cinematic” or contrived act of seeing implied by the narrator’s recounting of features in the palace including the palpable richness of the place as well as the various attributes of the light. Similar to Lucius when he sees and describes the mountain-lair of the robbers, here, too, “the mind’s eye of the reader is conducted from ceiling via the walls to the floor.”⁴³⁵ Both the narrator and the readers approach and observe the dwelling places in a way similar to an actual visitor.⁴³⁶

The descriptions of the robbers’ lair at 4.6 and that of Cupid’s palace at 5.1 clearly parallel yet contrast with each other. The ruggedness, naturalism, and uncouthness of the mountain and its inhabitants are much more striking in comparison with the divine, beautiful, and majestic palace structure. In addition, the mountain cliffs that are the cause of so many “hard” landings (*i.e.* the other ass, Alcimus, the old woman, and Psyche’s sisters) contrast with Psyche’s “soft” landing at the end of Book 4 as well as her safe landing on the ground after releasing Cupid’s leg (5.24) and her unsuccessful attempt at suicide by throwing herself off the bank of the river (5.25).

These descriptions, because they are focalized through Lucius and Psyche, seem to be even more vivid than the narrator’s. The character’s actual process of seeing implied by the changing focus of the narrative both vertically and

horizontally (peaks, slopes, ravines--summit, slopes, pools, cave-- tower, palisade, entrance; ceilings, columns, walls, floors – walls, colonnades, doors) and the way in which the report moves from the broad to the narrow (mountain, peak, slopes, ravine, and cave; entire grove, spring, palace, inner storehouses) enhance and vivify the *ekphrasis*. Both Lucius and Psyche seem to approach and describe their new settings in a similar way.

The associations between Lucius and Psyche are further developed by the distinct pause that precedes each *ekphrasis*. Lucius has finally arrived at the robber lair at 4.5 and Psyche has reached her new home at 4.35. These pauses are relevant because they signal a change in their stories. Lucius, although still narrator, falls into the background after this *ekphrasis* (a clear change for him) while Psyche enters upon a change in fortune. Murgatroyd states, “This is where Psyche, who was apparently condemned to death, finds her salvation and begins a new life in a magnificent home of her own away from the ordinary world of mortals.”⁴³⁷ This new residence and new husband will also be important to the forthcoming events of the story since it is precisely because of this new wealth and husband that Psyche’s sisters are jealous and propose that Psyche kill her unknown husband, which leads to Psyche’s subsequent trials and tribulations when she searches for him.⁴³⁸

The Boukoloi Camp (Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon* 4.11.3-4.12.8)

In Achilles Tatius' novel, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, the hero and heroine, after a storm at sea, are washed on shore at Pelusium. After a brief respite, they hire a boat to take them to Alexandria where they hope to reunite with friends. While passing an unnamed city, they are attacked by *boukoloi* who take them captive and plan to lead them to their hideout where their chief awaits them (3.9). The Egyptian army, after rescuing both hero and heroine, attack the *boukoloi* camp, which is described in a lengthy *ekphrasis* (4.11.3-12.8). There are two distinct topics in this passage: the Nile and the islands of the lake where the *boukoloi* live. The description of the Nile's flow concentrates on both the direction of its flow, the divisions into smaller rivers and streams, its comparison to rivers in Greece, and, finally, its various uses (4.11.3-5):

3. εἶχε δὲ αὐτοῖς οὕτω τῆς κώμης ἡ θέσις. ὁ Νεῖλος ρεῖ μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐκ Θηβῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων εἰς ὧν ἄχρι Μέμφεως καὶ ἔστι μικρὸν κάτω κώμη (Κερκάσωρος ὄνομα τῇ κώμῃ) πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ μεγάλου ρεύματος. 4. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ περιρρήγνυται τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς ποταμοῦ γίνονται τρεῖς, δύο μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν λελυμένοι, ὁ δὲ εἰς ὥσπερ ἦν ῥέων πρὶν λυθῆναι, καὶ τὴν γῆν εἰς τὰ σχίσματα Δέλτα ποιῶν. 5. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων ἕκαστος τῶν ποταμῶν ἀνέχεται μέχρι θαλάσσης ῥέων, ἀλλὰ περισχίζεται ἄλλος ἄλλη κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ εἰσιν αἱ σχίσεις μείζονες τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι ποταμῶν· τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ πανταχοῦ μεμερισμένον οὐκ ἐξασθενεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖται καὶ πίνεται καὶ γεωργεῖται.

The situation of the village held by the *boukoloi* was thus: the Nile flows down from Egyptian Thebes as far as Memphis. There is a small village called Cercasoros at the end of the great stream. At that point it breaks up around the land and three rivers are formed from the one, the two outer ones form the sides of the delta and the one in the center continues to flow as before. The land in between the two branches is the Delta. None of these branches reaches the sea intact, but each one further divides into other branches when it reaches another city. The branches are greater

than the rivers in Greece. The waters, although separating into branches, do not lose their usefulness, but are used for sailing and drinking and farming.

The next segment deals with the different uses of the Nile (as a river, as land, as sea, and as a lake) and its punctual annual flooding. This yearly occurrence is described as a harmonious one with both the river and the land cooperating in peaceful equality (4.12.1-3):

12. Νεῖλος ὁ πολὺς πάντα αὐτοῖς γίνεται, καὶ ποταμὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα καὶ λίμνη· καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ θέαμα καινόν, ναῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ δίκελλα, κώπη καὶ ἄροτρον, πηδάλιον καὶ πτύον, ναυτῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γεωργῶν καταγωγὴ, ἰχθύων ὁμοῦ καὶ βοῶν. ὁ πέπλευκας, φυτεύεις· καὶ ὁ φυτεύεις, τοῦτο πέλαγος γεωργούμενον. **2.** ἔχει γάρ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπιδημίας· κάθηται δὲ αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτιος ἀναμένων καὶ ἀριθμῶν αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμέρας. καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος οὐ ψεύδεται, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ ποταμὸς μετὰ προθεσμίας τὸν χρόνον τηρῶν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ μετρῶν, ποταμὸς ἀλῶναι μὴ θέλων ὑπερήμερος. **3.** ἐστὶ δὲ ἰδεῖν ποταμοῦ καὶ γῆς φιλονεικίαν. ἐρίζετον ἀλλήλοις ἐκάτερον, τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ, τοσαύτην γῆν πελαγίσαι· ἡ δὲ γῆ, τοσαύτην χωρῆσαι γλυκεῖαν θάλασσαν. καὶ νικῶσι μὲν τὴν ἴσην νίκην οἱ δύο, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ φαίνεται τὸ νικώμενον· **4.** τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ τῇ γῇ συνεκτείνεται.

The great Nile is everything to them: their river, their land, their sea, and their lake. It is a strange sight to see together a boat and a pick-axe, an oar and a plow, a rudder and a sickle, a place where sailors convene with farmers and cattle gather with fish. Where you have sailed, that is where you sow, and the place where you sow is a sea being tilled. For the river has a schedule, and an Egyptian sits and waits counting the days. And the Nile never forgets but rather it is a river that minds its appointments and measures out its water. It is a river that does not want to be unpunctual. It is possible to see the river and land in a friendly fight, the river turning so much of the land into a sea, the land absorbing so much sweet water. Both are victorious in the end, neither ever appears to looe. For the water and the land are in coexistence.

The centrally located passage focuses specifically on the location of the *boukoloi* camps. There is a lake in this area regardless of the amount of water or land. Walking and sailing go hand in hand, yet the boats are specifically one-person boats described as both light and requiring small amounts of water to float (4.12.4-5):

Περὶ δὲ τὰς τῶν βουκόλων ταύτας νομὰς αἰὲν πολὺ ἐγκάθηται· ὅταν γὰρ τὴν πᾶσαν γῆν πελαγίσῃ, καὶ λίμνας ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖ· αἱ δὲ λίμναι, καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέλθῃ, μένουσιν οὐδὲν ἥττον, τὸ ὕδωρ ἔχουσαι, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τοῦ ὕδατος. ἐπὶ ταύτας αὐτοὶ καὶ βαδίζουσι καὶ πλέουσιν, οὐδὲ ναῦς ἑτέρα δύναται πλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἄνθρωπον ἐπιβῆναι. ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ ξένον τοῦ τόπου ὁ πηλὸς ἐμπίπτων κρατεῖ. τοῖς δὲ μικρὰ μὲν καὶ κοῦφα πλοῖα καὶ ὀλίγον ὕδωρ αὐτοῖς ἀρκεῖ. εἰ δὲ τέλεον ἄνδρον εἴῃ, ἀράμενοι τοῖς νώτοις οἱ πλωτῆρες τὸ πλοῖον φέρουσιν, ἄχρις ἂν ἐπιτύχωσιν ὕδατος.

There is always an abundance of water around the lairs of the *boukoloi*.. When it floods all the land, it creates lakes. And these lakes remain even when the Nile recedes, but they are filled with less water and more mud. On these lakes they both walk and sail. No boat can sail here except a boat that carries a single passenger. For the mud hinders and restrains every type of foreign vessel. The *boukoloi* have small light boats that are able to sail in the smallest amount of water. And if there is no water, they carry their boats until they come upon water again.

In the next section, the islands upon which the *boukoloi* live are described along with the uninhabitable islands. The latter are unfit for habitation because they have been overtaken by papyrus reeds. The reeds grow in such a way that they form corridors large enough for one man to stand, and papyrus fronds cover the roofs of these passageways. Together, these covered corridors provide

a secret meeting place for the *boukoloi* either to hold council or plan strategy. The islands that are fit for habitation have huts and resemble cities with water as a protector instead of walls (4.12.6-7):

ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς λίμναις μέσαι νῆσοί τινές εἰσι σποράδην πεποιημέναι· αἱ μὲν οἰκοδομημάτων ἔρημοι, παπύροις πεφυτευμένα· τῶν δὲ παπύρων διεστᾶσιν αἱ φάλαγγες πεπυκνωμένοι τοσοῦτον ὅσον παρ' ἑκάστην ἄνδρα στήναι μόνον· τὸ μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς πυκνώσεως αὐτῶν ἄνωθεν ἀναπληροῦσιν αἱ τῶν παπύρων κόμαι. ὑποτρέχοντες οὖν ἐκεῖ καὶ βουλεύονται καὶ λοχῶσι καὶ λανθάνουσι, τείχεσι ταῖς παπύροις χρώμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν νήσων τινὲς καλύβας ἔχουσαι, καὶ αὐτοσχεδὸν μεμίμηται πόλιν ταῖς λίμναις τετειχισμένην. βουκόλων αὗται καταγωγαί·

In the middle of these lakes are some islands here and there. Some have no houses upon them but are planted with papyrus reeds. The branches of papyrus grow so close together that there is only enough room for a man to stand between them. The corridors between the close-growing papyrus are covered overhead with leaves of papyrus, so that the *boukoloi* can run under them and make their plans, wait in ambush, or hide using the walls of papyrus. Some of the islands have huts on them and, because they are so close in proximity, resemble cities that are encircled by water as protection. These are where the *boukoloi* live.

