Some Uses of Plato in Achilles Tatius'

Leucippe and Cleitophon

by

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A Thesis submitted towards the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in Classics

University of Warwick, Department of Classics and Ancient

History

October 2001

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Tables and Graphs

<u>Acknowledgements</u>

On the academic front I have incurred numerous debts. John Morgan kindly photocopied and sent me an article, despite having only just met me; audiences at papers I gave posed probing and helpful questions; James Hordern read some parts of my thesis, discussed others and was ever willing to test every argument; Andrew Laird read the bulk of my work and made many helpful suggestions; Lawrence Catlow must share some responsibility for setting me on the path to research in Classics through his inspirational teaching; and finally by far the greatest debt is to Simon Swain, my supervisor - prompt and insightful in his observations, his immense knowledge of second sophistic literature was a significant help in enabling me to see the larger picture, and his patience and indulgence allowed me to explore my ideas fully.

On a more personal level I should like to thank: the members of the Department for providing a congenial and welcoming atmosphere; my parents and brother for continually asking me how my "Phud" was going; Ian and Dorothy for not allowing talk about Classics to get in the way of a good gossip; Hannah, Chris and Kevin for talking about Classics in addition to gossiping; Matt and everyone else who

has populated the "Front Room" for reminding me of the more important things in life, such as beer, pub quizzes, crosswords and televised international sporting fixtures; Jon, Kate, Ben, Alex and Polly for not allowing me to forget past exploits and sharing in recent ones; James for being a good friend, despite the interference of the Irish Sea, and for entertaining everyone else I know by claiming to be Australian; and finally Clare who has refused to run off with a rich banker, not allowed me to talk Classics by claiming, with excessive modesty, of not being able to understand it, and for reminding me how lucky I am.

<u>Declaration</u>

I hereby declare that:

- this thesis is my own work;

- this thesis has not been submitted for a degree at another university;

- this thesis contains no material which I have used before or which I have had published.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to explore the relationship between Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe and Cleitophon* and the Platonic corpus. I have searched for Platonic allusions of various natures and purposes and grouped them into thematic chapters. I have also compared instances of similar uses of Plato in contemporary authors in order to classify both the individual cases and the place of Achilles Tatius' novel in its literary environment, including the intended readership.

In my introduction I have argued that through the combination in his works of philosophy and literary excellence Plato was an extremely important figure to the Greeks of the second sophistic. However, despite the increasingly influential opinion that Greek novel readership was not dissimilar to that of other works, the possibility that the Greek novelists used Plato in a more than cosmetic fashion has been relatively neglected. The uses of Plato on which I have concentrated are the employment of Platonic names as allusions to their namesakes; Platonic narrative technique as the model for the dialogue form and open-endedness of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* with the integration of this technique into the broader question of the discrepancies between the beginning and the end; the allusion to a particularly famous passage of the *Phaedrus* in the name of the heroine; the repeated allusions to the Phaedran flow of beauty, their purposes and the light they shed on the characterisation of Cleitophon; and the Phaedran scene-setting, indulged in by many other writers, which Achilles Tatius uses in two significant passages.

The conclusions I have reached are that Achilles Tatius uses Plato far more extensively and imaginatively than hitherto realised; that such an intimate engagement can shed light on other issues, such as psychological characterisation and the question of humour; that Achilles Tatius wrote something of an "anti-Platonic" novel; and that his work displays many similarities with other works whose sophistication is less in doubt.

Introduction

In this thesis I shall argue that, since the practice of alluding to Plato was an important part of much of the writing of the second sophistic, it is pertinent to investigate whether the Greek novelists, whose readership was probably identical, if not similar, also indulged in this literary and philosophical game. I shall concentrate on Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Cleitophon* and attempt to establish that this novel displays a far more involved and complicated relationship with the Platonic corpus than previously realised. I shall do this by building on allusions which have been noticed, by arguing for the presence of other uses, and by comparing instances of similar engagements with Plato in contemporary authors. As well as having a bearing on the literary and intellectual texture of the novel, with the implications for its readership, this approach will involve the consideration of other questions, including humour, characterisation and the place of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* within its genre and its wider literary environment.

In this Introduction I shall focus on the position of Plato in the second sophistic; the reasons behind his popularity, including the philosophical and cultural background; some ways in which this popularity is manifested in writers who were roughly contemporaneous with Achilles Tatius; the question of who might have read the Greek novels and what they might have expected; what work has been carried out with respect to Plato and the Greek novel; and some comments about procedure. First, however, I shall define some terms for the sake of clarity.

I.1 "The Greek Novel"

Although this thesis is chiefly concerned with Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, I shall from time to time refer to "the Greek novel" and "Greek novel conventions". It is therefore worth briefly setting out what I mean by these phrases.[1] By "the Greek novel" I mean principally the five extant works of fiction in prose by Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tatius, Longus and Heliodorus, as well as any fragments which can, with more or less certainty, be attributed to works which share certain features with the extant novels, among which the romantic element is paramount.[2] What I shall take as "Greek novel conventions" are well adumbrated by Bowie:

> Boy and girl of aristocratic background fall in love, are separated before or shortly after marriage and subjected to melodramatic adventures which threaten their life and chastity and carry them around much of the eastern Mediterranean. Eventually love and fortune prove stronger than storms, pirates and tyrants and the couple is reunited in marital bliss.[3]

There are, of course, exceptions, and the matter is complicated by the fact that we have lost much material. Thus it is often claimed that mutual faithfulness is a characteristic and so a convention of the Greek novel. Yet Callirhoe marries another man, Daphnis is initiated into love's mysteries by Lycaenion, and Cleitophon famously

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[1] Reardon (1991), ch.1, Holzberg (1996), and Swain (1999b) all consider the question of genre.

[2] Whether and to what extent Xenophon used Chariton and Heliodorus Achilles Tatius and so on are debates of long standing. The question of allusion between these texts themselves and others is one that would need to be addressed if one wanted to deal with the "genre question" in more detail.

[3] (1985), p.684.

succumbs to Melite. Are these, then, manipulations of a convention, or did the convention not exist at all? It does seem that Chariton, Longus and Achilles Tatius respectively are trying to create some sort of effect by playing on the reader's expectations and emotions, and so the former option seems more convincing. This leads to the point that a generic convention can be in force even if no author ever abides by it. There does not need to have been a whole string of rigidly formulaic novels before writers could toy with the basic template, for a writer could beget certain expectations in his reader merely by the type of story he was writing. A love story between two youths, therefore, could rely on a host of previous literature of various genres to induce the belief that they would be faithful.[4]

I do not mean to imply by the above that the Greek novel should be studied in isolation, although this has sometimes been the case. For nothing is ever written in isolation, and as Bowersock puts it: "Prose fiction needs to be considered in a broad context",[5] and: "It (sc. the explosion of fiction in the Roman empire) is a part of the history of that time".[6] Attempting to identify what the Greek novels offered their readers is one part of putting them in their context. Another is comparing the practices of contemporary writers of fiction in order to locate a novel in its literary environment. I shall accordingly refer not only to other novels when dealing with *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, but also to authors such as Lucian, Dio of Prusa, Plutarch, Philostratus and Alciphron.

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[4] Given the popularity of Homer in the second sophistic (see p.11, n.33), the archetype of the *Odyssey* would have been important, despite the more advanced age of the protagonists.

[5] (1994), p.15.

[6] Ibid., p.22.

I.2 Plato in the Second Sophistic

A thesis concerning the responses of the authors and readers of the second sophistic to the Platonic corpus requires some comment on the place of Plato within that period. Fortunately any modern reader of second sophistic literature will know how important Plato was to those writers and, presumably, readers. The extent of Plato's influence, whether it be profoundly philosophical or merely stylistic, is quite often plain for all to see, and De Lacy states that:

> He (sc. Plato) is second only to Homer both in the frequency of allusions to him and in the variety of contexts in which these allusions occur.[7]

and:

> The case for a fairly general first-hand knowledge of Plato is made even stronger by the observation not only that verbal reminiscences of Plato are fairly common in second-century writers, but that many of them are unlabelled.[8]

In fact it seems that "just about every dialogue receives some notice, sooner or later, in the work of one or another second-century writer".[9] I shall first briefly consider why Plato was so popular and then give some examples of allusions to his corpus in the works of writers who were roughly contemporaneous with Achilles Tatius in order to convey some impression of what they expected of their readers.

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[7] (1974), p.4.

[8] Ibid., p.6.

[9] Ibid., p.7. See also Branham (1989), pp.67-8.

1.2.1 Middle Platonism: The Philosophical Background

Middle Platonism is the name given by modern scholars to the period in the Platonic tradition which fell between 80 BC and 250 AD.[10] This, conveniently, is also the period within which the Greek novelists, with the possible exception of Heliodorus, are generally thought to have been operating.[11] Although it is not wise to see Middle Platonism as a single, unitarian tradition,[12] it is possible to make some generalisations concerning its nature, the practices of its adherents, and the place that Plato subsequently came to hold in the collective Greek consciousness of the second sophistic. Middle Platonism is generally described as having begun with a significant change in the Academy early in the first century BC, when Antiochus broke away from Philo of Larisa. Although there is some debate concerning the precise date and nature of the split owing to the limited available evidence,[13] it was, in the final analysis, far from the disaster that one might have expected. For from this precarious position Platonism came to be the dominant pagan philosophy within the next three centuries.

The reasons for this are manifold and can not fully be covered here, but an aspect of Platonism which did enable it to supersede its major rivals was its "Protean

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[10] Dillon (1993), p.xl.

[11] For the chronology of the five extant Greek novels I follow what seems to be the prevailing orthodoxy which is to be found, among other places, in Bowie (1985), p.684, Swain (1996), pp.423-425, and Reardon (1989), p.5. Lightfoot (1988) is persuasive in debunking the theory that Heliodorus must have written after AD 350. Bowersock (1994), Appendix B, arguing that he did, is convinced, but not convincing.

[12] See Opsomer (1998) in particular for this.

[13] See Glucker (1978), with Sedley (1981), Tarrant (1985), Dillon (1996) and Barnes (1997).

quality".[14] One branch of, admittedly rather extreme, syncretism was advocated by Antiochus himself who held that there was no real difference between Plato and the Old Academics, Aristotle and the Lyceum and Zeno and the Stoa.[15] While not all Platonists held this view, and in the period under consideration there was, to be sure, a great deal of inter-school rivalry and polemic, there was also a large amount of borrowing and absorption as different philosophies tried to cope with the problems posed by the others. Platonism was particularly adept at this, indeed:

> Throughout the Middle-Platonic period ... , we find philosophers oscillating between the twin poles of attraction constituted by Peripateticism and Stoicism.[16]

Peripateticism was especially prone to the plundering of the Platonists as it was more or less a fixed system centred on the copious learned writings of its past scholarchs, and from the middle of the first century BC these works were the focus of many scholars' attention.[17] Platonism lacked this secure foundation, something which, ironically, was more of an advantage than a disadvantage, for Platonists from the very beginning had been engaged in the quest for what Plato had meant, and anything which could assist them in this was eagerly grasped.[18] So it was that many Aristotelian ideas, including logic, ethics and a large part of his metaphysics, were taken over by

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[14] Gottschalk (1990), p.1174.

[15] Barnes (1997), pp.78-81, surveys the evidence.

[16] Dillon (1993), p.xl.

[17] See Gottschalk (1990).

[18] That is not to imply that it was always easy for Aristotle's readers to understand his writings, as the need for commentaries demonstrates.

Platonism from Antiochus on. Technical vocabulary, comparatively little of which was bequeathed by Plato in his writings, was also appropriated. In short, Platonism was able to filch the components with which it could build its own philosophical system.

However, no amount of borrowing would have been successful had there not been the founding stones represented by the writings of Plato. In the Middle Platonic period these became central to the cause for two main reasons. The fracturing of the Academy coincided with, and may well have been facilitated by, the loss of the physical institution in Athens which had been the centre of the school.[19] The result was that there no longer existed an official succession of scholarchs based in a single establishment who could make *ex cathedra* pronouncements. Rather Platonism fragmented into persuasions propagated by private tutors in various parts of the Roman world. Platonists had to look elsewhere for their authority, and where better to look than Plato's works themselves? Second, in the light of the new dogmatism partly heralded by Antiochus it had again become proper to look for anything that Plato might have to say in his works, rather than using them to prove that it was impossible to say anything.

Several factors point towards increased attention being paid to the Platonic corpus, of which the writing of commentaries is one. The earliest extant example is the Anonymous *Theaetetus* Commentary, the aim of which was "to vindicate Plato's authority" and,

> The strikingly new feature, however, and the one which points most
>
> strongly away from the Antiochean Academy and towards the new era

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[19] See Lynch (1972), p.198, and Glucker (1978). Gottschalk (1990), however, emphasises that the evidence is not as conclusive as far as Aristotle's school is concerned.

of Platonism, is his way of pursuing this quest. It is done by devoting the closest possible attention, page by page, to the *ipsissima verba* of Plato's text.[20]

Sedley outlines the methods of this particular commentator,[21] and we see in his commentary two factors which became central to Middle Platonism: namely the promotion of Plato as principal authority, and arguments for the consistency with which it was necessary to credit him if it was ever going to be possible to extract a coherent philosophical system from his works. It was, moreover, not only Platonists who were concerned to elucidate Plato's writings. Plato's authority became so great that, allied to the syncretism which was pervasive in one form or another during this period, members of other schools felt the need to address his corpus.[22] At 3.65 Diogenes Laertius describes the job of the Platonic commentator:

Ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἐξήγησις αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων τριπλῆ· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκδιδάξαι χρὴ ὅ τι ἐστὶν ἕκαστον τῶν λεγομένων· ἔπειτα, τίνος εἵνεκα λέλεκται, πότερα κατὰ προηγούμενον ἢ ἐν εἰκόνος μέρει, καὶ ⟨εἰ⟩ εἰς δογμάτων κατασκευὴν ἢ εἰς ἔλεγχον τοῦ προσδιαλεγομένου· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, εἰ ὀρθῶς λέλεκται.

Whether this describes what Platonic commentators should do, what they had done, or both, with the former stemming from the latter, or even how the reader is to tell whether the commentary he is reading is a good one, the fact that such a description is included in the entry for Plato shows how prevalent the commentary industry must

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[20] Sedley (1997b), p.129, who dates this work to the late first century BC, pp.117-8. Tarrant (1983) agrees.

[21] Ibid., pp.122-9.

[22] Adrastus the Peripatetic, for instance, wrote a celebrated commentary on the *Timaeus*.

have been.[23] It also, with 3.63-4, shows that Plato's works were considered to be in need of elucidation. This was partly because Plato was thought to have deliberately obscured his meaning in order to hide it from the uninitiated,[24] and must also have been a result of the demand of those who wanted to read Plato and find out what he meant. The point to be stressed here is the fact that commentaries were written at all exhibits that a significant part of Platonists' attention was now focused on the interpretation and elucidation of the Platonic corpus. This development must have made reading the Platonic corpus more appealing and seemingly worthwhile to the layman. He need not have read the commentaries; all that is required is that he was aware that Plato had something to say and that it was a good idea to find out what.

The reader of Plato was catered for in the classification of the works and the production of orders in which they were to be read. Aristophanes of Byzantium is known to have arranged fifteen of Plato's dialogues into trilogies (D. L. 3.61-2). But the entire corpus, as we have it, does not seem to have been readily available outside Academic circles until after the time of Antiochus, that is, when there was no Academy. Tarrant makes a strong case, with inconclusive evidence, for Thrasyllus[25] being the man who can be solely credited with the edition, arrangement and classification of the Platonic corpus.[26] He also provided an introduction. It is in fact

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[23] There nothing similar in the entry on Aristotle.

[24] D. L. 3.63: Ὀνόμασι δὲ κέχρηται ποικίλοις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εὐσύνοπτον εἶναι τοῖς ἀμαθέσι τὴν πραγματείαν.

[25] d. 36 AD.

[26] (1993). He also thinks, rather worryingly for modern scholars, that Thrasyllus may have indulged in shadier practices as well. See also Dillon (1989) for examples of textual tampering. That this sort of thing went on only emphasises how important the authority of the Platonic texts was.

debatable to what extent Thrasyllus' input was vital in the whole process,[27] but what is unquestionable is that work was carried out by him and others on establishing the proper order in which Plato's works were to be read. According to Albinus at *Prologus* 4, Dercyllides, a largely mysterious figure whose dates are impossible to establish, agreed with Thrasyllus with regard to his first tetralogy. Theon of Smyrna, who shows a large debt to Thrasyllus in his extant *Expositio Rerum Mathematicarum ad Legendum Platonem Utilium*, also arranged the corpus into tetralogies.[28] Albinus himself had his own views, as expressed in his *Prologus*. Platonists, it seems, were concerned to ensure that Plato's works were read in what they considered to be the correct order. At the very least this shows that the Platonic corpus was being read, and presumably by significant numbers of people.

Evidence which points towards the popularity of Plato in philosophical terms, but which is not necessarily conducive towards proving that the works of Plato themselves were widely read, is provided by the handbooks of Platonic doctrine which were compiled. We possess Alcinous' *Didaskalikos* and the *De Platone et eius Dogmate* of Apuleius.[29] They had predecessors: the survey of Arius Didymus is a known example. Dillon argues that there must have been a substantial number of such works, stretching from possibly before Arius Didymus to Alcinous and beyond.[30] The purpose of these books is not quite clear, whether they were intended for beginners,

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[27] Hoerber (1957), for example, argues that Thrasyllus was only responsible for the division into tetralogies.

[28] Tarrant (1993), ch.3.

[29] The authorship of the latter is debated, but Harrison (2000), ch.5, considers it to be Apuleian.

[30] (1993), p.xxvii-xxx.

"for those who have sat through their (sc. Apuleius' and Alcinous') lectures"[31] or for

teachers. A possible objection to the general trend of my argument that the Platonic

corpus was widely read in the second sophistic could be that someone wishing to

learn the doctrines of Plato would have read these handbooks and not the dialogues or

letters. But this would involve such a person ignoring the final sentence of Alcinous'

Didaskalikos:

> But at any rate what has been expounded here gives one the capability
>
> to examine and discover subsequently all the remainder of his (sc.
>
> Plato's) doctrines.[32]

This would seem to indicate the hope that the reader of the *Didaskalikos* would

subsequently read Plato's works and goes some way to obviating the objection that

such works were written to satisfy a demand which outstripped the production of

Platonic texts. Such a handbook would give the reader who wanted to know what

Plato thought the opportunity to receive a brief overview, perhaps before committing

himself to further study, and certainly with far more ease than reading the whole

corpus. Nevertheless we find here an interest in Platonism which was great enough to

lead to the production of such books. Such an interest itself must surely have come

about as a result of the popularity of Platonism.[33]

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[31] Ibid., p.xiv.

[32] Ibid., p.48.

[33] Papyrological evidence too indicates Plato's popularity, certainly in comparison to other philosophers. According to the *Leuwen Database of Ancient Books* (1998) there are 48.5 papyri of Plato from the second century AD, compared with 5.3 of Aristotle. The totals for Homer from the same century are 275 for the *Iliad* and 80.5 for the *Odyssey*. This kind of evidence, however, is notoriously temperamental, as shown by the figure of 148 for Philodemus for the first century BC.

A large part of Plato's popularity in philosophical circles and beyond can be explained by the literary value of his works. Plato's works have the advantage over Aristotle's extant works, for example, of being relatively dramatic, and their dialogue form can only have aided their reception. Indeed, after providing two potential candidates for the first writer of (philosophical) dialogues, Diogenes Laertius goes on to state that:

δοκεῖ δέ μοι Πλάτων ἀκριβώσας τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα δικαίως ἂν ὥσπερ

τοῦ κάλλους οὕτω καὶ τῆς εὑρέσεως ἀποφέρεσθαι. (3.48)

Although he is addressing an ardent Platonist, there is no real reason to doubt the sincerity of this opinion and, despite the fact that we have access to far fewer sources than Diogenes, we should not be inclined to think that his sentiments would have been controversial. The literary worth of Plato's works may go some way to explaining the popularity of Platonism itself. According to Swain:

> Part of the reason why Platonism became dominant on earth during the
>
> High Empire is surely its possession of core texts that were classics of
>
> Athenian literature and were, therefore, crucial elements in the
>
> formation of Hellenic identity.[34]

Indeed, during the second sophistic there was a trend towards revering the classical past and its writers, and Plato was one of these. His place as a classical Athenian author guaranteed him a large readership in a time when Greeks wanted to recall the glorious days of their past and fondly imagine that they were reliving them.[35] Plato's

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[34] (1997), p.174. See also Russell (1973), p.63.

[35] See, for example, Bowie (1974) and Swain (1996).

place in the canon was cemented by his fusion of literary excellence and profound philosophical thought.

The above argument that the literary appeal of the Platonic dialogues, coupled with their classical status, helped to make their philosophical content popular does not contradict, or form a vicious circle when combined with, the argument that it was the growing strength of Platonism which made Plato's works popular. Rather the whole situation is best understood as process of mutual cause and effect: Plato's works were the centre of attention of what became over time the most important, and indeed, dominant philosophy; the increasing importance of Platonism led to the increased reading of Plato's works; Platonism came to dominate in part because of the appeal of its core texts; classical texts such as those of Plato were read widely by Greeks during this period. It was their philosophical content allied to their literary value which resulted in the importance of Plato's works during the second sophistic and in the fact that they were second only to Homer in terms of what they meant to their readers.

I.2.2 Plato in Second Sophistic Literature

We can infer how important philosophy in general was to the Greeks of the second sophistic from the works of a writer such as Lucian, who was more or less a contemporary of Achilles Tatius. He is generally, although by no means always, in a satirical mood when he deals with philosophers or their beliefs, but this should not tempt his reader to assume that his audience, or indeed he, necessarily had a contemptuous view of philosophy and its adherents in their various forms.[36] In fact

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[36] Cf. Jones (1986), p.32: "The prominence of philosophy in his work is due not only to his reading or to the demands of his audiences but also to the fact that the society and the culture of the day swarmed with philosophers as much as with sophists." and ch.3. in general. Jones concentrates on

humour is a reasonably reliable indicator of the regard in which something is held, for jokes do not work if their targets are obscure, and Plato and the Socrates portrayed by Plato receive their share of the attacks. A good collection of such instances occurs in the course of Lucian's utterly ridiculous journey in his *Verae Historiae*. After he has arrived at the Isle of the Blest, he describes the place and then enumerates the famous men he saw there. Socrates is described as ἀδολεσχοῦντα (*VH* 2.17) and unwilling to give up his ironic attitude, Diogenes is quite the reverse of what he had been when alive, the Stoics are still on their way up the steep hill of virtue, Chrysippus is still insane and the Academics cannot come to a decision as to whether such an island exists or not. Plato and his philosophy, inevitably, form one of Lucian's targets:

> Πλάτων δὲ μόνος οὐ παρῆν, ἀλλ' ἐλέγετο αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἀναπλασθείσῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλει οἰκεῖν χρώμενος τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις οἷς συνέγραψεν. (*VH* 2.17).[37]

and:

> αἱ δὲ γυναῖκές εἰσι πᾶσι κοιναὶ καὶ οὐδεὶς φθονεῖ τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα Πλατωνικώτατοι (*VH* 2.19).[38]

Lucian's attitude towards contemporary philosophers, whereas my focus is on his use of the founding writings of one of the schools.

[37] Cf. Luc. *Vit.Auct.* 17, where the Platonic philosopher explains to the buyer what his way of life is: Οἰκῶ μὲν ἐμαυτῷ τινα πόλιν ἀναπλάσας, χρῶμαι δὲ πολιτείᾳ ξένῃ καὶ νόμους νομίζω τοὺς ἐμούς.

[38] Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 457c-461e. The same joke is repeated at Luc. *Symp.* 39, where it is put in the mouth of Ion, the Platonic philosopher, whose remarks are even more amusing in the context of the marriage celebration: περὶ γάμων ἐρῶ τὰ εἰκότα. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄριστον ἦν μὴ δεῖσθαι γάμων, ἀλλὰ πειθομένους Πλάτωνι καὶ Σωκράτει παιδεραστεῖν· μόνοι γοῦν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀποτελεσθεῖεν ἂν πρὸς ἀρετήν· εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ γυναικείου γάμου, κατὰ τὰ Πλάτωνι δοκοῦντα κοινὰς εἶναι ἐχρῆν τὰς γυναῖκας, ὡς ἔξω ζήλου εἴημεν (see Branham (1989), pp.112-3, with n.51, p.246), and also at Luc. *Vit.Auct.* 17, where the Platonic

These digs are obvious enough. A more subtle jibe is to be found in the preface to the work, where Lucian states quite baldly that he is going to tell a pack of lies in parody of those who obviously have done so without admitting it. He is not too critical, however:

τούτοις οὖν ἐντυχὼν ἅπασιν, τοῦ ψεύσασθαι μὲν οὐ σφόδρα τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐμεμψάμην, ὁρῶν ἤδη σύνηθες ὂν τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ὑπισχνουμένοις

(*VH* 1.4).

Plato's "noble" lie is the target here, as well as his potentially sinister attitude towards falsehood as medicine. There is no signal that Lucian is poking fun at Plato; the reader will have had to, and would have been expected to, work it out for himself.

As well as by his humour Lucian provides other indications of the importance of Plato and the prevalence of his works. The final case to be heard in *Bis Accusatus*, for example, is brought by Dialogue against Lucian himself for the dishonour he alleges he has done him. Dialogue claims that Lucian has brought him down from the heights:

ἔνθα ὁ μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς πτηνὸν ἅρμα ἐλαύνων φέρεται, κατασπάσας αὐτὸς ἤδη κατὰ τὴν ἁψῖδα πετάμενον καὶ ἀναβαίνοντα ὑπερ τὰ νῶτα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (*Bis Acc.* 33).

This echoes Socrates' description of the procession of the immortal souls in Plato's *Phaedrus* at three points:

ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεύς, ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἅρμα (*Phdr.* 246e4-5);

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philosopher is telling the buyer about his δογμάτων: Ἄκουε δὴ τὸ μέγιστον, ὃ περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν μοι δοκεῖ· μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν μηδενὸς εἶναι μόνου, παντὶ δὲ μετεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τοῦ γάμου.

ἄκραν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπουράνιον ἀψῖδα πορεύονται (*Phdr.* 247a8-b1);

ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νώτῳ (*Phdr.* 247b7-c1).

The fact that Dialogue's speech contains a rough quotation and two verbal echoes of the *Phaedrus* suggests that it was the most recognisable example of its genre and the best known. Plato's name is not mentioned, which indicates that the allusions would have been all the more apparent to Lucian's audience. Indeed, Lucian himself explains how allusions to philosophers work in his *Piscator*:

οἱ δὲ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ γνωρίζουσιν ἕκαστον τὸ ἄνθος ὅθεν καὶ παρ' ὅτου καὶ ὅπως ἀνελεξάμην (*Pisc.* 6).

He goes on to elaborate, in a strenuous defence against some irate and potentially murderous philosophers, that whereas it seems that the man who makes the allusions is the one being praised, in fact it is the authors to whose work he is alluding. Although it is not mentioned, we may presume that the members of Lucian's audience would have praised themselves for spotting any allusions in much the same way that they admired the alluder for making them.

Later in the same piece, when Plato wonders who should conduct the prosecution of Frankness (Lucian's alias here) on the behalf of the philosophers in front of Philosophy herself, Chrysippus replies:

Σύ, ὦ Πλάτων. ἥ τε γὰρ μεγαλόνοια θαυμαστὴ καὶ ἡ καλλιφωνία δεινῶς Ἀττικὴ καὶ τὸ κεχαρισμένον καὶ πειθοῦς μεστὸν ἥ τε σύνεσις καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν ἐν καιρῷ τῶν ἀποδείξεων, πάντα ταῦτά σοι ἀθρόα πρόσεστιν (*Pisc.* 22).

A more ringing endorsement of Plato's works it would be hard to find, and it is perhaps significant that Lucian, whose alias is destined to win, makes Plato decline the

role of prosecutor in favour of Diogenes. It is as if Plato could not be seen to lose. That said, it seems that Lucian does not let Plato off the hook without deriving some humour, for in his refusal Plato says:

οὐ γὰρ δὴ κάλλους ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ δεινότητος συγγραφικῆς ὁ καιρός,

ἀλλά τινος ἐλεγκτικῆς καὶ δικανικῆς παρασκευῆς (*Pisc.* 23).

This could be read as insinuating that Plato's works possess more style than content, and we are perhaps to interpret Plato's disavowal of forensic competence as a dig at his *Apology* in which Socrates is portrayed making his famously unsuccessful defence.

One clear example of the importance that the Platonic corpus came to possess is the treatment of the *Phaedo* almost as a holy work. In Lucian's *Lover of Lies* Eucrates describes how on the seventh day after his wife's death:

ἐγὼ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκείμην παραμυθούμενος τὸ

πένθος· ἀνεγίνωσκον γὰρ τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς τοῦ Πλάτωνος βιβλίον ἐφ' ἡσυχίας

(*Philops.* 27).[39]

It seems to have been the natural thing to do and enhances the impression that Plato's works, as well as being well known, were accorded a special status. According to Philostratus *VS* 1.7 the *Phaedo* was one of the two books which Dio took with him on exile. And given that Plutarch describes Cato the Younger as also reading the *Phaedo* in the face of death (68.2), it is even perhaps supposed to be a cliché here, which only reinforces the point.

Apuleius is another roughly contemporary writer of fiction from whose work the significance of Plato in this period can be gathered. From the outset it might be objected to the use of Apuleius as an example that his work is bound to show the

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[39] That this is the *Phaedo* is confirmed by D. L. 3.58: Φαίδων ἢ περὶ ψυχῆς.

influence of Plato because he was a Platonist. His usefulness, however, is not negated by this, for he is hardly likely to have been the only novelist in the second sophistic with an interest in philosophy. This search for *Platonica* in the *Metamorphoses* has been relatively extensive and varied, ranging from serious allegorical interpretations to humorous perversions.[40] While some of this perhaps goes too far,[41] it is undeniable that Plato was important for Apuleius and that he expected a degree of knowledge in his readers.[42]

One could list countless examples of Platonic references, of whatever type, in the literature of the second sophistic,[43] and so I have dwelt on some illustrations from fiction to show that it is not just philosophical writings that contain references to Plato which demand something of the reader and have a purpose beyond imitation for its own sake. For Plato formed a significant part of the background of Lucian and Apuleius' works and, so we can infer, was a fundamental part of their readers' "cultural make-up" too. By alluding to Plato's works, and other classical authors as well, writers at once displayed their learning and enabled their readers to pride

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[40] E.g. Kenney (1990a) and (1990b) for the former and Anderson (1982) for the latter. Schlam (1970), De Filippo (1990) and Holzberg (1995), pp.81-3, are other examples. Cf. Cameron (1969).

[41] Kenney (1990a), p.20, admits that "A. (sc. Apuleius) does not manage to integrate the Platonic duality into the story (sc. of Cupid and Psyche) with perfect smoothness", and (1990b), p.195-7, elaborates on the problems with his scheme. But is this the fault of the author or of the interpreter? At least Anderson (1982), p.158, n.52, is more honest.

[42] One area in which we can be more than normally certain that a Platonist such as Apuleius did have Plato in mind is in his use of Platonic names, and I shall deal with two examples in 1.3.

[43] Many will be mentioned throughout the course of this thesis where they shed light on Achilles Tatius' practice.

themselves on their own ability to spot the references. Lucian, in the prologue to his *Verae Historiae*, explains why, in addition to the strangeness of his subject, its charm and the fact that he tells various lies in a credible way, readers will enjoy his work:

ἐπαγωγὸν ἔσται αὐτοῖς ... ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἱστορουμένων ἕκαστον οὐκ ἀκωμῳδήτως ᾔνικται πρός τινας τῶν παλαιῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ φιλοσόφων πολλὰ τεράστια καὶ μυθώδη συγγεγραφότων, οὓς καὶ ὀνομαστὶ ἂν ἔγραφον, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτῷ σοι ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως φανεῖσθαι ἔμελλον (*VH* 1.2).

That he goes on to list some of his targets, namely Ctesias and Iambulus, is another joke and does not vitiate the point that a reader would have enjoyed spotting unmarked references. The connection between the writer and reader afforded by the classical canon also led to a mutual glorying in the achievements of the collective past, and the position of Plato and Platonism only added weight to this process. Plato was not just another author: his philosophy lived on and was thriving among Middle Platonists and members of the other schools in an increasingly syncretistic philosophical environment. Plato and what was perceived to be his philosophy was a way of life to many and played an important part in the education of many others. His literary grace and style made the love of his works all the more profound. This combination of a common philosophical, literary and classical heritage in one man's works made them irresistible and unavoidable. To allude to Plato, in whatever way, was to express one's Hellenism or connection with Hellenism, and to spot a Platonic reference was to find common intellectual, and Hellenic, ground with the writer.

Before investigating the extent to which Achilles Tatius indulged in this practice, and in order to have an idea of what a Greek novelist might have expected of his reader, it is worth first approaching the question from the opposite side and asking

who the readers of Greek novels might have been, and so what they might have been capable of appreciating.[44]

I.3 Greek Novel Readership

The question "who read the Greek novels?" is one that has been asked and variously answered frequently in the last few years.[45] From Perry's "children" and "poor-in-spirit"[46] to the educated elite, the entire spectrum of potential readers has been covered. It has only recently been sensible to suggest without fear of derision that the Greek novels were read by those at the top of the social pyramid, but it does seem that the most reasonable arguments point towards that conclusion. The number of novel papyri and their good quality suggest that the novels were neither terribly popular nor the resource of the poor.[47] In fact in terms of quality they would seem to have been held in the same regard as the works of Plato, for example. The extent of literacy was not great enough to enable what we would think of as a wide circulation, and the amount and depth of allusion to other, in particular classical, authors would suggest that they were intended for the well educated.[48] Since these were more or less identical with the rich, social elite who alone could afford the money and time to prolong their education beyond a basic level, the readers of Greek novels would seem to have been restricted to this group. Of course, someone could have read a novel

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[44] Of course the two questions are not wholly separable, as what a Greek novelist might have expected of his reader is one of the major arguments in trying to determine who that reader was.

[45] By Wesseling (1988), Stephens (1994), Bowie (1994) and (1996) to name but a few.

[46] (1967), p.5.

[47] Stephens (1994).

[48] Bowie (1994).

without realising its allusiveness, but that does not preclude the intended readership and the majority of the actual readership coming from the educated class.

Some help in this question might be forthcoming if we knew much about the authors of the Greek novels. Unfortunately we have next to no biographical data concerning them, although Achilles Tatius is the writer about whom we have the most information, even if its worth is a debatable topic.[49] If, however, as I have argued elsewhere,[50] there is no good reason to doubt much of the content of this information, Achilles Tatius would be identical with the writer of other, more learned, works. There is at least the possibility, then, that he was more of an intellectual than would normally be supposed. Indeed, it seems to me quite likely that the low regard in which the novel has been held, a position only recently, and by no means universally, dismantled, has hindered the identification of the two. Apuleius is an example of a man who wrote philosophical treatises and more entertaining works. He makes his purpose in the *Metamorphoses* explicit at 1.1, especially when the speaker of the prologue, whoever that may be,[51] says: *lector intende: laetabaris*. In fact the reverse has occurred in the case of Apuleius, with scholars reluctant to accept that a serious philosopher could have written such scurrilous material without some allegorical intent. At any rate, it would be wrong to make an *a priori* assumption that Achilles

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[49] *Suda*, s.v. A 4695 (1.439 Adler): Ἀχιλλεὺς Στάτιος, Ἀλεξανδρεύς, ὁ γράψας τὰ κατὰ Λευκίππην καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα καὶ ἄλλα ἐρωτικὰ ἐν βιβλίοις ή· γέγονεν ἔσχατον χριστιανὸς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος· ἔγραψε δὲ περὶ σφαίρας καὶ ἐτυμολογίας καὶ ἱστορίαν σύμμικτον, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ θαυμασίων ἀνδρῶν μνημονεύουσαν. ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιος τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς.