The final section of this *ekphrasis* concentrates on the most populated of the islands, Nicochis (4.12.8):

τῶν πλησίον οὖν μία, μεγέθει καὶ καλύβαις πλείοσι διαφέρουσα (ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτήν, οἶμαι, Νίκωχιν), ἐνταῦθα πάντες συνελθόντες ὡς εἰς τόπον ὀχυρώτατον, ἐθάρρουν καὶ πλήθει καὶ τόπῳ. εἷς γὰρ αὐτὴν διεῖργε στενωπὸς τὸ μὴ πᾶσαν νῆσον γενέσθαι. ἦν δὲ σταδίου μὲν τὸ μέγεθος, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὀργυιῶν δώδεκα· λίμναι δὲ τῇδε κάκεισε τὴν πόλιν περιέρρεον.

One of these islands is larger and has more huts (I believe it is called Nicochis). This is where they all assemble, and they are confident in their number and its location. Only a narrow straight of land keeps it from being an island. It is about six hundred feet long and seventy-five feet wide. The waters of the lake surround the city on all sides.

This is the location where the *boukoloi* take a defensive stand, thinking it their strongest strategical position and having devised an ingenious plan. They sent out their old men carrying palms in the manner of suppliants and instructed them to hold them in such a way as to cover the spearmen who followed secretly behind them.⁴³⁹ They were to beg the Egyptian general for mercy and offer a hundred silver talents and one hundred *boukoloi* men as captives. If the general accepted this offer, the spearmen would not initiate a confrontation but, if he refused, the old men were to beg to be killed within their city walls and, thus, lead the Egyptian general and his army back to the *boukoloi* city. Once the old men reached the middle of the causeway (on Nicochis) they were to drop their fronds and run before the battle ensued.

The *boukoloi* were prepared for such a situation, having built dams for each of the Nile streams surrounding their *boukoloi* city. The dams were for those infrequent occasions when the river happened to rise and to flood the plain before the appointed time. By building dams, the *boukoloi* could easily control the flow of water. With the arrival of the Egyptian army at the *boukoloi* camp and on the very causeway that was built over the water, the *boukoloi* release the Nile's waters and chaos breaks out. The lakes swell and the isthmus is overcome with water. While the Egyptian army marvels at the amazing sight of the rushing water, they become victims of both the water and the *boukoloi*.

The *ekphrasis* of the *boukoloi* camp in Achilles Tatius is notable in a number of ways. First of all it sets the scene for the battle that takes place at 4.14 that I have just discussed. Additionally, it describes the Nile, both how it flows and subdivides into smaller streams. This is significant for the construction of the dams. Although in the passage (4.12.2-3), the Nile is described as “unwilling to be unpunctual” and easily coexistent with the land, nevertheless, the *boukoloi* have taken measures to control its flow in case it rises and floods the land before its appointed time. An attempt to control the unbroken flow of the Nile would be fruitless, but an effort to manipulate a segment of the Nile would be feasible. The *boukoloi* have carefully prepared for a seemingly rare occasion.

In Achilles Tatius’ account, the *boukoloi* seem to have respect for the Nile; it provides food, water, transport, and protection. By building their city on the islands in this lake-like region, the *boukoloi* have proven that they are resourceful people, quite aware of this strategic location. They exploit the Nile as a protection against intruders by controlling its flow, and they employ the papyrus reed corridors for secrecy and concealment. The palm fronds that cover the corridors are recalled in the description of the old men who hold the palms in the manner of suppliants. Their cleverness and slyness, therefore, is hinted at in the *ekphrasis* and made manifest in the actions they take.

The detailed description of the flow of the Nile at the opening of the *ekphrasis* seems to be a standard feature in literature of the time.⁴⁴⁰ Although depictions of Egyptian material would have been exotic to the readers, nevertheless they would have read comparable descriptions in earlier historiographical works.⁴⁴¹ Regardless of the veracity of the passage, the reader would have instinctually called to mind such notable authors as Herodotus, Strabo, or Diodorus Siculus who had also included similar passages, especially the flooding of the Nile, in their works.⁴⁴² Both Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus included elements of Egyptian lore in their novels, surely reflecting the conventionally and commonly accepted topics of the day.⁴⁴³ Another author writing about similar themes is Philostratus the Elder.⁴⁴⁴ In Book 1 of his *Imagines*, Philostratus includes a description of the Nile (1.5) and of a marsh (1.9).⁴⁴⁵ In 1.5, Philostratus describes the Nile and the dwarfs who announce its flooding. Some dwarfs dance about the figure of the Nile and others sit on his shoulders or sleep in his arms. The Nile, in turn, rewards the dwarfs with an offering of flowers. Philostratus explains to the young boy that the river portrayed in this painting is the Nile because it is represented through symbols of agriculture and navigation. The lines run as follows (1.5.12-17):

γεωργίας δὲ καὶ ναυτιλίας σύμβολα δηλοῖ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐκ τοιοῦδε, ὧ παῖ,
λόγου· Νεῖλος Αἴγυπτον πλωτὴν ἐργασάμενος εὐκάρπῳ τῇ γῇ χρῆσθαι
δίδωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν πεδίων ἐκποθείς;

The symbols of agriculture and sailing make it clear that it is the Nile, my boy, for the following reason: (the flooding of) the Nile makes Egypt navigable and when it has been absorbed by the land, it provides the people a fertile plain to plow.

In this description, we observe similar characteristics of the Nile that we found in Achilles Tatius' description of the *boukoloï* camp. Both descriptions of the river purport that it is used for transportation and for livelihood and sustenance.

Therefore, the inhabitants of the Nile Delta region adapted to the river's flooding and made the appropriate changes seasonally.

Another description of a painting by Philostratus is likewise similar to the *ekphrasis* of the lake dwellers in Achilles Tatius. In 1.9, Philostratus depicts a painting of a marsh (ἐλος). He begins with the plants and trees that grow around and in the marsh and then turns to the springs and courses of water that cause the plain to become a marsh. Next are descriptions of the animals and birds that make their homes in the marsh and the cupids depicted riding swans. Finally, a river is described which issues from the marsh, and goatherds and shepherds who cross the river by bridge. The account ends with an elaborate description of the male and female date palms that stretch forth from opposing banks toward each other in a gesture of love. The result is a bridge traversing the river that is safe for men to cross.⁴⁴⁶

The marsh represented in this illustration, and more specifically the bridge, reminds us of the causeway that appears in Achilles Tatius' *boukoloï* camp *ekphrasis*. Additionally, the inclusion of the palm trees creating a bridge for

herders recalls both the papyrus reed corridors that the *boukoloi* use for secret meetings and also the palms the old men hold in the guise of suppliants. In both descriptions, the inhabitants of the marshy area utilize the natural landscape. The cooperation depicted between the *boukoloi* (also herders by definition) and the organic network of the marsh is a common theme found in literature of the time.

In recalling such passages as those discussed above from Philostratus, Achilles Tatius not only situates his *ekphrasis* within an accepted convention of the time of the Second Sophistic, but he also attempts to make it seem credible and realistic by including an overabundance of details. Achilles Tatius, as the creator of his story, was free to include or produce any number of descriptions, real or imagined. The end result, however, was verisimilitude, and as such Achilles Tatius would have had to stay within the conventions and traditions of the genre and the time period. Although his plot, themes, and characters enter into the extraordinary and exotic, the lands in which his characters travel are firmly fixed within a standard.

The Boukoloi Camp (Heliodorus, *An Ethiopian Tale* 1.5.2-1.6.2)

Another novelist interested in geography, ethnography, and history is Heliodorus.⁴⁴⁷ In his novel, the *boukoloi* are important because they advance the plot of the story and provide scenarios that challenge the main characters. Once

again, we find that brigands are central to the course of action and their dwellings, described ekphrastically, provide insight into their characterization.

The description of their camp is as follows (1.5.1-6.2):

Παραμείψαντες οὖν ὅσον δύο στάδια τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἑκταραπέντες εὐθὺς τοῦ ὄρους πρὸς τὰ ὄρθια ἐχώρουν τὴν θάλατταν ἐν δεξιᾷ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ ὑπερβάντες χαλεπῶς τὰς ἀκρωρείας ἐπὶ τινὰ λίμνην κατὰ θατέραν τοῦ ὄρους πλευρὰν ὑποτείνουσαν ἠπείγοντο. 2. Ἦν δὲ τοιάδε τις· βουκολία μὲν σύμπας κέκληται πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων ὁ τόπος· ἔστι δὲ κοιλὰς τῆς αὐτόθι γῆς τοῦ Νείλου ὑπερεκχύσεις τινὰς ὑποδεχομένη καὶ λίμνη γινομένη, τὸ μὲν κατὰ μέσον βάθος ἄπειρος ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἄκρας εἰς ἔλος ἀποτελεωτέρα. Ὁ γὰρ ταῖς θαλάτταις αἰγιαλοί, τοῦτο ταῖς λίμναις τὰ ἔλη γίνεται. 3. Ἐν δὲ τούτοις ὅσον Αἰγυπτίων ληστικὸν πολιτεύεται, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς ὀλίγη, εἴ ποί τις ὑπερέχει τοῦ ὕδατος, καλύβην πηξάμενος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ σκάφους βιοτεύει, πορθμεῖον τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ οἰκητήριον ἔχων. Ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες ἐριθείουσιν, ἐπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀποτίκτουςιν. 4. Εἰ δὲ γένοιτο πραιδίον, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῷ μητρῷ γάλακτι τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης ἰχθύσι πρὸς ἥλιον ὀπτωμένοις ἐκτρέφει. Ἔρπειν δὲ ὀρεγόμενον εἰ αἰσθοίτο, ἱμάντα τῶν σφυρῶν ἐξάψας ὅσον ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ σκάφους ἢ τῆς καλιᾶς προβαίνειν ἐπέτρεψε, καινόν τινα χειραγωγὸν αὐτῷ τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ ποδὸς ἐπιστήσας.