[50] Repath (2000), pp.629-30.

[51] See Harrison (1990) for a recent attempt to solve this problem. Kahane/Laird (forthcoming), should illuminate the subject further.

Tatius could not have been of the same ilk. And if the reader of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* approached the text in the knowledge that its author had written on more austere topics, he may well have expected some learned references or allusions to intellectually stimulating texts. He may well have expected the novel also to possess some form of intellectual content in its own right.

A passage of Lucian which to my knowledge has not been adduced in the readership debate and which can shed some light on the contemporary situation is to be found in the prologue to his *Verae Historiae*. After starting with the analogue of athletes who need to know when to relax, he goes on to apply it to reading:

οὕτω δὴ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐσπουδακόσιν ἡγοῦμαι προσήκειν μετὰ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν σπουδαιοτέρων ἀνάγνωσιν ἀνιέναι τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔπειτα κάματον ἀκμαιοτέραν παρασκευάζειν. γένοιτο δ' ἂν ἐμμελὴς ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῖς, εἰ τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ὁμιλοῖεν, ἃ μὴ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ ἀστείου τε καὶ χαρίεντος ψιλὴν παρέξει τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν, ἀλλά τινα καὶ θεωρίαν οὐκ ἄμουσον ἐπιδείξεται, οἷόν τι καὶ περὶ τῶνδε τῶν συγγραμμάτων φρονήσειν ὑπολαμβάνω (*VH* 1.1-2).

While this authorial statement belongs to a work which, although novelistic, is significantly different from the Greek novels, I see no reason why its content should not be considered with regard to the novels themselves. For Lucian proceeds to give the reasons why he thinks his reader will enjoy his work and names the delight he will derive from allusion-spotting as the last and, we may presume, main one.[52] From the amount of allusion in the Greek novels it is a reasonable assumption that their readers

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[52] See above, p.19.

too would have enjoyed the same game.[53] It is no large leap to envisage a similar, if not the same, readership for both and agree with Bowie when he says: "Like ... the works of Lucian, the novels were more probably written as lighter reading for the intelligentsia".[54]

I.4 Plato in the Greek Novel

Classical literature formed the basis for much of the way in which the Greeks of the second sophistic liked to think of themselves and was a cultural touchstone for those writing and reading in the period. The common heritage found in the works of Plato and his flourishing philosophy were major parts of this, and so it would not be unreasonable to expect some use of Plato in the novels, which were otherwise concerned to evoke the classical past.[55] Contemporary writers of fiction such as Lucian and Apuleius deployed Plato readily, and, given the above argument that we are to envisage a more or less similar readership, it should come as no surprise if we were to find Platonic resonances in the novels. Indeed, they might even be expected. Of course, talk of "the Greek novel" should not obscure the fact that the novelists were individual authors who, as far as we can tell, lived at different times and in different places. Thus the preoccupations and aims of Chariton, for example, can not be assumed to be the same as those of, say, Heliodorus. In writing on allusions to one

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[53] See Hunter (1983) and Bowie (1995) for studies in the allusiveness of Longus and Heliodorus respectively. As far as Achilles Tatius is concerned, articles such as Christenson (2000) and McGill (2000) show that this approach is being adopted towards his novel, and Wilhelm (1902) is still valuable. Anderson (1979) and Bartsch (1989) contribute to the picture of a demanding author.

[54] (1985), p.688.

[55] See Swain (1996), pp.109-113.

specific body of work it is inevitable that one author will receive more attention than another by virtue of their respective uses of that body of work. I shall focus on *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, but some of the other novels will be called on where appropriate and I hope that, when plotted among other factors, the use of Plato should enhance the picture of the novels as works intended for those who were able to appreciate their authors' literary skill and who, as the social elite, desired to see the continuation of the Greek cultural hegemony in their own time and of their place in it.

A certain amount of work has been done on Platonic allusions in second sophistic literature. To mention the most obvious examples: De Lacy gives a brief overview of the second century,[56] Trapp studies the imitations of one particular dialogue, the *Phaedrus*, in second century writers,[57] and analyses the work of a single author, Dio of Prusa, for his debt to Plato.[58] Some work, too, has been done on the uses of Plato in the Greek novels, and it is worthwhile giving a review of the secondary literature which has dealt with this topic, starting with the more general and moving rapidly to the material concerning Achilles Tatius.[59]

In his illustrative article Trapp has but one paragraph on the *Phaedrus* in the novels, although he does say that "the greatest density of allusion" occurs in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*.[60] On the whole, however, he is not entirely optimistic:

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[56] (1974).

[57] (1990).

[58] (2000). See also Branham (1989), ch.2.

[59] De Lacy (1974) does not mention the novels. What follows, it should be noted, is not a review of secondary literature on the Greek novel in general or on *Leucippe and Cleitophon* in particular.

[60] (1990), p.155. I shall mention the allusions he and other commentators notice where appropriate.

In all these cases the *Phaedrus* is being used to infuse either a modicum

of philosophy, or a little of the stylistic sweetness for which it was so

admired by the rhetors. The total debt, however, is not enormous. If we

wish to find examples of a more thorough-going imitation in this area,

... it is again to the traditions of philosophical and quasi-philosophical

writing that we must turn.[61]

If this were the case for the *Phaedrus*, which, given its erotic subject matter and

playful attitude, would seem to be the most obvious dialogue to which a novelist

might allude,[62] let alone for the rest of the Platonic corpus, then the task of one

attempting to write on the importance of Plato for Achilles Tatius would be a

hopeless one. Nevertheless Trapp's approach to the literature of the second century is

the sort of approach which I think can usefully be adopted when considering *Leucippe*

and Cleitophon in particular.

Hunter's article, entitled "Longus and Plato",[63] would seem to be a step in the

right direction, and he himself claims that Trapp's above opinion is "at least

inadequate".[64] However, the cases which Hunter wishes to make are hindered by a

lack of clear references or verbal reminiscences,[65] and the most convincing part in

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[61] Ibid., p.155-6. Along similar lines: "The contrast with the relatively sparse use of the dialogue by the novelists is marked", p.156, and: "To the novelist it (sc. the *Phaedrus*) provided a source of erotic imagery to set beside the offerings of the poets, a model of appropriately sweet and sparkling style, and a means of establishing his *paideia*", p.164.

[62] See Anderson (1982), pp.5-6.

[63] (1997).

[64] Ibid., p.16.

[65] See 5.1, pp.269-70, for more on this.

terms of arguing for Platonic influence is perhaps the first paragraph in which he collates the points he had made previously.[66] Anderson too offers promise, as his chapter on *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is entitled "Plato *Eroticus*: Achilles Tatius".[67] Again, however, the result is a disappointment, for only one paragraph is devoted to Achilles Tatius' engagement with Plato,[68] although there are certainly promising seeds of a general nature to be found here. The fragmentary remains of *Metiochus and Parthenope* afford a relatively clear example of a Platonic allusion, and this is noted by Stephens/Winkler:

> In staging a symposium devoted to a discussion of eros, the author will
>
> expect his readers to recollect Plato's famous drinking party, and the
>
> philosophical tone of Metiochos's remarks reinforces the allusion.[69]

There is little more than can be said, however, and it is frustrating that no more survives to allow us to see whether the author did anything else with the Platonic material.

Goldhill devotes a considerable amount of space to the consideration of not only Achilles Tatius and Plato, but also one or two other texts which I shall deploy later, but he does not seem concerned to highlight verbal echoes.[70] His analysis of certain passages, though, is enlightening and reveals the kind of sophistication which Achilles Tatius may have expected his reader to bring to bear on his novel. A

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[66] In Hunter (1983), to which Trapp himself (1990), p.155, refers.

[67] (1982), ch.3.

[68] Ibid., p.25.

[69] (1995), p.91. See also Holzberg (1995), p.49.

[70] (1995), especially ch.2.

complementary approach is made by Wilhelm,[71] who is concerned principally with the tradition of writing on eroticism and the place of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* within it. He traces Achilles Tatius' sources for 1.8 and 2.35-38 with such assiduity and with such an eye for verbal similarity that, with Goldhill's broader engagement with the latter passage in particular, there is no point in retreading the same ground here. The debate at the end of book 2 about whether boys or women are preferable as lovers is possibly the most obvious place to look for Platonic allusions, and Wilhelm has already more or less completed this task.

There are, however, one or two points which should be made clear. Wilhelm seems unwilling to attribute any great originality to Achilles Tatius in the allusions he makes to Plato:

> Niemandem wird es einfallen, aus der Berührung mit solchen abgenutzten Sätzen Platos auf besondere Vertrautheit unseres Achilles mit der platonischen Philosophie schliessen zu wollen.[72]

This view is softened slightly:

> Natürlich soll hiermit nicht geleugnet werden, dass Achilles die landläufigen Schriften Platos gelesen hat. Nur soll man auch die zahlreichen Mittelglieder, die zwischen Plato und Achilles liegen, nicht vergessen.[73]

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[71] (1902).

[72] Ibid., p.63. And along the same lines, ibid: "Aber selbst unter diesen werden ihm gar manche nicht direct aus Plato, sondern vielmehr erst durch Vermittlung seiner sophistischen Vorläufer zugeflossen sein."

[73] Ibid., p.64, n.1.

Eventually, in his conclusion, Wilhelm grudgingly allows Achilles Tatius some credit: "Achilles - in Wahrheit ein geschickter Musivkünstler".[74] Achilles Tatius' skill in using his literary forbears is one of the things that I hope should emerge from this thesis, and Wilhelm may have been more willing to praise this novelist if he had known of the papyri which radically changed Rohde's chronology. For as far as Wilhelm is concerned, Nonnus, Stobaeus, Athenaeus and Ps.-Lucian are all intermediaries, from whom Achilles Tatius borrowed as much as, or even more than, he did from Plato. In fact Nonnus and Stobaeus certainly came after Achilles Tatius and Athenaeus and Ps.-Lucian most probably did. Moreover, the collections and philosophical works which Wilhelm points out were part of the tradition which preceded Achilles Tatius were in all likelihood not as popular as we can reasonably infer Plato was. It therefore does not seem cogent to argue that, where he seems to be alluding to Plato, especially if there is considerable breadth of allusion, Achilles Tatius is using summaries of material when Plato's works themselves were being widely read.

Potential Platonic allusions do merit mention at other, scattered points in the secondary literature. These will be noted when relevant, but the above works do seem to contain the bulk of what has been done so far. I aim to carry further the attempt to locate Platonic allusions in the fiction of the second sophistic, with the emphasis and focus on Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Cleitophon*. It should be clarified that I am not aiming to make a comprehensive list of all Platonic references in this novel; rather I shall deal with those areas which have so far been neglected entirely or which have not been fully developed. If there are other areas which are still neglected, that will only serve to show how indebted to Plato Achilles Tatius was.

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[74] Ibid., p.75.

It is also not enough merely to point out allusions as they occur, which has been the fault of some of the previous work carried out. While spotting references is valuable in itself, it must be relatively unusual for an author to evoke another just for the sake of it and with no other intention. Allusions must be considered in their immediate context and in the context of the author's literary aims.[75] Any Platonic references may affect other questions, could have an impact on the interpretation and critical appreciation of the work in which they appear, and might signal what was expected of its readership. A consistent engagement by one text with another or set of others could open up wider questions or be an important factor in influencing how other questions are to be answered. Those that exercise scholars with regard to *Leucippe and Cleitophon* include to what extent it is meant to be humorous, why it is constructed as it is, the character-portrayal of its *dramatis personae*, especially, given his position as narrator, of Cleitophon, and what attitude it shows towards its genre. These and others will surface during this thesis as questions which can be helped, or even partly answered, by consideration of Platonic influence. I shall therefore not deal with allusions in their narrative order, although this would have had the benefit of giving an impression of the progressive way in which a reader would have become aware of the place of Plato in the novel. Because I wish to argue that some of the allusions can be used to approach certain questions, and more importantly because many of the allusions I wish to highlight form coherent groups, it seems more logical to pursue particular arguments, using Platonic allusions from the whole scope of the novel. First, however, it is necessary to make some remarks regarding what an allusion is and when/whether we can be confident that we are dealing with one.

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[75] To which, in unavoidable circularity, they also contribute.

I.5 Allusions

For the purposes of this thesis I shall take an allusion to mean a deliberate reference by one author to the work of another.[76] Allusions may take different forms, including verbal quotations or echoes, the borrowing of an idea, and narrative structure. The first is the aspect which I take to be the most important and easiest to demonstrate, and the second two could well depend on it as well. There is an obvious problem with this, though, for a degree of subjectivity is required, and great care needs to be taken. Nevertheless a certain amount of common-sense should be sufficient to ensure that only the most plausible cases are considered allusions and that those which are not secure are so labelled. Thus a phrase quoted *verbatim* would be the most evident kind, a set of words or ideas assembled in a similar context might suffice, or an exceptionally rare word by itself could be enough to establish a connection.[77]

Help can be gleaned from other sources. If a number of other authors seem to make the same allusion, using similar words, then the case that the writer under consideration is also referring to that passage is enhanced. There is also a reasonable *a priori* case that the popularity of Plato and his cultural and intellectual importance in the second sophistic make a possible reference to one of his works by an author of

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[76] I hope to show that the allusions Achilles Tatius makes to the Platonic corpus are deliberate and have particular purposes, thus avoiding the objection that it might be possible to have a "subconscious" allusion, where an author repeats a phrase from memory without realising that it comes from elsewhere. Such a phenomenon would not be detrimental to my cause, however, for if a phrase were to be embedded in a writer's memory, that would only go to show that it was memorable, probably popular, and so quite possibly recognisable.

[77] See further 1.2.

that period more likely. Finally if a wealth of possible references to one particular author can be detected in one particular work then the cumulative case becomes very important. This, I hope to show, is true for Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Cleitophon*. Of course allusions can not be entirely dependent on the presence of others, for the structure would then lack any foundation, and this argument should not be used to argue for those instances where a case would not have a good chance of standing by itself. However, one possible allusion can only be bolstered by another.[78]

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[78] It hardly needs saying that arguing for Platonic allusions is not to discount the possibility of allusions to other authors. A sophisticated writer, such as scholarly opinion is beginning to regard Achilles Tatius, is capable of juggling several balls at once.

Chapter 1.

Platonic Names in Achilles Tatius

1.1 Onomastics in Fiction and the Greek Novel

In fiction, as opposed to history or the treatment of established myths, the author is

free to name his characters as he chooses, and in genres such as comedy and the novel

it is worth considering whether the names employed might have been chosen for any

particular reason.[1] As Bowie puts it:

> Inventing (or borrowing) names for characters is one trick open to
>
> novelists ... that is largely denied to genres that work with traditional
>
> myths ... (Those) with freely invented plots and dramatis personae can
>
> create expectations of character and behaviour by telling choice of
>
> names.[2]

He proceeds to give several examples of names in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* which

have, or could be argued to have, literary connotations and which rely on a wide

range of previous literature. Heliodorus also used names "which are either

unremarkable or are chosen as straightforwardly appropriate to their bearer."[3] To the

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[1] Aristotle's comment at *Poetics* 9 does not get us very far: συστήσαντες γὰρ τὸν μῦθον διὰ τῶν εἰκότων

οὕτω τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα ὑποτιθέασιν.

[2] (1995), p.269. See Hijmans (1978), pp.107-8 with nn., for a brief overview and some general

remarks on naming in Greek and Latin literature.

[3] Ibid., p.277.

latter category belong the Egyptian, Ethiopian and Persian names,[4] and this draws attention to another facet of onomastics which a novelist could exploit: he could use names which were either historical, or at least considered authentic.[5] A third option was for the novelist to invent a name which was suitable in the context, and Nausicleia might be an instance of this.[6] Finally he could use a name which was etymologically fitting for its bearer.[7]

Of the other novelists Chariton utilised the historiographical pose and so many of his characters have historical/authentic-sounding names or were in fact historical persons.[8] The author of *Metiochus and Parthenope* played a similar game.[9] Xenophon of Ephesus' novel has received thorough treatment from Hägg, and his tripartite approach of considering possible etymological significance, literary associations and epigraphical data has many virtues.[10] He concludes that in his 33 character names Xenophon of Ephesus was striving for an "impression more of realism than of literary invention";[11] that he did not use imaginary names; that, although 6 names are found in Homer and 6 in Herodotus, he made no allusions to those bearers; and that about a third of his named characters bear etymologically significant uncommon names, which

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[4] See Morgan (1982), p.247, and Hornblower (2000), p.141.

[5] These first two categories - literary and historical/authentic - could overlap, of course.

[6] Bowie (1995), p.278.

[7] Thermouthis, Calasiris, and, in a slightly different way, Theagenes and Charicleia themselves are given as examples of this - Bowie (1995), pp.277-8.

[8] See Hunter (1994), and Goold (1995), pp.10-12.

[9] See Stephens/Winkler (1995), p.72.

[10] (1971b).

[11] Ibid., p.59.

one may therefore assume to have been chosen deliberately. The lack of allusiveness in this author may well be due to the lack of any kind of literary ambition.[12] Longus, on the other hand, is as allusive in his choice of names as he is elsewhere, and Hunter exposes the sheer breadth of earlier literature on which he draws for his names.[13] Even names whose etymological significance alone would justify their choice, such as Lycaenion, have literary ancestors.[14] *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is somewhat different in that it eschews the historiographical format, which, as far as our evidence allows, was previously prevalent in the genre, and that it does not, unlike *Daphnis and Chloe*, have anywhere immediately obvious to turn for a source of names.[15] Achilles Tatius' novel has also received precious little attention in this respect.

One source used intermittently by the novelists is philosophy and philosophers. Bowie has suggested the Heliodorus' Aristippus was named with reference to Aristippus of Cyrene, the follower of Socrates.[16] The author of *Metiochus and Parthenope* had a character called Anaximenes, designed to recall the historical philosopher in line with the overall practice of naming in that novel.[17] And the character called Theano, who gives her name to the fragment in which she is found, may have Pythagorean connections.[18]

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[12] Unless, of course, we are dealing with an epitome which has removed any trace of allusion contained in the original.

[13] (1983), *passim*.

[14] Ibid., p.68-9.

[15] New Comedy might be thought an obvious place to look, but for this issue see 1.12.

[16] (1995), p.273.

[17] See Stephens/Winkler (1995), pp.72-3.

[18] Ibid., p.438.

In this chapter I shall argue that one of the most remarkable features of Achilles Tatius' novel, and one which shows to what extent he used Plato's works, is that he gave several of his characters Platonic names. There are 29 character names in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* (excluding divinities, mythical characters and Lacaena, Leucippe's pseudonym), of which 12 occur in Plato's works. Two of these, Melite and Menelaus, can be excluded from consideration.[19] I shall argue that of the remaining 10 Platonic names 6 (Chaerephon, Charmides, Cleinias, Cleitophon,[20] Gorgias and Hippias) were given with a Platonic character in mind, that the other 4 (Nicostratus, Satyrus, Theophilus and Zeno) are common enough names and may have been chosen for no other, or another, reason, and that one other (Leucippe) was named as an allusion to an extremely famous passage of the *Phaedrus*.[21] Thus 7 out of 29 of Achilles Tatius' characters, roughly one quarter, owe their name to the Platonic corpus.

Before this, however, there are questions of procedure to answer. And some examples of Platonic names in contemporary fiction should be useful in establishing whether the practice of naming characters after Platonic forebears was at all common, or at least something which a reader might be expected to recognise.

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[19] The former occurs at *Parm.* 126c10 as the name of the place where Antiphon lives, and the latter occurs four times in the Platonic corpus: *Euthd.* 288c1; *Rep.* 408a3; *Symp.* 174c1 and 3, in each of which cases the Homeric character is referred to.

[20] Cleitophon's name, I shall argue, is bound up with a more complicated question which I shall deal with in ch.2. See 2.10.

[21] Therefore the case of Leucippe's name is also more difficult, and this too will be treated in a separate chapter, ch.3.

1.2 Names as Allusions

The attempt to argue that one author named a character, for whatever purpose, with the character of another author in mind suffers from problems similar to those involved in arguing that one passage is an allusion to another.[22] Sufficient points of contact with a certain plausibility have to be established before such a debt can be proved. However, this inevitably involves a degree of subjectivism in considering both what constitutes a point of contact and how plausible it is. For one strong association between characters with the same names, be it verbal, situational or either of these involving direct reversals of the previous material, might well be enough to prove a connection, whereas the fact that a character simply shares the name of a literary predecessor does not by itself constitute proof that a reference is intended. On the other hand, a name with a well known previous bearer might open up a nexus of allusions that would not otherwise be readily apparent. If a significant proportion of the names contained within the work of one author coincide with some of those found in the work or corpus of one other author, then the probability is increased that allusions are meant to be seen. A proviso to this is that only a fraction of ancient texts are extant and the loss of the majority of them may well obscure our perception of the truth.[23] However, we have a fair idea of which texts were read widely in the second century AD: the texts of Plato were among these and, as far as we can tell, his corpus survives more or less intact.

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[22] See I.5.

[23] Hägg (1971b), p.45, makes this point when he says that it is difficult to tell whether and to what extent Xenophon of Ephesus may have taken names from contemporary literature.

1.3 Platonic Names in Contemporary Fiction

Apuleius uses an undeniably Platonic name at almost the beginning of the *Metamorphoses*. Aristomenes, with the encouragement of Lucius, describes how he met an old friend of his called Socrates. On encountering this name, Apuleius' readers would surely have thought of the Socrates we know largely from Plato, and with whom they too would have been most familiar from Plato's dialogues, although there may have been other sources available to them which we do not possess. But even those readers who did not know that Apuleius was a Platonist would surely have wondered why he used the name of this philosopher. Their question is answered gradually. Van der Paardt has already detailed many of the Platonic allusions which surround this name,[24] so I shall merely summarise what occurs and add one or two more correspondences. Aristomenes found him destitute (1.6); he complained that, presumably unlike himself, Aristomenes did not know *fortunarum lubricas ambages et instabiles incursiones et reciprocas vicissitudines* (Ibid.); he seemed to have cheered up until he suddenly collapsed into a pitiable lament on his misfortunes (1.7); he had desired to see a famous gladiatorial show (Ibid.);[25] he had an immediate and, by his own admission, disastrous relationship with a witch called Meroe - *Et statim miser, ut cum illa acquievi, ab unico congressu annosam ac pestilentem coniunctionem contraho* (1.7);[26] while Aristomenes advised him to get some rest

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[24] (1978), pp.82-4.

[25] Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 475d-476b, where, in order to describe the philosopher, Socrates distinguishes the φιλοθεάμονες and the φιλήκοοι from those who are able to see the Form of Beauty itself.

[26] Cf. Plat. *Symp.* 216d-219e, where, in the course of his praise of Socrates and in order to highlight his temperance, Alcibiades recounts his repeated failures in trying to seduce him.

before an early escape, he had already fallen asleep, *insolita vinolentia ac diuturna fatigatione pertentatus*, and was snoring (1.11);[27] in the night, however, Meroe and her sister Panthia burst in and the former apparently killed Socrates by plunging her sword down through the left side of his neck, collecting the blood in a bottle, tearing out his heart and inserting a sponge in the wound (1.13);[28] the next day they paused for breakfast next to a plane tree by a stream (1.18).[29] It is inconceivable that in calling such a character "Socrates" Apuleius the "Philosophus Platonicus" did not have the Socrates we know largely from Plato in mind, and this leads, and would have led , his reader to ask what his intentions were in naming him thus. I believe that Apuleius' aim can only have been the humour derived from having a completely unSocratic Socrates, for even a serious devotion to something does not preclude making humour at its expense.[30] The reader, however well-versed in Plato, would have been able to smile simultaneously at both Apuleius' joke and the fact that he was able to spot it and realise why it was funny. "Socrates" was by no means a rare name in antiquity: the four volumes of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (hereafter

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[27] Cf. Plat. *Symp*. 223c-d, where Socrates is described as the only one not to fall asleep, and *Symp*. 220a, where Alcibiades praises Socrates' ability to take his alcohol without adverse effect.

[28] Cf. Socrates' serene death at Plat. *Phd*. 117e-118a.

[29] Cf. Plat. *Phdr*. 229a. It is fitting that the most explicit allusion is left to last, as if Apuleius wanted to make sure that his reader got the joke. Van der Paardt (1978), remarks: "in this network of Plato references the allusion to the *Phaedrus* passage is unmistakable", p.92, n.74. See ch.5 for other examples of allusions and references to the setting of the *Phaedrus*, whose number confirms that an allusion is made here.

[30] See Anderson (1982), p.79 with n.45, and p.80 with nn., for other possible examples of Platonic perversions resulting from the name "Socrates".

LGPN) list a total of 489 bearers.[31] This is therefore a good example of a name whose use as an allusion is so clear that its popularity does not weaken the case.

Another character in the *Metamorphoses* with a Platonic name is Philebus. This Philebus character can also be found in the epitome *Lucius or The Ass* which is ascribed to Lucian, although he is generally thought more likely to have been responsible for the original which was the basis of both the epitome and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Unlike Socrates, it does not seem to have been a common name. In fact the four volumes of *LGPN* so far published list but two examples, one of whom is Plato's character, the other of whom appears in Alciphron 3.14.[32] We know nothing of the former other than from Plato's eponymous dialogue, and he may be fictional. The latter most probably is and occurs in the work of an author who is likely to have post-dated Lucian and Apuleius. That leaves the Platonic Philebus as the only pre-Lucianic attestation and must make it extremely likely that a reference to it is intended here. In Apuleius he is introduced as a pervert (*cinaedum* 8.24; cf. *Onos* 35), he leads a band of mendicant priests who indulge in all manner of practices, and their piper provides them with a communal service:

> *domi vero promiscuis operis partiarius agebat concubinus* ... (To
> Lucius) *"Venisti tandem miserrimi laboris vicarius. Sed diu vivas et*

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[31] *LGPN* I has 115, II 196, III.A 87, and III.B 91. It is possible that the larger figure for Attica reflects the fact that Socrates came from Athens and that parents there were more inclined to name their sons after the philosopher.

[32] The Philebus of Ps.-Lucian and Apuleius does not (yet) appear in *LGPN*; this may be because there is no evidence to link him with Thessaly, and his use of Atargatis (*deamque Syriam circumferentes mendicare compellunt* Ap. *Met.* 8.24 - cf. *Onos* 35) may point to an origin elsewhere.

dominis placeas et meis defectis iam lateribus consulas." Haec

audiens iam meas futuras novas cogitabam aerumnas. (Ap. *Met.* 8. 26)

The priests con money out of people by self-mutilation with their own teeth, swords

and whips (8.27-8; cf. *Onos* 37), and they are caught molesting a man:

spurcissima illa propudia ad illicitae libidinis extrema flagitia infandis

uriginibus efferantur, passimque circumfusi nudatum supinatumque

invenem exsecrandis oribus flagitabant. (8.29; cf. *Onos* 38)

Philebus lives up to his name and really does love youths,[33] and it can be no

coincidence that in the eponymous dialogue of Plato Socrates' interlocutor of the

same name "maintains a hedonistic ethical position."[34] Philebus has a minor part to

play in the dialogue, for Plato starts *in medias res* with Protarchus taking over the

discussion from Philebus. However, Philebus' position is immediately stated by

Socrates, summing up:

Φίληβος μὲν τοίνυν ἀγαθὸν εἶναί φησι τὸ χαίρειν πᾶσι ζῴοις καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν

καὶ τέρψιν, καὶ ὅσα τοῦ γένους ἐστὶ τούτου σύμφωνα (Plat. *Phil.* 11b4-6)[35]

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[33] Macleod (1967), p.109, n.4, has "The Rev. Love-Boyes".

[34] Hanson II (1989), p.109, n.2.

[35] Hijmans (1978), p.112, points out that "Apuleius' reader may well remember one of the opening

phrases of Plato's dialogue (sc. the *Philebus*)". He also draws attention to the scarcity of the name.

Cf. (Philebus) Ἐμοὶ μὲν πάντως νικᾶν ἡδονὴ δοκεῖ καὶ δόξει (*Phil.* 12a7); (Protarchus) σὺ τήνδε ἡμῖν τὴν

συνουσίαν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπέδωκας πᾶσι καὶ σεαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ διελέσθαι τί τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κτημάτων

ἄριστον. Φιλήβου γὰρ εἰπόντος ἡδονὴν καὶ τέρψιν καὶ χαρὰν καὶ πάνθ' ὁπόσα τοιαῦτ' ἐστί (*Phil.* 19c4-8);

(Socrates) Φίληβός φησι τὴν ἡδονὴν σκοπὸν ὀρθὸν πᾶσι ζῴοις γεγονέναι καὶ δεῖν πάντας τούτου

στοχάζεσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τἀγαθὸν τοῦτ' αὐτὸ εἶναι σύμπασι, καὶ δύο ὀνόματα, ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἡδύ, ἑνί τινι καὶ

φύσει μιᾷ τούτω ὀρθῶς τεθέντ' ἔχειν (*Phil.* 60a7-b1); (Socrates) Φίληβος τἀγαθὸν ἐτίθετο ἡμῖν ἡδονὴν

εἶναι πᾶσαν καὶ παντελῆ (*Phil.* 66d7-8).

Philebus' belief that pleasure is the good is reflected in the behaviour of Apuleius' priest, but there may be another point of contact. Philebus maintains that the goddess known as Aphrodite is really pleasure:

(Philebus) ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀφοσιοῦμαι καὶ μαρτύρομαι νῦν αὐτὴν τὴν θεόν.

(Protarchus) Καὶ ἡμεῖς σοι τούτων γε αὐτῶν συμμάρτυρες ἂν εἶμεν, ὡς ταῦτα ἔλεγες ἃ λέγεις. ἀλλὰ δὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἑξῆς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅμως καὶ μετὰ Φιλήβου ἑκόντος ἢ ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ πειρώμεθα περαίνειν.

(Socrates) Πειρατέον, ἀπ' αὐτῆς δὴ τῆς θεοῦ, ἣν ὅδε 'Αφροδίτην μὲν λέγεσθαί φησι, τὸ δ' ἀληθέστατον αὐτῆς ὄνομα 'Ηδονὴν εἶναι. (*Phil.* 12b1-9)[36]

The Philebus of Ps.-Lucian and Apuleius is also associated with a goddess, to whom he devotes himself as much as we can infer that the Platonic Philebus might devote himself to pleasure. At the auction at which he buys the asinine Lucius, Philebus says to the auctioneer:

An me putas, inepte, iumento fero posse deam committere, ut turbatum

repente divinum deiciat simulacrum, egoque misera cogar crinibus

solutis discurrere et deae meae humi iacenti aliquem medicum

quaerere? (Ap. *Met.* 8.25)

The facts that Apuleius was a Platonist and that his Philebus is devoted to pleasure and his goddess as surely as the Platonic Philebus is devoted to pleasure, which he argues is otherwise known as the goddess Aphrodite, would seem to be a sufficient

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[36] Cf. (Socrates) 'Ως μὲν τοίνυν τήν γε Φιλήβου θεὸν οὐ δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι ταὐτὸν καὶ τἀγαθόν, ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαί μοι δοκεῖ (*Phil.* 22c1-2); (Philebus) Σεμνύνεις γάρ, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸν σεαυτοῦ θεόν. (Socrates) Καὶ γὰρ σύ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, τὴν σαυτοῦ (*Phil.* 28b1-2).

argument in themselves for an allusion being intended by Apuleius in his use of this name. But even if this is not thought persuasive, the sheer scarcity at least of the name Philebus indicates that Apuleius used Plato as his source of inspiration for it.

This line of reasoning suggests that Alciphron's use of the name Philebus should also be instructive. 3.14 consists of a letter from Bucopnictes to Artopyctes, both parasites, on how their position with a young man called Philebus is being threatened by the courtesan Zeuxippe. He is spending his inheritance, carefully amassed by his parents, on her:

οὐ γὰρ δαπανᾶται εἰς αὐτὴν (sc. Zeuxippe) χρυσίον μόνον καὶ ἀργύριον,

ἀλλὰ καὶ συνοικίας καὶ ἀγρούς. (3.14.1)

Bucopnictes feels sorry for him, for he has been generous to him and other parasites, and finishes by saying:

ἔστι γάρ, ὡς οἶσθα, ἁπλοϊκὸς ὁ Φίληβος καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς παρασίτους

ἐπιεικὴς καὶ μέτριος τὸν τρόπον, ᾠδαῖς μᾶλλον καὶ γέλωτι ἢ ταῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς

ὕβρεσι θελγόμενος. (3.14.3)

The statement that he is moderate in his ways (μέτριος τὸν τρόπον) may be thought to count against the argument that Philebus is some sort of pleasure-seeker whose name derives from the Platonic Philebus. However, it is qualified as referring to his treatment of parasites and smacks of the sort of toadying flattery that a parasite would employ in his presence. And it can also be objected that a truly moderate man would not be spending everything he owned on a courtesan.[37] It is, of course, possible that there was an intermediary, or another, author whom Alciphron is using here, or that

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[37] Or letting her spend it: ἃ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι (sc. Philebus' parents) κατ' ὀβολὸν συνήγαγον, ἀθρόως ἀναλοῖ τὸ πολύκοινον τοῦτο καὶ αἰσχρότατον γύναιον. (3.14.2)

he used the name independently of anyone else. However, given the lack of any such rival source, how rare the name Philebus is and that Alciphron might elsewhere show some knowledge of Plato,[38] it remains most likely that Alciphron deployed this name to convey the impression of a young man who has devoted himself and his estate to the pursuit of pleasure in an allusion to Plato's character of the same name.

Another character from Ps.-Lucian *Onos* with a name which features in Plato is Hipparchus.[39] Lucius meets with fellow travellers on his way to Hypata in Thessaly and asks if they know of Hipparchus, for whom he has a letter of introduction:

οἱ δὲ εἰδέναι τὸν "Ἱππαρχον τοῦτον ἔλεγον καὶ ὅποι τῆς πόλεως οἰκεῖ καὶ ὅτι ἀργύριον ἱκανὸν ἔχει καὶ ὅτι μίαν θεράπαιναν τρέφει καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γαμετὴν μόνας· ἔστι γὰρ φιλαργυρώτατος δεινῶς. (*Onos* 1)

His miserliness seems to be famous, for when Lucius comes across Abroea, a friend of his mother's, he declines her offer of a place to stay, eliciting the question:

(Abroea)   Ποῖ δέ, ἔφη, καὶ κατάγῃ;

(Lucius)   Παρὰ Ἱππάρχῳ.

(Abroea)   Τῷ φιλαργύρῳ; (*Onos* 4)

Lucius replies:

Μηδαμῶς, εἶπον, ὦ μῆτερ, τοῦτο εἴπῃς. λαμπρὸς γὰρ καὶ πολυτελὴς γέγονεν εἰς ἐμέ, ὥστε καὶ ἐγκαλέσαι ἄν τις τῇ τρυφῇ. (Ibid.)

This might be thought to scupper the point that Hipparchus is really a miser, but Abroea responds to this by smiling ('Η δὲ μειδιάσασα - Ibid.), and this implies a condescending attitude, as if it is funny that Lucius should think that what the miser

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[38] See below, pp.53-7, on Alciphron 4.7, and 5.1, pp.270-76, on 4.13.

[39] He is renamed Milo in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, although an investigation into why this might have been lies outside the reach of this thesis.

Hipparchus has to offer is generous. At any rate he is well-known for being a miser; in fact it seems to be his defining characteristic, regardless of what Lucius thinks.[40]

Hipparchus does not appear in Plato, rather he is mentioned by Socrates in a piece of revisionist history as a wise man who inscribed bits of his wisdom on Herms so that passers-by would read them. One of these was: μὴ φίλον ἐξαπάτα (Plat. *Hipparch.* 229b1), and this is precisely what Socrates claims he is not trying to do, despite his interlocutor's doubts. It is not Hipparchus himself that could be the inspiration for Ps.-Lucian's character, then, rather it is the subject of the eponymous dialogue. It opens with Socrates asking: Τί γὰρ τὸ φιλοκερδές; τί ποτέ ἐστιν, καὶ τίνες οἱ φιλοκερδεῖς; (*Hipparch.* 225a1-2), it does not deviate from this question, and according to Diogenes Laertius its double title was: Ἵππαρχος ἢ φιλοκερδής (3.59). Hipparchus was not a particularly rare name,[41] but in a work where there is another character who is given a Platonic name, and in that case too a name which gave a dialogue a title, the probability is increased that the miser's name Hipparchus was inspired by the subject of the dialogue that bears his name.

Another example of a Platonic name can be found in Lucian's *Navigium*, a dialogue which bears some similarities to Plato's *Republic*. In the latter Socrates describes how he went to Piraeus to witness the festival of Bendis and to pray to that

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[40] Other indications that Lucius does not concur with the prevailing opinion are: ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐγεγόνειμεν, κῆπός τις ἦν καὶ ἔνδον οἰκίδιον ἀνεκτόν, ἔνθα ὁ Ἵππαρχος ᾤκει (*Onos* 1); τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον οὐ σφόδρα λιτόν· ὁ δὲ οἶνος ἡδὺς καὶ παλαιὸς ἦν (*Onos* 3); αἰδοῦμαι δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ ἐγκαλῶν ἔπειτα φεύγων τὴν ἐκείνου οἰκίαν (*Onos* 4).

[41] *LGPN* I has 28 attestations, II 22, III.A 38, and III.B 29. In each of the four volumes the attestations are chronologically evenly spread.

goddess (προσευξόμενός τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἄμα τὴν ἑορτὴν βουλόμενος θεάσασθαι τίνα τρόπον ποιήσουσιν ἄτε νῦν πρῶτον ἄγοντες. Plat. *Rep.* 327a2-3): in the former Lycinus. Timolaus and Samippus have all arrived in Piraeus to see a large grain ship which has put in on route to Italy from Egypt (Timolaus - οἶμαι δὲ καὶ σφώ, σέ (sc. Lycinus) τε καὶ Σάμιππον τουτονί, μὴ κατ᾽ ἄλλο τι ἐξ ἄστεως ἥκειν ἢ ὀψομένους τὸ πλοῖον. Luc. *Nav.* 1). Timolaus' desire to see the ship is even expressed in Platonic terms, for Lycinus greets him by saying that:

> Οὐκ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον ὅτι θᾶττον τοὺς γῦπας ἔωλος νεκρὸς ἐν φανερῷ κείμενος ἢ θέαμά τι τῶν παραδόξων Τιμόλαον διαλάθοι, κἂν εἰς Κόρινθον δέοι ἀπνευστὶ θέοντα ἀπιέναι διὰ τοῦτο; οὕτω φιλοθεάμων σύ γε καὶ ἄοκνος τὰ τοιαῦτα. (Ibid.)

The adjective φιλοθεάμων recalls the discussion of who should be called a philosopher at *Rep.* 475d-476b where the φιλήκοοι καὶ φιλοθεάμονες (476b4) are distinguished from the genuine philosophers.[42] The implication is that Timolaus is one of those who merely revel in beautiful sights, but not beauty itself:

> (Socrates) Οἱ μέν που, ἦν δ᾽ ἐγώ, φιλήκοοι καὶ φιλοθεάμονες τάς τε καλὰς φωνὰς ἀσπάζονται καὶ χρόας καὶ σχήματα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων δημιουργούμενα, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ ἀδύνατος αὐτῶν ἡ διάνοια τὴν φύσιν ἰδεῖν τε καὶ ἀσπάσασθαι. (Plat. *Rep.* 476b4-8)[43]

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[42] Plato only uses φιλοθεάμων in the *Republic* and only during this discussion: 475d2, 475e4, 476a10, 476b4, and where it is recapped at 479a3.

[43] Cf. (Calasiris to Cnemon) Ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλήκοός τις εἶναί μοι φαίνῃ καὶ καλῶν ἀκουσμάτων ἀκόρεστος (Hld. 3.4.11).

Already the tone is set for the ensuing discussion in which Lycinus, in typical Lucianic vein, criticises and attacks the views of his interlocutors as being too concerned with material things rather than with living a quiet and contented life.

In addition to Lycinus, Timolaus and Samippus, there is a fourth interlocutor, Adeimantus, but he has wandered off (Lycinus - Νὴ Δία, καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Μυρρινούσιος εἵπετο μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπου νῦν ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ἀποπλανηθεὶς ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν θεατῶν Nav. 1). The three decide to head off back to Athens in the likelihood that Adeimantus has already started off (Nav. 4). They spot him at Nav. 10, but he is deaf to the shouts of his friends:

ἢν μὴ τοῦ ἱματίου λαβόμενοι σε ἐπιστρέψωμεν, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, οὐχ ὑπακούσεις ἡμῖν βοῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φροντίζοντι ἔοικας ἐπὶ συννοίας τινὸς οὐ μικρὸν οὐδὲ εὐκαταφρόνητον πρᾶγμα, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἀνακυκλῶν. (Nav. 11.)

This recalls what led Socrates to remain in Piraeus, where he was subsequently embroiled in a mammoth discussion. Polemarchus had seen him and Glaucon οἴκαδε ὡρμημένους (Rep. 327b2) and had sent a slave to call them back:

καί μου ὄπισθεν ὁ παῖς λαβόμενος τοῦ ἱματίου, Κελεύει ὑμᾶς, ἔφη, Πολέμαρχος περιμεῖναι. Καὶ ἐγὼ μετεστράφην τε καὶ ἠρόμην ὅπου αὐτὸς εἴη. (Rep. 327b4-6)

They wait and shortly afterwards Polemarchus appears, accompanied by Adeimantus, Glaucon's brother, Niceratus and several others. This Adeimantus is one of the chief interlocutors of the *Republic*,[44] and after the argument with Thrasymachus which fills most of the first book, he and his brother take up the bulk of the discussion with

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[44] Adeimantus is also an interlocutor at the beginning of the *Parmenides*. Two other men with the name Adeimantus are mentioned at *Protagoras* 315e4-5: καὶ τὼ Ἀδειμάντω ἀμφοτέρω, ὅ τε Κήπιδος καὶ ὁ Λευκολοφίδου.

Socrates, as he attempts, at their insistence, to demonstrate why justice is worth possessing in and for itself.

Lucian's Adeimantus was distracted by the thought of all the wealth that such a ship as they had seen would bring, and this leads to the four men taking turns to express their greatest fantasies. Adeimantus would wish for unbridled wealth and Samippus dreams about commanding an all-conquering army, both of which meet with Lycinus' cynical disdain. Timolaus is the last to indulge himself (at the conclusion Lycinus passes on his turn: he has had enough fun laughing at the others) and he wants Hermes to meet him and give him a set of rings with certain powers (ἐγὼ δὲ βούλομαι τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐντυχόντα μοι δοῦναι δακτυλίους τινὰς τοιούτους τὴν δύναμιν Nav. 42). Among one which will give him health, another which will make him strong, one which will enable him to fly, one which will put people to sleep and unbolt any door, and another which will make people fall in love with him, is:

ἕτερον δὲ ὡς μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι τὸν περιθέμενον, οἷος ἦν ὁ τοῦ Γύγου (Ibid.).

This, of course, is a reference to the story of Gyges' ring, which is found in the *Republic* as Glaucon and Adeimantus are formulating their request for a demonstration that justice is worth possessing in and for itself. Glaucon's argument is that just people are just because they do not have the power to be unjust, and that both the just and the unjust would be unjust if they had the freedom. One way in which this freedom could be achieved would be εἰ αὐτοῖς γένοιτο οἵαν ποτέ φασιν δύναμιν τῷ [Γύγου] τοῦ Λυδοῦ προγόνῳ γενέσθαι (*Rep.* 359c7-d1). He was a shepherd who found a ring, and while at a meeting he fiddled with it:

τούτου δὲ γενομένου ἀφανῆ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τοῖς παρακαθημένοις, καὶ διαλέγεσθαι ὡς περὶ οἰχομένου. καὶ τὸν θαυμάζειν τε καὶ πάλιν ἐπιψηλαφῶντα τὸν δακτύλιον στρέψαι ἔξω τὴν σφενδόνην, καὶ στρέψαντα

φανερὸν γενέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο ἐννοήσαντα ἀποπειρᾶσθα τοῦ δακτυλίου εἰ
ταύτην ἔχοι τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὕτω συμβαίνειν, στρέφοντι μὲν εἴσω
τὴν σφενδόνην ἀδήλῳ γίγνεσθαι, ἔξω δὲ δήλῳ (Rep. 359e6-360a7).

Adeimantus is not as common a name as Hipparchus,[45] only 5 out of 50 attestations
are dated later than the second century BC and one of these is Lucian's fictional
character. These statistics, allied to the case outlined above, make it a reasonably
secure suggestion that Lucian named his Adeimantus after the interlocutor of Plato's
Republic. His purpose in so doing was to highlight the relationship between his work
and Plato's.

Lucian's *Symposium*, another work with an obvious debt to a Platonic
predecessor, may also contain a character whose name was derived from a Platonic
source. At *Symp*. 26 Hetoemocles, in a stroppy letter, casts aspersions on the
philosopher to whom Aristaenetus, the host of the party, has trusted his son Zeno:

εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὸν ἦν ἐμὲ λέγειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, κἄν τι προσέθηκα, ὅπερ σύ, εἰ
θέλεις, παρὰ Ζωπύρου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ αὐτοῦ μάθοις ἂν ἀληθὲς ὄν.

Zopyrus is also the name of Alcibiades' tutor, whom Socrates mentions when he is
destroying Alcibiades' claims that he amounts to something:

σοὶ δ᾿, ὦ 'Αλκιβιάδη, Περικλῆς ἐπέστησε παιδαγωγὸν τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸν
ἀχρειότατον ὑπὸ γήρως, Ζώπυρον τὸν Θρᾷκα. (Plat. *Alc*. 1 122a8-b2)

It hardly seems likely that the conjunction of name and job description is a
coincidence, especially given a passage from a letter of Alciphron, where the parasite
Oenolalus is complaining to Poteriophlyarus about the sudden stinginess of the young
man on whom he depends:

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[45] *LGPN* I has 9, II 26, III.A 10, and III.B 5.

Οὐκ εἰς δέον οἰνωμένος ἐσκωψάμην τὸν τροφέα τοῦ νεανίσκου Ζώπυρον. ἐξ

ἐκείνου γὰρ ἴσως διαβολῇ τυπεὶς τὰ ὦτα περὶ τὰς δόσεις κατέστη

μικροπρεπέστερος καὶ φειδωλῷ τῷ μέτρῳ κέχρηται περὶ τὰς δαπάνας.

(Alciphr. 3.21.1)

This Zopyrus fulfils a similar role and Benner/Fobes comment that "The name was

perhaps suggested by Lucian, *Symposium* 26."[46] Perhaps it was, but it is also possible

that Alciphron took the name directly from Plato. At any rate, the case that Plato is

the ultimate source seems quite convincing - the name Zopyrus each time refers to the

tutor or foster-father of a young man and he does not appear - but the sheer number

of attestations in *LGPN* might easily count against it, for I has 85, II 181, III.A 106,

and III.B 117.[47] These statistics might make us think again here, for the parallel is

one-dimensional and not as water-tight as that for Apuleius' Socrates. I would argue

that it is in such cases that caution should be exercised and the argument considered

possible rather than probable or certain.[48]

Another Platonic name that finds its way into a work of Lucian is

Euthydemus.[49] At *Hermotimus* 11 Lycinus explains to the budding Stoic Hermotimus

why there is no point going to the lecture of his teacher, because there is not going to

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[46] (1949), p.201, n.d.

[47] A significant total of 489.

[48] It should also be noted that there is a Zopyrus in Chariton's novel. He is named twice as

Rhodogune's father (5.3.4; 7.5.5) and is present to give an air of historical verisimilitude (cf. Her.

3.160.2; Thuc. 1.109.3), for which see Hunter (1994).

[49] Jones (1986), p.30, suggests that the mention of this character may represent "a dash of actuality

... since a very eminent member of the school (sc. the Peripatetic school), a teacher of Galen, was

called 'Eudemos'". However, in the light of the literary associations which this name can evoke, it

seems more likely that it was chosen for such a reason.

be one. For his teacher had had dinner at Eucrates', had argued with Euthydemus the

Peripatetic, had drunk and eaten too much and had been ill. Hermotimus asks who

won the argument, and Lycinus replies that at first they were level, but that the Stoic

won. This is qualified by: τὸν γοῦν Εὐθύδημον οὐδὲ ἀναιμωτί φασιν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ

τραῦμα παμμέγεθες ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ (Herm. 12). Lycinus, with heavy sarcasm,

then relates how Hermotimus' teacher won and how Euthydemus came by his wound:

> ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀλαζὼν ἦν καὶ ἐλεγκτικὸς καὶ πείθεσθαι οὐκ ἤθελεν οὐδὲ παρεῖχε
>
> ῥᾴδιον αὐτὸν ἐλέγχεσθαι, ὁ διδάσκαλός σου ὁ βέλτιστος ὃν εἶχε σκύφον
>
> Νεστόρειόν τινα καταφέρει αὐτοῦ πλησίον κατακειμένου, καὶ οὕτως
>
> ἐκράτησεν. (Ibid.)

Euthydemus is characterised as ἐλεγκτικός, and this is a trait he shares with his

Platonic namesake. In the eponymous dialogue Socrates tells Crito of the discussion

that occurred the day before between himself, a young man called Cleinias, Ctesippus,

who is one of Cleinias' lovers, and the sophist brothers Euthydemus and

Dionysodorus.[50] Socrates claims that he was overawed by the wisdom of the sophists,

for as well as being skilled at fighting in armour, speaking in court and being able to

teach both, they have added another skill:

> οὕτω δεινὼ γεγόνατον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μάχεσθαί τε καὶ ἐξελέγχειν τὸ ἀεὶ
>
> λεγόμενον, ὁμοίως ἐάντε ψεῦδος ἐάντε ἀληθὲς ᾖ. (Plat. Euthd. 272a7-b1)

This they put into practice on Cleinias, whom Socrates said needed the education.

They asked him a series of sophistic questions which were designed to trip the young

man up, the first of which was: πότεροί εἰσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ μανθάνοντες, οἱ σοφοὶ ἢ οἱ

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[50] See Branham (1989), pp.69-80, for an analysis of the humour in this dialogue, and ch.2, passim,

for the relationship between Lucian's dialogues and their Platonic ancestors.

ἀμαθεῖς; (*Euthd.* 275d3-4). Cleinias was uncertain and Socrates urged him to say what

he thought:

Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Διονυσόδωρος προσκύψας μοι μικρὸν πρὸς τὸ οὖς, πάνυ

μειδιάσας τῷ προσώπῳ, Καὶ μήν, ἔφη, σοί, ὦ Σώκρατες, προλέγω ὅτι

ὁπότερ' ἂν ἀποκρίνηται τὸ μειράκιον, ἐξελεγχθήσεται. (*Euthd.* 275e3-6)

This is what happened, and what happened repeatedly, showing how fond of refuting

the pair were.

The unwillingness of Lucian's Euthydemus to expose himself to refutation

(οὐδὲ παρεῖχε ῥᾴδιον αὐτὸν ἐλέγχεσθαι *Herm.* 12) is also paralleled by his Platonic

namesake and his brother. After the discussion, and the ostensible education of

Cleinias, failed to make satisfactory progress and both Socrates and Ctesippus had

broken in out of frustration, Dionysodorus agreed with the question that Socrates

posed in perplexity at one line of argument: ἄλλο τι ψευδῆ λέγειν οὐκ ἔστιν; (*Euthd.*

286c6). Socrates asked whether he was just saying this to be shocking, ἢ ὡς ἀληθῶς

δοκεῖ σοι οὐδεὶς εἶναι ἀμαθὴς ἀνθρώπων; (*Euthd.* 286d12-13). Dionysodorus replied:

(Dionysodorus)   'Αλλὰ σύ, ἔφη, ἔλεγξον.

(Socrates)   Ἦ καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον, ἐξελέγξαι,

μηδενὸς ψευδομένου;

(Euthydemus)   Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη ὁ Εὐθύδημος.

(Socrates)   Οὐδ' ἄρα ἐκέλευεν, ἔφην ἐγώ, νυνδὴ Διονυσόδωρος

ἐξελέγξαι; (*Euthd.* 286e1-6)

In fact Euthydemus and Dionysodorus were not so much unwilling to be refuted as

being in denial that such a thing as refutation was possible!

Socrates had another go at questioning Cleinias, in an effort to show the sort

of thing he imagined might be beneficial, and after an intervening discussion with

Crito as to what exactly they had been trying to get at, Socrates relates how Euthydemus offered to tell him what he wanted to know. His argument was the fallacious one that if someone knows something, he is knowing, and therefore he knows everything. Socrates summed this up (*Euthd.* 293d4-8), to which Euthydemus replied: Αὐτὸς σαυτόν γε δὴ ἐξελέγχεις, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες. (*Euthd.* 293e1). Socrates moved up a gear:

Τί δέ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, σὺ οὐ πέπονθας τοῦτο τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος; ἐγὼ γάρ τοι μετὰ σοῦ ὁτιοῦν ἂν πάσχων καὶ μετὰ Διονυσοδώρου τοῦδε, φίλης κεφαλῆς, οὐκ ἂν πάνυ ἀγανακτοίην. εἰπέ μοι, σφὼ οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπίστασθον τῶν ὄντων, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθον; (*Euthd.* 293e2-6),

to which the reply was: Ἥκιστά γε (*Euthd.* 293e7). This refusal to be persuaded (cf. πείθεσθαι οὐκ ἤθελεν *Herm.* 12) continued as the brothers culminated in claiming that they knew everything from the time of their birth (*Euthd.* 294e9-10). No one believed this and Euthydemus said he could prove that Socrates too would agree, if he answered his questions. Socrates replies: Ἀλλὰ μήν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἥδιστα ταῦτα ἐξελέγχομαι. (*Euthd.* 295a6)

After both Socrates and Ctesippus had conversed with Euthydemus and Dionysodorus and no progress had been made, Socrates describes to Crito the rapturous reception the sophists received and the heavily sarcastic encomium he delivered to them. He said that their most magnificent achievement was that they cared nothing for men other than their own sort:

ἐγὼ γὰρ εὖ οἶδα ὅτι τούτους τοὺς λόγους πάνυ μὲν ἂν ὀλίγοι ἀγαπῷεν ἄνθρωποι ὅμοιοι ὑμῖν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οὕτως ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτούς, ὥστ' εὖ οἶδα ὅτι αἰσχυνθεῖεν ἂν μᾶλλον ἐξελέγχοντες τοιούτοις λόγοις τοὺς ἄλλους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐξελεγχόμενοι. (*Euthd.* 303d2-5)

Crito on the other hand is not so convinced:

κινδυνεύω μέντοι κἀγὼ εἷς εἶναι τῶν οὐχ ὁμοίων Εὐθυδήμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων ὧν δὴ καὶ σὺ ἔλεγες, τῶν ἥδιον ἂν ἐξελεγχομένων ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἢ ἐξελεγχόντων. (*Euthd.* 304c8-d2)

The implication, of course, is that Euthydemus and his sort would rather refute than be refuted.

The final element of the character of Lucian's Euthydemus is that he is ἀλαζὼν (*Herm.* 12), and this too may be derived from Plato's eponymous dialogue. For after Socrates had finished his first example of the form which he thought a hortatory dialogue should take, Dionysodorus took up the challenge and asked:

(Dionysodorus)   φατὲ βούλεσθαι αὐτὸν σοφὸν γενέσθαι;

(Socrates)   Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

(Dionysodorus)   Νῦν δέ, ἦ δ' ὅς, Κλεινίας πότερον σοφός ἐστιν ἢ οὔ;

(Socrates)   Οὔκουν φησί γέ πω· ἔστιν δέ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὐκ ἀλαζών. (*Euthd.* 283c5-8)

The reader is to infer from this that someone who claimed to be wise, at least in the opinion of Socrates who famously denied any knowledge to himself, would be ἀλαζὼν. The whole dialogue revolves around whether Dionysodorus and Euthydemus are as wise as they claim to be, or even wise at all, and they themselves are shown to be guilty of ἀλαζονεία by Socrates' exposing of their sophistic tactics. In short, nothing could better describe Plato's Euthydemus and his brother than Lucian's description of his Euthydemus.

That such a short passage could be expected to remind a reader of an entire dialogue might be supported by another instance of the same name, this time in Alciphron. 4.7 consists of a letter from the courtesan Thais to a young man called

Euthydemus.[51] He has deserted her for philosophy, and she claims that his master is a hypocrite and asks, before proving the opposite, whether Euthydemus thinks sophists are better than courtesans: οἴει δὲ διαφέρειν ἑταίρας σοφιστήν; (4.7.4). Part of her proof that the company of courtesans is to be preferred consists of a comparison of the teaching abilities of Aspasia, who taught Pericles, and Socrates, who taught Critias. The mention of Socrates might be thought to direct the reader's attention to Plato, and in particular the philosophical protreptic which is the theme of Plato's *Euthydemus*, but Benner/Fobes note that "The name of the addressee (sc. Euthydemus) may have been suggested by Xenophon, *Memorabilia* i.2.29, where Critias and his friend Euthydemus are mentioned together."[52] Xenophon relates the story of how Socrates tried to dissuade Critias, who was enamoured of Euthydemus, from unbecoming conduct. This forms part of a larger defence of Socrates against the charge of corrupting the youth, and Xenophon concludes his treatment of Alcibiades' and Critias' relationships with Socrates, the two most obvious cases of failure,[53] by arguing thus:

φαίην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε μηδενὶ μηδεμίαν εἶναι παίδευσιν παρὰ τοῦ μὴ ἀρέσκοντος. Κριτίας δὲ καὶ 'Αλκιβιάδης οὐκ ἀρέσκοντος αὐτοῖς Σωκράτους ὡμιλησάτην ὃν χρόνον ὡμιλείτην αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡρμηκότε προεστάναι τῆς πόλεως. (*Mem.* 1.2.39)

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[51] Goldhill (1995), p.99, briefly analyses this letter, but does not note whether the name Euthydemus might be significant.

[52] (1949), p.263, n.c.

[53] See Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.12: 'Αλλ' ἔφη γε ὁ κατήγορος, Σωκράτει ὁμιλητὰ γενομένω Κριτίας τε καὶ 'Αλκιβιάδης πλεῖστα κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐποιησάτην.

This might be thought a problem for the case that Alciphron names the addressee of the letter with this text in mind, for it forms part of an argument designed to show that Socrates was not in fact to be held accountable for the actions of his rogue students. The mention of Critias in the letter is also not surprising, given his notoriety and the argument the courtesan is making.

Benner/Fobes do not point out that Euthydemus is the interlocutor for large parts of *Mem.* 4, and this seems like a better source. *Mem.* 4.2 tells how Socrates observed that Euthydemus was confident that his collection of books had given him wisdom beyond his years (νομίζοντα διαφέρειν τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐν σοφίᾳ *Mem.* 4.2.1) and sought to try him out and show him that he needed instruction. Socrates makes various overtures, and eventually, during the course of their conversations, Euthydemus realises that his philosophy is insufficient and that he can not provide answers even about things which one should know (*Mem.* 4.2.23). Unlike many who were put off by Socrates' elenctic method:

ὁ δὲ Εὐθύδημος ὑπέλαβεν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ὅτι μάλιστα Σωκράτει συνείη· καὶ οὐκ ἀπελείπετο ἔτι αὐτοῦ, εἰ μή τι ἀναγκαῖον εἴη· ἔνια δὲ καὶ ἐμιμεῖτο ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐπετήδευεν. (*Mem.* 4.2.40)

This conversion of Euthydemus to Socrates' philosophy would seem to be the ideal model for Alciphron's letter. However, part of Thais' argument: πόσῳ δὲ ἀμείνους ἡμεῖς καὶ εὐσεβέστεραι· οὐ λέγομεν θεοὺς οὐκ εἶναι (4.7.4), does not fit well with *Mem.* 4.3, where Xenophon claims that Socrates tried to instil σωφροσύνη, and gives as an example a conversation with Euthydemus: πρῶτον μὲν δὴ περὶ θεοὺς ἐπειρᾶτο σώφρονας ποιεῖν τοὺς συνόντας (*Mem.* 4.3.2).

There are other factors to consider. Alciphron's Euthydemus does go to the Academy (εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν σοβεῖς 4.7.1) to pursue his philosophy, and Thais' jibe

that: οὐδ' ἀξιοῦμεν ἀδελφαῖς καὶ μητράσι μίγνυσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γυναιξὶν ἀλλοτρίαις (4.7.5) seems to be a dig at Plat. *Rep*. 457c-461e.[54] On the other hand the mention that Euthydemus' master προσφθείρεται δὲ 'Ερπυλλίδι τῇ Μεγάρας ἄβρᾳ (4.7.3) seems to allude to Aristotle's concubine. In addition, Alciphron can hardly be intending the historical Euthydemus to be meant, since Socrates and Critias are referred to in the past tense (4.7.7).

The case of Alciphron's Euthydemus highlights the amount of textual knowledge and cultural background which an educated Greek reader could be expected to bring to a text. Rather than rely on Plato or Xenophon alone, Alciphron has woven a letter, whose theme may be familiar, but whose texture is rich. In such cases, where it might appear that there is no clear candidate, it might be thought futile to argue that one source was the inspiration for a character's name. On the other hand, although Alciphron is drawing on a tradition of philosophy and anti-philosophy,[55] the fact that the name he used occurs in one or two parts of that tradition might be adequate.[56] After all, the whole letter need not depend on the work from which the name was derived, nor need it be consistent with it, and the theme of Plato's *Euthydemus* and Euthydemus' conversion in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* are, I

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[54] See I.2.2, p.14-5, for Lucian's fondness of this joke.

[55] See Goldhill (1995) for the argument as a whole.

[56] It might, of course, occur in parts which are lost, but that is of no great concern if the parts which are not lost are enough in themselves.

think, sufficient to argue that these are the sources for the name of Alciphron's Euthydemus.[57]

The above examples demonstrate that Plato was one source on which second sophistic authors could draw for their names. But not only did they take names from the Platonic corpus, they also used these names for the allusive texture which they could lend their works. The nature of these allusions is varied, from the contrast between the famous Socrates and a character who shares his name, but who is pointedly very different, to the brief description of a Euthydemus which at once recalls the characterisation of his namesake in Plato's eponymous dialogue. The persuasiveness of individual cases is also affected by the data provided by *LGPN*. Given the occurrence of the phenomenon of Platonic names in other writers and the fact that Achilles Tatius has not yet been noted as having any particular source or sources for his names, an investigation into whether some of the names in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* are derived from the Platonic corpus can proceed unimpeded.

1.4 Achilles Tatius and Plato

Although it will vary slightly,[58] my procedure in dealing with names that occur in both Plato and Achilles Tatius will be the following. I shall first consider how common each name is, using the data contained in *LGPN*.[59] I shall then investigate whether

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[57] Euthydemus is attested 63 times in *LGPN*. There is only one non-fictional attestation for the imperial period, and there are 50 attestations in II, 43 of which are from the 5th to 3rd centuries BC.

[58] In the case of Charmides, where I shall first consider how the name is reserved by Achilles Tatius to be revealed in a particular episode, before exploring whether any allusions to Plato can be detected.

[59] See the Appendix for my use of the *LGPN* data.

there are any allusions in terms of verbal echoes, similar character traits and/or deliberate, humorous perversions between the respective words, deeds and situations of those bearers of each name in Plato's works and of the characters to whom Achilles Tatius assigned the same name. I shall lastly consider other fictional instances of each name to see whether those that predate the novels are better candidates than Plato's figures, and whether the bearers of those that are roughly contemporary with *Leucippe and Cleitophon* exhibit any similarities with their namesakes in the novel.

1.5 Charmides

1.5.1 Charmides in *LGPN*

	BC						AD					
	vi	**v**	**iv**	**iii**	**ii**	**i**	**i**	**ii**	**iii**	**iv**	**v**	**Total**
I		1	5.5	6.3	3.8	2.3						**19**
II	0.5	7.5	6	2	8	2	1.3	3.3	3.3			**34**
III.A							0.3	0.3	0.3			**1**
III.B	1	1		1				1				**4**
Total	**1.5**	**9.5**	**11.5**	**9.3**	**11.8**	**4.3**	**1.6**	**4.6**	**3.6**			**58**
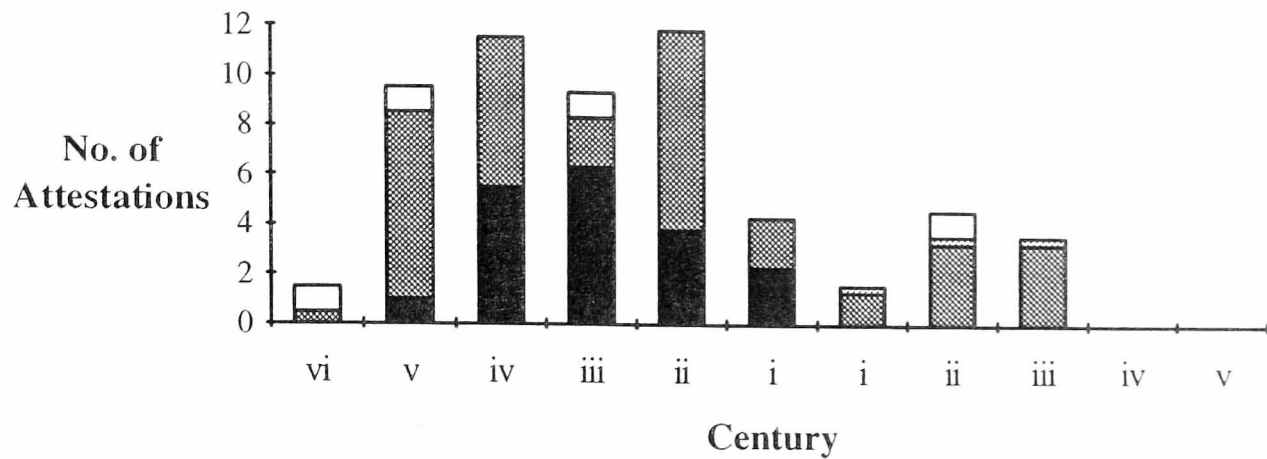
Charmides is not an uncommon name. The majority of bearers date from the classical and Hellenistic periods, and the relative scarcity of imperial examples is increased by the fact that two of the second century instances are fictional characters from Lucian's *DMeretr.* 2 and 11 (on which, see below, 1.5.4). The argument that it is a name with literary connotations would be enhanced if Lucian's uses are relevantly similar to Achilles Tatius'.

1.5.2 Charmides in Achilles Tatius

Charmides is introduced at 3.14.1 as ὁ στρατηγὸς, at which point he is not named, even though Cleitophon, by virtue of the fact that he is narrating past events, is in a position to name him. He does not meet Leucippe, for she is in the possession of the bandits, but encounters Cleitophon among those his army has rescued from their clutches. Impressed by Cleitophon's riding skills he makes him a ὁμοτράπεζον (3.14.2). At dinner he asks Cleitophon for his story and is moved to tears by it (3.14.2-4). Even if the general's name had not been revealed to him earlier, it is very unlikely that Cleitophon would not have learned it during the course of his conversation with him, yet he still does not let his narratee know what it is. At 3.15.5 Cleitophon mentions that the general witnessed the (apparent) disembowelment of Leucippe and that, at 3.16.1, he tried to console him. After Cleitophon has been reunited with Menelaus and

Satyrus, and they have explained the trickery of Leucippe's *Scheintod*, he takes

Menelaus to the general, who interviews him about the size of the enemy force

(3.24.1-2). At 4.1.1 the general decides to wait for reinforcements.

It is not until 4.2.1 that Cleitophon reveals the name of the general:

'Εν τούτῳ δὴ Χαρμίδης - τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ στρατηγῷ - ἐπιβάλλει τῇ

Λευκίππῃ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, ἀπὸ τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς αὐτὴν ἰδών.

At this point Charmides becomes one of the familiar love-rivals of the Greek novels:

Καλεῖ δὴ πρὸς τὴν θέαν (sc. of the hippopotamus hunt) ἡμᾶς ὁ

στρατηγός· καὶ ἡ Λευκίππη συμπαρῆν. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ θηρίον τοὺς

ὀφθαλμοὺς εἴχομεν, ἐπὶ Λευκίππην δὲ ὁ στρατηγός· καὶ εὐθὺς ἑαλώκει.

(4.3.1.)

In order to feast his eyes he tries to keep the couple near him as long as possible by

extending the conversation about the animal. He then takes the opportunity to embark

on a lengthy description of the elephant and the sweetness of its breath (4.4) and then

on the source of that sweetness (4.5), at the beginning of both of which chapters

Cleitophon refers to him by his name.[60] When at last he finishes he sends for

Cleitophon's friend Menelaus and asks him to procure Leucippe for him (4.6.1-2).

Menelaus cannily agrees and tells Cleitophon the situation (4.6.3). They decide to

humour the general, so as not to risk his wrath (4.6.3-4).

Cleitophon delayed the introduction of Charmides' name and has only used it

three times until this point. During the next chapter, 4.7, which forms the crux of

Charmides' infatuation with Leucippe and his reaction to it, Cleitophon calls him by

name no fewer than five times. Menelaus returns πρὸς τὸν Χαρμίδην (4.7.1) and tells

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[60] ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπε (4.4.1), and ἔφη Χαρμίδης (4.5.1).

him that Leucippe, after much protestation, has consented, but wants to wait until they arrive in Alexandria, for at the moment they are in a village and everyone can see everything (4.7.1-2). Charmides, however, says that that even a small delay is anathema to him, so extreme is his desperation. He argues[61] that waiting is a risky business while one is at war, that he needs prompt healing, and that sex with Leucippe would be a good omen before battle (4.7.2-5). Menelaus counters this by saying that it would not be easy for her to trick Cleitophon who is greatly in love with her, but ὁ Χαρμίδης is not afraid to send Cleitophon away (4.7.5-6). Menelaus, Ὁρῶν ... τοῦ Χαρμίδου τὴν σπουδήν, resorts to concocting the excuse that Leucippe began her period the day before (4.7.6-7). ὁ Χαρμίδης agrees to wait, but still wants her to go to him so that he can hear her voice, hold her hand, touch her and even kiss her (4.7.7-8). The problem for the protagonists posed by Charmides is obviated by Leucippe's fit, which now takes centre stage, and thereafter he is not referred to by name. He comes to see what is happening (4.9.3), is glad to send for the army doctor (4.10.3), is ordered by the satrap of Egypt to fight the bandits and makes preparations to do so (4.11.1-2), approaches the bandits' stronghold (4.13.1), refuses to accept the terms they offer (4.13.5), follows them (4.13.6), and is killed (4.14.4).

Almost all the named characters in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* are named as they appear, shortly after they appear, or even before they appear. The exceptions to this are Charmides, Pasion, and possibly Satyrus. Satyrus is named at 1.16.1, where Gaselee complains that he is "rather inartistically introduced without further

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[61] ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπε (4.7.2).

description".[62] It is possible that he is referred to at 1.6.5, where Cleitophon is woken from a dream:

> ὥστ᾽ ἐπειδή με ἤγειρεν ὁ οἰκέτης, ἐλοιδορούμην αὐτῷ τῆς ἀκαιρίας, ὡς ἀπολέσας ὄνειρον οὕτω γλυκύν.