VI. Καὶ πού τις βουκόλος ἀνὴρ ἐτέχθη τε ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ καὶ τροφὸν ἔσχε ταύτην καὶ πατρίδα τὴν λίμνην ἐνόμισεν· ἱκανὴ δὲ φρούριον ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι λησταῖς· διὸ καὶ συρρεῖ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος τῷ μὲν ὕδατι πάντες ὅσα τεῖχει χρώμενοι, τὸν δὲ πολὺν κατὰ τὸ ἔλος κάλαμον ἀντὶ χαρακώματος προβεβλημένοι. 2. Σκολιάς γὰρ τινὰς ἀτραποὺς τεμόμενοι καὶ πολλοῖς ἐλιγμοῖς πεπλανημένας καὶ σφίσι μὲν διὰ τὴν γνῶσιν ῥάστους τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπόρους τοὺς διέκπλους κατασκευάσαντες μέγιστον ὀχύρωμα πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἂν τι παθεῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐμηχανήσαντο. Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν λίμνην καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτῇ βουκόλους ὧδε πῶς ἔχει.

After they rode along the beach for about a fifth of a mile, they turned toward the mountainside keeping the sea on their right. Once they had climbed the heights with some difficulty, they came to a marsh that lay outspread below them on the other side of the mountain. The nature of the area was as follows. The entire area, called by the Egyptians the Land of Herds, is a depressed valley into which the floodwaters of the Nile pour and has created a lake. The middle of the lake is incalculably deep but around the edges it forms into a marsh. Just like beaches are to seas, so marshes are to lakes. In this place the entire bandit community of Egypt lives. One man builds a hut on the bit of land that rises above the water,

while another lives on a boat that functions as both a conveyance and a dwelling. On these boats the women work at their weaving and give birth to children. The children are first fed on milk, but later on they eat fish from the lake roasted in the sun. If they see a child trying to crawl, they tie a rope to its ankles that permits him to go the full length of the boat or the hut. This is a novel way to keep children under control, to tie them by their feet.

The *boukoloi* who were born here and raised in the manner described, each considers the lake his fatherland. It affords a safe haven for bandits, and so that type of person naturally gathers there. The water surrounds the entire settlement like a wall, and instead of a barricade they are protected by the enormous amount of reeds that grow in the marsh. Through these they cut circuitous and intricately winding channels through the reeds. They make their way easily though these passages, as they know the way through, but they are impassable for anyone else. This they have created as an invulnerable defense against any invasion. This then is the area around the lake and the *boukoloi* who dwell in it.

This *ekphrasis* initially is very similar in theme and structure to Achilles Tatius'

boukoloi camp: both groups of herdsmen (*boukoloi*) live in a region of the Nile

Delta where a lake was formed from flood water; they live on very small islands

in the lake; water protects their home instead of a city wall; and papyrus reed

corridors grow all around their camp. Although at first glance the two *ekphrasis*

recall one another, nevertheless there are many contrasting elements and

innovations. In fact, some of the innovations we find in the Heliodorus *ekphrasis*

are permutations from a Herodotean passage.

The depiction of the *boukoloi* camp comes after the arrival of both bandits and their hostages at this location. This should immediately recall Lucius' arrival at the robber camp (*Metamorphoses* 4.6) and the mountain-lair *ekphrasis* that coincided with the pause that helped introduce a new and relevant setting.

Here, too, we have a pause before the *ekphrasis*; the captives have just arrived at their new “home.” In addition, the *ekphrasis* itself, by halting the forward progression of the plot (and the literal geographic movement of the characters), signals a pause. The main characters, Theagenes and Charikleia, whose identities are unknown at this point and whose current state of affairs is clothed in mystery, arrive at the *boukoloi* lair. The narrator tells us that the Egyptians call the entire area *Boukolia*, Land of the Herds.

The location of the *boukoloi* “city” is in a valley where the Nile’s floodwater has created a lake. The entire bandit community of Egypt, we are told, lives here either in huts on small patches of land or in boats.⁴⁴⁸ Similar to Achilles Tatius’ *boukoloi*, these *boukoloi* also use the water for transportation and habitation.

To prevent the children from falling into the water a cord is tied around their ankles. This detail is borrowed from Herodotus’ lake dwelling Paeonians from Book 5 (5.16):

ἰκρία ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐζευγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἔστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ, ἔσοδον ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου στεινὴν ἔχοντα μὴ γεφύρῃ. τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεῶτας τοῖσι ἰκρίοισι τὸ μὲν κου ἀρχαῖον ἔστησαν κοινῇ πάντες οἱ πολιῆται, μετὰ δὲ νόμῳ χρεώμενοι ἰσθᾶσι τοιῶδε· κομίζοντες ἐξ ὄρεος τῷ οὖνομά ἐστι Ὀρβηλος κατὰ γυναῖκα ἐκάστην ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησι· ἄγεται δὲ ἕκαστος συχνὰς γυναῖκας. οἰκέουσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τῶν ἰκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν τῇ διαιτᾶται καὶ θύρης καταπακτῆς διὰ τῶν ἰκρίων κάτω φερούσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην. τὰ δὲ νήπαι παιδία δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτῳ, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαίνοντες. τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι καὶ τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθύς· τῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἐστὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε, ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπακτὴν ἀνακλίνῃ, κατίει σχοινίῳ σπυρίδα κεινὴν ἐς τὴν λίμνην καὶ

οὐ πολλόν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχών ἀνασπᾶ πλήρεα ἰχθύων. τῶν δὲ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς καλέουσι πάπρακας τε καὶ τίλωνας.

In the middle of the lake stands a platform supported on long poles and the entrance from the land is only a single narrow bridge. In the old days, all the people worked together to set the poles that support the platform, but later they employed a different method. The men carry the poles down from Mt. Orbelus and place three of them, one for each wife he marries. Each man has many wives. Each member of the tribe has his own hut on one of the platforms, with a trap-door leading down to the lake underneath. To prevent their babies from falling in, they tie a string to their legs. They feed their horses and pack-animals fish. There is so much fish that if a man opens his trap-door and lowers an empty basket on a rope into the lake, he only needs to wait a short time before he pulls it up and it is full of fish. There are two kinds of fish, some they call papraces and others they call tilones.

In this passage, we find the inspiration for Heliodorus' representation of the lake-dwelling *boukoloi*.⁴⁴⁹ The most obvious is the safeguarding of their children.

In both passages, the young children's feet are bound by a rope that prevents them from crawling over the edges into the water. Herodotus' description in comparison to Heliodorus' is a much more colorless observation. Herodotus writes:

τὰ δὲ νήπαι παιδιά δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτῳ, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ διμαίνοντες.

To prevent their babies from tumbling in, they tie a string to their legs.

Herodotus' simple and straightforward observation of these preventative measures becomes more elaborate and extensive in Heliodorus' rendition:

Ἐρπείν δὲ ὀρεγόμενον εἰ αἰσθοίτο, ἱμάντα τῶν σφυρῶν ἐξάψας ὅσον ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ σκάφους ἢ τῆς προβαίνειν ἐπέτρεψε, καινόν τινα χειραγωγὸν αὐτῷ τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ ποδὸς ἐπιστήσας.

If they see a child trying to crawl, they tie a rope to its ankles that permits him to go the full length of the boat or the hut. This is a novel way to keep children under control, to tie them by their feet.

The non-descript foot (ποδός) of Herodotus is replaced by an ankle (σφυρῶν) in Heliodorus. Additionally, the string that prevents the child from falling overboard is described in fuller detail in Heliodorus. Its length allows the child some movement, but only enough to reach the edge of the boat or the door of the hut. Finally, Heliodorus inserts his own voice, something we might expect of Herodotus, and comments on this unusual treatment of children.

As discussed above, Heliodorus, like Achilles Tatius, is following in a historiographical tradition, and, therefore, the passage appears entirely credible. The realistic environment of Herodotus' passage crosses over into Heliodorus' narrative without question or difficulty. Heliodorus, by adding a number of variations to the Herodotean passage, appears to have some additional information about these people. The result is that the reader, instead of questioning this supplementary material as unrealistic, rather finds it more credible. We find Heliodorus' inclusion of binding the children's more credible because what would be the point to include it if it were not true.⁴⁵⁰

Likewise, the lake waters that surround each settlement protect the *boukoloï* camps in both the narratives of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus appear to be credible because of their superabundance of details. Furthermore, both *ekphraseis* include a description of the protective qualities of the reeds that grow

there. In Achilles Tatius, the papyrus reeds grow in such a way that they create secret corridors and provide covert meeting places and locations for ambushes. In Heliodorus, the *boukoloï* manipulate the natural growth of the reeds by cutting winding and intricate paths through them. Although there are secret and intricate passageways through the reeds in both *ekphraseis*, they are described using completely different vocabulary and the tone of each is quite distinct.

The reed corridors that grow in the lakes of the Nile Delta region are described as being of two types: those occurring naturally and those manufactured by the *boukoloï*. The passageways in Achilles Tatius' *ekphrasis* seem to occur naturally; they just happen to grow that way (4.12.6-7). Yet, Heliodorus' *boukoloï* manipulate the reeds in order to create secret, mazelike passages (1.6.1-2). Why might these two descriptions of the reed corridors in the Nile Delta *boukoloï* camp *ekphraseis*, which in their final product appear so similar, be described in such different ways? I believe that the answer lies in their use of description as a means of characterization. In Achilles Tatius, the *boukoloï* are described as "wild and frightening men, all large and black, bareheaded, heavyset but quick on their feet" (3.9.2); they speak a foreign language which does not allow them to understand and sympathize with the prayers of their prisoners (3.9.2 and 3.10.2-3); they have long and wild hair like their horses' manes and tails (3.12.1); they fight with clods of dirt (3.13.2-3); and they perform human sacrifices and cannibalism (3.15.1-5). The overall impression one obtains

from the *boukoloi* in Achilles Tatius is negative. They have very few redeeming qualities and show no remorse for their violent actions. Their daily activities include terrorizing, plundering, and killing. They are truly savage in their nature, and the reactions to them by characters in the novel are completely justified. Therefore, the portrayal of their Nile Delta dwelling, especially the papyrus reed corridors that allow for secret meetings and provide the place from which ambushes take place, strengthens this negative image of the *boukoloi* in Achilles Tatius' novel. The detailed description of the Nile's waters and the islands formed in the lake provide important information for the setting. This watery environment is the scene of the major battle that takes place between the *boukoloi* and the Egyptian army (4.14.1-9) and the final defeat of the *boukoloi* described in one summary sentence (4.18.1).