Cleitophon immediately storms off to search for Leucippe. Pasion is first mentioned at 5.25.1. Melite goes to see Cleitophon who is being held in a δωμάτιον (5.23.7), and talks to the guard before slipping inside (διαλεχθεῖσα τῷ τὴν φυλακὴν τὴν ἐμὴν πεπιστευμένῳ εἰσέρχεται πρός με λαθοῦσα τοὺς ἄλλους 5.25.1). She seduces Cleitophon and they make a plan for his escape (5.25.2-6.1). As Cleitophon, dressed in Melite's clothes, leaves, the guard makes way (ὁ φύλαξ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνεχώρησε 6.2.1). When he has got away, Melantho, Melite's maid who is in on the scheme, goes back and tells the guard to open up (καταλαμβάνει τὸν φρουρὸν ἄρτι ἐπικλείσαντα τὸ οἴκημα, καὶ ἀνοίγειν ἐκέλευεν αὖθις 6.2.2). This he does. Melantho goes in and tells Melite of Cleitophon's escape and then calls the guard (καλεῖ τὸν φύλακα 6.2.3). His reaction is understandable:

> Κἀκεῖνος, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, θέαμα ἰδὼν παραδοξότατον, τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἔλαφον ἀντὶ παρθένου παροιμίας, ἐξεπλάγη καὶ ἔστη σιωπῇ. (Ibid.)

Melite tells him that she deceived him, not in case   he might be unwilling to comply, but that he might be blameless. She then gives him some money so that he can stay or flee. Only at this point is he named:

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[62] (1969), p.49, n.3. Vilborg (1962), p.33, remarks that Satyrus is introduced "Without further notice", and points out that he has been thought to be the παῖς who plays and sings at dinner (1.5.4). Satyrus, however, is surely too old to be described in this way, and one might expect the song of Apollo and Daphne which so inspires Cleitophon (1.5.5-7) to appear in a later conversation, if it was Satyrus who had sung it.

καὶ ὁ Πασίων - τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ φύλακι -, "Πάνυ," ἔφη, "δέσποινα,

τὸ σοὶ δοκοῦν κάμοὶ δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν." (6.2.5)

Melite advises him to go away and return when Thersander is less angry, and this is what he does.

If it is Satyrus who is referred to at 1.6.5, there is little opportunity for him to be named, especially since Cleitophon does not relate what was said at the time. Nor is an actual conversation with Pasion related, until Melite explains her actions to him at 6.2.4-5. Only now does Cleitophon tell his narratee what his guard's name was. It is possible that the name was reserved for a reason, but also equally possible that there had been no need to reveal his name until the first time any words addressed to him were related.[63] Direct speech involving Charmides, on the other hand, occurred as early as 3.24. The small number of exceptions to the normal naming practice in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* and the fact that Charmides is the one of these where Achilles Tatius could have most easily and naturally revealed the character's name earlier than he did, point towards some significance in the way the name Charmides is held back until the episode where he becomes infatuated with Leucippe.

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[63] This raises the question of why go to the trouble of giving him a name at all, and this may point to something more elaborate. Pasion is not, however, a Platonic name, and so does not concern this thesis.

1.5.3 Charmides in Achilles Tatius and Plato

Charmides is familiar to a reader of Plato from several passages in different dialogues.[64] It is to the eponymous dialogue that it is natural to turn first. Plato's *Charmides* contains a discussion between Socrates, Charmides and Critias concerning the nature of σωφροσύνη. Its alternative title was περὶ σωφροσύνης (D. L. 3.59). In it various definitions of σωφροσύνη are advanced, first by Charmides, and then by Critias, all of which are more or less refuted by Socrates. However, it is not from any of these definitions that Achilles Tatius draws in portraying his own Charmides, rather he derives humour from the contrasts and comparisons between the characterisations of his Charmides and Plato's Charmides. The Platonic dialogue focuses on σωφροσύνη ostensibly to see if Charmides possesses it. After the preliminaries and before the discussion proper Critias says of Charmides:

Critias) λέγω μέντοι σοι ὅτι Χαρμίδης τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν οὐ μόνον τῇ ἰδέᾳ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ, οὗ σὺ φῂς τὴν ἐπῳδὴν ἔχειν· φῂς δὲ σωφροσύνης· ἦ γάρ;

(Socrates) Πάνυ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ.

(Critias) Εὖ τοίνυν ἴσθι ἔφη, ὅτι πάνυ πολὺ δοκεῖ σωφρονέστατος εἶναι τῶν νυνί, καὶ τἆλλα πάντα, εἰς ὅσον ἡλικίας ἥκει, οὐδενὸς χείρων ὤν. (Plat. *Charm.* 157d1-8)

In the episode in which he falls in love with Leucippe Achilles Tatius' Charmides is not at all σώφρων. The significance of Achilles Tatius' not revealing his name through Cleitophon until this episode and then using it only while the episode lasts can now be

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[64] Of his appearances in Platonic dialogues, whether thought genuine or otherwise, all will be discussed except *Prot.* 315a1-2, where he is merely mentioned as one of those dancing attendance on Protagoras.

seen:[65] Achilles Tatius wants to highlight the discrepancy between the characters of the two figures with the name Charmides.

Charmides in Plato is not so straightforward, however, and there are other correlations between Plato's portrayal of him and Achilles Tatius' character. At the end of *Charmides* Critias and Charmides between them agree that Charmides should put himself in Socrates' (philosophical) care. Socrates asks (somewhat ironically, for Charmides is the sort of youth to which Socrates was attracted and with which he spent a good deal of his time) what they are plotting:

(Socrates)   Οὗτοι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τί βουλεύεσθον ποιεῖν;

(Charmides)   Οὐδέν, ἔφη ὁ Χαρμίδης, ἀλλὰ βεβουλεύμεθα.

(Socrates)   Βιάσῃ ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ οὐδ' ἀνάκρισίν μοι δώσεις;

(Charmides)   Ὡς βιασομένου, ἔφη, ἐπειδήπερ ὅδε (sc. Critias) γε ἐπιτάττει· πρὸς ταῦτα σὺ αὖ βουλεύου ὅτι ποιήσεις.

(Socrates)   Ἀλλ' οὐδεμία, ἔφην ἐγώ, λείπεται βουλή· σοὶ γὰρ ἐπιχειροῦντι πράττειν ὁτιοῦν καὶ βιαζομένῳ οὐδεὶς οἷός τ' ἔσται ἐναντιοῦσθαι ἀνθρώπων.

(Charmides)   Μὴ τοίνυν, ἦ δ' ὅς, μηδὲ σὺ ἐναντιοῦ.

(Socrates)   Οὐ τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐναντιώσομαι. (*Charm.* 176c5-d5)

This passage is alluded to by Achilles Tatius in 4.6.3-4 where Menelaus and Cleitophon (but not Leucippe!) discuss what they can do about Charmides' infatuation with her:

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[65] The last mention of Charmides' love for Leucippe occurs at 4.10.3 and is couched in general terms: χαίρουσι γὰρ οἱ ἐρῶντες εἰς τὰ ἐρωτικὰ προστάγματα. This, along with the fact that Cleitophon does not use the general's name, indicates that this facet of the narrative has now been subordinated to the puzzle of Leucippe's madness.

'Εβουλευόμεθα οὖν τί δεῖ πράττειν. "Εδοξε δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπατῆσαι. Τό τε γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον ἦν, μὴ καὶ βίαν προσαγάγῃ, τό δὲ φεύγειν ἀδύνατον...

Cleitophon and Menelaus need to plot something against Charmides, just as Socrates thought Critias and Charmides were plotting against him and as Charmides advises Socrates to. Nor can they oppose Charmides, in case he should use force, just as Socrates (for different reasons) can not oppose Charmides if he is being forceful.

The same side of his character can be seen at *Theages* 128d8-129a1, where Socrates gives examples of the effect his δαιμόνιον (*Thg.* 128d3) has on him. Charmides provides one such instance. He was telling Socrates that he was training for the race at Nemea, when Socrates said to him:

(Socrates) "Λέγοντός σου μεταξὺ γέγονέ μοι ἡ φωνὴ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄσκει."

(Charmides) "'Ίσως," ἔφη, "σημαίνει σοι ὅτι οὐ νικήσω· ἐγὼ δὲ κἂν μὴ μέλλω νικᾶν, γυμνασάμενός γε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὠφεληθήσομαι." (*Thg.* 128e4-8)

This recalcitrance was no doubt intended by Plato to chime in with his reader's knowledge of what at the dramatic date was Charmides' future career.[66] The promising start of Charmides' adult life described by Plato is already tainted by traits which the reader assumes will come to the fore and dominate his later actions. It is also, I would argue, reflected in Achilles Tatius' Charmides refusal to say no when it comes to Leucippe. He simply will not listen to any of Menelaus' excuses. Thus his

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[66] See Xen. *Hell.* 2.19.4, where it is described how Charmides fell in battle with Critias. He had assisted him in the oligarchic revolution of 404, but perished when the democrats returned under Thrasybulus in 403. Achilles Tatius' Charmides dies in battle too (4.14.4).

character at once embodies both the antithesis of the temperance that Plato's Charmides is supposed to possess and the obstinacy observable in Plato's depiction of his Charmides.

One further Platonic passage in which Charmides is mentioned occurs in the *Symposium*. At the end of his speech Alcibiades says that it is not only he who has been mistreated by Socrates, for Charmides, Euthydemus and many others have suffered the same treatment:

οὓς οὗτος (sc. Socrates) ἐξαπατῶν ὡς ἐραστὴς παιδικὰ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς καθίσταται ἀντ' ἐραστοῦ. (*Symp*. 222b3-4)

This is recalled with a twist by Achilles Tatius in the passage quoted above ("Ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπατῆσαι), for whereas Socrates has pretended to be Charmides' lover only in fact to become the object of his affection, Menelaus will pretend on Leucippe's behalf that she is willing to submit to Charmides' desires.

It is worth mentioning the *Axiochus*, a dialogue that may well have been considered spurious in Achilles Tatius' time, for Diogenes Laertius lists it among the Platonic *spuria*: νοθεύονται δὲ τῶν διαλόγων ὁμολογουμένως ... Ἀξίοχος (3.62). At *Ax*. 364a3-5 Socrates says that he saw Cleinias running μετὰ ... Χαρμίδου τοῦ Γλαύκωνος. The author of this dialogue evidently considered it desirable to "authenticate" his work by including characters found in genuine Platonic dialogues, and if Charmides is one of those who are the most obvious candidates, this helps the case that he would be readily remembered by the reader of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*. A reader might also recall that Charmides was a member of the Socratic circle from Xenophon's *Symposium*, where he is an active participant in the dialogues, and also from

Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 3.7, where Socrates tries to persuade Charmides to enter public life. Nothing is owed, however, by Achilles Tatius' Charmides to Xenophon's.

1.5.4 Charmides in Lucian

As mentioned above, Lucian's *DMeretr.* accounts for two other uses of the name Charmides in fiction. At *DMeretr.* 2.4 Pamphilus explains to his lover Myrtion how her slave Doris could have thought he was marrying Philo's daughter. There was a wedding next door to his own house, and Doris had mistaken this for his. Pamphilus recalls the words of his mother:

ἔφη γάρ, Ὦ Πάμφιλε, ὁ μὲν ἡλικιώτης σοι Χαρμίδης τοῦ γείτονος

Ἀρισταινέτου υἱὸς γαμεῖ ἤδη καὶ σωφρονεῖ, σὺ δὲ μέχρι τίνος ἑταίρᾳ σύνει;

The virtuous behaviour of Charmides is contrasted with that of Pamphilus, and his characterisation seems to be based on that of Charmides in Plato's eponymous dialogue, especially at *Charm.* 157d1-8.[67] There Plato's Charmides is said to surpass his contemporaries (ἡλικιωτῶν *Charm.* 157d1) in σωφροσύνη. Lucian's Charmides is a contemporary (ἡλικιώτης) of Pamphilus and he surpasses him in temperance.

The behaviour of Charmides in *DMeretr.* 11, this time one of those taking part in the dialogue, is very different.[68] He has hired the courtesan Tryphaina to make Philemation, with whom he is in love, jealous. When she has discovered the reason for his unwillingness to take full advantage of her services and who it is he is in love with,

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[67] Quoted above, p.64.

[68] It is impossible to tell whether or not this is supposed to be the same Charmides as in *DMeretr.* 2. If he is, then σωφρονεῖ (2.4) either is shown to be untrue by Charmides' behaviour in this dialogue, or, if 11 comes before 2 in terms of dramatic chronology, is given added force by comparison with what he was like before he decided to get married.

Tryphaina tells him that Philemation is 45 years old, mostly bald, greying where she is not bald and suffers from a skin disease. Charmides, who has been hopelessly in love for seven months, immediately goes off Philemation and decides after all to get his money's worth out of Tryphaina.

This Charmides shows very little σωφροσύνη. His fickleness is not paralleled in either Plato or Achilles Tatius, but his falling in love on sight and the strength of his feelings are similar to the situation that the latter's character suffers. At 11.1 Charmides says that: Ἔρως με ἀπόλλυσιν; at 4.6.2 Achilles Tatius' Charmides says to Menelaus: Λευκίππη με ἀπολώλεκε; at 11.2 Charmides says that he has been caught: ἑάλωκα; at 4.3.1. Cleitophon says that Charmides, when he saw Leucippe, εὐθὺς ἑαλώκει. Now these are hardly rare verbs and their repetition in these cases would not be significant in itself were it not for the name of the characters involved. The name Charmides, otherwise relatively rare in the imperial period, links these two passages and establishes a relationship between them and *DMeretr*. 2.4. The exact nature of this relationship is not easy to gauge, for the dating of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* relative to the *DMeretr*. of Lucian is an open question. However, it would seem that all three owe a debt to the Charmides of Plato, whether by using him as a direct model, as in *DMeretr*. 2, or as a foil. That Lucian expected his readers to be familiar with the Charmides of Plato can be inferred from *DMort*. 6.6, where Menippus asks Socrates who those around him are. Socrates replies: Χαρμίδης, ὦ Μένιππε, καὶ Φαῖδρος καὶ ὁ τοῦ Κλεινίου (sc. Alcibiades).[69]

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[69] Macleod (1961), p.187, n.1, compares Luc. *DMar*. 2.2 (καὶ οὐκέτι ὅλως ἐν ἐμαυτοῦ ἦν), where Polyphemus describes the effects of the drugged wine which Odysseus gave him, with Plat. *Charm*. 155d4 (καὶ οὐκέτ' ἐν ἐμαυτοῦ ἦν), where Socrates is captivated by Charmides.

1.5.5 Charmides in Roman Comedy

The *Rudens* and *Trinummus* of Plautus both contain characters with the name Charmides.[70] In the former he is the Sicilian companion of Labrax, both of whom have abducted Palaestra and Ampelisca with the intention of selling them. In the latter he is an Athenian merchant who returns from abroad to find that his son has sold his house and who plays an active part in resolving the situation. Neither character could be argued to be the inspiration for Achilles Tatius' Charmides or for either/Lucian's characters of that name.

1.6 Gorgias

1.6.1 Gorgias in *LGPN*

(not including 2 inc. in II):

	BC						AD					
	vi	v	iv	iii	ii	i	i	ii	ii	iv	v	Total
I	1	1	4	9.5	21	10	5.5	2.5	2.5			**57**
II	1.5	4	7	2.5	10.5	10	4	21	0.5	1		**62**
III.A	1	2	4.5	6.1	4.1	3.6	1.5	1	1			**25**
III.B	2		2	2.3	9.8	6.3	4.5					**27**
Total	**5.5**	**7**	**17.5**	**20.4**	**45.4**	**29.9**	**15.5**	**24.5**	**4**	**1**		**171**

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[70] The Greek originals on which they are based, by Diphilus and Philemon respectively, are not extant. It is possible that the originals contained elements which we do not find in Plautus' plays and which could be traced in Achilles Tatius' Charmides. See, however, 1.12.
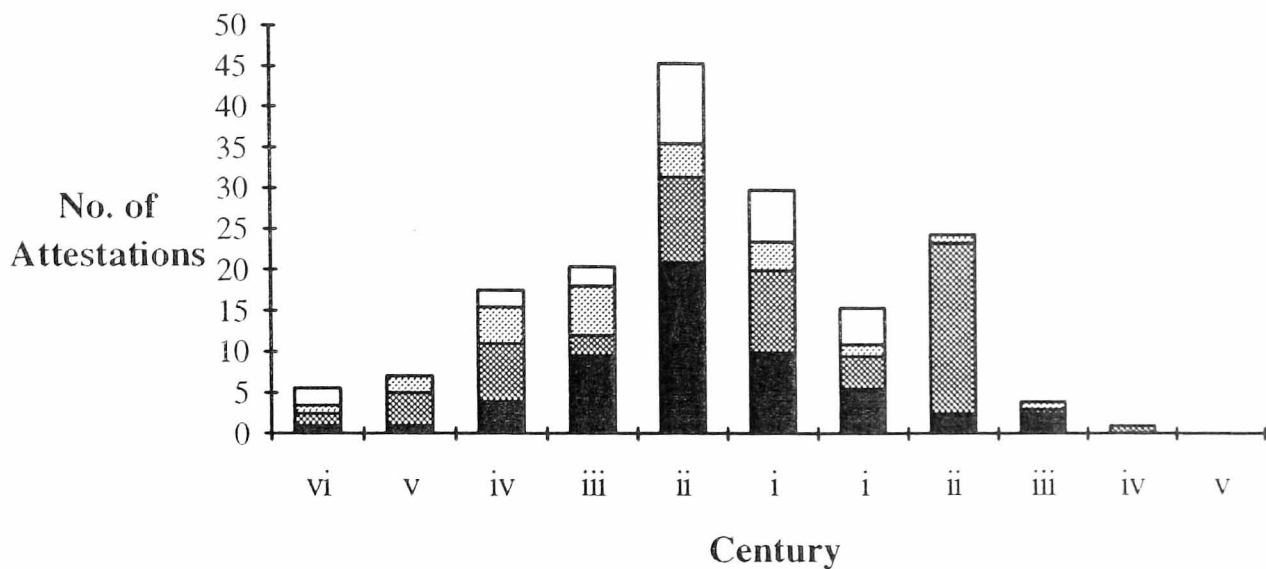
Gorgias is a reasonably common name, and so to claim that a character was given it as an allusion to someone with the same name in the work of one particular author requires strong justification. One of the bearers from the second century AD is fictional and occurs in Lucian *DMeretr.* 8 (for which, see below, 1.6.3). Again, if this use is consonant with that of Achilles Tatius, the case is strengthened. Another instance listed as fictional occurs in Alciphron 3.2. This accounts for the single "fourth" century AD example. Alciphron's letters are set in the fourth century BC, and in calling his Gorgias ᾽Ετεοβουτάδης[71] he is aiming at verisimilitude. This Gorgias is thus out of the reckoning. There are four other fictional uses of the name Gorgias. Three of these occur in Menander and the other is found in a list of characters in P.Antinoop. 15, a fragment of a play which may or may not be by Menander. I shall deal with these earlier fictional instances after considering the relationship between the Gorgias of Achilles Tatius and the Gorgias of Plato, and then that of the Gorgias of Lucian to these.

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[71]According to *LSJ* "a genuine son of Butes, one of the family which supplied the hereditary priests of Athena Polias". Because *LGPN* deem this Gorgias fictional, he is assigned Alciphron's date.

1.6.2 Gorgias in Achilles Tatius and Plato

Gorgias does not actually appear in Achilles Tatius' novel. He is, however, named 8 times, 7 of which occurrences are found in 4.15. That Achilles Tatius used the name Gorgias 7 times within a relatively small amount of text would seem to be a device to draw the reader's attention to it and highlight any allusions this name was intended to evoke. He is first named at 4.15.1 by Leucippe in her sleep. She is still suffering from the madness that came upon her at 4.9.1. Cleitophon and Menelaus look for a Gorgias and meet Chaereas, who tells them that Gorgias was an Egyptian soldier. Gorgias' servant had told him that Gorgias had fallen in love with Leucippe and persuaded Leucippe's and Cleitophon's servant to administer a love-philtre. He mistakenly gave her this undiluted and this is what had caused her madness (4.15.1-4). He then says that Gorgias' servant knows how to cure her, for a fee. This he does (4.15.5-17.4).

Putting into action the root of Leucippe's malady is the only thing in the narrative that Gorgias does, apart from fall in love and be killed. He was a natural φαρμακεύς and:

σκευάζει τι φάρμακον ἔρωτος καὶ πείθει τὸν διακονούμενον ὑμῖν Αἰγύπτιον

λαβεῖν τὸ φάρμακον καὶ ἐγκαταμίξαι τῷ τῆς Λευκίππης ποτῷ. (4.15.4)

Plato's Gorgias persistently sings the praises of rhetoric and the power of persuasion.[72] That this fictional Gorgias was able to persuade the servant to betray his master and mistress can be no coincidence. There is, however, one passage in

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[72] *Gorg.* 452e-57c; 458e-60a. Cf. *Phil.* 58a7-b2 where Protarchus says: Ἤκουον μὲν ἔγωγε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἑκάστοτε Γοργίου πολλάκις ὡς ἡ τοῦ πείθειν πολὺ διαφέροι πασῶν τεχνῶν - πάντα γὰρ ὑφ' αὑτῇ δοῦλα δι' ἑκόντων ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ βίας ποιοῖτο, καὶ μακρῷ ἀρίστη πασῶν εἴη τῶν τεχνῶν ... Cf. also *Gorg. Hel.* 8-14, where Gorgias spends roughly a third of his work describing the power of rhetoric.

particular which Achilles Tatius seems to be drawing from here. Asked by Socrates: τίς ποτε ἡ δύναμίς ἐστιν τῆς ῥητορικῆς (*Gorg*. 456a4-5), Gorgias, as part of his reply, says:

πολλάκις γὰρ ἤδη ἔγωγε μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἰατρῶν

εἰσελθὼν παρά τινα τῶν καμνόντων οὐχὶ ἐθέλοντα ἢ φάρμακον πιεῖν ἢ

τεμεῖν ἢ καῦσαι παρασχεῖν τῷ ἰατρῷ, οὐ δυναμένου τοῦ ἰατροῦ πεῖσαι, ἐγὼ

ἔπεισα, οὐκ ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ ἢ τῇ ῥητορικῇ. (*Gorg*. 456b1-5)

Gorgias boasts of his ability to persuade otherwise unwilling patients to undergo their treatment, including drinking their φάρμακον. Achilles Tatius' character persuaded Leucippe's servant to mix a φάρμακον into Leucippe's drink. Gorgias gets to put the skill of which his namesake is so proud to use in an attempt to satisfy his desire.

Once the connection between the Gorgias of Achilles Tatius and the Gorgias of Plato has been established, other reminiscences come to light. In Plato's eponymous dialogue Gorgias defends his art against the criticism that some abuse it. At the end of his analogy of physical training he draws the conclusion that:

οὔκουν οἱ διδάξαντες πονηροί, οὐδὲ ἡ τέχνη οὔτε αἰτία οὔτε πονηρὰ τούτου

ἕνεκά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ χρώμενοι οἶμαι ὀρθῶς. (*Gorg*. 457a2-4)

He then transfers this back to his own art:

οὐ τὸν διδάξαντα δεῖ μισεῖν τε καὶ ἐκβάλλειν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ἐκεῖνος μὲν

γὰρ ἐπὶ δικαίου χρείᾳ παρέδωκεν, ὁ δ' ἐναντίως χρῆται. τὸν οὖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς

χρώμενον μισεῖν δίκαιον καὶ ἐκβάλλειν καὶ ἀποκτεινύναι ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν

διδάξαντα. (*Gorg*. 457b6-c3)

In Achilles Tatius' novel the servant λανθάνει δὲ ἀκράτῳ χρησάμενος τῷ φαρμάκῳ (4.15.4). The servant has been persuaded and instructed by Gorgias, but he gets it wrong, and Leucippe's madness is the result. It is not always wise to argue for a verbal echo on the basis of one word, especially a common one, but χρησάμενος picks

up, I would maintain, the repeated uses of the verb and its cognates in the speech of Gorgias from which the above extracts are taken.[73] What happens to the servant who failed to carry out his instructions correctly and, albeit unintentionally, used the skill handed over by Gorgias to disastrous effect? He is punished by Cleitophon (4.15.6), just as Gorgias in Plato's dialogue enjoined.

The power of rhetoric, according to Plato's Gorgias, may be greater than that of the other arts, but it should be used like any other ἀγωνία (*Gorg.* 456c8). "Competitive skills" should not be used against just anyone, and if someone:

ἔμαθε πυκτεύειν τε καὶ παγκρατιάζειν καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις μάχεσθαι, ὥστε κρείττων εἶναι καὶ φίλων καὶ ἐχθρῶν, οὐ τούτου ἕνεκα τοὺς φίλους δεῖ τύπτειν οὐδὲ κεντεῖν τε καὶ ἀποκτεινύναι. (*Gorg.* 456d2-5)

Gorgias goes on to explain that if anyone did abuse his skill in this way, it is he who should be punished, and not his trainer (*Gorg.* 456d5-457a4). This analogue finds a place in Achilles Tatius' novel, where Gorgias' φάρμακον takes its effect on Leucippe. Cleitophon and Menelaus are told that she has suddenly fallen down and that her eyes are rolling, so they run to her and find her lying on the ground. Cleitophon goes up to her and asks her what is wrong:

Ἡ δὲ ὡς εἶδέ με, ἀναπηδήσασα παίει με κατὰ τῶν προσώπων, ὕφαιμον βλέπουσα· ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος οἷός τε ἦν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, παίει κἀκεῖνον τῷ σκέλει. (4.9.2.)

Leucippe is not abusing some skill she has learned, but the facts that she does strike out at her friends and that this is indirectly caused by Gorgias point to the passage in Plato. It is true that Gorgias has not been named at this stage in the novel, but the

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[73] Instances other than those quoted in the text above are: χρῆσθαι (456c8); χρῆσθαι (456d1); χρῆσθαι (456e3); χρῶνται (457a1); χρῆσθαι (457b4).

hermeneutic process of discovering what lies behind her madness automatically links this with what we are told later. Her behaviour is striking enough to remain in the memory too.

Two more, less important, connections are discernible. The first is that when Socrates offers Gorgias the option of ending the discussion and Gorgias seems willing to accept (*Gorg.* 458b2-c2), Chaerephon says:

Τοῦ μὲν θορύβου, ὦ Γοργία τε καὶ Σώκρατες, αὐτοὶ ἀκούετε τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν βουλομένων ἀκούειν ἐάν τι λέγητε (*Gorg.* 458c3-5).

At 4.9.3 Θόρυβος οὖν πολὺς περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αἴρεται where Leucippe is having her fit and struggling with Cleitophon and Menelaus. In both cases the results of Gorgias' efforts are described with the same word. The second connection is that at the start of Plato's dialogue Callicles tells Socrates that Gorgias has just given a presentation on conduct in battle: Πολέμου καὶ μάχης φασὶ χρῆναι, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὕτω μεταλαγχάνειν (*Gorg.* 447a1-2), and: πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ καλὰ Γοργίας ἡμῖν ὀλίγον πρότερον ἐπεδείξατο (*Gorg.* 447a5-6). At 4.15.3 Chaereas tells Cleitophon and Menelaus that:

Γοργίας ἦν μέν ... Αἰγύπτιος στρατιώτης· νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἔργον γέγονε τῶν βουκόλων.

Both the presentation of Plato's Gorgias and the death of Achilles Tatius' Gorgias occur offstage, as it were, and the irony derived from the contrast between the two is quite possibly deliberate.

1.6.3 Gorgias in Lucian

DMeretr. 8 consists of a discussion between the courtesans Ampelis and Chrysis, the latter of whom has a lover by the name of Gorgias. The theme is Ampelis' opinion that jealousy is what indicates real love in a man: τὸ δὲ πῦρ ὅλον ἐκ τῆς ζηλοτυπίας

ἐστίν (8.1). This manifests itself in violence: ὥστε εἰ καὶ σέ, ὡς φής, ὁ Γοργίας ῥαπίζει καὶ ζηλοτυπεῖ, χρηστὰ ἔλπιζε καὶ εὔχου ἀεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν (Ibid.). Chrysis is incredulous that Gorgias' violence should be a good sign (Τὰ αὐτά; τί λέγεις; ἀεὶ ῥαπίζειν με; Ibid.), and so Ampelis explains that he would not be jealous and hit her were he not in love. Chrysis still does not seem to appreciate his affections:

(Chrysis)   Καὶ μὴν οὗτός γε μόνον ὀργίζεται καὶ ῥαπίζει, δίδωσι δὲ οὐδέν.

(Ampelis)   Ἀλλὰ δώσει - ζηλοτυπεῖ γάρ - καὶ μάλιστα ἢν λυπῇς αὐτόν.

(Chrysis)   Οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ῥαπίσματα λαμβάνειν βούλει με, ὦ Ἀμπελίδιον. (8.2)

Ampelis then relates one of her own exploits in which she aroused jealousy in the miserly Demophantus by rejecting him for the painter Callides. Eventually this had the desired effect as Demophantus waited for her door to open and then: ἔκλαεν, ἔτυπτεν, ἠπείλει φονεύσειν, περιερρήγνυε τὴν ἐσθῆτα (8.3). This theme of violence towards lovers reminds the reader of the passage from Plato's *Gorgias* quoted above in connection with the violent madness of Leucippe which was brought about by the machinations of a Gorgias. Here it is a Gorgias himself who is the perpetrator of violence towards a lover, and I would suggest that Lucian's theme, coupled with the Platonic passage, suggested the name Gorgias to him for the violent lover.

Another common factor between Plato, Achilles Tatius and Lucian can be found in the final paragraph of the dialogue, where Ampelis describes Demophantus' wife's reaction to his jealousy-inspired infatuation:

ἡ γυνὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἔλεγεν ὡς ὑπὸ φαρμάκων ἐκμήναιμι αὐτόν.
τὸ δὲ ἦν ἄρα ζηλοτυπία τὸ φάρμακον. ὥστε, Χρυσί, καὶ σὺ χρῶ ἐπὶ τὸν
Γοργίαν τῷ αὐτῷ φαρμάκῳ (8.3).

Here it is Gorgias who is to be the victim of τὸ φάρμακον, recalling Gorgias' boast in

Plato's dialogue that he is able to make unwilling patients φάρμακον πιεῖν and

paralleled in Gorgias' use of a φάρμακον in Achilles Tatius' novel. There also seems to

be a direct relationship between Lucian's *DMeretr.* 8 and *Leucippe and Cleitophon*

manifested in two verbal similarities between: ἀκράτῳ χρησάμενος τῷ φαρμάκῳ (*L. &*

C. 4.15.4), and χρῶ ... τῷ αὐτῷ φαρμάκῳ (8.3) on the one hand, and: Διὰ σὲ μαίνομαι,

Γοργία (*L. & C.* 4.15.1), and ὑπὸ φαρμάκων ἐκμήναιμι αὐτόν (8.3) on the other. Which

way the relationship operated, however, it is hard to say, but what does seem possible

to claim with confidence is that both Achilles Tatius and Lucian gave their characters

the name Gorgias as an allusion to the Gorgias of Plato and that they both had in mind

the same speech of Gorgias.

1.6.4 Gorgias in New Comedy

It is necessary to consider also the four fictional instances of the name Gorgias in New

Comedy, even if the above connections are thought persuasive enough not to warrant

the mention of possible objections.

A Gorgias appears in the *Dyscolus*, *Heros* and *Georgos* of Menander and "is a

poor boy who works on the land" in each.[74] He is thus one of the stock Menandrian

characters with the same name. A Gorgias also occurs in the cast list contained in

P.Antinoop 15. In the opinion of Barns and Lloyd-Jones "it is likelier than not that the

piece is his (sc. Menander's)".[75] In that case it would not be surprising if this Gorgias

too were "a poor boy who works on the land". Even if this fragment is not by

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[74] Gomme/Sandbach (1973), p.132.

[75] Barns/Lloyd-Jones (1964). p.31.

Menander, it certainly belongs to New Comedy. It is idle to speculate, but the possibility exists that the Gorgias of another New Comedy playwright might have shared the same job description as Menander's character. At any rate there is nothing to link these characters with the bearers of the name Gorgias in Plato, Achilles Tatius and Lucian. Indeed, "In view of Greek methods of etymology ... one may guess that Gorgias was associated with γεωργός. More scientifically the name should be connected with the adj. γοργός, 'active, strenuous'".[76]

It is possible to find here the reason for the popularity of the name Gorgias in Attica in the second century AD (see 1.6.1).[77] Menander was a native Athenian and set his plays in and around Athens. His plays were also extremely popular in the second century AD. The name of a generally admirable character of a popular local playwright would seem to be an obvious choice for parents. This popularity, however, would not have obscured the allusions to the *Gorgias* of Plato found in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* and *DMeretr*. 8 owing to their explicit nature and the popularity of Plato himself. If I am correct in this suggestion, the very practice of naming children after fictional characters would have made readers aware of the fun that could be had by authors with names found in literary texts. It should also be noted that the historical Gorgias was not without his advocates. Philostratus *Ep.* 73 defends Gorgias against those who criticise him and begins by claiming, interestingly, that Plato emulated the sophists, rather than being envious of them. However, this letter presupposes a weight

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[76] Gomme/Sandbach (1973), p.132. The connection with γοργός can be discerned at Plat. *Symp.* 198c1-5: καὶ γάρ με Γοργίου ὁ λόγος ἀνεμίμνησκεν, ὥστε ἀτεχνῶς τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἐπεπόνθη· ἐφοβούμην μή μοι τελευτῶν ὁ ᾿Αγάθων Γοργίου κεφαλὴν δεινοῦ λέγειν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον πέμψας αὐτόν με λίθον τῇ ἀφωνίᾳ ποιήσειεν.

[77] Although, of course, other reasons are conceivable.

of opinion on the opposing side, as Philostratus explicitly owns: εἰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐνίοις δοκεῖ τοῦτο. The fact that we possess some fragmentary remains of Gorgias' writings might also indicate a readership for him in the second sophistic and thus create a rival for the provenance of his name, but it is from Plato that a reader would have derived an impression of his character and it is to Plato that allusions can be traced in the works of Achilles Tatius and Lucian.

1.7 Chaerephon

1.7.1 Chaerephon in *LGPN*

	BC						AD					
	vi	v	iv	iii	ii	i	i	ii	iii	iv	v	Total
I		0.5	0.5		2	1.5	0.5					5
II		2.5	16	5.5	2							26
III.A												0
III.B												0
Total		3	16.5	5.5	4	1.5	0.5					31
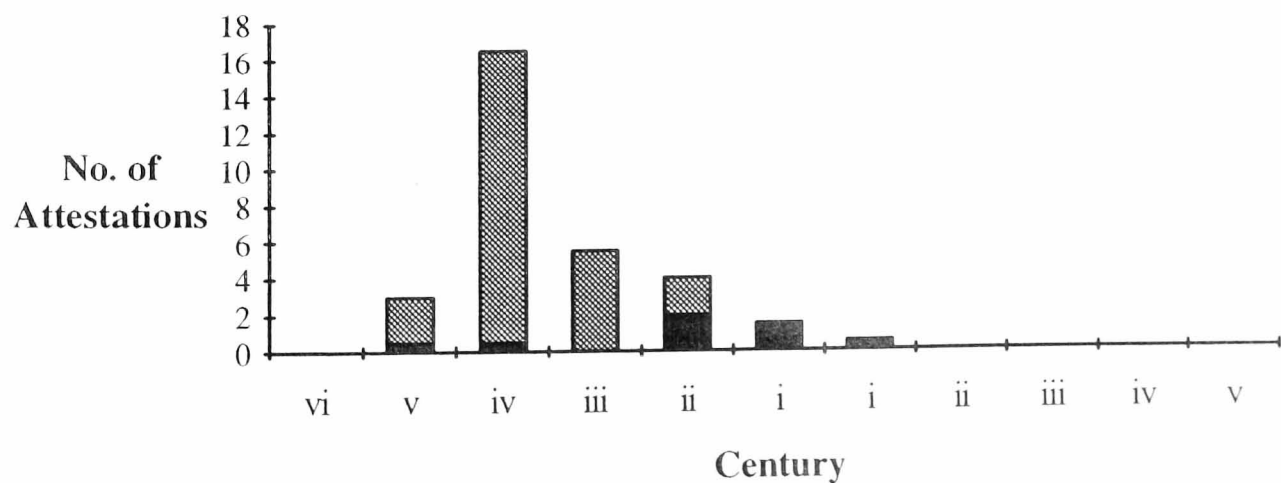
Chaerephon is not a particularly common name. Indeed, over half of the instances date from the same century and are restricted to a geographically limited area. There are no attestations for the time when Achilles Tatius probably wrote. It seems reasonable to infer, therefore, that a second century reader who encountered a fictional character with this non-current name would make a connection with any other literary instances of this name. I first shall deal with the Chaerephon of Plato and the Chaerephon Achilles Tatius and then consider other instances that occur in fiction.