In Heliodorus' text, immediately following their departure from the beach, the *boukoloi* make their way to their lake-home. We observe that the depiction of the women weaving and nursing their children is quite different from the other *boukoloi* camp where there is no mention of women or children and their activities. The *boukoloi* in Heliodorus' novel are kinder people: they even take care to tie a cord to the children's ankles so that they not fall off the boat.

The pace of the events that follows the opening scenes is much faster (1.27).⁴⁵¹ That first band of brigands (1.1.1-3.3) returns later (1.33) with a large force of men and attack Thyamis' camp believing that they have been cheated out of their rightful booty.⁴⁵² Similar to Achilles Tatius' *boukoloi*, Heliodorus' *boukoloi* are also attacked in the very place they live, and, therefore, a detailed description of their settlements is necessary for these narratives. At the onset of the attack, Thyamis orders Knemon to take Charikleia to the cave where she will be safe. This cave is where the brigands store their treasure.⁴⁵³ It, too, is described in an *ekphrasis* and deserves some analysis since it provides protection for their spoils just as the intricately designed passageways of the reeds provided protection for the *boukoloi*.

The Boukoloi Cave (Heliodorus, *An Ethiopian Tale* 1.28.2-29.2)

The *ekphrasis* is as follows:

2 Τὸ δὲ ἦν οὐ φύσεως ἔργον οἷα πολλὰ περὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν αὐτόματα σηραγγοῦται ἀλλὰ τέχνης ληστρικῆς τὴν φύσιν μιμησαμένης, καὶ χειρῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὄρυγμα πρὸς σκύλων φυλακὴν περιεργῶς κοιλαινόμενον.

XXIX 1 Εἵργαστο δὲ ὧδὲ πῶς· στόμιον ἦν αὐτῷ στενόπορόν τε καὶ ζοφῶδες οἰκήματος κρυφίου θύραις ὑποκείμενον, ὥς τὸν οὐδὸν θύραν ἄλλην τῇ καθόδῳ γίνεσθαι ὥς πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν· ἐνέπιπτε τε αὐτῇ ῥαδίως καὶ ἀνεπτύσσετο· τὸ δὲ αὐτόθεν εἰς αὐλῶνας σκολιούς ἀτάκτως σχιζόμενον. 2 Οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς μυχοὺς πόροι καὶ αὐλακες πῇ μὲν ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ τεχνικῶς πλανώμενοι πῇ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐμπίπτοντες καὶ ῥιζηδὸν πλεκόμενοι πρὸς μίαν εὐρυχωρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυθμένος συρρέοντες ἀνεστομοῦντο, καθ' ὃ καὶ φέγγος ἀμυδρὸν ἔκ τινος διατρήσεως πρὸς ἄκροις τῆς λίμνης προσέπιπτεν.

This cave was not a work of nature like many caverns that are formed in or below the ground, but it was created by the *boukoloï* to imitate nature by skillfully creating a storeroom for their plunder. It was constructed somewhat as follows. There was a narrow, dark opening hidden beneath the doorway of a secret compartment created in such a way that the threshold served as a second door that gave access to the underground passage when required by simply lifting or replacing it. From this point, there was a maze of irregular winding corridors. The passages and corridors that led to the heart of the cave would at times branch out into different directions with crafty twists and turns and at other times they would join and interweave like roots, until finally at a single open space near the bottom they merged and were lit by a small ray of light from a crack near the marsh.

Knemon leads Charikleia into this cave using his knowledge of the path to guide her to the innermost recesses of the cave where she is told to remain until that night when he will return with Theagenes. The cave, similar to the reed corridors of the lake dwelling, is man-made, and constructed to imitate nature. The exact configuration of the doorway, stone threshold, and underground passage are confusing. How exactly does one enter and exit the cave? The subterranean passageways are likewise confusing in that they resemble a labyrinth in their twists and turns and their crisscrossing.⁴⁵⁴ These twists and turns, in addition to the darkness of the cave, will play a direct role in the slaying of a young Greek-speaking woman, Thisbe. Thyamis, entering the darkened cave, follows the voice of a Greek woman he assumes is Charikleia and proceeds to kill her. The intricate layout of the passageways and the darkness of the cave

emphasize the subsequent confusion of the events that take place within it. Thyamis will fall victim to these perplexities, as will both Charikleia and Theagenes.

This *ekphrasis* functions in ways similar to the earlier description of the Nile Delta camp both in its abundance of details to lend credibility to the passage as well as in its capacity to describe the characters that function within the location. The account of the cave, as mentioned above, features confusing passageways, labyrinthine in their depiction. Moreover, the obscurity of the cave is highlighted not only by its literal description as dark (or lightless) but also by the narrator's inclusion that Cnemon's ability to function successfully in the cave was derived from his familiarity with its layout based on previous experiences within the cave.

Caves, in general, tend to be mysterious places, frightening even when they are desired places of sanctuary.⁴⁵⁵ In addition, caves, as most types of "thresholds" or liminal spaces discussed by Doody, often serve as places of transition.⁴⁵⁶ In fact, all of the characters who function within this cave, Thyamis, Cnemon, Thisbe, and Charikleia do emerge as having gone through a transition. Thyamis, chief of the *boukoloï* and sympathetic guardian of the protagonists, experiences his lowest and most savage moment in the cave when he kills the woman he believes to be Charikleia. For Thyamis, the most violent facet of his personality will emerge only when in the cave. His darkest moment will literally

come to pass in the darkest place. Likewise, Cnemon, a prisoner compelled to work for Thyamis and not yet fully trusted by the protagonists, will go through a transition as a result of his interactions with the cave. Thyamis, fearing for the girl's safety, orders Cnemon to place Charicleia within the cave. Although Cnemon is instructed to place her near the mouth of the cave, he disobeys and, instead, places her within the innermost recesses. Later when he returns to the cave with Thyamis to rescue Charicleia, he proves his fidelity when he reunites them and, from that instant, is judged their true friend. Thisbe, a slave girl from Athens who was placed there for safekeeping and whose character is described as deceptive (not unlike the cave itself), is murdered near the mouth of the cave, the ultimate transition possible. Charicleia, also placed within the cave for her own protection, experiences a transition. She enters the cave as a prisoner of a *boukoloï* chief, yet, when she exits, she is a free woman reunited with her lover. In many ways, therefore, the *ekphrasis* of the cave foreshadows the events that take place within it as well as highlight and serve as the location for the transitions of individuals who function within it.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have discussed and analyzed the *ekphraseis* directly related to the dwellings of outlaws in the ancient novels. Through the employment of such descriptions, the ancient novelists attempted to lend an air

of realism and plausibility to their works in the manner of historical works. One such historiographical pose was for novelists to begin their stories by clearly stating a geographic locale. By evoking a specific locale, the author calls to mind certain geographic associations for his readers that in turn give some sense of the subjects to be treated in the work. By beginning a novel in a way most similar to historians, novelists are clearly stating that they, too, are concerned with realism.

In the *ekphraseis* of the outlaw camps, not only is there a superabundance of details that, by its very nature, suggests fact, but also the depictions are presented in such a way as to mimic actual vision. If the reader believes that he can see the object or location being described, he is more likely to believe that it can exist. In addition, the *ekphraseis* of the outlaw camps aid in the characterization of the people who dwell in them. By comparison and in contrast to the mountain-lair of the brigands, the palace of Cupid both enables the reader to employ similar techniques of analysis and furthers the reader's understanding of both passages. Just as the palace of Cupid and its description help characterize Cupid, Psyche, and the invisible servants, so, too, the *ekphrasis* of the mountain-lair parallels its brigand inhabitants.

The *boukoloi* camps in Achilles Tatius' and Heliodorus' novels fall within an established tradition of description, and, although they are similar in their function of foreshadowing and characterization, they ultimately are unique to their own novels. Achilles Tatius' *boukoloi* are savage, deceptive, and ruthless

and therefore the *ekphrasis* of their camp echoes these characteristics. In contrast, the *boukoloi* in Heliodorus' narrative are kinder and much more humane. In his description of the *boukoloi* Nile Delta homes, clearly meant to recall Herodotus' Paeonians, Heliodorus has elaborated on a specific element (the tying of the children's legs) in order to aid to his characterization of these people. In the cave *ekphrasis*, Heliodorus introduces elements of darkness and deception that are then reproduced in the characters that function within the cave.

The *ekphraseis* discussed in this chapter have a number of functions in the ancient novels. The novelists attempted to establish a historiographical pose for their novels by employing *ekphraseis*, an important element in establishing the credibility of their tales. The descriptions themselves enabled the novelists to aid elements of foreshadowing to their narrative as well as draw parallels between the dwellings and the people who inhabit them.

³⁵⁸ The motives for presenting a “truthful” story are not necessarily made explicit by the authors of the novels and probably varied from author to author.

Holzberg (1995) 37 points out that the parallels between history and novel arise from the hypothesis that the novel was directly descended from Hellenistic historiography. Morgan (1982) 222, commenting on the extent of believability in the novels, states, “The degree of restraint needed obviously varies from case to case: surrealistic comedy needs hardly any restraint at all—indeed, much of its effect arises from the perversion of normal laws of cause and effect; a fairytale can admit physical impossibilities of one kind or another; a religious allegory can manage without a concrete background its symbolic action.”

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 221.

³⁶⁰ Some more recent works to deal with these issues are Millar (1981) 63-75, Morgan (1982) 221-65, and Morgan (1993) 175-229. Morgan (1982) 222, states that “a novelist who wishes to be plausible cannot afford to move very far away from the real world and the way things happen there”.