1.7.2 Chaerephon in Achilles Tatius and Plato

In *Leucippe and Cleitophon* Chaerephon makes a cameo appearance from 2.14.6 to 2.15.1. He is mentioned at no other place. He is a συστράτηγος ὢν τοῦ Σωστράτου μείζων (2.14.6) and his sole role is to endorse Sostratus' interpretation of an oracle which was current in Byzantium (2.14.1): Πάντα μὲν τὸν χρησμόν ... ἐξηγήσω καὶ καλῶς (2.14.6). He then goes on to give three examples of the miraculous qualities of water in response to Sostratus' interpretation of the third line of the oracle (ἔνθ' Ἥφαιστος ἔχων χαίρει γλαυκῶπιν 'Αθήνην) as the symbiotic relationship between an olive tree and the fire which blazes among its branches. His digression is utterly inconsequential.[78]

The Chaerephon of Plato is also associated with an oracle:

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[78] Vilborg (1962), pp.51-2, comments: "The author begins here, abruptly and irrelevantly, a description of three curious waters.", and Hägg (1971a), p.108, n.2, has similar sentiments: "Perhaps the digression on water etc. in II, 14,6-10 may be singled out as the most far-fetched one (sc. digression uttered by a character other than Cleitophon)".

καὶ ἴστε δὴ οἷος ἦν Χαιρεφῶν, ὡς σφοδρὸς ἐφ' ὅτι ὁρμήσειεν. καὶ δή ποτε καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐλθὼν ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο μαντεύσασθαι - καὶ, ὅπερ λέγω, μὴ θορυβεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες - ἤρετο γὰρ δὴ εἴ τις ἐμοῦ εἴη σοφώτερος. ἀνεῖλεν οὖν ἡ Πυθία μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι. (Plat. Ap. 21a2-7)[79]

That a second century reader would have ready recall of this fact can be inferred both from Lucian *Hermotimus* 15, where Lycinus asks Hermotimus why he became a Stoic rather than joining any other philosophical school:

ἆρα καὶ σὲ ὥσπερ τὸν Χαιρεφῶντα ὁ Πύθιος ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὰ Στωϊκῶν ἀρίστους ἐξ ἁπάντων προσειπών;

and from Lucian *Rhetorum Praeceptor* 13, where Lucian outlines the response a youth would get from the professor of public speaking who is being satirised:

Μῶν σέ, ὦ ἀγαθέ, ὁ Πύθιος ἔπεμψε πρός με ῥητόρων τὸν ἄριστον προσειπών, ὥσπερ ὅτε Χαιρεφῶν ἤρετο αὐτόν, ἔδειξεν ὅστις ἦν ὁ σοφώτατος ἐν τοῖς τότε;

I would suggest that since both men with the name Chaerephon were associated with oracles, a reader would have formed a connection between the two and realised where the Chaerephon of Achilles Tatius derived his name.

Once a reader had made such a connection, he may have remembered the other snippets of Plato's works in which Chaerephon appears and have compared his character with that of Achilles Tatius' Chaerephon. Chaerephon in Plato is given two,

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[79] Xenophon mentions the same element of Socrates' defence speech: "Ἄγε δὴ ἀκούσατε καὶ ἄλλα, ἵνα ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ βουλόμενοι ὑμῶν ἀπιστῶσι τῷ ἐμὲ τετιμῆσθαι ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. Χαιρεφῶντος γάρ ποτε ἐπερωτῶντος ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ πολλῶν παρόντων ἀνεῖλεν ὁ 'Απόλλων μηδένα εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μήτε ἐλευθεριώτερον μήτε δικαιότερον μήτε σωφρονέστερον. (Xen. Ap. 14)

albeit related, character traits. The first is apparent from two passages in which he is portrayed as impulsive and zealous:

καὶ ἴστε δὴ οἶος ἦν Χαιρεφῶν, ὡς σφοδρὸς ἐφ' ὅτι ὁρμήσειεν. (Plat. *Ap.* 21a2-3)

Χαιρεφῶν δέ, ἅτε καὶ μανικὸς ὤν, ἀναπηδήσας ἐκ μέσων ἔθει πρός με (Plat. *Charm.* 153b2-3).

The second is his willingness to demand other people's time:

(Socrates)   Τούτων μέντοι, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, αἴτιος Χαιρεφῶν ὅδε, ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἀναγκάσας ἡμᾶς διατρῖψαι.

(Chaerephon) Οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ ἰάσομαι. φίλος γάρ μοι Γοργίας, ὥστ' ἐπιδείξεται ἡμῖν, εἰ μὲν δοκεῖ, νῦν, ἐὰν δὲ βούλῃ, εἰς αὖθις. (Plat. *Gorg.* 447a7-b2)

(Chaerephon) ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτῷ μὴ γένοιτο τοσαύτη ἀσχολία, ὥστε τοιούτων λόγων καὶ οὕτω λεγομένων ἀφεμένῳ προὐργιαίτερόν τι γενέσθαι ἄλλο πράττειν. (Plat. *Gorg.* 458c5-7)

In Achilles Tatius these traits are shown in Chaerephon's over-eagerness to discourse on a completely irrelevant topic and in what we can imagine is the ensuing delay of those around him, who are keen to proceed with the necessary sacrifice in Tyre.[80]

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[80] Similar traits can be observed in Xenophon's account of Socrates' attempt to reconcile Chaerecrates with his brother Chaerephon (*Mem.* 2.3). Socrates thinks Chaerephon is more obstinate that his brother: εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει μοι Χαιρεφῶν ἡγεμονικώτερος εἶναι σοῦ πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν ταύτην, ἐκεῖνον ἂν ἐπειρώμην πείθειν πρότερον ἐγχειρεῖν τῷ σὲ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι· νῦν δέ μοι σὺ δοκεῖς ἡγούμενος μᾶλλον ἂν ἐξεργάσασθαι τοῦτο (*Mem.* 2.3.14); is keen: ὠγαθέ, μὴ ὄκνει, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐγχείρει τὸν ἄνδρα καταπραΰνειν.

Indeed, as soon as he has finished speaking, we are told that: Ταῦτα εἰπὼν τὴν θυσίαν

ἐπὶ τὴν Τύρον ἔπεμπε, καὶ τῇ πόλει συνδοκοῦν. (2.15.1)

It is worth noting that Chaerephon appears as an interlocutor in two of the

dialogues, *Gorgias* and *Charmides*, which it is my aim to show Achilles Tatius

expected his readers to know. The only other place he is mentioned is at *Ap.* 21a2-9, a

passage of which Lucian expected the same. Chaerephon also features as Socrates'

sole interlocutor in *Halcyon*, a dialogue listed by Diogenes Laertius among the

Platonic *spuria*: νοθεύονται δὲ τῶν διαλόγων ὁμολογουμένως ... Ἀλκυών (3.62). As in

the case of Charmides, the use of a genuine Platonic name, and of a devoted friend of

Socrates at that,[81] is a device used by the author to authenticate the work.

1.7.3 Chaerephon in Aristophanes

The Chaerephon of Plato is also well known to us from the comedy of Aristophanes,

where he is presented as a dedicated follower of Socrates, which agrees with what we

can gather from Plato and Xenophon. He is most prominent in *Nubes*, although

according to Dover he did not appear in the play.[82] One point of contact between this

play and *Leucippe and Cleitophon* might be seen between:

(Strepsiades)   λέγε νυν ἐμοὶ θαρρῶν· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὑτοσὶ

                  ἥκω μαθητὴς εἰς τὸ φροντιστήριον.

καὶ πάνυ ταχὺ σοι ὑπακούσεται· οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὡς φιλότιμός ἐστι καὶ ἐλευθέριος; (*Mem.* 2.3.16); and will not

be unresponsive: νομίζω γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὰν αἴσθηταί σε προκαλούμενον ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον, πάνυ

φιλονικήσειν ὅπως περιγένηταί σου καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ εὖ ποιῶν. (*Mem.* 2.3.17)

[81] Cf. (in contrast to Alcibiades and Critias) ἀλλὰ Κρίτων τε Σωκράτους ἦν ὁμιλητὴς καὶ Χαιρεφῶν ...

(Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.48).

[82] (1968), pp.xcv-xcvii; pp.266-7.

(Pupil)   λέξω, νομίσαι δὲ ταῦτα χρὴ μυστήρια.

                ἀνήρετ' ἄρτι Χαιρεφῶντα Σωκράτης

                ψύλλαν ὁπόσους ἄλλοιτο τοὺς αὑτῆς πόδας. (Ar. *Nu.* 141-5)

and:

’Εθεασάμην γὰρ ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα μυστήρια. (*L. & C.* 2.14.7)

Chaerephon's use of the word μυστήρια to describe the miraculous nature of water

recalls the μυστήρια (of a suitably comic nature) to which, as a member of Socrates'

school, Aristophanes' Chaerephon was privy. This link strengthens the case outlined

in the previous section, for we are concerned with the same Chaerephon. We can

reasonably claim that Achilles Tatius expected his reader to have some knowledge of

Aristophanes, or at least know of what sort his humour was, from:

Παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ ἱερεύς - ἦν δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀδύνατος, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν

’Αριστοφάνους ἐζηλώκει κωμῳδίαν - ἤρξατο αὐτὸς λέγειν πάνυ ἀστείως

καὶ κωμῳδικῶς εἰ πορνείαν αὐτοῦ (sc. Thersander's) καθαπτόμενος.

(8.9.1)

However, given the correspondences noted in the previous section and Achilles

Tatius' practice with other Platonic names, it seems more likely that Plato's works

were the principal inspiration behind Achilles Tatius' choice of this name.

1.7.4 Chaerephon in Middle and New Comedy

A Chaerephon also appears in later Comedy. He is the butt of jokes in several

fragments of Middle Comedy and in early Menander, most notably at *Sam.* 603-4.[83]

He was evidently a well known parasite. Nevertheless, despite the contemporary

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[83] See Gomme/Sandbach (1973), pp.613-4, for the references.

popularity of Menander, there seems to be no reason to associate Achilles Tatius'
Chaerephon with this one.

1.8 Cleinias

1.8.1 Cleinias in *LGPN*

	BC						AD					
	vi	v	iv	iii	ii	i	i	ii	iii	iv	v	Total
I	2		2.5	5.8	6.8	4.3	0.5			0.5	0.5	23
II	2	9.5	8	2.5	2			3				27
III.A		1	2	2		2						7
III.B			3	4								7
Total	4	10.5	15.5	14.3	8.8	6.3	0.5	3		0.5	0.5	64
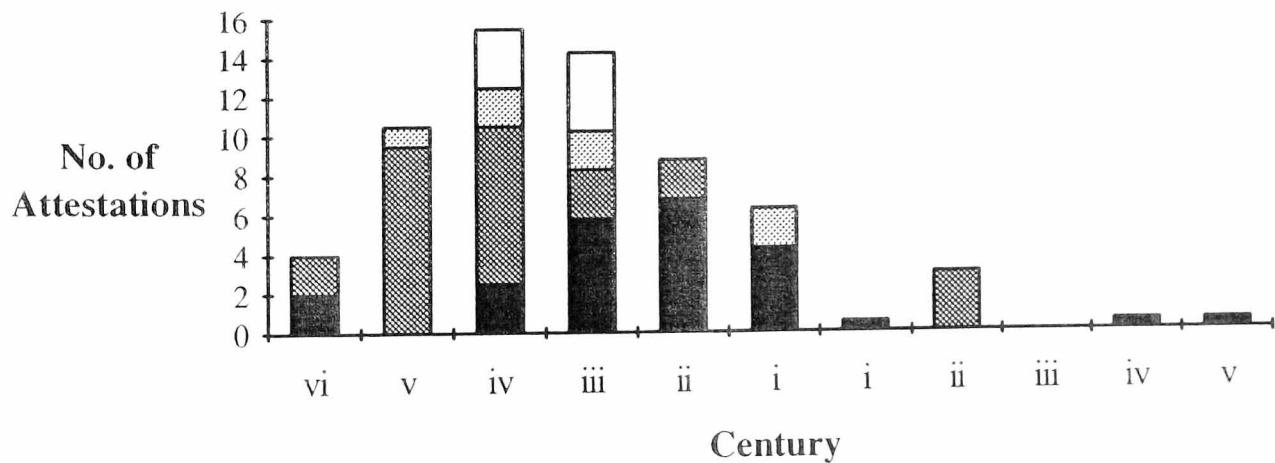
Cleinias is not a rare name, although its frequency decreases considerably in the
imperial period. One of the second century instances is a fictional character from
Lucian's *DMeretr.* 10. There are other fictional instances of the name in New and
Roman Comedy, and the case is complicated by the fact that there are no fewer than

four bearers to be found in the works of Plato. I shall deal first with the latter, comparing them to the Cleinias of Achilles Tatius, and then consider the others.

1.8.2 Cleinias in Achilles Tatius and Plato

Three of those with the name Cleinias are related to Alcibiades. One, his brother, is mentioned twice in *Alcibiades* 1 (104b5-6 and 118e3-5) and once in the *Protagoras* (320a4-b1). All that we can gather about him is that, with his brother, he was left to the guardianship of Pericles and that he was uncontrollable. Another is Alcibiades' father, and he is only mentioned as such (*Alc.* 1 103a1; 104b1; 105d2; 112c4; 113b9; 121a8; 131e2; *Alc.* 2 141b4; *Gorg.* 481d4; *Prot.* 309c10). Neither of these two appears in any of the dialogues, and the lack of information about them rules them out of the reckoning for the main reference point of any potential allusion intended by Achilles Tatius in naming one of his characters Cleinias. The other Cleinias who is related to Alcibiades does make an appearance and is an interlocutor in the *Euthydemus*.[84] We are told that he is:

αὐτανεψιὸς δὲ τοῦ νῦν ὄντος ᾽Αλκιβιάδου· ὄνομα δ᾽ αὐτῷ Κλεινίας. ἔστι δὲ νέος (*Euthd.* 275a10-b2).

This is remarkably similar to the introduction of Cleinias in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*:

Ἦν δέ μοι Κλεινίας ἀνεψιός, ὀρφανὸς καὶ νέος (1.7.1).

The similarity can be completed by the consideration that Alcibiades and his brother Cleinias had lost their father:

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[84] He is also an interlocutor at the beginning of the *Axiochus*, his presence there having the same authenticatory effect as that of Charmides. See above, p.67. This Cleinias is also mentioned at Xen. *Symp.* 4.12-25 as the object of Critobulus' affections.

Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ταναγρᾳ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ

Βοιωτῶν ἀποθανοῦσι, καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ σὸς πατήρ

[Κλεινίας] ἐτελεύτησεν (Alc. 1 112c2-4).[85]

Achilles Tatius has combined facts about two of the men with the name Cleinias found

in Plato in the description of his own. It is, however, with the fourth Cleinias that the

heaviest debt lies.

This Cleinias is the Cretan interlocutor of the *Laws* and *Epinomis*. There are

two passages of the former, one of which far outweighs the other in importance,

which are crucial here. The first, *Lg.* 636b4-d4, hints at the second in its concern for

the regulation of sexual passion and behaviour. The Athenian states that the pleasure

that a male and female feel when they have intercourse with a view to procreation is

natural, whereas homosexual relations are unnatural and crimes of the first rank

through the participants' inability to control their desire for pleasure.

The second passage, *Lg.* 835b5-842a10, elaborates on this. It is worthwhile

giving a brief schema:

1. 835d-37a   -   How should erotic passions be controlled to save the state from

trouble? Nature says heterosexual relations are good, homosexual

ones bad. Crete and Sparta would disagree. Another argument is that

laws should encourage virtue. Homosexual relations do not.

2. 837a-e   -   There are three types of love. The third, that which aims to make

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[85] Cf. Περικλέα τὸν Ξανθίππου, ὃν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπίτροπον κατέλιπε σοί τε καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ (Alc. 1 104b4-6,

Socrates to Alcibiades); τοῦ σοῦ ἐπιτρόπου Περικλέους (Alc.1 118c1-2, Socrates to Alcibiades); Alc. 1

118d10-e5, where Socrates asks Alcibiades whom Pericles has made wise and, after Pericles' own

sons, wonders about Cleinias; Ὁ ἐπίτροπος ὁ ἐμὸς βελτίων ἐστὶ καὶ σοφώτερος ἢ Περικλῆς ὁ σός (Alc. 1

124c5-6, Socrates to Alcibiades); Κλεινίαν ... ἐπιτροπεύων ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ Περικλῆς (Prot. 320a4-5).

young men perfect, should be kept, the others outlawed. Megillus agrees. The Athenian leaves off trying to persuade Cleinias.

3. 838a-39d - There is a simple, but difficult, way of putting this law into effect = public opinion founded on religious sanction.

4. 839e-40c - Great athletes abstained from sex. Young people in the state should do the same in the pursuit of the noblest victory, that over pleasure.

5. 840d-e - A law should be enacted that citizens' standards should not be lower than those of the animals, who live chastely and faithfully. If citizens are corrupted by seeing others' behaviour, a second law is needed.

6. 841a-c - Shame would lead to less frequent indulgence and a decrease in desire. Privacy, not complete abstinence, should be regarded as a normal decency.

7. 841d-e - One of the following laws should be imposed: 1. Of respectable citizen women, sex is only allowed with one's wife; no sex with courtesans or men; 2. No sex with men; sex with hired women must take place without the knowledge of anyone else.

8. 842a - Megillus agrees enthusiastically. Cleinias reserves judgement for later.

This passage is taken from an extremely long text, and the argument that a reader of Achilles Tatius would have had it in mind for the purposes of comparing the two characters named Cleinias requires some sort of proof that it was particularly well known, or was one of the most famous passages of this dialogue. In fact we do seem to get some such indication from the fact that both Alcinous at *Didascalicus* 33.3 and Apuleius at *de Platone et eius Dogmate* 2.14.239-40 used what is section 2. in the

above schema as the basis for their descriptions of the three different forms of love.[86]

Lucian also refers humorously to this passage in the second book of his *Verae Historiae*, where he describes the sexual practices of those on the Isle of the Blest:

περὶ δὲ συνουσίας καὶ ἀφροδισίων οὕτω φρονοῦσιν· μίσγονται μὲν ἀναφανδὸν πάντων ὁρώντων καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄρρεσι, καὶ οὐδαμῶς τοῦτο αὐτοῖς αἰσχρὸν δοκεῖ (Luc. *VH* 2.19).

This is the opposite of what the Athenian demands in three respects. Firstly, that sex should be conducted in private (*Lg.* 841b2-5; 841d5-e4); secondly, that homosexuality is unnatural and should be banned (*Lg.* 636c1-7; 836b8-c6; 840d2-e2; 841c8-e4); and thirdly, that shame should be a controlling factor (*Lg.* 841a8-b2). The probability that Lucian is referring to Plato is increased by the consideration that the only exception to this behaviour is Socrates, who claims that his relations with young men are pure, despite Hyacinthus and Narcissus protesting to the contrary:

μόνος δὲ Σωκράτης διώμνυτο ἦ μὴν καθαρῶς πλησιάζειν τοῖς νέοις· καὶ μέντοι πάντες αὐτοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν κατεγίνωσκον· πολλάκις γοῦν ὁ μὲν Ὑάκινθος ἢ ὁ Νάρκισσος ὡμολόγουν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἠρνεῖτο. (Ibid.)

Lucian proceeds to make an obvious joke which maintains the Platonic atmosphere:

αἱ δὲ γυναῖκές εἰσι πᾶσι κοιναὶ καὶ οὐδεὶς φθονεῖ τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα Πλατωνικώτατοι· καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ παρέχουσι τοῖς βουλομένοις οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγοντες. (Ibid.)[87]

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[86] Dillon (1993), p.201: "A's (sc. Alcinous') discussion of *erōs* here seems to be influenced by that of Plato in *Laws* 8.837a-d, though without direct verbal echoes". For the authorship of the latter, see Harrison (2000), ch.5.

[87] Cf. Alciphron 4.7.5, mentioned above, p.56, and cf. I.2.2, p.15.

Plutarch even quotes *Lg.* 839b4: πολλοῦ σπέρματος μεστός, with a change of word order, at *Amatorius* 751e: σπέρματος πολλοῦ μεστός, in a work which is abundant with Platonic elements[88] and shortly after having explicitly mentioned Plato: κατὰ Πλάτωνα (*Amat.* 751d).

There are two hints, found in sections 2. and 8. in the above schema, that Plato's Cleinias is not entirely enthusiastic about the Athenian's opinions and recommendations on sexual relations. The first occurs after the Athenian has asked the leading question which makes implicit his approval of retaining the third type of love which: τὸν μὲν ἀρετῆς ὄντα καὶ τὸν νέον ἐπιθυμοῦντα ὡς ἄριστον γίγνεσθαι (*Lg.* 837d4-5). Megillus readily agrees with him, but the Athenian seems to sense that Cleinias is not going to be so easily persuaded: Κλεινίᾳ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰς αὖθις περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων πειράσομαι ἐπᾴδων πείθειν (*Lg.* 837e5-6). The second comes after the Athenian has laid down his two laws on the subject, and Megillus has again voiced his approval:

(Megillus) ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλεινίας αὐτὸς φραζέτω τί ποτε περὶ αὐτῶν διανοεῖται.

(Cleinias) Ἔσται ταῦτα, ὦ Μέγιλλε, ὁπόταν γε δή μοι δόξῃ τις παραπεπτωκέναι καιρός· νῦν μὴν ἐῶμεν τὸν ξένον ἔτι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προϊέναι τῶν νόμων. (*Lg.* 842a5-9)

Achilles Tatius seems to have drawn on Cleinias' tacit disagreement with the Athenian's opinions and proposals in the portrayal of his own Cleinias, who represents this disagreement in his words and actions.

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[88] See Trapp (1990), pp.157-61.

As soon as Cleinias has been introduced in Achilles Tatius' novel we learn that

he is homosexual, μειρακίου δὲ ὁ ἔρως ἦν (1.7.1),[89] and that Cleitophon: "Εσκωπτον οὖν

αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τῆς ἀμεριμνίας, ὅτι σχολάζει φιλεῖν καὶ δοῦλός ἐστιν ἐρωτικῆς ἡδονῆς (1.7.2).

Charicles, his beloved, enters with bad news, and Cleinias asks: Τίνι δεῖ μάχεσθαι; to

which the reply is: Γάμον (1.7.4.). Cleinias' reaction to the news is vehement:

'Επιπαρώξυνεν οὖν τὸ μειράκιον ἀποθέσθαι τὸν γάμον, τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν γένος λοιδορῶν

(1.8.1). He likens wedding preparations to the sending off of someone to war,

adduces several mythical *exempla* to demonstrate the wickedness of women and then

bemoans the fact that marriage μαραίνει τὴν ἀκμήν (1.8.9). So far Achilles Tatius

seems to be making Cleinias an advocate of exactly the opposite of what the Athenian

expounded in the *Laws* passage. He is homosexual, not heterosexual. He is a slave to

erotic pleasure, not one of those Τῆς τῶν ἡδονῶν νίκης ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας (*Lg.* 840c5).

He abominates the institution of marriage which is the cornerstone of the Athenian's

sexual code, and is a lover of one of the kinds that the Athenian wishes to ban, the

lover that looks to bodily gratification.

His opposition to the Athenian's views is demonstrated in the contrast

between their respective uses of mythical *exempla* and by the fact that they both use

the stage as the source from which people know these *exempla*. The Athenian claims

that the reason there is an almost universal lack of desire to have sexual relations with

attractive relatives is that from an early age people encounter in both comedies and

tragedies the opinion that such relations are bad:

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[89] Cleinias in Plato's *Euthydemus* is a μειράκιον. See below, 1.8.3, p.96.

ὅταν ἢ Θυέστας ἤ τινας Οἰδίποδας εἰσάγωσιν, ἢ Μακαρέας τινὰς ἀδελφαῖς

μειχθέντας λαθραίως, ὀφθέντας δὲ ἑτοίμως θάνατον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθέντας

δίκην τῆς ἁμαρτίας (*Lg.* 838c5-7).

Achilles Tatius' Cleinias introduces the list of *exempla* by which he shows the

perfidity of women by saying to Charicles:

'Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἰδιώτης ἦσθα μουσικῆς, ἠγνόεις ἂν τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν

δράματα· νῦν δὲ κἂν ἄλλοις λέγοις, ὅσων ἐνέπλησαν μύθων γυναῖκες τὴν

σκηνήν (1.8.4).

Cleinias uses his *exempla* to argue against associating with women at all, whereas the

Athenian wants to proscribe any other sort of relations. And the humour is enhanced

by the fact that Cleitophon is supposed to be marrying Calligone, his half-sister

(1.3.2), and the only reason that he is not attracted to her any more is that he has

recently clapped eyes on Leucippe, the novel's heroine (ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μοι δίδωσι

θυγατέρα, καλὴν μέν, ὦ θεοί, πρὶν Λευκίππην ἰδεῖν· νῦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς

τυφλώττω καὶ πρὸς Λευκίππην μόνην τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχω. 1.11.2).[90]

Charicles then goes off on what is to be a fateful horse-ride, giving Cleitophon

the opportunity to tell Cleinias of his love for Leucippe and how desperate he is

(1.8.11-9.2). Cleinias, on the other hand, tells him how lucky he is, because he is with

his beloved all the time: Σὺ δὲ καὶ βλέπεις ἀεὶ καὶ ἀκούεις ἀεὶ καὶ συνδειπνεῖς καὶ

συμπίνεις (1.9.3).[91] This is in contrast with the situation that lead the Athenian to

describe his views on sexual relations, where he was worried by: νέους τε καὶ νέας

ὁμιλοῦντας φιλοφρόνως ἀλλήλοις (*Lg.* 835d5), and wondered how the state would be

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[90] Cleitophon outlines his dilemma in this regard at 1.11.

[91] Cf. Μέγιστον γάρ ἐστιν ἐφόδιον εἰς πειθὼ συνεχὴς πρὸς ἐρωμένην ὁμιλία. Ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ φιλίας πρόξενος

καὶ τὸ σύνηθες τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς χάριν ἀνυσιμώτερον. (1.9.5)

able to regulate relations when: θυσίαι δὲ καὶ ἑορταὶ καὶ χοροὶ πᾶσιν μέλουσιν διὰ βίου (*Lg.* 835e1-2). Cleinias next says, with a suitable admixture of Phaedran reminiscence,[92] that: ἐρωμένη βλεπομένη ... μείζονα τῶν ἔργων ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν (1.9.4), although given the nature of his relationship with Charicles, the reader might assume this not to be what Cleinias actually thinks, but a rather lame *consolatio*. At any rate, he quickly moves on to what Cleitophon wants to hear about and says: Ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἔσεσθαι ταχὺ μαντεύομαι (1.9.5). The reader realises that we are going to hear advice which flatly contradicts the first, and ideal, law thatthe Athenian proposes on this subject: μηδένα τολμᾶν μηδενὸς ἅπτεσθαι τῶν γενναίων ἅμα καὶ ἐλευθέρων πλὴν γαμετῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός (*Lg.* 841d1-3). Indeed, Cleinias uses an analogy from the animal kingdom: Εἰ γὰρ τὰ ἄγρια τῶν θηρίων συνηθείᾳ τιθασσεύεται, πολὺ μᾶλλον ταύτῃ μαλαχθείη καὶ γυνή (1.9.6), a form of comparison that the Athenian employs at *Lg.* 836c3-6 and 840d2-e2 to argue for his case by the criterion of what is natural.

After Cleitophon asks how he is to win his beloved, Cleinias first tells him that: Μηδέν ... πρὸς ταῦτα ζήτει παρ' ἄλλου μαθεῖν (1.10.1), before giving him some detailed advice anyway. The advice he gives is a perversion of the argument that we find at *Lg.* 841a8-b2:

εἴη δ' ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ ἀναίδεια μὴ ἐνείη τῇ τῶν ἀφροδισίων χρήσει· σπανίῳ γὰρ αὖ τῷ τοιούτῳ δι' αἰσχύνην χρώμενοι, ἀσθενεστέραν ἂν αὐτὴν δέσποιναν κτῷντο ὀλιγάκις χρώμενοι.

For Cleinias makes a big play of shame and what it signifies. He advises Cleitophon to say μηδὲν ... ἀφροδίσιον (1.10.2):

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[92] See 4.1, *passim*, and pp.203-8 on Cleinias' advice.

Παῖς γὰρ καὶ παρθένος ὅμοιοι μέν εἰσιν εἰς αἰδῶ· πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης χάριν κἂν γνώμης ἔχωσιν, ἃ πάσχουσιν ἀκούειν οὐ θέλουσι· τὴν γὰρ αἰσχύνην κεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασι. (1.10.3)

To which he adds, rather cheekily: Γυναῖκας μὲν γὰρ εὐφραίνει καὶ τὰ ῥήματα (Ibid.). If a man αἰτήσῃς τὸ ἔργον (1.10.4), she will think she is being insulted and κἂν ὑποσχέσθαι θέλῃ τὴν χάριν, αἰσχύνεται (Ibid.). The final mention of shame in this speech makes the point explicit:

Κἂν μὲν προσῇ τις συνθήκη τῆς πράξεως, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἑκοῦσαι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐρχόμεναι θέλουσι βιάζεσθαι δοκεῖν, ἵνα τῇ δόξῃ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀποτρέπωνται τῆς αἰσχύνης τὸ ἑκούσιον. (1.10.6)

The Athenian wanted to use shame to lessen indulgence in sexual pleasures and thereby lessen the desire for them, whereas Achilles Tatius' Cleinias claims that shame, although impeding courtship of a more blatant nature, does not have the effect that the Athenian wanted. On the contrary, far from lessening the desire for sex, it merely leads to a game of manners in which the woman has to pretend to be coerced lest she be shamefully charged with compliance.

Cleinias' homosexuality is again emphasised at 2.35.2-3, where Cleitophon, with his customary tact, begins his attempt to cheer up the grieving Cleinias and Menelaus by initiating a λόγον ἐρωτικῆς ἐχόμενον ψυχαγωγίας (2.35.1):

Ὡς παρὰ πολὺ κρατεῖ μου Κλεινίας· ἐβούλετο γὰρ λέγειν κατὰ γυναικῶν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει. Ῥᾷον δὲ ἂν εἴποι νῦν ἤτοι, ὡς κοινωνὸν ἔρωτος εὑρών. Οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ πῶς ἐπιχωριάζει νῦν ὁ εἰς τοὺς ἄρρενας ἔρως.

It is in fact Menelaus who discusses the matter with Cleitophon of which make better lovers, women or boys. In trying to prove that there are two sorts of beauty, one οὐράνιον and one πάνδημον, Menelaus adduces the mythical exemplum of the abduction of Ganymede by Zeus as an instance of the former with a quotation of Homer Iliad

20.234-5 (2.36.2-4). Cleitophon rebuts this with *exempla* that show Zeus actually

descending to earth for the sake of beautiful women: Ἡράσθη μειρακίου Φρυγός,

ἀνήγαγεν εἰς οὐρανοὺς τὸν Φρύγα· τὸ δὲ κάλλος τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτὸν τὸν Δία κατήγαγεν

ἐξ οὐρανοῦ (2.37.2). The same *exemplum* can be found in the first passage of the *Laws*

mentioned above:

> πάντες δὲ δὴ Κρητῶν τὸν περὶ Γανυμήδη μῦθον κατηγοροῦμεν ὡς
> λογοποιησάντων τούτων· ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Διὸς αὐτοῖς οἱ νόμοι πεπιστευμένοι
> ἦσαν γεγονέναι, τοῦτον τὸν μῦθον προστεθηκέναι κατὰ τοῦ Διός, ἵνα
> ἑπόμενοι δὴ τῷ θεῷ καρπῶνται καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἡδονήν. (*Lg.* 636c7-d4)

The claim that the Cretans invented the myth just so that they cold enjoy the pleasure

that its imitation entails makes Menelaus' argument rather specious, and such a debate

in itself draws on a tradition in which the *Laws* passages are key.[93]

1.8.3 Cleinias in Lucian

A Cleinias is the subject of the conversation that forms Lucian's *DMeretr.* 10.[94] He is

a young man who has stopped coming to see his courtesan Drosis because of the

injunction of his philosophical tutor Aristaenetus.[95] He is named after the Cleinias who

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[93] See Goldhill (1995), pp.52-6.

[94] Described by Goldhill (1995), p.98, who, as with Euthydemus in Alciphron 4.7, does not note whether the name Cleinias is significant.

[95] It is not clear to which philosophical school this Aristaenetus belongs; he is accustomed to walk in the Porch (ὃς εἴωθε μετὰ τῶν μειρακίων περιπατεῖν ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ 10.1), and this is where Drosis sent Nebris to look for Cleinias (ἔπεμψα τὴν Νεβρίδα περισκεψομένην αὐτὸν ἢ ἐν ἀγορᾷ διατρίβοντα ἢ ἐν Ποικίλῃ 10.2), but when she had spotted them, they went off to the Academy (εἶτ' ἐβάδιζον ἅμα ἐς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν Ibid.). I doubt whether it matters whether he is supposed to be a Stoic or a Platonist/Academic, but if he is a Stoic, this would not militate against any Platonic allusions. For

was Alcibiades' cousin and who is the interlocutor in the *Euthydemus*, a fact which can be discerned in the following points of reference. They are the same age: τὸ μειράκιον ὁ Κλεινίας (10.1),[96] and τὸ 'Αξιόχου μειράκιον ἦν (*Euthd.* 271b1).[97] When Drosis' friend, whom she had sent to find out what is going on, nodded to Cleinias, he blushed and did not look up: ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐρυθριάσαντα κάτω ὁρᾶν καὶ μηκέτι παρενεγκεῖν τὸν ὀφθαλμόν (10.2).[98] When Euthydemus asks Cleinias which are the men who learn, the wise or the ignorant, Cleinias: ἠρυθρίασέν τε καὶ ἀπορήσας ἐνέβλεψεν εἰς ἐμέ (sc. Socrates) (*Euthd.* 275d6). Cleinias has been forced to leave Drosis: ὁ πατὴρ γάρ 'Αρισταινέτῳ παρέδωκέ με φιλοσοφεῖν (10.3), and because Aristaenetus said that: πολὺ γὰρ ἄμεινον εἶναι τὴν ἀρετὴν προτιμᾶν τῆς ἡδονῆς (Ibid.).[99] Socrates wants Euthydemus and Dionysodorus to demonstrate their new power and: τουτονὶ τὸν νεανίσκον πείσατον

Lucian seems to have been particularly fond of baiting the Stoics (see his *Hermotimus* and Jones (1986), p.28: "the Stoics are perhaps Lucian's favorite butt"), and a dialogue of Plato would have been as good as anything with which to beat one over the head. The father of Charmides in *DMeretr.* 2.4 is called Aristaenetus, but there is no indication as to whether he is the same man.

[96] Cf. ὃς εἴωθε μετὰ τῶν μειρακίων περιπατεῖν (10.1, on Aristaenetus); ὁ μειρακίσκος (10.2); τὸ μειράκιον (10.3); ὅλος περὶ τὸ μειράκιόν ἐστιν (10.4, on Aristaenetus).

[97] Cleinias is referred to as a μειράκιον at *Euthd.* 273b6; 275a8; 275b5; 275d5; 275e6; 276a1; 276b4; 276c2; 276d5; 277b5; 277d3; 278d2; 282e2; 285b6; 290e1; 293a3. Crito's elder son Critobulus is also described as a μειράκιον, at 307a2. The *Euthydemus* accounts for 18 of the 41 uses of the single of μειράκιον, and of the 66 total uses, in the entire Platonic corpus.

[98] Cf. ὅλως οὐδὲ προσβλέπειν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστιν ὅτι μὴ ἐκείνῳ (sc. Aristaenetus) (10.3, from Cleinias' letter).

[99] Cf. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ Κρίτων, ἐν νῷ ἔχω τοῖν ἀνδροῖν παραδοῦναι ἐμαυτόν (*Euthd.* 272b1-3).

ὡς χρὴ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι (*Euthd.* 275a5-6).[100] Chelidonium, Drosis'

friend and interlocutor, decides to write on the wall in the Ceramicus where Cleinias'

father often walks: Ἀρισταίνετος διαφθείρει Κλεινίαν (10.4). As part of his request to

Euthydemus and Dionysodorus Socrates says of Cleinias that: φοβούμεθα δὴ περὶ

αὐτῷ, οἷον εἰκὸς περὶ νέῳ, μή τις φθῇ ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἐπιτήδευμα τρέψας αὐτοῦ τὴν

διάνοιαν καὶ διαφθείρῃ (*Euthd.* 275b2-4). Chelidonium's scheme also alludes, of

course, to one of the charges brought against Socrates in his trial: ἔχει δέ πως ὧδε·

Σωκράτη φησὶν ἀδικεῖν τούς τε νέους διαφθείροντα καὶ θεοὺς οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει οὐ

νομίζοντα, ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινά (Plat. *Ap.* 24b8-c1).[101]

Lucian even seems to be alluding to the character of Socrates, or at least how

he liked to portray it,[102] in his Aristaenetus, by having Dromo describe him to Drosis

as a pederast who keeps company with the handsomest youths (συνεῖναι τοῖς

ὡραιοτάτοις τῶν νέων 10.4) on the pretext of teaching. Cleinias, in whose company

Socrates finds himself, is described by Crito as: προφερὴς καὶ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὴν ὄψιν

(*Euthd.* 271b4-5).[103] Aristaenetus also makes promises to Cleinias: ἰδίᾳ λογοποιεῖσθαι

πρὸς τὸν Κλεινίαν ὑποσχέσεις τινὰς ὑπισχνούμενον ὡς ἰσόθεον ἀποφανεῖ αὐτόν (10.4). This

is a reference to the way the beloved of Socrates' great speech in the *Phaedrus* is

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[100] Cf. τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιδείξατον προτρέποντε τὸ μειράκιον ὅπως χρὴ σοφίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς

ἐπιμεληθῆναι (*Euthd.* 278d1-3); ἐπεσκόπουν τίνα ποτὲ τρόπον ἄψοιντο τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὁπόθεν ἄρξοιντο

παρακελευόμενοι τῷ νεανίσκῳ σοφίαν τε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν. (*Euthd.* 283a2-4)

[101] As Goldhill (1995), p.98, points out.

[102] Cf. *DMort.* 6.6 and *Verae Historiae* 2.17-19. Cf. also what Theomnestus thinks of Platonic love at

Ps.-Luc. *Am.* 53-4.

[103] Cf. Socrates' reply to an answer of Cleinias which Crito does not believe was spoken by him: Εἶεν

... ὦ κάλλιστε καὶ σοφώτατε Κλεινία (*Euthd.* 290c7).

treated by the lover once the latter has gained mastery over the bad horse of his soul: ἅτε οὖν πᾶσαν θεραπείαν ὡς ἰσόθεος θεραπευόμενος (Plat. *Phdr.* 255a1-2). This is confirmed by what Dromo said next: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκει μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐρωτικούς τινας λόγους τῶν παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς (10.4). Lucian here all but explicitly refers to Plato, just in case the reader had not realised his game. One final possible correspondence, and one which brings the argument back from more general Platonic allusions to the specific case of the *Euthydemus*, is the way in which Aristaenetus is twice characterised by Drosis: Ἐκεῖνόν φημι τὸν ἀλαζόνα (10.1), and: συστράτευε μόνον, ὦ Χελιδόνιον, κατὰ τοῦ ἀλαζόνος Ἀρισταινέτου (10.4). As argued earlier,[104] Socrates seems to be making a similar accusation, albeit subtly, against Euthydemus and Dionysodorus at *Euthd.* 283c8: ἔστιν (sc. Cleinias) δέ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὐκ ἀλαζών.

That Lucian named his characters Gorgias and Charmides as allusions to the Platonic characters of the same names was seen to help by corroboration the argument that Achilles Tatius had drawn inspiration from the same source, whatever the relationship between the two writers of fiction. This does not mean that the case outlined above with regard to *Cleinias* in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is significantly weakened, for there is only one Gorgias and one Charmides in the Platonic corpus, whereas there are four characters with the name Cleinias. Thus the odds are lengthened that the two authors would be alluding to the same one. Both the Cleinias who was Alcibiades' cousin and the Cleinias of the *Laws* play prominent roles, and it is largely to one each that Lucian and Achilles Tatius can be seen to refer, although

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[104] Pp.53.

the latter does seem to borrow something from Plato's description of Alcibiades' cousin too.

1.8.4 Cleinias in New Comedy

A Cleinias appears in both the *Misoumenos* and *Theophoroumenos* of Menander. However, as was the case with the Chaerephon of Middle and New Comedy, there is nothing in what fragmentary remains of these plays we possess to link these characters with the Cleinias of Achilles Tatius or the Cleinias of Lucian.

1.8.5 Cleinias in Roman Comedy

There is a Cleinias in Terence's *Heautontimoroumenos*. He has been Cleitophon's friend since childhood.[105] They become involved in an intrigue involving their respective girlfriends and fathers. There is also a celebration of Dionysus Day to which Chremes, Cleitophon's father, invites Menedemus, Cleinias' father.[106] There would be little to support an argument that Achilles Tatius' Cleinias was descended from the play of Menander on which Terence's *Heautontimoroumenos* is based,[107] except for the connection between Cleinias and Cleitophon in both. However, given the Platonic case outlined above, the possibility of the involvement of New Comedy does not rule out an allusion to Plato.[108]

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[105] Cf. *L. & C.* 1.7.1.

[106] Cf. *L. & C.* 2.2-3.

[107] Assuming, that is, that Terence retained the names of the Greek original.

[108] See 1.12 for more on this.

1.9 Cleitophon

1.9.1 Cleitophon in *LGPN*

(not including 1 inc. in I):

	BC						AD					
	vi	v	iv	iii	ii	i	i	ii	iii	iv	v	Total
I			5	5	0.5	1.5						12
II	1	5	6	2.5	2.5	3						20
III.A				1								1
III.B		0.5	0.5									1
Total	1	5.5	11.5	8.5	3	4.5						34
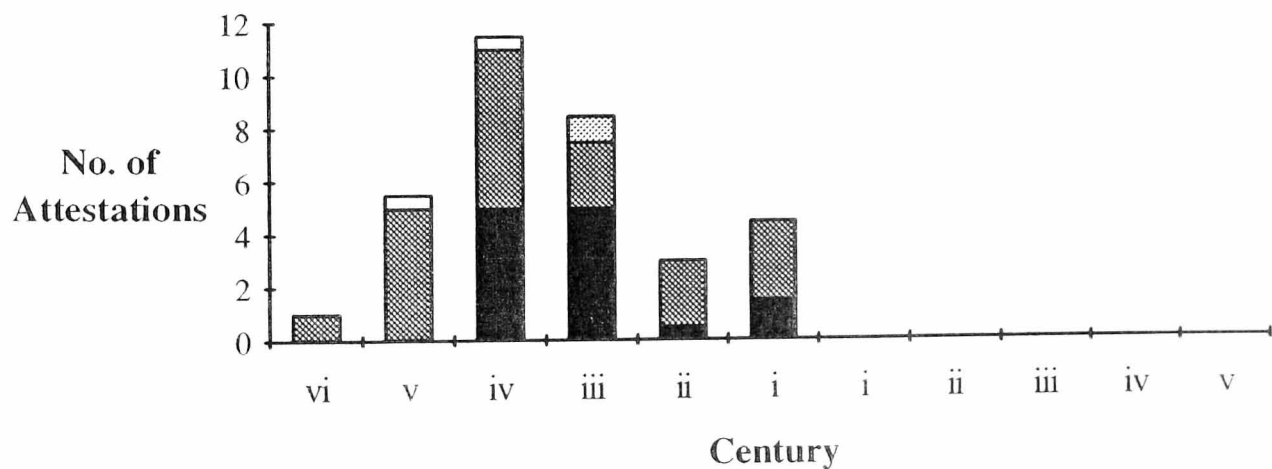
The case of the name Cleitophon is similar to that of Chaerephon in that it is not particularly common and there are no attestations for the time in which Achilles Tatius probably wrote. Indeed, there are no recorded instances in our era. A reader may well have realised this and have been on the look-out for some significance in the choice of the name.

1.9.2 Cleitophon in Achilles Tatius and Plato

The use of the name Cleitophon is part of a wider argument which I shall pursue in Chapter 2. See 2.10 in particular.

### 1.9.3 Cleitophon in Roman Comedy

See above, 1.8.5.

1.10 Hippias

1.10.1 Hippias in *LGPN*

(not including 1 hell.-imp. in III.A):

	BC						AD					
	vi	v	iv	iii	ii	i	i	ii	iii	iv	v	Total
I	1	1	5	6.3	12.3	4.3	8	1	2			**41**
II	1	0.5	3.5	2	3							**10**
III.A	1	4	6	10	2	5	0.3	0.3	0.3			**29**
III.B	1		7.5	16	7.5	2						**34**
Total	**4**	**5.5**	**22**	**34.3**	**24.8**	**11.3**	**8.3**	**1.3**	**2.3**			**114**
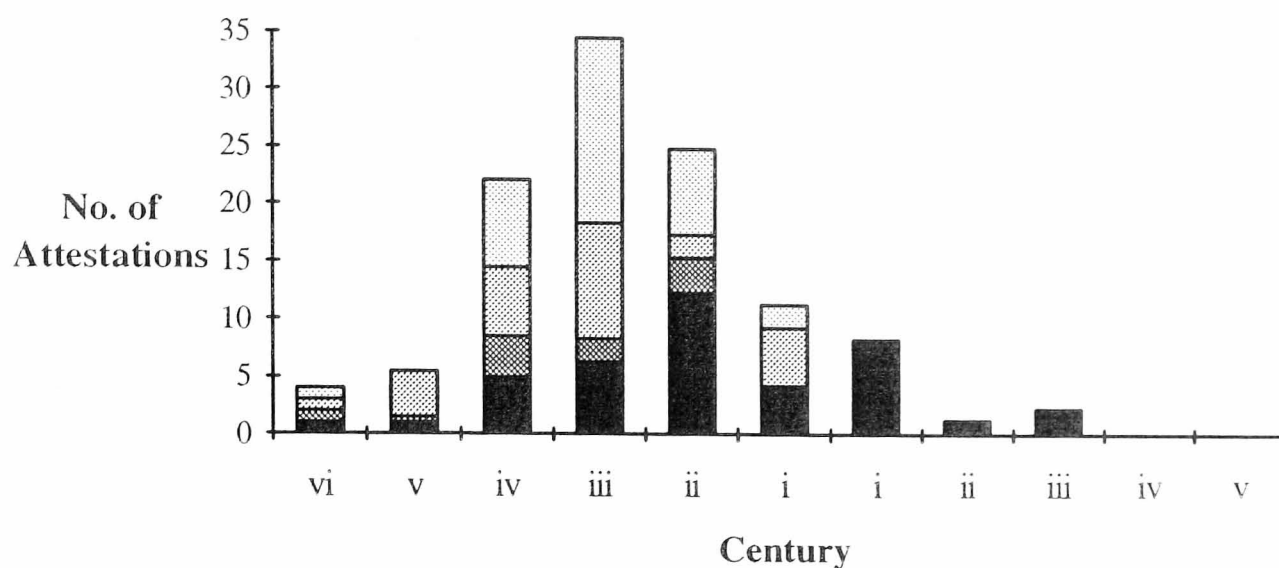
Hippias is a common name, although, like Cleinias, its popularity does dwindle considerably in the imperial period. There are no other fictional instances of this name in Greek literature, at least in that covered by the volumes of *LGPN* so far published.

1.10.2 Hippias in Achilles Tatius and Plato

Hippias is fairly prominent in the first two books of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*. He is the hero's father and so is involved in the domestic affairs that take place in the first quarter of the novel. There is, however, not a great deal to link him with the Hippias of Plato, other than two subsequent points.

At 5.9-10 Cleinias tells Cleitophon, whom he has just found in Alexandria, what happened to him after the shipwreck at the beginning of book three. In 5.10 we learn that he had been rescued from death by the crew of a ship fortuitously bound for Sidon. Two days after Cleinias had returned to Tyre, Hippias came back from Palestine to find a letter from Leucippe's father, which had arrived the day after the couple's elopement, betrothing her to Cleitophon. Hippias is understandably distressed at the turn of events:

'Εν ποικίλαις οὖν ἦν συμφοραῖς ἀναγνοὺς τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν

ἀκούσας φυγήν, τὸ μὲν ὡς τὸ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀπολέσας ἆθλον, τὸ δέ ὅτι

παρὰ μικρὸν οὕτως ἡ Τύχη τὰ πράγματα ἔθηκε (5.10.4).

Quite what the prize is on which he has missed out is not clear. Gaselee comments:

> Not very clear; was Leucippe herself the prize? And if so, could Hippias
>
> be said to have lost her? Or is the reference to the dowry, which would
>
> thus come from the family of Sostratus to that of Hippias?[109]

Vilborg prefers the former option: "The prize is probably Leucippe herself; Hippias

had lost her for his family".[110]

The answer to this puzzle, minor though it be, can be found in Plato's *Hippias*

Major. After a typically Socratic discussion concerning the nature of τὸ καλόν,

Hippias gets rather frustrated with κνήσματά ... καὶ περιτμήματα τῶν λόγων (*Hp.Ma.*

304a5) and advances a description of what he thinks is καλὸν καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον

(*Hp.Ma.* 304a7):

> οἷόν τ' εἶναι εὖ καὶ καλῶς λόγον καταστησάμενον ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἢ ἐν
>
> βουλευτηρίῳ ἢ ἐπὶ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀρχῇ, πρὸς ἣν ἂν ὁ λόγος ᾖ, πείσαντα
>
> οἴχεσθαι φέροντα οὐ τὰ σμικρότατα ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἄθλων,
>
> σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ χρημάτων καὶ φίλων. (*Hp.Ma.* 304a7-
>
> b3)

Although the theme of speaking is absent in Achilles Tatius, the safety of his

possessions and his loved ones, in the form of the dowry and Leucippe, is precisely

what his Hippias has lost. It might well be that Achilles Tatius left the nature of the

prize ambiguous in order to cover both options. At any rate this seems to be a

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[109] Gaselee (1969), p.257, n.3.

[110] (1962), p.97.

humorous allusion on the part of the novelist, and the word ἆθλον, which Gaselee found so tricky, can therefore be explained as an echo of this Platonic passage.

The second link between the Hippias of Plato and the Hippias of Achilles Tatius is to be found near the end of the novel. Sostratus is telling the hero and heroine what happened to Cleitophon's sister Calligone and reports what Callisthenes said to her, after he had abducted her and fallen in love with her, (2.13-18):

Καί σοι προῖκα ἐπιδίδωμι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐμαυτόν, ἔπειτα ὅσην οὐκ ἂν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπέδωκέ σοι. (8.17.3)

The implication here is either that Callisthenes is so in love that he will be more generous than Calligone's father, Hippias, will ever be, or that he has more money than Hippias. This would have reminded the reader of the first part of the *Hippias Major* of Plato, with its emphasis, earnest on the part of Hippias, ironic from Socrates' point of view, on money. Hippias is proud of his money-making, and two quotations from his speech at *Hp.Ma.* 282d6-e8 will suffice:

Οὐδὲν γάρ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οἶσθα τῶν καλῶν περὶ τοῦτο (sc. ἀργύριον). εἰ γὰρ εἰδείης ὅσον ἀργύριον εἴργασμαι ἐγώ, θαυμάσαις ἂν (*Hp.Ma.* 282d6-7).

καὶ σχεδόν τι οἶμαι ἐμὲ πλείω χρήματα εἰργάσθαι ἢ ἄλλους σύνδυο οὕστινας βούλει τῶν σοφιστῶν. (*Hp.Ma.* 282e6-8)

On either of the two interpretations of Callisthenes' above statement, it seems to be another humorous allusion to the *Hippias Major*. If Hippias is to be imagined as poorer than he, then we have a contrast with what Plato tells us about Hippias the sophist. If Hippias is to be thought of as generous, by comparison with which

Callisthenes will be romantically extravagant, then he would seem to be the opposite of the greedy sophist Hippias.

Even if these two links are accepted, it may be argued that they are not sufficient to prove that Achilles Tatius named his character after the Hippias known best from Plato. I would argue, however, that Achilles Tatius' practice in using other Platonic names suggests that he did have Plato's Hippias in mind when naming Cleitophon's father. This case is also perhaps helped by the fact that Cleitophon, Gorgias, Charmides, Philebus, Hipparchus and Euthydemus all gave their names to dialogues, and so may have been even more memorable for this reason. There are two dialogues which take Hippias' name. We should not expect every aspect of Hippias' activities and personality to accord, or have some point of contact, with Plato's Hippias. Charmides is a good example of a character whose name clearly derives from his Platonic namesake, but whose part in the plot is larger than the episode in which his literary ancestry is revealed. It is true that the correspondences between *Leucippe and Cleitophon* and the eponymous Platonic dialogue are less marked in the case of Hippias than in the case of Charmides, but this is not decisive. Achilles Tatius frequently indulges in a game with the reader which involves the latter trying to interpret why the author has included what he has and how it relates to the rest of the work.[111] Just so here Achilles Tatius uses the name Hippias with the expectation that his reader would be on the look out for allusions to Plato, alerted to this possibility by the use of other Platonic names. That this search is initially frustrated in the first two

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[111] One thinks primarily of dreams and paintings, some of which are closely connected with the action, some of which seem to be red herrings introduced by the author as part of his game. See Goldhill (1995), pp.91-4, and in particular Bartsch (1989).

books and satisfied in Hippias' later appearances in books 5 and 8, and then only partially, makes the game more interesting.

1.11 Other Names that Occur in both Achilles Tatius and Plato

1.11.1 Nicostratus

The name Nicostratus makes one appearance in both Plato and Achilles Tatius. In the former he is mentioned by Socrates at Plat. *Ap.* 33e4 as the brother of Theodotus and as one who could therefore testify against him as a corrupter of young men. He does not do so. In Achilles Tatius' novel the name is also used in the context of court proceedings. Cleitophon and Leucippe are on trial, and after the priest's speech against Thersander their advocate is about to speak on their behalf:

Μέλλοντος δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς Μελίτης ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀδόξου μὲν ῥήτορος, ὄντος δὲ ⟨τῆς⟩ βουλῆς, λέγειν (8.10.1).

He is prevented from speaking by the interjection of Sopater, Thersander's advocate, who addresses the first advocate as: ὦ βέλτιστε Νικόστρατε (Ibid.). There are thus certain similarities between the two. However, it seems unlikely that an allusion is being made here to a figure who appears nowhere else in Plato and who is merely part of a list where he does. It is improbable that Achilles Tatius would have named him with this passage in mind, let alone that he might have expected his reader to recognise the reference. This is borne out by the popularity of the name: a colossal total of 471 attestations in *LGPN*.

1.11.2 Satyrus

The name Satyrus occurs once in Plato, at *Prot.* 310c3, as the name of Hippocrates' runaway slave: ὁ γάρ τοι παῖς με ὁ Σάτυρος ἀπέδρα. Satyrus in *Leucippe and*

Cleitophon, on the other hand, is one of the central characters. He is also a runaway slave, for, after the bungled seduction of Leucippe by Cleitophon, to which he was party as his trusty servant, he considers with his master what they should do:

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐσκοποῦμεν, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενόμενοι, τι ποιητέον εἴη, καὶ ἐδόκει κράτιστον εἶναι φεύγειν (2.25.3).

The elopement covers the next few chapters until they are on board a ship and sail off in 2.32. Thus, again, a similarity can be observed, but in this case too I doubt that any reference is intended. For the Platonic passage is relatively insignificant, and Satyrus is also a very popular name: a total of 390 attestations in *LGPN*.

1.11.3 Theophilus

The name Theophilus occurs twice in Plato, at *Crat.* 394e4 and 397b5. In the first instance it is a name unsuitable for: τῷ ἐκ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἄρα γενομένῳ ἀσεβεῖ (394e1), and in the second it is an example of a name given in the hope that it will prove appropriate. In *Leucippe and Cleitophon* Theophilus is mentioned by Cleinias at 5.10.1 as one of the Sidonians on board the ship that rescued him. He asked him not tell any Tyrian that he might meet how he had survived the shipwreck, lest it be discovered that he had run away with Cleitophon. There is, therefore, nothing to link these two bearers of this name, which is, in any case, very common with a total of 349 attestations in *LGPN*.

1.11.4 Zeno

Zeno in Plato is the Eleatic philosopher. He is mentioned at *Alc.* 1 119a4-5 as the man by association with whom Pythodorus and Callias became wise; at *Soph.* 216a3 in conjunction with Parmenides as the men around whom a crowd gathers, one member

of which Theodorus is bringing to see Socrates; and he figures largest in the *Parmenides*. In Achilles Tatius' novel Zeno is first mentioned, although not yet named, at 2.16.2 as Callisthenes' trusty servant to whom he gives the job of abducting Calligone, whom he mistakenly thinks is Leucippe. This he does successfully, and his role is finished by the end of 2.18. There seems to be nothing to link the characters, and Zeno is a common name in its own right: a total of 315 attestations in *LGPN*.

1.12 Conclusion

One ready objection to the argument that Achilles Tatius named several of his characters after some of those found in Plato is that Comedy might be thought a more obvious source. Indeed, the names Chaerephon, Charmides, Cleinias, Cleitophon and Gorgias are all found in Comedy of one description or another, and Achilles Tatius also has a Chaereas and a Sostratus, both of which names are familiar from Comedy.[112] Chariton, for example, has a Plangon, Longus a Gnathon and Heliodorus a Cnemon.[113] There are also motifs from New Comedy to be found among all the novels, including tokens of recognition and various character types.[114] The case for Comedy being the source of the names in question is also reinforced by the fact that we have relatively little to go on. The amount of Menander's work, for instance, which we do not possess and which may have been available to a second century

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[112] The latter is a young man in Menander's *Dis. Ex.* and *Dysc.* The former appears in Men. *Asp.*, *Dysc.*, *Con.* and *Fab. Inc.*

[113] On Cnemon see Bowie (1995), pp.272-3.

[114] See Billault (1996), pp.117-8. Bowie (1995), pp.270-2, briefly illustrates the relationship between the novels and New Comedy. On the relationship between *Daphnis and Chloe* and New Comedy see Hunter (1983), and pp.67-72 in particular.

reader, is considerable. It may have contained countless other characters with the names shared by Platonic characters and even more of the other names which we find in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*. On the other hand, stock characters with stock names do recur in what little we have, and it would be reasonable to suppose that they might also have appeared in what is lost. This might have eliminated a few candidates. Conversely, if there were dozens of characters who were all very different with the same name, the reader's task might have been insurmountable.

In reply to this objection, the point must be emphasised that what Comedy we have allows little help for the argument that it is the origin of the names. It is true that we may be missing vital pieces of evidence, but even this is not an indefeasible objection, if the cases outlined above for the Platonic predecessors are persuasive, or at least more persuasive than the cases that could be made for their rivals from Comedy. In fact only the Cleinias and Cleitophon in Terence's *Heautontimoroumenos* bear any similarity to Achilles Tatius' characters. However, it would not be wise to rule out of hand such resemblances in case the reverse procedure was carried out on the arguments of this chapter.

A more reasonable approach would be to see the coincidence of the names from Plato and from Comedy as deliberate. Although the amount of extant Comedy makes this speculation, Achilles Tatius may have chosen names that occurred in both Plato and Comedy in order to exploit the potential for allusions to the two. His use of more than one Cleinias from Plato shows the possibility of more than one source for a character, and the relationship between Cleinias and Cleitophon in the original on which Terence's *Heautontimoroumenos* is based might be blended with the Platonic sources. This need not have been the case for each of the names, for Achilles Tatius

could have been playing a game with his reader, giving him a name with a multiplicity of potential sources. One name, such as Cleinias, might allude to several namesakes, another, such as Charmides, might have utilised only one.[115]

None of this should be seen as diluting the arguments for Platonic influences made in this chapter. Just because a Platonic influence does not discount other influences, so other influences should not negate the amount of Plato present. We have, as far as we can tell, all of Plato's work,[116] and only a fraction of Comedy, but a good Platonic case would merely be embellished by some use of Comedy. Also the cumulative effect should not be ignored. If there was only one name in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* which also occurred in Plato, but it and several others occurred in Comedy, the fact that the argument for an allusion to Plato was stronger in this case than for an allusion to Comedy would still necessitate caution. As it stands, however, there are six[117] names in Leucippe and Cleitophon which can be argued to descend from Plato, and their bearers have no, or far less, resemblance to their namesakes in Comedy. In favour of the case for Comedy outlined as an objection at the outset of this conclusion it was pointed out that New Comedy found echoes in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*. But this same point can be made for Plato with, I hope, more force. Platonic references abound in Achilles Tatius' novel and these would put the reader on guard for Platonic reasons for certain names, and *vice versa*.

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[115] Lost instances notwithstanding. It is also ironic that the name whose Platonic case is perhaps weakest, Hippias, does not, as far as we know, occur in Comedy.

[116] Even more than that, we have some works which were probably or certainly not by Plato at all.

[117] Including Cleitophon, the reason for whose name will be covered in the next chapter. The total reaches seven when Leucippe is added, but that argument is more involved. See ch.3.

It should also be noted that seven out of the thirteen names dealt with in this and the next two chapters (Cleitophon, Charmides, Euthydemus, Gorgias, Hippias, Hipparchus, and Philebus) are also dialogue titles. This may have made them more recognisable, and they reflect the central character (in the case of Euthydemus, one of the two central characters) of the eponymous dialogue, or the character whose views are being assessed. The only exception is Hipparchus, for he neither appears in the dialogue, nor do his views form the true focus of it. It is therefore noteworthy that the use of his name in Ps.-Lucian's *Onos* is the only case in which the subject of the eponymous dialogue is alluded to rather than the character, words or actions of the Platonic namesake. The remaining six names are: Socrates, which is the best known Platonic name; Adeimantus, who plays a large part in a long and well known dialogue; Zopyrus, whose case is questionable owing to the popularity of the name and the brief nature of his mention in Plato; Chaerephon, who was a devoted follower of Socrates, known to Lucian's audience for his trip to the Delphic oracle and who features in Aristophanes; Cleinias, which name is borne by four Platonic characters; and Leucippe, whose case depends on a particularly famous passage of arguably Plato's most popular dialogue. Other than Zopyrus, therefore, none of the thirteen names would have been obscure to a second sophistic reader.

In this chapter I have aimed to demonstrate that Achilles Tatius named a significant proportion of his characters with their Platonic namesakes in mind, and that this practice was pursued by other roughly contemporaneous authors. If the arguments are accepted, it should already be clear that the amount of Platonic allusion in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is extensive, and that Achilles Tatius enabled his reader to play a complicated and involved game, drawing on a wide range of Platonic

dialogues. The question of Platonic sources for names will recur in the next two chapters. It will play one part in dealing with a particular question in Chapter 2. and will return in a more sophisticated form to be the focus of Chapter 3.

Chapter 2.

The Beginning/End Discrepancy in *Leucippe and*

Cleitophon

2.1 The Problems

With the critical rehabilitation of the Greek novel it has become normal to consider what were previously regarded as faults in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* as virtues, or at least as intentional effects.[1] However, in the words of Most, "one notorious weakness has so far resisted redescription: the awkward discrepancy between the romance's beginning and its ending."[2] This discrepancy has elicited a variety of opinion, a variety which highlights the perplexing nature of this problem.[3] There are in fact four questions involved here:

1. Why is the initial frame, involving the conversation between the anonymous author and Cleitophon, not resumed at the end of Cleitophon's narration?

2. Why is Cleitophon to be found in Sidon at the beginning, when he has left himself in Tyre at the end of his narration?[4]

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[1] See, in particular, Anderson (1982), ch.3, and Most (1989), p.114.

[2] Most (1989), p.114.

[3] Those who have made comments on this topic include: Vilborg (1962); Scholes/Kellogg (1966); Gaselee (1969); Hägg (1971a); Hunter (1983); Bartsch (1989); Most (1989); Winkler (1989); Reardon (1994a); Goldhill (1995); Fusillo (1997); and Anderson (1997).

[4] Σιδών ... 'Ενταῦθα ἥκων (1.1.1-2), as opposed to: Καὶ διεγνώκαμεν ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ παραχειμάσαντες ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον (8.19.3). The first two problems are summed up by Gaselee (1969), p.455:

3. Why is Cleitophon unhappy in the initial conversation, when his narration has the obligatory happy ending?[5]

4. Where is Leucippe?

I shall outline the various reactions to these questions, their positive points and their deficiencies, and then propose my own solution. This will build on the more modern opinion that Achilles Tatius was a writer of some sophistication and examine his purposes in leaving these discrepancies in his novel. The overall problem is intimately bound up with the narrative structure of the work, and I shall suggest that Achilles Tatius used the Platonic model of an initial dialogue with an open-ended frame and that there is wealth of Platonic allusion in the initial dialogue, including the name Cleitophon, which signals this relationship.

2.2 Solution 1.

The first method of solving this puzzle has been to accuse Achilles Tatius of incompetence. He simply forgot how he had started his novel and failed to finish it appropriately. This is mentioned as a possibility by Vilborg and Anderson and seems

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"Our author seems to have forgotten that the story began by being Clitophon's narration to himself. The narration took place at Sidon, and there should have been a few words to round up the book to explain how it came about that Clitophon found himself at Sidon, and for the author to thank him for his interesting narration."

[5] That Cleitophon is not as happy as he ought to be is suggested by what he says at 1.2.1: "Ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἂν εἰδείην," ἔφη, "τοσαύτας ὕβρεις ἐξ ἔρωτος παθών."

to be suggested by Scholes/Kellogg .[6] This solution answers Question 1., and can be extended to Questions 2., 3. and 4., for if the author was forgetful enough to finish his novel, he surely would have been capable of forgetting where his hero was at the beginning, what emotional state he was in and of failing to include Leucippe at the start.

However, if this seems a little far-fetched as an explanation, it becomes ludicrous when it is considered that overall Achilles Tatius takes a good deal of care over the structure of his work. It is true that there are some discrepancies in the novel,[7] but these are positively minor compared with what the author is being accused of here. Reardon deals with the question of Achilles Tatius' ego-narrative, its uses and its inherent difficulties,[8] and points out things that Cleitophon could not have known

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[6] (1962), p.140; (1997), p.2284; and (1966), p.245 respectively. The last comment, bluntly, "By the end of the story the author has forgotten that he began with his third-person narrator viewing a picture."

[7] There are two examples of any note cited by Gaselee. The first, τοῦ πολέμου γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, στρατηγὸς ἦν οὗτος (2.14.2), is a mistake, since all we know of Sostratus so far is contained in 1.3.1, where no mention is made that he is a general. The second, Καὶ γάρ, ὡς ἔφην ἐν ἀρχῇ τῷ λόγῳ, ἐν Τύρῳ ποτὲ ἐγεγόνει περὶ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλείων ἑορτήν (7.14.2), could be thought an inconsistency, for Sostratus did not take part in the sacred embassy to Tyre: he was fighting in Byzantium at the time, as we learn from Panthia's lament over her daughter's supposed loss of virtue: Οἴμοι, Σώστρατε· σὺ μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ πολεμεῖς (2.24.2). Hägg (1971a), pp.203-4, on the other hand, argues that "it is more natural to regard this reference ... as being directed to the previous history of the romance". The remaining inconsistency, that Cleitophon did not say any such thing towards the beginning of his story, is thus more minor.

[8] (1994a), using Hägg (1971a).

or have come to know.[9] Achilles Tatius is forced, whether consciously or subconsciously, to extricate himself from the straight-jacket of his chosen mode of narration. "The longer his story goes on, the more complex it becomes, and the less strictly can he observe his own narratorial convention".[10] However, it is not that Achilles Tatius is slapdash, for "he tries very hard to clear up loose ends where he can".[11] And, as Most points out,[12] Achilles Tatius is generally careful to ensure that Cleitophon is able to account in retrospect for things that he could not have been aware of when they were taking place. The most notable example of this is the way in which Cleitophon explains how he knew about Callisthenes' story a staggering six books after it was narrated.[13] This is the point to bear in mind, that Achilles Tatius felt constricted by the form of narration he had chosen right up until the end of his novel. At this point, according to Solution 1., he forgot what he was doing. Solution 1., then, is unsatisfactory, especially given the fact that most scholars now recognise that Achilles Tatius was a writer of some skill and sophistication and had a clear idea of what a first person narrative entailed.

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[9] Ibid., p.85.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] (1989), p.115-116.

[13] "Αρχεται δὴ λέγειν, ἃ φθάνω προειρηκὼς ἅπαντα ... (8.17.2), which refers to what he had narrated at 2.13-18. The other example given by Most is 'Ο δὲ ἐπὶ βασάνους ἑαυτὸν ἀγόμενον ἰδὼν, πάντα σαφῶς λέγει ... (8.15.1), where Sosthenes' confession is supposed to provide Cleitophon with knowledge of events beyond that which he could be expected to know.

2.3 Solution 2.

The second solution is to assume that the text is incomplete. This is mentioned as a possibility by Vilborg and Anderson.[14] This would answer Question 1., and would seem to be a way of answering Questions 2., 3. and 4. Until, that is, one asks, as Most does,[15] what form could the missing ending have taken? How exactly could Achilles Tatius have invented a conversation which would have had Cleitophon in the wrong place, in the wrong mood and without Leucippe and not have ruined the end of the novel? He could not.

2.4 Solution 3.

This solution claims that Achilles Tatius left his novel open deliberately: the end of the novel as we have it is how he intended his readers to have it. This reformulates Question 1. as:

1. a) Why would Achilles Tatius have wished to leave his novel open, that is, not resume the initial frame?

This is a question that needs to be answered if Solutions 1. and 2. are rejected. There are four answers which can be addressed immediately. The first of these seems to be the most prevalent of all the solutions, with the notable exception of Most:

a) The responses of Vilborg and Hägg convey this answer:

> the author may have found that it would disturb the narrative to take up
>
> the frame story again. (This) possibility seems most probable; as a

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[14] (1962), p.140, and (1997), p.2284, respectively.

[15] (1989), p.117.

matter of fact, the ordinary reader hardly feels that something is amiss here.[16]

(Achilles Tatius) never had a real "frame-story" in mind at all. He has made use of an epic situation only to get the story going ... Having served this purpose, it is simply dropped and it is questionable whether the ordinary reader ever misses its resumption after 175 pages of first-person narrative.[17]

There is an underlying underestimation of "the ordinary reader" in both of these answers, as if he were incapable of noticing what they themselves had noticed. It is an attempt to answer a question which they have raised, and which has been raised frequently, by claiming that there is no real question. It might be argued, however, that a reader of a papyrus roll/papyrus rolls would be less likely to remember the beginning of the novel (by virtue of having to unroll the text completely, or at least the first roll, to find it) and so would not realise that the frame is left open. If we are prepared to allow this, and I would not be, Solution 3. might, by extension, be able to deal with Questions 2., 3. and 4., for if the reader did not notice the absence of a frame-resumption, he might have forgotten what that frame contained. Questions 2., 3. and 4. would thus not occur to him. This would surely be to assume an unwarranted degree of incompetence in the reader, whom Achilles Tatius himself pays

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[16] (1962), p.140.