³⁶¹ Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe* begins in Syracuse (1.1):

Χαρίτων Ἀφροδισιεύς, Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ ῥήτορος ὑπογραφεύς, πάθος ἐρωτικὸν ἐν Συρακούσαις γενόμενον διηγήσομαι.

I, Chariton of Aphrodisias, clerk of the lawyer Athenogoras, am going to tell you a love story that took place in Syracuse.

Xenophon’s *Ephesiaca* in Ephesus (1.1):

Ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα ἐκεῖ δυναμένων, Λυκομήδης ὄνομα.

There was in Ephesus a man named Lycomedes among the most influential citizens.

Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon* in Sidon (1.1):

Σιδῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλις· Ἀσσυρίων ἢ θάλασσα· μήτηρ Φοινίκων ἢ πόλις· Θηβαίων ὁ δῆμος πατήρ.

Sidon is a city on the Assyrian sea. Sidon is the mother city of Phoenicia, and its people are the forefathers of the Theban race.

Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe* in Lesbos (Prologue):

Ἐν Λέσβῳ θηρῶν ἐν ἄλσει Νυμφῶν θέαμα εἶδον κάλλιστον ὧν εἶδον,
εἰκόνος γραφήν, ἱστορίαν ἔρωτος.

When I was hunting in Lesbos, I saw in the grove of the Nymphs the most beautiful sight I have ever seen, a painted picture, a history of love.

and specifically Mytilene:

Πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Λέσβου Μιτυλήνη μεγάλη καὶ καλή.

There is a city on Lesbos called Mytilene, great and beautiful.

Heliodorus' *Aithiopica* at the Heracleotic (i.e. the westernmost) mouth of the seven principle mouths of the Nile (1.1):

Ἡμέρας ἄρτι διαγελώσης καὶ ἡλίου τὰς ἀκρωρείας καταυγάζοντος,
ἄνδρες ἐν ὅπλοις ληστροκοῖς ὄρους ὑπερκύψαντες, ὃ δὴ κατ' ἐκβολὰς τοῦ
Νείλου καὶ στόμα τὸ καλούμενον Ἡρακλεωτικὸν ὑπερτείνει,

Just as the day was beginning to smile, and the sun to shine upon the tops of the mountains, men in brigand attire peered over the mountain that overlooks the beach of the Nile and the mouth called the Heracleotic.

and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, Lucius is on his way to Thessaly (1.2):

*Thessaliam---nam et illic originis maternae nostrae fundamenta a Plutarcho illo
inclito ac mox Sexto philosopho nepote eius prodita gloria<m> nobis faciunt---
eam Thessaliam ex negotio petebam.*

Thessaly---for my mother's family goes back there, the lineage traced back to that famous Plutarch and then to his nephew Sextus, the philosopher, a line of ancestors that makes us proud---I was on my way to Thessaly on business.

The opening of Petronius' *Satyricon* is lost but it is likely that it, too, began by explicitly stating a city or geographical locale. Schmeling (1996) 462, utilizing Frags. 1 and 4, suggests that the novel may have begun in Massilia.

³⁶² Earl (1972) 849. Earl also states that the reason for these rigid rules concerning the opening lines of written works was practical also. "The technique of ancient book production, the physical nature of the volumen did not allow the reader

easily to scan the body of the work to ascertain its subject. The first sentence and first paragraph performed much of the function of the title page and list of contents in a modern codex. Hence the obligation to make quite clear in your first sentence at least what type of literature you were writing, although not many subsequent writers achieved the masterly compression of Herodotus and Thucydides or of the poet of the 'Iliad' who in the classic example of the form in a mere six words presented the essentials of his subject, using to the full the resources of the hexameter to position the three key words in the emphatic positions at the beginning and end of the verses."

³⁶³ The titles are designated almost without exception by the neuter plural of the possessive adjective. See Jacoby (1973) for those writers of local Athenian History.

³⁶⁴ Holzberg (1995) 64, provides some other possibilities for accepted titles. Chartion's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* might have been *Sicelica* (43), Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* was possibly entitled *Phoenicica* (88), and Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* likewise could have included its main setting in the title of *Lesbiaca* (93). Interestingly, Holzberg comments that Petronius' *Satyrica* can be understood as a play on all those Greek titles. Ruiz-Montero (1996) n. 2 mentions the works of Philippus of Anphypolis whose works, according to the *Suda*, included *Rohdiaca*, *Coaca*, and *Thasiaca*.

³⁶⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this see Bowie (1977) 91-96.

³⁶⁶ Earl (1972) 843, writing about the prologue in ancient historiography, says that "if an historian began his work with a formal prologue, then it was obligatory to set out his subject in the very first sentence. The more explicit the better, as Herodotus, Thucydides, Appian, Josephus, Livy, Florus and Bede." He also states (844) that no ancient reader "could pick up the work of any extant ancient historians who prefixed prologues to their works and be in any doubt after reading the first sentence that the subject matter was history."

³⁶⁷ Holzberg (1995) 36.

³⁶⁸ Petronius' *Satyricon*, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, and Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, unlike the other novels, were written primarily in the first person. See Smith (1972) 513-34 and Reardon (1994) 80-96.

³⁶⁹ For more on this, see Holzberg (1995).

³⁷⁰ Bartsch (1989) 159.

³⁷¹For more on this see Feuillatre (1966) and Morgan (1982) where lists of passages and their historical counterparts are included.

³⁷²Morgan (1982) 250.

³⁷³ Heliodorus' heroine is Ethiopian by birth; Longus' protagonists inhabit a pastoral world on Lesbos; and Achilles Tatius' characters are from Phoenicia.

³⁷⁴ For example, the kidnapping of the presumed dead Callirhoe by pirates in Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* (1.7-10); the brigands who raid the house of Milo and steal Lucius-as-ass from the stable (3.27); and the raid by the *boukoloi* and kidnapping of Leucippe in Achilles Tatius (3.9).

³⁷⁵ Doody (1996) 320, defines a liminal space as a place that is "a home of the indeterminate. This is a place where the characters are nameless, or improperly identified or acting outside their proper function and role."

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 319-336. Doody includes the subcategories of "Limen and Limne", "Frontier and Wild Space", "River and Pond and Reedy Marsh", "The Sea", "Venice" (not relevant for the ancient novel), and "Dirt". The water-meets-land areas provide a point of departure or immersion into turbulence. Consider the openings of Achilles Tatius where the painting features Europa being spirited away over the waves on the bull or the opening of Heliodorus' novel set on the beach. The sea, which tends to be destructive, is a sign of change, and shipwrecks often lead to the shore of salvation.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 337-358. Subdivisions include caves, tombs, pits, trenches, and labyrinths. All of these categories can be understood as symbols of death and rebirth. In the novels, the cave is a place of false death but also rebirth such as Callirhoe in Chariton's novel who is believed dead, placed in a large tomb, comes back to life, and is kidnapped by the tomb robbers. Yet just as the shores and places where the interaction between land and water is significant provide for transitional places, so do caves, tombs, and labyrinths. One of the worst types of confinement or imprisonment is clausturation within a beast (Lucius in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*).

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 346-358. Labyrinths tend to be man-made devices that seek to replicate nature. The interesting difference between the labyrinth and the cave is that the labyrinth allows the person to wander, to choose his own path, to move in and

out again. As a traveler through the labyrinth, one must keep moving to survive. Often the labyrinth is a symbol of the descent to the underworld and, therefore, implies a death and rebirth for the character.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 321. The threshold of a building, room, or door can be understood as a place where one thing ends and another begins. This strongly reinforces the idea of death and rebirth. As we will see, Cupid's palace is a large threshold that provides for Psyche a new beginning. Her fall from the mountain peak signals her death and her approach and penetration of the palace signals her rebirth.

³⁸⁰ The cave *ekphrasis* found in Heliodorus is closely associated with the brigands' dwelling although it is described later and is in a different location. The cave is for the storage and safekeeping of their spoils and can thus be seen as an extension of their camp.

³⁸¹ Frangoulidis (1990) and (1992), Parker (1999), and Penwill (1990) have each treated aspects of Apuleius' brigand camp.

³⁸² See Riess (2001) for Apuleius' brigands and historical brigands.

³⁸³ See the Groningen Commentary on this passage (1977) 56-62.

³⁸⁴ This is a standard formula used by both historians and poets to point to a geographical description.

Sal. Jug. 17.1: *res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere*. The matter seems to require that I explain briefly the geography of Africa.

Sal. Jug. 95.2: *sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est de natura cultuque eius paucis dicere*. But since the subject brings this amazing man to our attention, it seems appropriate to speak briefly about his character and manner of life.

Caes. Gal. 6.11.1: *quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, non alienum esse videtur de Galliae Germaniaeque moribus...proponere*. Since we have come to the place, it does not appear to be irrelevant to our subject to place before the readers an account of the characteristics of Gaul and Germany.

A similar formula is used in Ap. Met. 9.32: *res ipsa mihi poscere videtur, ut huius quoque serviti mei disciplinam exponam*. It seems to me that the subject demands that I expand on the schedule of my new duties.

In this instance, Lucius describes his daily responsibilities for his new employer, a poor farmer. See Heine (1978) 41, n. 115 for a select list of parallels from *Meta*. Book 4 with historians, Sallust, Livy, Caesar and Tacitus. See also D'Alton (1931) on this formulaic preface.

³⁸⁵ See Winkler (1985) 180-203, where he suggests that the prologue, usually written as one continuous paragraph, should be seen as two prologues with two possible narrators.

³⁸⁶ Romberg (1962) 133.

³⁸⁷ The first extensive ekphrastic passage in Greek and Latin literature is the description of the Shield of Achilles from Homer's *Iliad* (18.468-608). Other famous *ekphraseis* include the coverlet at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in Catullus 64, Vergil's Temple of Juno in *Aeneid* Book 1 (446-493), and Shield of Aeneas in *Aeneid* Book 8. Each of these descriptive passages is important for a variety of reasons that, unfortunately, does not fall within the scope of this analysis.

³⁸⁸ This "less-than-idyllic" reading becomes clear only after hearing the unsuccessful stories told within the robber camp (4.9-21).

³⁸⁹ Williams (1991) 80.