[17] (1971b), pp.125-6. Reardon, (1994a), p.94, n.15, after dismissing Solution 2., seems to propose a similar answer: "More probably he thought that a logically satisfactory closure would be pedantic and would detract from the ending of the real story, thus creating worse problems than it solved."

the compliment of being capable of remembering what 8.17.2 referred to. This extension would also require a level of ineptitude, or at least inconsistency, on the part of the author, which was not permitted in the discussion of Solution 1.

b) Another answer to Question 1. a) might be found by extending what Hunter has to say when discussing the prologue of Longus:

> In the stratagem of both Longus and Achilles Tatius Perry[18] sees a device for avoiding having to tell a lengthy and serious fictitious narrative in the first person, which would breach the literary propriety which charged the author with responsibility for the truth of what he asserted.[19]

Thus Achilles Tatius/the narrator can disclaim any authority for what Cleitophon says.[20] The author felt no need to complete the frame, as the desired effect had already been achieved. But this still leaves Questions 2., 3. and 4. unanswered. Two more answers fail in exactly the same regard. The first **c)** is that the frame is some sort of *Beglaubigungsapparat*, and the second **d)** is that the narrator's interest in Cleitophon's story is a device to draw in the reader.[21] These last three answers may, of course, contain some truth - Achilles Tatius may be disclaiming authority, making

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[18] (1967), p.110-11.

[19] (1983), p.39.

[20] Hunter (1983), pp.39-40, fits in with this: "Achilles was perhaps also influenced by the humorous (not to say scandalous) nature of the tale which he has to tell."

[21] So Hunter, ibid., p.39: "we should bear in mind ... the fact that this device calls the reader's attention to the interest and amusement of the story which is to follow, i.e. the interest taken by 'the author' in the narrator's story invites the reader's interest in it."

his story believable or drawing in the reader - but they do not solve the central problems addressed here.

2.5 Solution 4.

As a response to the shortcomings of the above solutions, Most proposes Solution 4. He argues that:

> in virtually every such case (sc. "of smaller first-person narratives embedded within a larger third-person context" in a "Greek erotic romance") the first-person narrative is a lament for the misfortunes the narrator has suffered in the past and is still suffering at the time of his narration.[22]

Most then concludes that Achilles Tatius must have been constrained by the same rule that a stranger's tale must be one of woe. He then, in section II,[23] argues that this is a feature of archaic and classical literature and concludes that someone, specifically a stranger, with a tale to tell had to respect the sensibilities of the listener and put himself at his mercy, as it were, by intimating that he is not as fortunate as that listener.

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[22] (1989), p.118. Two possible exceptions are Xen. Eph. 5.1.2-3 and Long. 2.3.1.ff. Both of these are dismissed by Most, pp.119-120, on the grounds that the narrator is sufficiently familiar with the narratees for his tale of non-woe not to grate. The idea that the degree of familiarity is central to the question is thus introduced without due emphasis.

[23] Ibid., pp.120-27.

This solution answers Questions 1. and 3., but seems not to deal with Questions 2. and 4. Most raises Question 4.,[24] but does not answer it directly. Its solution might, however, be accounted for in the way in which he tackles Question 2. Most argues that:

> Achilles Tatius may even have been trying to conceal the contradiction
>
> by precisely *not* returning to the framing situation of the temple of
>
> Astarte at Sidon with which he had begun.[25]

And, by implication, the absence of Leucippe performs the same function. Questions 2. and 4., then, can be subordinated to the other two Questions. The problem with suggesting that Achilles Tatius added two discrepancies in order to conceal the contradiction between Cleitophon's respective emotional states is that the contradiction is only highlighted the more. However, there are other serious problems with this solution.

The first weighty objection to Most's theory is that there is a ready exception in the text of Dio Chrysostom's 7th Oration, the first half of which is not too dissimilar from the novels themselves.[26] Dio relates how he was shipwrecked on Euboea and met a hunter. He tells him where the deer he has been hunting is. The hunter takes what he wants from the deer and invites Dio to dine with him at his

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[24] "Where is Leucippe when Cleitophon meets the anonymous narrator in the temple at Sidon? Has Cleitophon lost her yet again?", ibid., p.117.

[25] Ibid., p.119.

[26] An exception need not be novelistic or date from the Imperial period, for Most derives the novelists' practice from archaic and classical literature, but the fact that Dio 7 does fulfil these two criteria might seem to make it a more forceful exception, although see p.124. on archaising/classicising.

nearby hut. He asks him what had happened and then puts him at his ease (7.1-10).
Dio follows him and:

Ὡς οὖν ἐβαδίζομεν, διηγεῖτό μοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγματα καὶ

τὸν βίον ὃν ἔζη μετὰ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παίδων. (7.10)

What follows is a charming, famous, tale, which Dio uses to highlight the idyllic

nature of rustic existence. There is no hint that the tale is one of woe.

The only two ways that this could not be an exception would be a) if there is

deemed to be sufficient intimacy between Dio and the hunter for it not to be necessary

for the tale to be one of lament, or b) if Most's rule does not apply here. To take the

first possible objection, one could claim that by the time the hunter tells his tale, he is

no longer a stranger to Dio. Dio's help in finding the deer and the hunter's offer of

hospitality are by themselves sufficient for the hunter not to feel that there is any need

for him to present his tale as one of woe. In fact some support for this might be

derived from the text where the hunter says:

ἀλλ' ἴθι καὶ μηδὲν δείσῃς. νῦν μὲν ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας ἀνακτήσῃ σαυτόν·

εἰς αὔριον δέ, ὅ τι ἂν ᾖ δυνατόν, ἐπιμελησόμεθα ὅπως σωθῇς, ἐπειδή σε

ἔγνωμεν ἅπαξ. (7.7)

The implication, however, is not that the hunter knows Dio; it is that by tomorrow his

family will know him. Nor will it do to say that because Dio is the recipient of

hospitality, he is therefore in a position to be told the hunter's story, for he has not

even received anything yet.[27] By any standards, Dio is a stranger to the hunter.

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[27] Most (1989), p.133, mentions "the iron-clad law of Homeric etiquette, that strangers be fed before
they are questioned about their background; for one result is that thereby they have become less fully
strangers before they begin their autobiographical discourse." The same, presumably, applies to the

The second way of arguing that Dio 7 should not be regarded as an exception would be to claim that Dio's specific purpose here is such that he need not pay any heed to the strictures described in Most's theory. His work is didactic and his story, whether we believe him that it is factual (7.1) or not, is deployed to illustrate his point, that a simple rustic life of hardy but virtuous poverty is in all respects better than a life of urban luxury. Yet it is not clear how this purpose would enable Dio to bypass what Most argues is a fundamental part of Greek culture. Perhaps the hunter's lack of inhibition is meant by Dio to be another facet of rustic simplicity. He is not bound by the complicated rules of normal conversation. Indeed, during the hunter's speech we get the impression that he is not *au fait* with "normal" conventions of social intercourse.[28] But there is no indication from Dio that his directness here is at all remarkable. Perhaps a reader with a developed sense of what was and was not acceptable would have seen the hunter's behaviour as indicative of an attitude that was unaware of the over-complicated nuances and rules of interaction found in everyday life elsewhere in the Greek world and would have regarded it as something to be emulated. But while it is straightforward to accept that an ancient reader would have realised the merits of the hunter's lifestyle, the objection still persists that, on

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reverse: the host cannot burden his guest with his life-story until he knows him well enough or the guest is bound by the hospitality he has received.

[28] A good example of this occurs when a man, whom the hunter recognises as Sotades, and another man support the hunter's insistence that he is helpful to those who have been shipwrecked. The hunter reacts by kissing him: καὶ προσελθὼν ἐφίλουν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐγέλα σφόδρα ὅτι ἐφίλουν αὐτούς. τότε ἔγνων ὅτι ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι οὐ φιλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους (7.59).

Most's theory, the reader would merely have found his tale an undue intrusion towards Dio, something that it is clearly not meant to be.

It may be that there is a way of modifying Most's theory to include Dio 7, or that it can be accommodated to it as it stands, but there is a second objection to the application of this theory in the case of Achilles Tatius' novel. That is to claim that the restrictions governing "self-disclosure" are not as relevant in the Imperial period, for which Dio 7 is a good example. Indeed the evidence Most adduces is mostly archaic or classical and he himself admits that:

> It is interesting to note that the Greek romances, which arise in the
>
> Hellenistic age and flourish under the Empire, continue to retain these
>
> Archaic and Classical limitations on autobiographical discourse at a
>
> time when they seem somewhat less coercive in reality.[29]

But he swiftly deals with this problem by suggesting that: "This is evidently a generic, and presumably an archaizing, feature of these romances".[30] The fact that there appear to be no exceptions in the novels would seem to corroborate this argument.

A way to maintain that Most's theory is of no relevance in the case of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is to deny that Question 3. exists, that is, to claim that Cleitophon is not unhappy at the beginning. Indeed, according to Most the "fundamental contradiction ... between Cleitophon's character and situation at the beginning and at the end of the romance" has "apparently not (been) noticed before".[31] One reason for the failure of so many commentators to spot this

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[29] (1989), p.133, n.99.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., p.117.

contradiction could be that it does not exist. But, as Most points out, Cleitophon's "very first words" are strong: "Ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἂν εἰδείην," ἔφη, "τοσαύτας ὕβρεις ἐξ ἔρωτος παθών" (1.2.1), and there is no hint at all that he is in the position or mood in which we find him at the end of novel, or in which we would expect to find him, given the likely ending of the novel.[32]

Most's theory, the generic tendencies of the Greek novel notwithstanding, has run into difficulties of varying severity, but if we accept the theory, we only create another, more serious problem, which is the following Question:

5. Why did Achilles Tatius choose a stranger for Cleitophon to narrate his adventures to instead of a friend?

After all, there might be no discrepancies if Cleitophon could tell his story to someone with whom he was sufficiently familiar for the restrictions of "self-disclosure and self-sufficiency" not to apply. In fact, in his concluding paragraph, Most almost suggests this question:

> Speaking before friends and relatives, Cleitophon would likely have
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> praised himself or recounted his good fortune, without doing more than
>
> boring or irritating those nearest and dearest to him.[33]

One could imagine a situation in which the anonymous author is an old school friend. He would be looking at the painting of Europa (in the same city as Cleitophon finds himself at the end of his narration - Question 2.) and comment on the power of Eros,

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[32] (1989), p.117, with n.16. Cf. Hägg (1971a), p.234, ὕβρεις "alludes only to the negative effects of Eros on his life". The idea that any suspense that a reader might experience on a first reading would be ruined by a triumphant Cleitophon at the beginning will be dealt with under Solution 5. c).

[33] Ibid., p.133.

when Cleitophon would say that he too has been affected by his power and has undergone many adventures.[34] The author would then recognise Cleitophon, remark on how long it has been since he has seen him and ask what has happened to him in the meantime. Then the conversation would not have to differ significantly from that in the text until Cleitophon's narration begins. The autobiographical details of 1.3.1-2 would be accounted for at appropriate moments in Cleitophon's narration.[35] The frame might be resumed, without difficulty, at the end (Question 1.),[36] at which point the author would ask where Leucippe was, and Cleitophon would provide a plausible answer,[37] or Leucippe could even turn up after an afternoon at the shops (Question 4.). At any rate, a writer of Achilles Tatius' wit and invention could have written such a scenario, had he wished, and obviated all four discrepancies.[38]

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[34] His statements, by being neutral in terms of reflecting what mood he is in, would thus not contradict with a happy ending, nor would they ruin any suspense. Question 3. is thus neutralised. See under Solution 5. c).

[35] Along the lines of: "And then my father, Hippias ... ", or: "Sostratus, who, you may remember, is my uncle, ... "

[36] There would be no need for it not to be, for on Most's theory it is the fact that Cleitophon narrates his tale to a stranger that is the cause of the frame not being resumed.

[37] E.g. "She's looking after her ill mother, and I miss her terribly ... " Cleitophon would thus be able to tell his whole story, including the parts concerning Melite, without Leucippe cramping his style.

[38] As Reardon (1994a, p.94, n.15, puts it: "it is hardly likely that Achilles would go to so much trouble in order to end up painting himself into a corner."

2.6 Solution 5.

This solution follows directly on from Solution 4. by assuming that the theory behind it is correct. Questions 1. a) and 3. are answered because Achilles could not resume the frame if Cleitophon's emotional state at the beginning has to be unhappy,[39] and Questions 2. and 4., as subordinate questions, are answered by Achilles Tatius' desire to "conceal the contradiction". The issue now is that Solution 5. must answer Question 5. Solutions 3. a), c) and d)[40] do not help in answering Question 5., because having a friend as the narratee would have made little or no difference. There are three possible ways of answering it, the first corresponding to Solution 3. b).[41]

a) Achilles Tatius chose a stranger for Cleitophon to narrate his story to so that the stranger, who is also the author, might be distanced as far as possible from the events recounted by Cleitophon. Achilles Tatius/the stranger thus disclaims any responsibility for what Cleitophon says. There are two objections to this solution. The first is that no more distance is gained by the author being a stranger than there would have been if he had been a friend, for in the scenario outlined above the friend would be hearing the story for the first time. This is true at the level of the conversation. But at the level of writing, could someone claiming to be a friend of a man with such a far-fetched tale to tell be held at least partially responsible for it by acquiescing in it so far as to write it down? Perhaps, but Cleitophon himself practically makes a disclaimer on his, and

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[39] Which it does, because he is talking to a stranger.

[40] That Achilles Tatius needed a way to "get the story going", that the frame is a *Beglaubigungsapparat*, and that Achilles Tatius was trying to entice his reader.

[41] That Achilles Tatius wanted to disclaim authority for the story.

therefore the author's, behalf, for in the very act of protesting the veracity of his story he likens it to fiction:

"Σμῆνος ἀνεγείρεις," εἶπε, "λόγων· τὰ γὰρ ἐμὰ μύθοις ἔοικε." (1.2.2)

And it seems as if the author, given what Cleitophon has said, is prepared to treat his story with a little scepticism, and thereby lets the reader know that he has abdicated any responsibility for its contents:

"Μὴ κατοκνήσῃς, ὦ βέλτιστε," ἔφην, "πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἔρωτος αὐτοῦ, ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἥσειν, εἰ καὶ μύθοις ἔοικε." (1.2.2), and:

"πάντως δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος ἡδὺς καὶ μύθων ἄξιος ἐρωτικῶν." (1.2.3)

After such an introductory conversation, a friend reporting what Cleitophon had to say could hardly be held accountable for, or be disgraced by, his story.

The second objection is far simpler: even if, by being a stranger, the author is distanced a little from Cleitophon's story, is it worth paying the price of the large discrepancies in location and mood that are entailed by his being a stranger? The answer must surely be "no".

b) Achilles Tatius chose a stranger to add to the character-portrayal of Cleitophon. The proponent of this solution would have to argue that the fact that Cleitophon tells a long, and rather tall, story to a stranger enhances, and is consistent with, the portrayal of his character throughout the novel. Cleitophon is hardly an ideal hero, a fact possibly best summed up by Gaselee's note to 8.1.2:

The reader, bearing in mind Clitophon's behaviour at his previous meeting with Thersander (V. xxiii.),[42] will by this time have come to the

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[42] Where Cleitophon failed to defend himself against Thersander's attack.

conclusion that the hero of the romance is a coward of the purest water.[43]

Cleitophon's attitude to sexual relations is probably the clearest example of his unideal character. If Cleitophon is prepared to bare his soul and tell his most intimate secrets to a stranger, including things that he has not told his own wife,[44] then the reader would have appreciated just the sort of shameless person that he is.[45] This solution, however, suffers from the same problems as those outlined for 5. a): the effect of Cleitophon's story being delivered to a stranger instead of a friend would not have been so much greater as to make it worth paying the price of the discrepancies involved. In fact I would maintain that there is a good deal to be said for an argument similar to this, but I would use it in a very different way.[46]

c) The third way to answer Question 5. is to claim that Cleitophon needs to be unhappy for the novel to contain any suspense. Achilles Tatius had him talk to a stranger so that, following Most's theory, he could feasibly not be in the state in which we would expect to find him at the inevitable happy end of a Greek novel. On this solution the author, standing in for the reader, does not know what the outcome will be.[47] In fact he may assume the worst, given Cleitophon's apparent misery. It is,

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[43] (1969), p.390.

[44] Most notably at a dinner at which Leucippe and her father Sostratus are present: Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Μελίτην ἐγενόμην, ἐξῆρον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐμαυτοῦ πρὸς σωφροσύνην μεταποιῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐψευδόμην (8.5.2), and "Ἐν μόνον παρῆκα τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ δραμάτων, τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Μελίτην αἰδῶ (8.5.3).

[45] See 4.4 and 5.3 for similar facets of Cleitophon's character brought out by, among other things, the narrative technique of the novel.

[46] See below, p.133, under 2.9

[47] Or at least at the time of the original conversation he did not know what the outcome would be.

of course, only at the end that the author/reader discovers that all is well, and at the same time he realises that Cleitophon's unhappiness was merely a ploy to enable him to embark on his story, in accordance with normal social conventions.

5. c) has the advantage over 5. a) and b) that the price paid for this suspense could be argued to be worth it. But, as has been pointed out, Cleitophon would not need to be brimming over with happiness if he were speaking to a friend. He could say something neutral which would not prejudice the end of his story, but which at the same time would not be disconsonant with it.[48] Thus the discrepancies could quite easily have been written out. Besides, any suspense gained by this device would be soon undermined by what Cleitophon says at 1.3.2:

> Ἐδέησεν οὖν τῷ πατρὶ γυναικὸς ἑτέρας, ἐξ ἧς ἀδελφή μοι Καλλιγόνη
> γίνεται. Καὶ ἐδόκει μὲν τῷ πατρὶ συνάψαι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς γάμῳ· αἱ δὲ
> Μοῖραι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρείττονες ἄλλην ἐτήρουν μοι γυναῖκα.

If Question 5. can not be answered, then there is no Solution 5. which might save Solution 4., and another approach is needed.

2.7 Solution 6.

This solution has been suggested by many, and is probably best stated by Hunter:

> critics might be slower to castigate Achilles for failing at the end of his
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> novel to recur to the initial conversation if they were to reflect that

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[48] E.g. (in response to: "Οἶον," εἶπον, "ἄρχει βρέφος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης." 1.2.1) "You don't know the half of it - wait until you hear what happened to me."

similar *neglegentia* is found in Plato (cf. *Symposium, Protagoras*), who

was very likely Achilles' model for this technique.[49]

It might be thought that in a thesis concerning the influence of Plato on Achilles

Tatius' novel, this would be the solution adopted. Unfortunately it does not answer

Questions 2., 3. and 4. Solution 6. can only be considered as subordinate to a solution

that answers these Questions. Solution 4. did, but then Question 5. was raised and

there was no satisfactory answer to it. I shall return to Solution 6. later.

2.8 Solution 7.

Fusillo[50] discusses the ending of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* and dismisses Solutions 1.

and 2. by claiming that "such criticisms raise the wrong questions". He then mentions

Solutions 6. and 3. c).[51] But these solutions are not considered satisfactory. In the

search for an/the answer he adduces a fact which has not been used as evidence in the

discussion so far: the final paragraph of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is extremely rapid.

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[49] (1983), p.40. Cf. Winkler (1989), p.284, "That there is no closure of the framing narrative in

which Kleitophon's long tale is set is more likely to be a deliberate act, for which there was

precedent in Plato's *Symposion*"; Reardon (1994a), p.94, n.15, "and as has been pointed out before

now, he had the precedent of Plato's *Republic* and other dialogues to justify him - the best possible

precedent for so literary an author"; and Anderson (1997), p.2284, "the possibility that ... the frame

was left open on purpose, in imitation of such a classic among Achilles' models as Plato's

'Symposium'". It is, of course, noteworthy that all these critics cite the example of Plato in

particular.

[50] (1997), pp.219-221.

[51] "It is common for a frame not to be repeated (e.g. Plato's *Symposium* and Theocritus 13): the

introduction in this case has an authenticating function that gives the "effet de réel," but does not

require the author to repeat at the end that he heard the story from Clitophon."

Fusillo concludes that "This closural weakness can be adequately explained only with reference to the thematic and structural peculiarities of the entire novel." That is, Achilles Tatius' novel is an "ironic and ambivalent pastiche of the Greek novel," and "Giving such limited space to the crowning marriage does little to celebrate the chaste and faithful couple, while breaking off the narration frees it of organic structure."[52]

It seems *a priori* a good idea to tie the beginning/end discrepancy in with the nature of the contents of the novel. If there is consistent play with novelistic conventions throughout, it seems reasonable to attempt to solve the problems at issue here with an appeal to this aspect. However, to say that "breaking off the narration frees it of organic structure" does not solve the Questions that need to be answered, although it does at least provide us with a starting point.

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[52] And along the same lines: "The aesthetic response Achilles Tatius aims to provoke in his public is as ambivalent as his authorial attitude toward the erotic novel," and: "*Leucippe and Clitophon's* ending can be explained as anticlosural from the cultural and thematic point of view". Goldhill (1995), p.79, is not too far from this position: "the play between the generalizing, predictable models of *eros* - what we all know - and the (un)expected twists and turns of the love story - the surprises of the make-believe - is a driving narratological force in the novel as we move towards the expected conclusion in marriage, though not the expected closure, as the novel ends unexpectedly without returning to the frame of the scene in Sidon to explain why Cleitophon is at the temple of Astarte telling strangers his life story." Bartsch, (1989), p.170, sees the issue in a slightly different, although similar, light: "it is hard to believe that he (sc. Achilles Tatius) would be so careless as to overlook as drastic a fault as the novel's 'unpolished' ending. Perhaps we should consider this an intentional omission, a hint that we are to view the work itself as we view the (often unintegrated) descriptive passages that it contains ... Achilles Tatius' whole work, like his descriptions, may well be characterised as a deliberate artistic creation".

2.9 Solution 8.

My own solution is an amalgam of developed forms of Solutions 6. and 7. To deal with the latter first, I would go further than Fusillo and suggest that the beginning/end discrepancy is a deliberate device to subvert, or at least endanger, the conventions of the ideal Greek novel.[53] This would make it one of many instances in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* of what have come to be seen as playful ironisations of what a reader of a Greek novel might expect.[54] The sexual infidelity of Cleitophon is the most glaring example, and others include the overwrought rhetoric scattered throughout[55] and the triple Scheintode of Leucippe.[56]

It seems to me that this debate presupposes that a reader of the sophistication that Achilles Tatius' novel seems to require would ask Questions 1., (and therefore

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[53] For whether or not it is possible to talk of such conventions, see I.1. For another anti-closural ending see Luc. *VH* 2.47: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἑξῆς βίβλοις διηγήσομαι.

[54] Cf. Bartsch (1989), p.159: "Achilles Tatius is doing ... nothing quite so destructive as parody; he is playing, as always, upon the readers' expectations - in this case, some of the expectations they may be bringing with them from other romances."

[55] E.g. 3.5.4., where Cleitophon prays to Poseidon: Εἰ δὲ καὶ θηρίων ἡμᾶς βορὰν πέπρωται γενέσθαι, εἷς ἡμᾶς ἰχθὺς ἀναλωσάτω, μία γαστὴρ χωρησάτω, ἵνα καὶ ἐν ἰχθύσι κοινῇ ταφῶμεν. Although see McGill (2000), who does not think that humour is the aim at 5.7, where Cleitophon mourns over what he thinks is Leucippe's decapitated body.

[56] Durham (1937) still has many good points, inspite of his chronology, and Anderson (1982), ch.3, is not slow to draw attention to possible elements of humour. See above under Solution 5. b) and 4.4 and 5.3 for elements of Cleitophon's characterisation which show Achilles Tatius portraying him in a less than flattering light.

Question 1. a)), 2., 3. and 4. Most himself runs through the doubts that would enter

the reader's mind on completing the novel and draws attention to Question 4.:

> Where is Leucippe when Cleitophon meets the anonymous narrator in
>
> the temple at Sidon? Has Cleitophon lost her yet again?[57]

In a note to this last sentence, Most expresses the implausibility of this possibility,

although he does not count it out:

> This is of course hardly likely: but note that it is not in the least
>
> excluded by the language of i.3.2.[58]

Other ways of resolving this dilemma have been considered and they have all been

found wanting. The discrepancies, where they have been explicitly dealt with, have

been seen to be a problem. But a more satisfactory outcome is reached if we credit

Achilles Tatius with enough intelligence to have known what he was doing and view

the discrepancies in a positive rather than a negative light. He knew full well that his

reader would wonder why Cleitophon is in Sidon, why he is unhappy, and where

Leucippe is. The author expected his reader to entertain the doubts that the

discrepancies involve. There could be any number of ways to explain away these

doubts and to account for the initial situation, but the fact that Achilles Tatius does

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[57] (1989), p.117.

[58] Ibid., n.17. Cf. Hägg (1971a), p.234, "since the hero, Clitophon, is the one who tells the story, the outcome is guaranteed to the reader at least in one respect - the hero survives. On the other hand, there is absolutely nothing in the account of the initial scene (1.2) that reveals anything about the *heroine's* fate, whether she is alive and whether the two have been united in marriage." In fact Cleitophon says that they were married in Byzantium (κἀκεῖ τοὺς πολυεύκτους ἐπιτελέσαντες γάμους 8.19.2), but this does not vitiate Hägg's point that Leucippe, or any mention of her, is entirely absent from the initial conversation.

not provide such an explanation only increases these doubts. Cleitophon may well have lost his beloved again, something that would be unthinkable in an "ideal" Greek novel.

The text gives added weight to this interpretation by offering two suggestions that the temporal gap between the narrated time at the end of Cleitophon's story and the narrative context is quite small. The first occurs at 1.2.2:

"Καὶ τί πέπονθας," εἶπον, "ὦ ἀγαθέ; καὶ γὰρ ὁρῶ σου τὴν ὄψιν οὐ μακρὰν

τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τελετῆς."

The god here referred to is, of course, Eros, who is leading Zeus in the painting. The idea of initiation suggests recent exposure to him, and for Cleitophon not to be far from being an initiate would seem to indicate that his love for Leucippe is not old.[59] Visible symptoms are associated with a love as yet unrequited at 1.7.3, where Cleitophon approaches his cousin Cleinias, announces that he too has become a slave to love, and Cleinias:

ἀναστὰς κατεφίλησέ μου τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμφαῖνον ἐρωτικὴν ἀγρυπνίαν· καί,

"'Ερᾷς," εἶπεν, "ἐρᾷς ἀληθῶς· οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου λέγουσιν."[60]

The fact that the narrator can see that Cleitophon is in love gives the impression that he has not yet come to grips with his emotions, something which would be more fitting for a man who has not yet even won the object of his affections than for someone who has been married for any considerable time.

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[59] Noted by Hägg (1971a), p.126, who is otherwise careful to point out that "The interval in time between the narrated events and the day of the narration is never specified", ibid.

[60] Cf. the two would-be lovers of Theoc. Id. 1.37-8: οἳ δ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος/ δηθὰ κυλοιδιόωντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι.

The other indication that the temporal gap between the end and the beginning is not large, and one which might help us to determine more exactly how far Cleitophon is from being an initiate of love, is meteorological. The last sentence of the novel, which raises Question 2., is also relevant here.

Καὶ διεγνώκαμεν ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ παραχειμάσαντες ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον. (8.19.3)

Tyre is where Cleitophon leaves himself at the end of his narration and where he plans to pass the winter with Leucippe. At the beginning of the novel we are given basic details about Sidon and a description of its harbour. This has the effect of emphasising the location of the beginning and to make it more memorable to the reader when he reaches the end.[61] We then learn that the author arrived there after a severe storm: Ἐνταῦθα ἥκων ἐκ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος (1.1.2). It does not seem too fanciful to suggest that the reader would associate the storm of the beginning, which otherwise has no significance or function,[62] with the impending winter of the end. Of course, storms do not always occur in winter, but this connection is not out of the question.

If these two factors can be taken as indicating that the beginning of the novel is temporally close to the end, Solution 8. is enhanced. For it is harder to explain, without appealing to the subversion theory, why Cleitophon's emotional state and location should be as they are in the frame, if the happy ending of his narration

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[61] Indeed, as Most (1989), p.115, notes: "the romance's very first word is Σιδῶν and its very last word is Βυζάντιον."

[62] It might be argued, and it is the case, that the storm has the function of bringing the author to Sidon. But there are many other ways in which Achilles Tatius could have accounted for his presence there, and that a storm is chosen would seem to have some relevance.

occurred shortly before. Moreover, the absence of Leucippe is quite inexplicable, if the couple have only recently married. The narrator is not allowed to resume the frame because he would only ask the questions that the reader himself asks. If such questions were asked in the text, they would require answers, or at least some sort of response; by leaving them to the reader, Achilles Tatius leaves the possible answers to him too.

It is not necessary to conclude that everything has gone wrong, that Cleitophon has lost Leucippe and that the entire world of the Greek novel has been turned upside down, but the possibility remains. It must also be noted that this solution has the advantage that it makes Solution 4. irrelevant. Cleitophon is not unhappy because he is talking to a stranger; he is unhappy because Achilles Tatius is subverting novel conventions.[63] This raises Question 5. again: why did Achilles Tatius choose a stranger for Cleitophon to narrate his adventures to instead of a friend? Solutions 5. a) and c)[64] still suffer from the problems outlined above, but Solution 5. b), that Achilles Tatius has Cleitophon tell his story to a stranger in order to portray him as a buffoon, is now important in its own right and will be explored further.[65] And so it seems that Achilles Tatius, by having an initial frame which is at odds with the

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[63] If Most's theory is correct, however, it could be that Achilles Tatius chose a stranger as the narratee rather than someone familiar to Cleitophon (Question 5.) in order to facilitate the lack of a logical conclusion. The issue is not that there could be no way in which Achilles Tatius could resume the frame and square the narration's happy end with Cleitophon's unhappiness in the frame: Achilles Tatius knew that by having a stranger as the narratee, he would have to leave the end open and thus leave hanging the doubts that suggest a situation which we would not expect.

[64] That distance and suspense respectively were thus achieved.

[65] In 4.4 and 5.3.

ending and by not resuming that frame at the end, has pulled off the biggest trick of them all: a Greek novel with a non-happy non-ending.

2.10 Platonic Allusions in the Frame of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*

It may well be asked how this problem fits into a thesis which aims to deal with Achilles Tatius' use of Plato, but Plato, under Solution 6.,[66] does have a large part to play. There are several echoes of Plato in the initial scene, concentrated in the conversation between the narrator and Cleitophon. Three of these allusions have been spotted in passing, but their individual functions have not been properly dealt with, and their collective effect has been neglected.

The first allusion already noticed by commentators echoes Socrates' response to his interlocutors, who are unwilling to let him get away with not describing what he means by: ὡς ἄρα περὶ γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων παντὶ δῆλον ὅτι κοινὰ τὰ φίλων ἔσται (*Rep.* 449c4-5). He reacts by saying: ἃ νῦν ὑμεῖς παρακαλοῦντες οὐκ ἴστε ὅσον ἑσμὸν λόγων ἐπεγείρετε (*Rep.* 450a10-b1). When the anonymous narrator asks Cleitophon: "Καὶ τί πέπονθας,"(1.2.2), he replies: "Σμῆνος ἀνεγείρεις ... λόγων (Ibid.). As Hunter puts it: "with easy virtuosity Achilles has substituted synonyms for ἑσμὸν and ἐπεγείρετε and altered the order of the words."[67] But is there a purpose behind this allusion? Socrates' remarks reveal his reluctance to embark on a discussion which he knows will prove controversial and which he thinks will slow their progress (*Rep.*

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[66] That Achilles Tatius did not resume the frame in imitation of other authors, especially Plato.

[67] (1983), p.114, n.99. This allusion is also spotted by Vilborg (1962), p.20. See also Hld. 2.21.5, where Calasiris responds to Cnemon's requests to hear what misfortunes he has suffered: σμῆνος κακῶν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τούτων βόμβον ἄπειρον ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν κινεῖς.

450a7-b2). He is not sure whether what needs to be said is feasible, or whether it is

for the best (*Rep.* 450c6-d2). He also does not wish to make a mistake and corrupt his

friends in a matter of the gravest importance (*Rep.* 450d8-451b1). This is in stark

contrast with Cleitophon, who needs little encouragement to tell his tale,[68] and who

seems to think nothing of burdening a total stranger with a significant part of his life

story. The reader may also be expected to recall Socrates' subject matter and bear it

in mind when reading about Cleitophon's adventures. Socrates' reluctance concerned

the equality of women and the arrangements in his state for marriage and procreation

(*Rep.* 451b9-461e4). Cleitophon's tale is centred around his love affair with Leucippe,

a form of sexual interaction that could not be further from the genetic and social

engineering envisaged by Socrates.

The second draws on a distinction made famous by Plato. To complete the

above quotation, Cleitophon says: "Σμῆνος ἀνεγείρεις ... λόγων· τὰ γὰρ ἐμὰ μύθοις

ἔοικε." (1.2.2). This distinction between fact (λόγος) and fiction (μῦθος), by which

Achilles Tatius has his fictional character protest that while his story may seem like

fiction, it is actually fact, can be found in several of Plato's dialogues.[69] In order to

discover what μῦθος was for Plato, Murray has discussed the relationship between

λόγος and μῦθος and concludes that μῦθος has many "different functions";[70] that "It is

as if Plato sets a distinction between *muthos* and *logos* only to confound it";[71] "that an

eschatological myth can be labelled as *logos* in one dialogue and *muthos* in another

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[68] He does not even pause to learn the narrator's name!

[69] Pointed out by Morgan (1994), p.78, n.8, and Hunter (1983), p.114, n.99.

[70] (1999), p.260.

[71] Ibid., p.256.

suggests that the meanings attached to these words depend to a large extent on context.";[72] and that "If we look in Plato's work for a consistent distinction between *muthos* (myth) and *logos* (reason), let alone a development from one to the other, we look in vain."[73] However, what is needed for my case is that there should be frequent occurrences in Plato of a distinction between λόγος and μῦθος, not that there should necessarily be any consistency in them.

Perhaps the most explicit example is to be found in the *Gorgias*, before the concluding myth, where Socrates prefaces what he has to say with:

"Ακουε δή, φασί, μάλα καλοῦ λόγου, ὃν σὺ μὲν ἡγήσῃ μῦθον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον· ὡς ἀληθῆ γὰρ ὄντα σοι λέξω ἃ μέλλω λέγειν. (*Gorg.* 523a1-3)[74]

Here we find an indication that λόγος is to be taken as something like fact, and that, by extension, μῦθος refers to something unbelievable. We also see a denial that a seemingly fictitious tale/myth is not true. The sentiments here are similar to those contained in Cleitophon's words at 1.2.2. In fact this passage of Plato is suggested even more strongly later in book 1 of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, where, as part of his attempted seduction of Leucippe, the hero embarks on a series of descriptions of love in the natural world, including that of palm trees. He prefaces his account with:

Περὶ δὲ τῶν φυτῶν λέγουσι παῖδες σοφῶν· καὶ μῦθον ἔλεγον ⟨ἂν⟩ τὸν λόγον εἶναι, εἰ μὴ καὶ παῖδες ἔλεγον γεωργῶν. Ὁ δὲ λόγος ... (1.17.3).[75]

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[72] Ibid., pp.256-7.

[73] Ibid., p.261.

[74] Mentioned by Murray, ibid., pp.255-6.

Again we have the protestation that something that seems fictional is in fact true. Another occurrence of this distinction occurs in book 2 when Satyrus has to deal with a servant called Conops in order that Cleitophon and Leucippe might enjoy a rendezvous at night. Satyrus tries to ingratiate himself with him, but Conops, εἰδὼς τοῦ Σατύρου τὴν τέχνην (2.20.2), decides to give him a warning by means of a tale:

"'Ἐπειδὴ καταμωκᾷ μου καὶ τοὔνομα, φέρε σοι μῦθον ἀπὸ κώνωπος εἴπω."