³⁹⁰ Cp. to Apuleius, *Meta*. 4.12, the death of Alcimus, and 5.27, the death of Psyche's cruel sisters who are ripped apart by jagged rocks. 5.27:

nec tamen ad illum locum vel saltem mortua pervenire potuit. nam per saxa cautium membris iactatis atque dissipatis et proinde, ut merebatur, laceratis visceribus suis altibus bestiisque obvium ferens pabulum interiit.

But not even dead was she able to find the landing she desired. For her limbs were torn to pieces as she fell through the protruding rocks and were strewn everywhere, just as she deserved. She died offering her entrails as a feast for the birds and wild beasts.

Compare also the torture threatened by the robbers to Lucius/ass and Charite at 6.31-32.

³⁹¹ See Chapter 2 above on the martial imagery of Apuleius' brigands.

³⁹² The image of water surrounding a high structure calls to mind many examples, one of which is Pausanias' description of the Island of Patroclus near Sunium (I.1). Pausanias says that there was a fortification (τείχος) built on the now uninhabited island, and that Patroclus, sent by Ptolemy II to help the Athenians (267-263 B.C.) constructed a palisade (χάρακα) on the island.

³⁹³ *Atria* is used for the entrance hall at Bryrrhena's house (2.4).

³⁹⁴ Parker (1999) 5-6 discusses movement and tactile/olfactory features of the *ekphrasis*.

³⁹⁵ Bühler (1976) applied a similar "cinematic" approach to the opening of Heliodorus' novel.

³⁹⁶ Recall that Lucius stated the subject of the *ekphrasis* would be both the locale and the cave that served as the robbers home: *res ac tempus ipsum locorum speluncaequae illius, <quam> latrones inhabita<ba>nt, descriptionem exponere flagitat*. His failure to describe the cave in the *ekphrasis* proper causes some tension. The reader has anticipated a description but does not receive one. The robbers enter the cave at 4.7 but Lucius and his horse are left outside: *nobis ante ipsas fores loro valido destinatis*. He never does see the inside of the cave. What Lucius can gather is clearly based on the dialogue he hears between the robbers and the old woman. Rather the subsequent narrative is almost completely made up of speeches. The arrival of the robbers in the cave sets off the following events: beratement of the old woman (4.7) and their bathing, eating and drinking (4.7). The arrival of a second band of robbers (4.8) and the recollection of recent ventures made by both groups follows (4.8-22). At 4.23, robbers enter the camp with the newly kidnapped Charite.

³⁹⁷ Parker (1999) 9 n. 7. A *locus amoenus* can be defined as a pleasant and charming place that typically contains trees, shade, a grassy meadow, a natural water source, singing birds, and cool breezes.

³⁹⁸ The story of the Lapiths and Centaurs was a recurring subject in art, best known from the metopes of the Parthenon, the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Hephaisteion, and the François Vase.

³⁹⁹ See Chapter 2, 72-75.

⁴⁰⁰ Apuleius, *Meta*. 4.12:

Quod eum strenue quidem, <s>et satis inprovidē conantem senile illud facinus, quanquam invalido, repetino tamen et inopinato pulsu nutantem ac pendulum et in prospectu alioquin attonitum praeceps inegit. Qui praeter altitudinem nimiam super quendam etiam vastissimum lapidem propter iacentem decidens perfracta diffusaque crate costarum rivos sanguinis vomens imitus narratisque nobis, quae gesta sunt, non diu cruciatus vitam evasit.

But as he was stretching out, the evil old hag came up behind him and gave him a sudden and unexpected push. Although the push was hardly strong, it was enough to send him out the window headfirst. He fell a great distance and landed on a rather large stone that happened to be below. His rib cage shattered and split open, and he vomited up rivulets of blood. After telling us what had happened, he died not suffering for too long.

⁴⁰¹ See Frangoulidis (1990) and (1992) on Homeric allusion, specifically the cave of Polyphemos in *Odyssey*, Book 9. Other caves and mountains with caves are found in Vergil's *Aeneid* 7.563-71 and 11.522-31, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 11.592ff, and Homer's *Odyssey* 12.73-110. For more on this and other descriptions of setting in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* see Parker (1999).

⁴⁰² Book 4 is a total of 35 chapters with the robber camp *ekphrasis* at chapter 6. The book divisions are those of Apuleius. See Kenney (1998) § 4, xiv-xvi.

⁴⁰³ Some scholars include: Forbes (1943-44) discussed the epic reminiscences of Dido's suicide in Charite's death; Walsh (1970) expanded the previous works to include the vast literary textures found in the Roman Novels; Westerbrink (1978) examined imitation from the perspective of parody; Finkelpearl (1986) illustrated the nature and range of Apuleius' literary imitation, considered the first specialized study of Apuleius' vast range of literary imitation; Krabbe (1989) focused on Apuleius' use of Ovidian themes and language; and Frangoulidis (1991 and 1992) analyzed the pre-Ovidian epic flavorings of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* Books 4-6.

⁴⁰⁴ Walsh (1970) and Schiesaro (1985) consider the *ekphrasis* from the point of view of topographical digressions of historians. Penwill (1990) and Frangoulidis (1990) independently observed the link between the cave of Polyphemos in Homer's *Odyssey* 9.113-14, 182-86 and the cave of the robbers in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 4.6.

⁴⁰⁵ See note 39 above.

⁴⁰⁶ Morgan (1982) 264 writes: "Just as the reader of Heliodorus will find certain details realistic because they are already known to him from other contexts, so the reader of romances in general would find the stock motifs of the genre acceptable just because they were stock motifs. If a reader of ancient fiction ever thought about realism, he would not have said, 'This is unrealistic, because this sort of thing never happens to me or my friends,' but 'This is realistic because I have read before about similar, almost identical things happening on other cases.'"

⁴⁰⁷ For the specific connections of the cave in Apuleius to Polyphemus' cave in the *Odyssey* see, Frangoulidis (1991) and (1992) and Penwill (1990). Frangoulidis (1991) concentrates on the Apuleian developments and changes to the Homeric and Vergilian heroic themes.

⁴⁰⁸ See Clay (1983) for the dwellers of caves in the *Odyssey* and Frangoulidis (1992) 51 n. 4 for dwellers of caves in Vergil's *Aeneid*.

⁴⁰⁹ Height of the mountain: *mons...in primis altus* (ἐν σπέεσι γλαφυροῖσι); dense foliage: *silvestribusque frondibus umbrosus* (πίτυσσιν ἰδὲ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν); rocks: *saxis asperrimis* (κατωρυχέεσσι λίθοισιν); stable: *caulae firmae solidis cratibus, ovili stabulationi commoda* (ἐνθα δὲ πολλὰ μῆλ', οἷός τε καὶ αἴγες, ἰαύεσκον). For a complete discussion see Frangoulidis (1991) 15-24.

⁴¹⁰ Schiesaro (1985) 211-223.

⁴¹¹ Some of the further correspondences include: Tlepolemus (in disguise as Haemus, the robber) enters the robber camp to rescue his fiancée, Charite, and lures the robbers to sleep with wine and then kills them. This is clearly based on Odysseus disguised as the beggar killing the suitors and also when he gets Polyphemus drunk on wine. In Apuleius, it is Charite who plucks the eye of her unwanted suitor while in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus stabs Polyphemus' eye.

⁴¹² Charite is not named until Book 7.12.

⁴¹³ The old woman who narrates this wonderful and intricate tale is described as a drunk at 4.7 and at 6.25.

⁴¹⁴ For a discussion of the fairytale quality of "Cupid and Psyche" see Anderson (2000) 61-69.

⁴¹⁵ The first story is about Socrates and the witch Meroe (1.5-19); Pamphile, a powerful witch who happens to be the wife of his host (Books 2-3); and the stories of magic and witchcraft told at Lucius' aunt's home (2.18-30). And, of course, Lucius' transformation into an ass at 3.24. It is interesting to note that Lucius' preoccupation with the magical world starts off as a passive interest, that is, he likes to hear stories of the occult. As the story progresses, he becomes more and more active in his pursuit of magic. At 3.24 he becomes the object of magic and, almost instantaneously, becomes the passive viewer once again, but a magical one. Yet, this time, the people and events he watches seem much more real. Brigands were a real threat but just how real was the threat of magic?

⁴¹⁶ The inserted tale of Cupid and Psyche has received much scholarly attention but the *ekphrasis* of Cupid's palace at 5.1-2 has not. For some general studies on Cupid and Psyche see, Swahn (1955), Schlam (1976) where he analyzes representations of C & P and (1992) pp. 82-98, Tatum (1979), Kenney (1990), Frangoulidis (1994, 1995, 1997) and Zimmerman et al. (1998). For Cupid's palace, see especially Murgatroyd (1997), Parker (1999) 6-7, and Brodersen (1998) where she compares the palace to a Roman villa.

⁴¹⁷ We find out that the man to whom she is married, although he is invisible, is Cupid and, therefore, it is his palace (5.22).

⁴¹⁸ Citron-wood is a product of Mauretania and a formula for wealth (Pliny *NH* 13.91-95; Lucan 9.426-430; Martial 9.33). See Roller (2003) 117-118.

⁴¹⁹ Kenney (1990) pg. 138 comments that the description of a grove was a stock poetic ploy and sites Horace's *Ars Poetica* (16-18), Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* (25-30), Vergil's *Aeneid* (1.441-449) as well as others. He states that "Water is the most essential element of the *locus amoenus*, hence it is properly placed in the middle of the scene and of the three stages of the description." The three stages he refers to are the meadow, spring, and palace. Cp. Achilles Tatius (1.1.5) where the narrator looks upon a picture of a meadow that also has water running through it. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. See Anderson (1976), Curtius (1953) and Schönbeck (1962) for more on the use of *loci amoeni* in literature.

⁴²⁰ Murgatroyd (1997) 357 also includes the palace of Menelaus (*Od.* 4.42-46), Statius' description of Mars' palace (*Theb.* 7.40-63), Valerius Flaccus' portrait of Aeetes' home (5.408-454), Ceres' and Venus' abodes in Claudian (*Rapt. Pros.* 1.237-245 and *Epithal.* 49-96), Aurora's palace in Sidonius (2.418-423), Nonnus

describes Electra's palace (*Dionys.* 3.131-177) and Staphylus' (18.67-87). Murgatroyd, 357 n. 3, also lists homes of historical figures such as Herod's palace in Jerusalem (Josephus *Bell. Iud.* 5.176-182), Cleopatra's palace (Lucan 10.111-126), and Nero's Domus Aurea (Suetonius's *Nero* 31).

⁴²¹ We might recall the oracular response from (Apuleius, *Meta.*) 4.33.1-2:

*'montis in excelsi scopulo, rex, siste puellam
ornatam mundo funerei thalami.
nec speres generum mortali stirpe creatum,
sed saevum atque ferum vipereumque malum,
quod pinnis volitans super aethera cuncta fatigat
flammaque et ferro singula debilitat,
quod tremit ipse Iovis, quo numina terrificantur
fluminaque horrescunt et Stygiae tenebrae.'*

'On mountain peak, o king, expose the maid
For funeral wedlock ritually arrayed.
No human son-in-law (hope not) is thine,
But something cruel and fierce and serpentine;
That plagues the world as, borne aloft on wings,
With fire and steel it persecutes all things;
That Jove himself, he whom the gods revere,
That Styx's darkling stream regards with fear.'

Translation by Kenney (1998) 74.

⁴²² 5.2.3: *tua sunt haec omnia*. These words, Kenney (1990) reminds us, echo those spoken by Byrrhena to Lucius at 2.5.1 (*tua sunt...cuncta, quae vides*). Both Psyche and Lucius happen to be inspecting homes at the time of these pronouncements. Both will fall prey to curiosity.

⁴²³ *Meta.* 4.31.4-7:

*Sic effata ... et statim, quasi pridem praeceperit, non maratur marinum
obsequium: adsunt Nerei filiae chorum canentes et Portunus caeruleis barbis
hispidus et gravis piscoso sinu Salacia et auriga parvulus delfini Palaemon; iam
passim maria persultantes Tritonum catervae hic concha sonaci leniter bucinat,
ille serico tegmine flammulae solis obsistit inimici, alius sub oculis dominae
speculum progerit, curro biuges alii subnatant. Talis ad Oceanum pergentem
Venerem comitatur exercitus.*

Thus she spoke and at once, as if she had previously ordered it, her marine entourage appeared. The daughters of Nereus singing in harmony came and Portunus with his thick sea-colored beard, Salacia, her bosom heavy with fish, and small Palaemon riding his dolphin. On all sides a platoon of Tritons leapt over the sea. One softly blew his melodious horn, another provided a silken veil to keep off the sun's fierce heat, another held a mirror before the face of his mistress, and others swam under her chariot in pairs. Such was the company that escorted Venus in her march to Ocean.

Slater (1998) 20 comments that "this theme of 'marine thiasus' is well known in Roman art, from tiny decorative reliefs to large mosaics." He calls attention to a mosaic from Djemila in North Africa which probably dates to about two centuries after Apuleius. He also notes that "the mirror-bearer here may prefigure those in the Isis procession of Book 11 (11.9.2) who carry mirrors on their backs:" (*aliae, quae nitentibus speculis pone tergum reversis venienti deae obvium commonstrarent obsequium*).

⁴²⁴ *Meta.* 5.22.5-7:

videt capitis aurei geni<a>lem caesariem ambrosia[m] temulentam, cervices lacteas genasque purpureas pererrantes crinium globos decoriter impeditos, alios antependulos, alios retropendulos, quorum splendore nimio fulgurante iam et ipsum lumen lucernae vacillabat; per umeros volatilis dei pinnae roscidae micanti flore candicant et quamvis ali[i]s quiescentibus extimae plumulae tenellae ac delicatae tremule resultantes inquieta lasciviunt; ceterum corpus glabellum atque luculentum et quale perperisse Venerem non paeniteret. ante lectuli pedes iacebat arcus et faretra et sagittae, magni dei propitia tela.

She saw a rich head of golden hair drenched with ambrosia, a milk-white neck, and rosy cheeks upon which strayed coils of hair arranged beautifully, some hanging in front, some behind, shining with such brilliance that the lamp itself flickered nervously. On the shoulders of the flying god flashed dewy-white wings with a glistening sheen, and although the wings were at rest, the soft and delicate down that lay on the edges quivered and rippled in continuous play. The rest of his body was smooth and shining that Venus would have no reason to be ashamed of her son. At the foot of the bed lay his bow, quiver, and arrows, the gracious weapons of the mighty god.

Murgatroyd (1997) 360. Murgatroyd links these *ekphraseis* with that of Cupid's palace because of the Cupid-Venus bond in addition to the inclusion of bright

water and brightness in general in these descriptions (4.31.4 *sudo*, 5.1.2 *vitreo*, *perlucidum*, and 5.22.5ff. *splendore nimio fulgurante... lumen lucernae*).

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.* 360.

⁴²⁶ Parker (1999) 2-3 labels these settings *locus horridus* and *locus amoenus* respectively. Murgatroyd (1997) 359 identifies this rightly as the first time a mythical being's palace is described in prose rather than poetry.

⁴²⁷ Walsh (1970) 198-199 divides the Cupid and Psyche story up into five acts. Kenney (1990) 24-28 breaks the Cupid and Psyche tale into five slightly different acts. See Harrison (1998) 58 ff. for epic structures and book divisions within the story.

⁴²⁸ Where exactly are these dwellings? Although the exact location of the robbers' lair is unknown, we do have more information about its location than Cupid's palace. The course the robbers took after leaving Hypata included an initial climb up a steep mountain followed by their arrival at a large town with a busy market. They next passed a number of farms and cottages and, by midday of the next day, they entered a village located near a shady glen with rolling hills. After resting until evening, they set out again. They passed a gentle river near a cliff that overlooked a valley and finally, after they climbed a small hill, they arrived at the brigand lair (a total of one day's travel on foot). Although it would be quite impossible to retrace their route, we do have a starting point and we learn from the other robber band that Thebes and Plataea were other towns they regularly raided. Therefore, we can conclude that the mountain cave of the brigands is somewhere in the countryside of Boeotia. This contrasts with the unknown location of the kingdoms of Psyche's parents (4.28.1: *erant in quadam civitate rex et regina*), her sisters' homes, and Cupid's palace. More than once we are told that Psyche's sisters traveled by ship to visit her (5.12.3, 5.14.1, 5.21.2, and 5.27.1) and yet she reached them by foot (5.24). The only geographical clues about the settings in the story center around the gods Venus and Apollo. We are told (4.29.3) that no one traveled to Paphos, Cnidos, or Cythera to worship the goddess and that Psyche's father consulted the oracle of Apollo at Miletus.

⁴²⁹ See Doody (1996) 320-358.

⁴³⁰ Tlepolemus, Charite's fiancé, after infiltrating the brigand camp claims to be a famous Thracian named Haemus. See Frangoulidis (1992) 60-74 for the epic overtones of this episode. By taking on this guise, Frangoulidis argues that we should see the incident as an inversion of the Odysseus/Polyphemus episode

from Odyssey Book 9. In addition, Haemus/Tlepolemus claims that his father was the famous thief Theron, the same name of the pirate from Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe. For the significance of the names see Hijmans Jr. (1978) 107-22; Helms (1966) 88-93, 140-141; and Mason (1978) 8-9.

⁴³¹ Recall that Psyche was prepared for the worst (dressed in both funerary and bridal attire) when she is left on the mountain to meet her new "non-human" husband (4.32-35).

⁴³² Smith (1998) 72.

⁴³³ The *ekphrasis* at 5.1-2 is framed by Psyche sleeping. She awakens at 5.1 and at 5.3 she goes to bed after touring the palace. After a short nap, she bathes, dines and again goes to bed.

⁴³⁴ Compare this to the entrance into Trimalchio's house in Petronius' *Satyricon* where a painted dog guards the entry (29.1):

Ceterum ego dum omnia stupeo, paene resupinatus crura mea fregi. Ad sinistram enim intransibus non longe ab ostiarii cella canis ingens, catena vinctus, in pariete erat pictus superque quadrata littera scriptum, 'cave canem.'

As I stood there stunned by all this, I suddenly jumped with terror, stumbled, and almost broke my leg. For there on the left as you entered not far from the door stood a huge dog pulling on his leash. On the wall there was a picture and underneath it was written: Beware of Dog!

⁴³⁵ Kenney (1990) 138.

⁴³⁶ See Murgatroyd (1997) and Kenney (1990).

⁴³⁷ Murgatroyd (1997) 362.

⁴³⁸ Lucius' metamorphosis back into a man and entry into the cult of Isis (Book 11) also parallels Psyche's final metamorphosis into an immortal at 6.23.

⁴³⁹ The description of the suppliant old men is extremely similar to the ploy used by the *boukoloi* in Cassius Dio's account (72.4). In Dio's version, the *boukoloi* deceived the Roman centurion by dressing in women's clothes and pretending to be the wives of the *boukoloi*. Additionally, they offer gold as a means of compensation.

⁴⁴⁰ See Grimal (1958) ix, for the striking resemblance of the Nile delta descriptions in the novels and those found in the mosaics and paintings in the Alexandrian and Roman periods.

⁴⁴¹ Bartsch (1989) 160.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.* 160

⁴⁴³ The *Vita Apollonii* also includes similar topics (the source of the Nile, 6.26) and, therefore, suggests that in the time of the Second Sophistic, these geographical and ethnographical descriptions had become uniform and information about certain countries, *e.g.* Egypt, had been collected from the historiographers. See Bartsch (1989) 159-162.

⁴⁴⁴ Fairbanks (1960) intro. xxii. writes that Philostratus' *Imagines*, "were written as lectures or rhetorical exercises to display the power of the sophist. He can be credited as the originator of the genre of art criticism since his descriptions of paintings are a form of literature. Yet, his *Imagines* were written not to discuss painters and their lives but rather, through descriptions of paintings, to guide the young so that they might be better able to interpret and appreciate painting (*Imagines* 1.3.11-14). Whether or not Philostratus was describing actual paintings or imaginary ones is clearly not a concern. His concern is not to describe the technical skill (such as composition and design) portrayed in the pictures but rather to capture the pathos, sentiment, and emotion expressed in the painting. By doing this he teaches his "students" to stimulate both their imagination and train their aesthetic taste. See Fairbanks (1960) introduction xviii-xxvi.

⁴⁴⁵ Anderson (1986) 264 states, "It is important to compare Philostratus' versions with those of other sophists writing miniatures on similar themes, but not always presenting them as paintings; by so doing we can recognize the convergence of literary and artistic taste."

⁴⁴⁶ A famous visual representation of the Nile is the mosaic from Praeneste.

⁴⁴⁷ Bartsch (1989) 12-13 n. 12, includes a list of descriptive passages found in the novels of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus. I have reproduced a part of that inventory here.

Places: in Achilles Tatius, rivers and lakes other than the Nile (2.14.8, 2.14.9-10), the city of Alexandria (5.1.1-6), the semi-island Tyre (2.14.2-4), the

harbor at Sidon (1.1.1); in Heliodorus, the island city of Meroë (10.5.1-2), and the cities of Philae (8.1.2-3) and Syene (9.22.4)

Animals: in Achilles Tatius, the crocodile (4.19.1-6), the hippopotamus (4.2.1-3.5), the elephant (4.4.2-5.2), the phoenix (3.25.1-7), the Egyptian ox (2.15.3-4), the mating habits of the peacock (1.16.2-3), and the mating habits of the viper and the lamprey (1.18.3-5); in Heliodorus, the “cameleopard” or giraffe (10.27.1-4) and the crocodile (6.1.2).

Circumstances: in Achilles Tatius, the two battles of the Egyptian general Charmides, both against marsh-dwelling brigands (3.13.1-7, 4.14.3-9), the clods of Egyptian earth that function as the brigands’ “weapons” (3.13.3), their deceitful tactics (4.13.1-3); in Heliodorus, a marsh battle between rival bands of marsh-dwelling brigands (1.30.1-3), a pirate mutiny at the mouth of the Nile (5.32.1-6), Hydaspes’ long battle and siege of Syene (9.1.1-8.6), Hydaspes’ final clash with Oroondates (9.14.1-20.6), the latter’s phalanx and its armor (9.15.1-6), and the weapons and tactics of the Troglodytes (8.16.2-3) and of the “cinnamon people” (3.13.3-4).

Festivals: in Heliodorus, the procession in honor of Neoptolemus (3.1.3-5.6), the festival of the Nile (9.9.2), the spontaneous procession at the resolution of Thyamis’ conflict with his brother (7.8.3-7), and the joyous celebration of the victorious Ethiopians (10.6.1ff.).

⁴⁴⁸ If the entire bandit community of Egypt lives here, then who were the first bandit group we met on the shore and where do they live?

⁴⁴⁹ Wives are mentioned in both accounts as is the inclusion of fish in the diet of the children (in Heliodorus) and horses and pack-animals (in Herodotus).

⁴⁵⁰ Morgan (1982) 250.

⁴⁵¹ The opening scenes include: the opening description at the Nile, the kidnapping of the protagonists, their arrival at the *boukoloï* camp (1.1-1.8); Knemon’s story (1.8-1.18); Thyamis’ dream and the assembly (1.18-1.27).

⁴⁵² We find out in 1.33.1 that these are the same brigands who had fled from Thyamis and his men at the opening of the novel.

⁴⁵³ This cave recalls that in which Odysseus hides his possessions right before returning to Ithaca (*Odyssey* 13.361ff).

⁴⁵⁴ The most famous labyrinth in antiquity was that built by Daedalus which housed the Cretan Minotaur. Theseus escapes the labyrinth by cleverly

uncoiling a thread by which he can retrace his steps. In Petronius' *Satyricon*, Doody (1996) 354 discusses Trimalchio's dinner party and compares his home to a labyrinth and descent into the Underworld. See note 77 above. Later, after Trimalchio discusses his tomb and its epitaph (71.5-72.4), the three attempt to escape from the party (72.5). This time a real dog attacks them, Ascylos and Encolpius fall into a fishpond and Giton throws some food at the dog to appease him. They ask the porter to show them the way out and he replies (72.10):

ceterum cum algentes utique petissemus ab atriense ut nos extra ianuam emitteret, 'erras' inquit 'si putas te exire hac posse qua venisti. Nemo umquam convivarum per eandem ianuam emissus est; alia intrant, alia exeunt.'

But when, shivering wet, we asked the porter to show us the way out, he replied, 'You are quite wrong if you think you can leave the same way you came in. No one has ever left the way he came in: they come in one way and go out another.'

In response to this, Encolpius asks himself (73.1):

quid faciamus homines miserrimi et novi generis labyrintho inclusi...

What were we wretched mortals to do trapped in this innovative labyrinth?

For more on the Underworld imagery, see Bodel in Tatum (1994) 237-259. There is a pillar in the house of M. Lucretius at Pompeii that has upon it an etched depiction of a maze with the following caption: *Labyrinthus. Hic habitat Minotaurus.*

⁴⁵⁵ Doody (1996) 343.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 343. One of the most readily identifiable caves in Greek and Latin literature is that which is featured in Book 7 of Plato's *Republic*.

CONCLUSION

“The novel appears to be a creature from an alien species. It gets on poorly with other genres. It fights for its own hegemony in literature;”⁴⁵⁷

Mikhail Bakhtin’s bold statement about the novel has not only enlightened our understanding of the ancient exemplars of the genre but has also underscored the difficulties we encounter when attempting to grapple with this relatively late and eccentric form of literature. To examine the ancient novel with any amount of success, one must be acquainted both with all preceding literary genres as well as the reception of the novel in antiquity. Perhaps more so than any other genre, the novel invites us to consider and reflect upon its relationship with earlier literary forms. This is attested by the fact that the ancients did not have a term to classify this body of work, but instead employed at random such familiar monikers as drama, comedy, and fable. Even today we continue to find it difficult to categorize these literary creations and refer to the genre variously as romance, idealistic, comic-realistic, fiction, and extended-prose narratives. Beyond these discrepancies of nomenclature, the dating, sequence, authorship, and provenance of many of these works still are debated with no apparent resolutions in sight. Recently, narratological studies of the novels have appeared

and it is to this approach that I have added my own contribution. In the present study, I have focused my analysis on the roles of outlaws in an attempt to elucidate our understanding of the narrative development of this literary form.

By examining outlaws in their many functions within literary and historiographical works beginning with Homeric epic up until the time of the novels themselves, we can observe a distinct development in the creation and application of such characters. No earlier genre had employed outlaws to such an extent as the novels nor had any author attempted to maximize the literary and narrative potential that these criminals provide. Their characterization and function are not only essential for the genre itself, but additionally each author in his own work manipulated the outlaw (or outlaw bands) to play a crucial and essential role for his narrative and plot, whatever form their storyline might demand.

As we observe in the Homeric epics, merchants were not always carefully delineated from pirates. Not only do these two groups engage in similar pursuits (they both sail the seas, travel to foreign lands, and carry cargo), but also they are often mistaken for one another. Additionally, many of the heroes are described as sackers of cities whose activities center on pillaging and plundering. Moreover, Odysseus, the hero of the *Odyssey*, is the only character in that work who is classified as πτολίπορθιος, sacker of cities. The crucial factor that separates a pirate from a hero in the Homeric epics, however, is that heroes share

their spoils and subsequently increase their τιμή (honor) and κλέος (reputation) while a pirate is motivated by a desire for personal gain. Likewise, in the ancient novels, merchants were often mistaken for outlaws, yet, (on more than one occasion) the identification of merchants as part-time criminals proved to be accurate.

Although outlaws do share common characteristics within their own sub-groups (pirates all have ships, *boukoloι* live in the Nile delta), after careful examination, they prove to be quite different from one another and distinctive within their individual novels. Robbers, in particular, are usually described as “pseudo-soldiers” and have a special relationship with Ares/Mars that further highlights their possible prior military status. The three chiefs examined, Theron, Hippothous, and Thyamis, further distinguish themselves from all other outlaws in a number of ways. They each have a special relationship with the heroine of the novel, and, because of this atypical association, either pose a direct threat to the hero even act as his surrogate or substitute.

The narrative functions of outlaws extend from the crucial role they perform in geographically relocating the protagonists to foreign and unfamiliar lands to setting the stage for more dangerous situations such as kidnapping, slavery, and, sacrifice. With each additional hazard, the main characters’ fortitude and resilience are tested. In the Greek novels specifically, the lustful desires and sexual assaults of outlaws prove an additional strain on the hero and

heroine as they attempt to maintain both their fidelity as well as their chastity throughout their many adventures and ordeals. Moreover, the tales narrated by outlaws or those related while the protagonists are in their custody function as a means to entertain their listeners as well as to create a pause in the narrative. Frequently the stories they tell reveal information about their current situation and commonly foreshadow events to come.

One way in which Chariton, Xenophon, and Heliodorus set themselves apart from other ancient novelists is in their respective portrayals of a specific outlaw chief. Theron, Hippothous, and Thyamis are highly individualized characters who play who greatly affect the evolution of the plot. Hippothous and Thyamis are unique in the genre since they represent a former member of elite society who, through exceptional circumstances, emerge as criminals. Their development and reintegration into society is entirely based upon their relationship with the hero of the novel. Yet this is not without its problems. As doublets of the male protagonist, they pose a threat not only to his physical well-being but also a danger to his central role as the novel's hero. Only through their reentry into society does the threat they pose vanish.

The novelists also followed in the tradition of historians in attempting to instill some semblance of realism into their fictional world. By employing the rhetorical device of *ekphrasis*, they set before the eyes of the reader the dwellings of the outlaws, thereby achieving verisimilitude through their use of detail. In

addition, these *ekphraseis* provide a link between the inhabitants and their dwellings, often including elements to aid in their depiction. The outlaws in Apuleius' novel and Achilles Tatius' narrative are ruthless, wild, bloodthirsty men and so their dwellings duplicate these characteristics. In contrast, Heliodorus' *boukoloi* are much more civilized and trustworthy and therefore their habitation mirrors these attributes. Furthermore, these dwellings often forebode events to come, usually the destruction of the band.

In this dissertation, I have attempted to demonstrate that the outlaws in the ancient novel not only deviate from their previous manifestations in literature but also develop into crucial and central characters in their own narratives. Brigands, pirates, and *boukoloi* are fundamental to the plot and are essential to the themes of the genre. Regardless of whether the actions of the outlaws can be regarded as noble or wicked, the authors of the ancient novels consistently employed, developed, and challenged the traditional roles of these characters. These outlaws figure prominently into the way in which we understand the genre and define it. Indeed, neither convenient plot devices nor by any means stereotypical, pirates, robbers, and *boukoloi* are fundamentally vital to the ancient novel.

⁴⁵⁷ Bakhtin (1981) 4.

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