(2.20.3)

The tale describes how a lion thought that it was wretched for fearing a cock until it met an elephant that was in mortal danger because of a gnat, the implication being that Satyrus should watch his step. Satyrus replies with a more rhetorically elaborate story in which a boastful gnat teases a lion before being caught in a spider's web. But before he begins it, he comments:

"'Ἄκουσον κἀμοῦ τινα λόγον," εἶπεν, "ἀπὸ κώνωπος καὶ λέοντος, ὃν ἀκήκοά τινος τῶν φιλοσόφων· χαρίζομαι δέ σοι τοῦ μύθου τὸν ἐλέφαντα."

(2.21.5)

Satyrus seems to be using the distinction between λόγος and μῦθος deliberately, as if to suggest that his story is truer and that its contents are more relevant.[76]

In addition to the passages discussed by Murray,[77] a distinction between λόγος and μῦθος can be found in several other places in Plato, and it is worth noting some of

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[75] The irony of equating παῖδες σοφῶν with παῖδες ... γεωργῶν might be intended to undermine the truth claim here, but that does not invalidate the distinction. Vilborg (1962), p.35, observes that "Achilles Tatius has possibly got the distinction from Plato (cf. Tim. 26E)."

[76] The fact that he heard it from a philosopher might even point to the origin of this distinction in Plato.

them here in order to help demonstrate just how prevalent this opposition is in the Platonic corpus. In the *Phaedo* Socrates has a dream which says: "Ὦ Σώκρατες ... μουσικὴν ποίει καὶ ἐργάζου." (*Phd.* 60e6-7). His response to this is to write ποιήματα (*Phd.* 61b1). After writing in honour of the god whose festival is preventing his execution, he soon realises that he is not suited for it:

μετὰ δὲ τὸν θεόν, ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὸν ποιητὴν δέοι, εἴπερ μέλλοι ποιητὴς εἶναι, ποιεῖν μύθους ἀλλ' οὐ λόγους (*Phd.* 61b3-5).

Being no μυθολογικός, he decided to versify προχείρους ... μύθους, and they were τοὺς Αἰσώπου (*Phd.* 61b5-7). Thus μύθους here are fictional, in contrast with his praise of the god, which must correspond to the λόγους referred to at *Phd.* 61b5.

The opposition of λόγος and μῦθος abounds in the *Timaeus*. In addition to the passage discussed by Murray,[78] another example occurs before Timaeus embarks on his account of the origin of the universe and everything in it. It is worth quoting in full:

ὧδε οὖν περί τε εἰκόνος καὶ περὶ τοῦ παραδείγματος αὐτῆς διοριστέον, ὡς ἄρα τοὺς λόγους, ὧνπέρ εἰσιν ἐξηγηταί, τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ συγγενεῖς ὄντας· τοῦ μὲν οὖν μονίμου καὶ βεβαίου καὶ μετὰ νοῦ καταφανοῦς μονίμους καὶ ἀμεταπτώτους - καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε καὶ ἀνελέγκτοις προσήκει λόγοις εἶναι καὶ ἀνικήτοις, τούτου δεῖ μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν - τοὺς δὲ τοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνο ἀπεικασθέντος, ὄντος δὲ εἰκόνος εἰκότας ἀνὰ λόγον τε ἐκείνων ὄντας· ὅτιπερ πρὸς γένεσιν οὐσία, τοῦτο πρὸς πίστιν ἀλήθεια. ἐὰν οὖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, πολλὰ πολλῶν πέρι, θεῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως, μὴ δυνατοὶ γιγνώμεθα πάντῃ πάντως αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ὁμολογουμένους λόγους καὶ

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[77] Including, where the distinction is explicit: *Rep.* 377ff.; *Prot.* 320c and 324d; *Gorg.* 523a; and *Tim.* 26c-e.

[78] *Tim.* 26c-e, (1999), p.260.

ἀπηκριβωμένους ἀποδοῦναι, μὴ θαυμάσῃς· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἄρα μηδενὸς ἧττον

παρεχώμεθα εἰκότας, ἀγαπᾶν χρή, μεμνημένους ὡς ὁ λέγων ἐγὼ ὑμεῖς τε

οἱ κριταὶ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἔχομεν, ὥστε περὶ τούτων τὸν εἰκότα μῦθον

ἀποδεχομένους πρέπει τούτου μηδὲν ἔτι πέρα ζητεῖν. (Tim. 29b3-d3)

Thus λόγους not ἑαυτοῖς ὁμολογουμένους or ἀπηκριβωμένους but εἰκότας are τὸν

εἰκότα μῦθον. We find similar sentiments later in Timaeus' speech:

τἄλλα δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲν ποικίλον ἔτι διαλογίσασθαι τὴν τῶν εἰκότων

μύθων μεταδιώκοντα ἰδέαν· ἣν ὅταν τις ἀναπαύσεως ἕνεκα τοὺς περὶ τῶν

ὄντων ἀεὶ καταθέμενος λόγους, τοὺς γενέσεως πέρι διαθεώμενος εἰκότας

ἀμεταμέλητον ἡδονὴν κτᾶται, μέτριον ἂν ἐν τῷ βίῳ παιδιὰν καὶ φρόνιμον

ποιοῖτο. (Tim. 59c5-d2)

where λόγους that are εἰκότας are equated with τῶν εἰκότων μύθων.[79]

The *Politicus* is also important in establishing the antithesis between λόγος and

μῦθος. During the attempt to define the statesman, the Visitor realises that he and the

young Socrates will have to remove: τοὺς περικεχυμένους αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς συννομῆς αὐτῷ

ἀντιποιουμένους (*Plt.* 268c8-9) and says that:

Τοῦτο τοίνυν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡμῖν ποιητέον, εἰ μὴ μέλλομεν ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει

καταισχῦναι τὸν λόγον. (*Plt.* 268d2-3)

He says that they: δεῖ καθ' ἑτέραν ὁδὸν πορευθῆναί τινα (*Plt.* 268d5-6), which he defines

as:

Σχεδὸν παιδιὰν ἐγκερασαμένους· συχνῷ γὰρ μέρει δεῖ μεγάλου μύθου

προσχρήσασθαι (*Plt.* 268d8-9).

At the end of the μῦθος he links it back to the λόγος:

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[79] The phrase is also encountered at *Tim.* 68c7-d2: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπὸ τούτων σχεδὸν δῆλα αἷς ἂν

ἀφομοιούμενα μείξεσιν διασῴζοι τὸν εἰκότα μῦθον. Note too τῷ μύθῳ at *Tim.* 69b1.

καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦ μύθου τέλος ἐχέτω, χρήσιμον δὲ αὐτὸν ποιησόμεθα πρὸς

τὸ κατιδεῖν ὅσον ἡμάρτομεν ἀποφηνάμενοι τὸν βασιλικόν τε καὶ πολιτικὸν

ἐν τῷ πρόσθε λόγῳ. (Plt. 274d8-e3)

and the relationship is commented on again:

θαυμαστὸν ὄγκον ἀράμενοι τοῦ μύθου, μείζονι τοῦ δέοντος ἠναγκάσθημεν

αὐτοῦ μέρει προσχρήσασθαι· διὸ μακροτέραν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν πεποιήκαμεν καὶ

πάντως τῷ μύθῳ τέλος οὐκ ἐπέθεμεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀτεχνῶς ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ὥσπερ

ζῷον τὴν ἔξωθεν μὲν περιγραφὴν ἔοικεν ἱκανῶς ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ οἷον τοῖς

φαρμάκοις καὶ τῇ συγκράσει τῶν χρωμάτων ἐνάργειαν οὐκ ἀπειληφέναι

πω. (Plt. 277b4-c3)

Quite what Achilles Tatius uses this distinction for at 1.2.2 has not been

discussed to my knowledge, but it should first be stressed that the μῦθος/λόγος

opposition is not, of course, exclusive to Plato. And its use is not unparalleled in other

second sophistic writers. See, for instance, Longus at *D. & C.* 2.7.1: πάνυ ἐτέρφθησαν

ὥσπερ μῦθον οὐ λόγον ἀκούοντες,[80] and Dio 1.49:

εἰ δ᾽ ἄρα μῦθον ἐθέλοις τινὰ ἀκοῦσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἱερὸν καὶ ὑγιῆ λόγον

σχήματι μύθου λεγόμενον, τυχὸν οὐκ ἄτοπός σοι φανήσεται, νῦν τε καὶ

ὕστερον ἐνθυμουμένῳ κατὰ σαυτόν, ὃν ἐγώ ποτε ἤκουσα γυναικὸς Ἠλείας

ἢ Ἀρκαδίας ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέους διηγουμένης.

While it would be hard to argue that the occurrence in *Daphnis and Chloe* owed a

great deal to Plato, the likelihood that Dio is drawing on the distinction as used in

Plato is increased by Trapp's arguments that Dio alludes to the setting of the

Phaedrus, that the priestess who Dio claims told him the story is reminiscent of the

Diotima of the *Symposium* and that Plato is never too far from the surface of much of

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[80] With Hunter (1983), p. 47ff. with nn., and Morgan (1994), especially p.76 with n.8.

the rest of the Oration.[81] The distinction in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is first used in a context which is heavily laden with Platonic references, and these should have the same corroborative effect as the allusions in Dio 1.

As for the use that Achilles Tatius makes of the opposition between μῦθος and λόγος, I have already mentioned the fact that in protesting his story's truth by making the disclaimer that it is like fiction, Cleitophon only emphasises its fictionality. The narrator's reactions:

"Μὴ κατοκνήσῃς, ὦ βέλτιστε," ἔφην, "πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἔρωτος αὐτοῦ, ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἥσειν, εἰ καὶ μύθοις ἔοικε." (1.2.2), and:

"Ὥρα σοι," ἔφην, "τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀκροάσεως· πάντως δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος ἡδὺς καὶ μύθων ἄξιος ἐρωτικῶν." (1.2.3)

complicate the issue, for it is not clear how he is going to take Cleitophon's story. Is he accepting that it will be factual, but rather tall, or is he patronising the young man and willing to listen to a nice tale, regardless of its truth content? It is not the case here, as it is frequently not elsewhere, that Achilles Tatius is making a simple allusion. He does use the μῦθος/λόγος distinction, but he muddies the water.[82] He is describing a fictional story which a fictional character claims is true, but which is like fiction, while trying to make it realistic. Where the truth lies is thus distorted by Achilles Tatius as he takes the reader away from the cosy opposition between fact and fiction.

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[81] (1990), pp.141-5. See also Trapp (2000), p.229.

[82] Much as Plato does.

The third allusion, or set of allusions, to Plato in the opening conversation of the novel that has been noticed before[83] is contained in the surroundings in which the narration takes place:

Καὶ ταῦτα δὴ λέγων δεξιοῦμαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπί τινος ἄλσους ἄγω γείτονος, ἔνθα πλάτανοι μὲν ἐπεφύκεσαν πολλαὶ καὶ πυκναί, παρέρρει δὲ ὕδωρ ψυχρόν τε καὶ διαυγές, οἷον ἀπὸ χιόνος ἄρτι λυθείσης ἔρχεται. Καθίσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπί τινος θώκου χαμαιζήλου καὶ αὐτὸς παρακαθισάμενος (1.2.3).

The plane trees (πλάτανοι μὲν ἐπεφύκεσαν πολλαὶ καὶ πυκναί) remind the reader of the setting of the *Phaedrus*:[84]

(Socrates) Πρόαγε δή, καὶ σκόπει ἅμα ὅπου καθιζησόμεθα.

(Phaedrus) Ὁρᾷς οὖν ἐκείνην τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην πλάτανον;

(Socrates) Τί μήν;

(Phaedrus) Ἐκεῖ σκιά τ' ἐστὶν καὶ πνεῦμα μέτριον, καὶ πόα καθίζεσθαι ἢ ἂν βουλώμεθα κατακλινῆναι. (*Phdr.* 229a7-b2);

(Socrates) ἥ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὕτη μάλ' ἀμφιλαφής τε καὶ ὑψηλή (*Phdr.* 230b2-3);

(Socrates) ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου (*Phdr.* 230b6);

and from further on:

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[83] By Trapp (1990), p.171, O' Sullivan (1978), p.326, n.61, Garnaud (1991), p.5, Plepelits (199 6), p.400, and Vilborg (1962), p.21, to name but a few instances of recognition. However, none of them gives details of the allusions or attempts to discern their function.

[84] Almost inevitably, given the popularity of this passage in the second sophistic, which is amply demonstrated by Trapp's (1990) list of second century allusions to it on p.171.

(Phaedrus) ὄμνυμι γάρ σοι - τίνα μέντοι, τίνα θεῶν; ἢ βούλει τὴν

πλάτανον ταυτηνί; - ... (*Phdr.* 236d10-e1).

The cool, clear stream (παρέρρει δὲ ὕδωρ ψυχρόν τε καὶ διαυγές, οἷον ἀπὸ χιόνος ἄρτι

λυθείσης ἔρχεται) echoes:

(Socrates) χαρίεντα γοῦν καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ διαφανῆ τὰ ὑδάτια φαίνεται

(*Phdr.* 229b7-8); and:

(Socrates) ἥ τε αὖ πηγὴ χαριεστάτη ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου ρεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ

ὕδατος, ὥστε γε τῷ ποδὶ τεκμήρασθαι. (*Phdr.* 230b5-7)[85]

And finally the idea of sitting down (Καθίσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπί τινος θώκου χαμαιζήλου καὶ

αὐτὸς παρακαθισάμενος) is repeatedly mentioned:

(Phaedrus) ἀλλὰ ποῦ δὴ βούλει καθιζόμενοι ἀναγνῶμεν;

(Socrates) Δεῦρ' ἐκτραπόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισὸν ἴωμεν, εἶτα ὅπου ἂν δόξῃ

ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καθιζησόμεθα. (*Phdr.* 228e4-229a2);

(Socrates) Πρόαγε δή, καὶ σκόπει ἅμα ὅπου καθιζησόμεθα. (*Phdr.*

229a7); and:

(Phaedrus) Ἐκεῖ σκιά τ' ἐστὶν καὶ πνεῦμα μέτριον, καὶ πόα καθίζεσθαι ἢ

ἂν βουλώμεθα κατακλινῆναι. (*Phdr.* 229b1-2).[86]

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[85] That the stream will be cool is also suggested by: ρᾷστον οὖν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ ὑδάτιον βρέχουσι τοὺς

πόδας ἰέναι, καὶ οὐκ ἀηδές, ἄλλως τε καὶ τήνδε τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους τε καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας. (*Phdr.* 229a4-6)

[86] Socrates actually lies down: πάντων δὲ κομψότατον τὸ τῆς πόας, ὅτι ἐν ἠρέμα προσάντει ἱκανὴ πέφυκε

κατακλινέντι τὴν κεφαλὴν παγκάλως ἔχειν. (*Phdr.* 230c3-5); and: νῦν δ' οὖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεῦρ'

The function of this nexus of allusions to the setting of the *Phaedrus* has the effect of locating the main narration of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* in the literary world of that dialogue.[87] On encountering such a scene the reader would expect the rest of the text to engage with the contents of the *Phaedrus*, or at least to share certain subject matters with it, and that this will be the case is suggested by the narrator's invitation to Cleitophon for him to begin his tale: ""Ὥρα σοι," ἔφην, "τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀκροάσεως· πάντως δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος ἡδὺς καὶ μύθων ἄξιος ἐρωτικῶν." (1.2.3). The reader familiar with the *Phaedrus* would have recognised this as confirming his expectations. The same reader might also have compared the participants in the respective dialogues, and the last mention of the plane tree[88] may have reminded him of the circumstances in which it was made: Phaedrus is trying to make a seemingly reluctant Socrates speak in reply to Lysias' speech. The contrast with Cleitophon's token resistance is obvious enough, as is the comparison between the narrator's enthusiasm for the spot in which they find themselves, and Socrates' attitude that he is only in such a pleasant setting because he wants to hear Phaedrus recite Lysias' speech and that he would rather be in the town.[89]

The narrator's invitation (""Ὥρα σοι," ἔφην, "τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀκροάσεως· πάντως δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος ἡδὺς καὶ μύθων ἄξιος ἐρωτικῶν." 1.2.3) is also an allusion to

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ἀφικόμενος ἐγὼ μέν μοι δοκῶ κατακείσεσθαι (*Phdr.* 230e2-3). This does not annul the allusion, though, for the idea of sitting down is firmly planted in the reader's mind.

[87] See ch.5. for the use of the Phaedran scene by other authors and for further use of it by Achilles Tatius.

[88] *Phdr.* 236d10-e1.

[89] *Phdr.* 230d2-e4.

Phaedrus' remarks in the eponymous dialogue where he describes what he and Lysias

had been spending their time on:

Καὶ μήν, ὦ Σώκρατες, προσήκουσα γέ σοι ἡ ἀκοή· ὁ γάρ τοι λόγος ἦν, περὶ

ὃν διετρίβομεν, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅντινα τρόπον ἐρωτικός. (*Phdr.* 227c3-5)

The idea of hearing is picked up by the narrator's words (ἡ ἀκοή - τῆς τῶν λόγων

ἀκροάσεως), as is the erotic nature of what is said (λόγος ... ἐρωτικός - μύθων ...

ἐρωτικῶν) and the suitability of the material, although this is transferred from the

Socrates of the *Phaedrus* to a setting that strongly evokes that of the *Phaedrus* (Καὶ

μήν, ὦ Σώκρατες, προσήκουσα γέ σοι ἡ ἀκοή - πάντως δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος ἡδὺς καὶ

μύθων ἄξιος ἐρωτικῶν).[90]

That a λόγος ... ἐρωτικός would be appropriate for Socrates to hear leads on to

another suggestion that Plato is prominent in the background of the opening scene,

and by extension in the whole novel.[91] At 1.2.1, just after the description of the

painting of the abduction of Europa and before the introduction of Cleitophon, the

narrator explains which part of it he concentrated on and why:

Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὲν ἐπῄνουν τῆς γραφῆς, ἅτε δὲ ὢν ἐρωτικὸς

περιεργότερον ἔβλεπον τὸν ἄγοντα τὸν βοῦν Ἔρωτα ...

He concentrates on the god Eros, because he is interested in erotic things.[92] This, I

believe, is intended to evoke the character of Socrates, and goes hand in hand with the

other allusions in the opening conversation. As well as the above quotation from the

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[90] πάντως δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος ἡδὺς might also be intended to recall: τὸ εὔπνουν τοῦ τόπου ὡς ἀγαπητὸν

καὶ σφόδρα ἡδύ (*Phdr.* 230c1-2).

[91] Unlike the previous three allusions, this potential reference has not been noticed.

[92] Gaselee's translation: "a lover myself" (1969), p.9, does not convey the correct meaning;

Winkler's "for I have long been fascinated by passion" (1989), p.177, does.

Phaedrus, a number of passages give the impression that Socrates "was interested in erotic things"; indeed, on occasions they are all he claims to know about.

While indulging in a display of characteristic irony, Socrates at *Theages* 128b2-6 claims that it is not worth seeking his education rather than that of the sophists, because:

καὶ λέγω δήπου ἀεὶ ὅτι ἐγὼ τυγχάνω ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενος πλήν γε σμικροῦ τινος μαθήματος, τῶν ἐρωτικῶν. τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ μάθημα παρ' ὀντινοῦν ποιοῦμαι δεινὸς εἶναι καὶ τῶν προγεγονότων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν νῦν.

It is to the *Symposium*, however, that we must turn for the best examples. In response to Eryximachus' proposal for a topic to discuss it is reported that Socrates said:

Οὐδείς σοι, ὦ 'Ερυξίμαχε, φάναι τὸν Σωκράτη, ἐναντία ψηφιεῖται. οὔτε γὰρ ἄν που ἐγὼ ἀποφήσαιμι, ὃς οὐδὲν φημι ἄλλο ἐπίστασθαι ἢ τὰ ἐρωτικά ... (*Symp.* 177d6-8)

After Aristophanes' speech Eryximachus said that:

καὶ εἰ μὴ συνῄδη Σωκράτει τε καὶ 'Αγάθωνι δεινοῖς οὖσι περὶ τὰ ἐρωτικά, πάνυ ἂν ἐφοβούμην μὴ ἀπορήσωσι λόγων διὰ τὸ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ εἰρῆσθαι (*Symp.* 193e4-7).

When it came to Socrates' turn he made great play of his ignorance, and his statement is tinged by his subsequent sarcastic realisation that he did not know how to praise things (as if one should tell the truth!):

καὶ ἐνενόησα τότε ἄρα καταγέλαστος ὤν, ἡνίκα ὑμῖν ὡμολόγουν ἐν τῷ μέρει μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκωμιάσεσθαι τὸν "Ερωτα καὶ ἔφην εἶναι δεινὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά, οὐδὲν εἰδὼς ἄρα τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς ἔδει ἐγκωμιάζειν ὁτιοῦν.

(*Symp.* 198c5-d3)

And after his account of the instruction Diotima gave him, Socrates said:

Ταῦτα δή, ὦ Φαῖδρέ τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἔφη μὲν Διοτίμα, πέπεισμαι δ᾽ ἐγώ·

πεπεισμένος δὲ πειρῶμαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πείθειν ὅτι τούτου τοῦ κτήματος

τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει συνεργὸν ἀμείνω Ἔρωτος οὐκ ἄν τις ῥᾳδίως λάβοι. διὸ

δὴ ἔγωγέ φημι χρῆναι πάντα ἄνδρα τὸν Ἔρωτα τιμᾶν, καὶ αὐτὸς τιμῶ τὰ

ἐρωτικὰ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀσκῶ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρακελεύομαι, καὶ νῦν τε

καὶ ἀεὶ ἐγκωμιάζω τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἀνδρείαν τοῦ Ἔρωτος καθ᾽ ὅσον οἷός τ᾽

εἰμί. (Symp. 212b1-8)[93]

Socrates' interest in ἐρωτικά did not go unnoticed by other second sophistic

writers. In his attack on "Platonic love" at Ps.-Luc. Am. 54 Theomnestus casts doubt

on its possibility and its worth:

μετεωρολέσχαι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τὴν φιλοσοφίας ὀφρὺν ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς κροτάφους

ὑπερήρκασιν, σεμνῶν ὀνομάτων κομψεύμασιν τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς ποιμαινέτωσαν·

ἐρωτικὸς γὰρ ἦν, εἴπερ τις, καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ ὑπὸ μίαν Ἀλκιβιάδης

αὐτῷ χλανίδα κλιθεὶς οὐκ ἀπλὴξ ἀνέστη.

Less explicit, although still clearly referring to Socrates, is the characterisation of the

life of the Platonic philosopher at Lucian Vit.Auct. 15:

(Buyer) Εἰπέ μοι, τί μάλιστα εἰδὼς τυγχάνεις;

(Platonic Philosopher) Παιδεραστής εἰμι καὶ σοφὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά.

While in the first of these passages ἐρωτικὸς is used directly, although rather

scurrilously, of Socrates, and in the second Lucian obviously has Socrates in mind,

Achilles Tatius is not describing Socrates, and the erotic nature of the narrator would

not be very likely to remind the reader of Socrates by itself. But the compounded

reminiscences detailed above amount to the inescapable impression that Achilles

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[93] Cf. Xen. Mem. 2.6.28 where Socrates says to Critobulus, who is keen to know how one knows who

to be friends with: ἴσως δ᾽ ἄν τί σοι κἀγὼ συλλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν τε κἀγαθῶν θήραν ἔχοιμι διὰ τὸ

ἐρωτικὸς εἶναι.

Tatius is using a great deal of Plato, and in this context I would argue that an allusion to Socrates is intended in the interest of the narrator in ἐρωτικά. The contrast between the nature of these ἐρωτικά, the power of sexual love as represented in the painting, and those that interested Socrates, the metaphysical usefulness of beauty as the first step to discerning the Forms (outlined in Diotima's speech in the *Symposium*), reflects the difference between the respective contents of this dialogue and the Platonic dialogues: Achilles Tatius is interested in a love affair, Plato in the metaphysical nature of absolute reality. And the desire of Socrates to hear Lysias' speech, whose erotic nature Phaedrus thinks will suit him, is recalled in the narrator's enthusiasm for hearing Cleitophon's tale of love.

Another link between Plato and the opening (and the rest) of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is the name of the hero itself. I have already argued that various names deployed by Achilles Tatius are inspired by Platonic characters, and Cleitophon, I would suggest, is another of these.[94] However, it is not in his character that the reference resides, nor in any words he utters nor those used to describe him. Rather it is the form of the novel that led Achilles Tatius to adopt this name for his hero.

Cleitophon in Plato is a relatively minor character. He is the sole interlocutor in the eponymous dialogue, is mentioned as being present at the discussion described in the *Republic*,[95] and takes a brief part in that discussion.[96] The latter two are only incidentally relevant, for it is the relationship between the *Cleitophon* and the *Republic* that is important here. According to Slings the *Cleitophon* was written after

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[94] For the statistical data and their implications, see 1.9.1.

[95] κατελάβομεν ... καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα τὸν ᾿Αριστωνύμου (*Rep.* 328b5-8).

[96] *Rep.* 340a3-b8.

the *Republic* and was intended by Plato to remind the reader of it.[97] The former seems secure, but the latter less so. A later work can be meant to be read before an earlier one. Even if each dialogue was published on completion (ignoring the possibility that *Republic* 1 was published separately as *Thrasymachus vel sim.*), a later work can still be intended to precede an earlier one, and those readers for whom it is too late could exercise their imagination and read the dialogues "the wrong way around". At any rate, the matter is of no consequence, as Plato's intentions are not necessarily relevant to the order in which his works were read in the second sophistic. The order seems to have been various, as far as we can tell from D. L. 3.62:

ἄρχονται δὲ οἱ μέν, ὡς προείρηται, ἀπὸ τῆς Πολιτείας· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦ μείζονος· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Θεάγους· ἔνιοι δὲ Εὐθύφρονος· ἄλλοι Κλειτοφῶντος· τινὲς Τιμαίου· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Φαίδρου· ἕτεροι Θεαιτήτου· πολλοὶ δὲ ⟨ἀπ'⟩ Ἀπολογίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιοῦνται.

But at the time Diogenes Laertius was writing it seems that the dominant order was that recommended by Thrasyllus, in which the eighth tetralogy was headed by the *Cleitophon* (τῆς ὀγδόης ἡγεῖται Κλειτοφῶν 3.60) with the *Republic* second. Thus whoever made this arrangement thought that the *Cleitophon* should precede the *Republic*. It is not difficult to infer the general reasons for this. *Cleitophon* consists of a conversation between Socrates and Cleitophon and is framed by two mentions of Thrasymachus, at *Cleit.* 406a3 and *Cleit.* 410c7. The first book of the *Republic* mainly comprises an argument between Socrates and Thrasymachus, with an intervention from Cleitophon at *Rep.* 340a3-b8. In the former Cleitophon wants to know what comes after the protreptic at which Socrates is so good: he wants to know what δικαιοσύνη is. The latter is ostensibly entirely concerned with this question. It is

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[97] (1999).

as if the arranger of the dialogues saw the *Republic* as demonstrating that Thrasymachus, towards whom Cleitophon in the eponymous dialogue is leaning for some concrete answers, is not the man to help him. Socrates has the answers he is looking for, and they are brought out in the rest of the dialogue in exploration of the nature of justice. Thus, as far as we can infer from the order of the dialogues handed down to us, the *Cleitophon* seems to have been read as a preliminary to the *Republic*. An interesting piece of evidence is to be found at Hippolytus *Haer.* 1.19.21, where he quotes *Cleitophon* 407d4-8 with the words λέξις τούτου ἐμφανεστάτη ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Πολιτείαι. One could take this as meaning that the *Cleitophon* was read as part of the *Republic*, but Slings prefers to see it another way:

> It is an interesting slip, best explained if we think of a complete Plato which contained both *Clitophon* and *Republic* (or part of it). In other words, Hippolytus or his source consulted an edition of Plato in which the dialogues were grouped in tetralogical order.[98]

The former approach cements the connection between the two dialogues; the latter admits that their grouping linked them inextricably.

The similarities of the link between the *Cleitophon* and the *Republic* on the one hand, and the relationship of the initial conversation and the rest of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* on the other, are twofold. Firstly, the latter contains an introductory conversation between Cleitophon and a figure whose erotic interests may recall the Platonic Socrates. The *Cleitophon*, which seems to have been read as an introductory conversation to the *Republic*, consists of a dialogue between Socrates and Cleitophon. Secondly, the *Cleitophon* anticipates the discussion recounted in the

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[98] (1999), p.23, n.37.

Republic by asking the questions that it aims to answer. The initial scene of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, with its description of a painting of the abduction of Europa by Zeus in the form of a bull, and with the conversation, which draws attention to the power of Love and in which the anonymous narrator asks to hear Cleitophon's story, fulfils a similar function. The former foreshadows the erotic theme of the novel, and the latter explicitly draws attention to the erotic nature of the narration to follow. Achilles Tatius, however, has switched the interlocutors around. In the *Cleitophon* it is Cleitophon who asks the questions and in the *Republic* it is Socrates who provides the answers, whereas in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* the anonymous narrator (Socrates) asks the questions that Cleitophon's narration answers. Achilles Tatius, therefore, named his hero Cleitophon in order to suggest similarities between the relationships of the *Cleitophon* and the *Republic* on the one hand and of the initial conversation of his novel and the narration that fills the rest of it on the other.[99]

2.11 *Leucippe and Cleitophon*: A Quasi-Platonic Dialogue-Novel

These five reminiscences of Plato each have their own function.[100] Collectively they create a strong impression in a short amount of text, but as yet they can not be brought to bear on the question of the beginning/end discrepancy. The next step is to claim that this wealth of allusion, and the allusions of various forms throughout the novel,[101] suggest to the reader that he is reading a quasi-Platonic dialogue-novel. How

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[99] See Trapp (2000), p.234, where he argues that Dio *Or.* 13 is based on Plato's *Cleitophon*.

[100] That is the swarm of stories, the μῦθος/λόγος distinction, the setting, the interest in erotica and the name Cleitophon.

[101] See chs. 1., 3., 4., and 5. *passim*.

can this help with our problem? If a reader of a Platonic dialogue did not think it amiss when a frame was not resumed (Solution 6.), then Achilles Tatius may have utilised his Platonic references, which still retain their individual functions, to make the reader think that he was reading a work that would bear narrative similarities to a Platonic dialogue. This proposition calls for an analysis, albeit rather rough, of Plato's narrative technique in his dialogues and for a comparison of this with that of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*.

Achilles Tatius' novel has two frames: the narrative frame of the story told by the anonymous narrator, and the dramatic frame of the conversation between the narrator and Cleitophon. Neither of these is resumed. Of the works of Plato, including the *spuria*,[102] most are wholly dramatic, and so are irrelevant to this enquiry.[103] Those that are largely narrative are the *Phaedo, Theaetetus, Parmenides, Symposium, Amatores, Charmides, Lysis, Euthydemus, Protagoras, Republic, Demodocus* II-IV, *Eryxias* and *Axiochus*. There are two broad categories: those that are strictly narrative, with the narrator addressing an unknown addressee/the reader, and those whose frame is dramatic, but whose bulk consists of a narration of past events. Both thus contain elements found in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*.

I shall deal with the latter category first, examining each dialogue briefly.

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[102] Whether or not the *spuria* really are spurious, and whether those dialogues whose authorship is disputed are spurious, does not matter. What matters is whether they were considered spurious in Achilles Tatius' time. If they were not, their narrative technique counts as evidence of what Achilles Tatius thought Plato's narrative technique was; if they were, their narrative technique was presumably meant to reflect that of Plato and so is worth considering.

[103] The *Epistles* are neither dramatic nor can they easily be analysed in narrative terms.

1. The *Phaedo* consists of a framing conversation between Echecrates and Phaedo which is resumed at three points.[104] The bulk of the dialogue is taken up with Phaedo's account of the final conversation and death of Socrates.

2. The *Euthydemus* is similar, with the framing conversation between Crito and Socrates resumed twice,[105] although at various points in his narration Socrates addresses Crito by name without reply.

3. The *Protagoras* has a framing conversation between Socrates and an anonymous friend which is not resumed. The rest of the dialogue contains Socrates' account of the conversations that took place when he and Hippocrates went to Callias' house to see Protagoras.

4. The *Symposium* is similar to the *Protagoras* in that it begins with a framing conversation between Apollodorus and an anonymous friend. The situation is complicated, however, because Apollodorus tells his friend that he has recently told Glaucon what he wishes to hear, and then he tells his friend too. He had heard it from Aristodemus. Thus the frame is doubled: Apollodorus tells a friend what Aristodemus told him. The second frame is repeatedly referred to directly, or by use of *oratio obliqua*. The first frame is not resumed.

5. The last of this category is the *Theaetetus*. This dialogue is unique, for instead of being dramatic/narrative like the other four in this category, it is dramatic/dramatic. It begins with a framing conversation, which is not resumed, between Euclides and Terpsion. Euclides then gets a slave to read his rendering of a dialogue between

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[104] *Phd.* 88c8-89a10; *Phd.* 102a4-11; and *Phd.* 118a15-17 (the end).

[105] *Euthd.* 290e1-293b1: and *Euthd.* 304c6-307c4 (the end).

Socrates, Theaetetus and Theodorus. His rendering of it is dramatic.[106] The *Sophist* and *Politicus* are sequels to this dialogue, and in neither of them is the framing conversation resumed.

The second category contains those dialogues that are strictly narrative.

1. In the *Amatores*, *Charmides*, *Lysis* and *Demodocus* II-IV the frame is resumed throughout when the narrator recounts events rather than reporting what was said.

2. In the *Republic* and *Eryxias* the frame is resumed throughout, although not at the end.

3. In the *Axiochus* the narrative frame is resumed once.[107]

4. The remaining dialogue, the *Parmenides*, is particularly interesting. Cephalus tells the unknown addressee/the reader of a conversation he had with Glaucon and Adeimantus in which they decided to go to Antiphon to hear him recount the conversation between Socrates, Parmenides and Zeno that Pythodorus had told him. The primary frame is not resumed; the tertiary frame is resumed at 130a3-8 and 136d4; and the secondary frame is resumed at 136e5-8. Thereafter none of the frames is resumed.

This analysis, although brief, serves to show that a framing structure is a common feature of the narrative Platonic dialogue, and that several of them contain no resumption of this frame. This feature is used by other second sophistic authors in

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[106] ἐγραψάμην δὲ δὴ οὑτωσὶ τὸν λόγον, οὐκ ἐμοὶ Σωκράτη διηγούμενον ὡς διηγεῖτο, ἀλλὰ διαλεγόμενον οἷς ἔφη διαλεχθῆναι. ἔφη δὲ τῷ τε γεωμέτρῃ Θεοδώρῳ καὶ τῷ Θεαιτήτῳ. ἵνα οὖν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ μὴ παρέχοιεν πράγματα αἱ μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων διηγήσεις περὶ αὐτοῦ τε ὁπότε λέγοι ὁ Σωκράτης, οἷον "καὶ ἐγὼ ἔφην" ἢ "καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον," ἢ αὖ περὶ τοῦ ἀποκρινομένου ὅτι "συνέφη" ἢ "οὐχ ὡμολόγει," τούτων ἕνεκα ὡς αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς διαλεγόμενον ἔγραψα, ἐξελὼν τὰ τοιαῦτα. (*Tht.* 143b5-c6)

[107] *Ax.* 364d1-365a5.

dialogues in which they are striving for a partly Platonic effect. Plutarch's *Amatorius* begins with a conversation between Flavian and Autobolus, Plutarch's son, in which Flavian has already asked the latter to recount a conversation in which his father took part. Before long this is what he does, and the opening frame is not resumed. The *Amatorius* contains much that is Platonic,[108] and it is reasonable to think that this framing technique is also indebted to Plato. Lucian's *Symposium* likewise owes much to Plato, largely by way of parody, and it too has a similar framing dialogue.[109] Philo asks an ostensibly reluctant Lycinus to tell him what happened over dinner at Aristaenetus' house the night before, and Lycinus eventually obliges. This frame is resumed four times, at 10, where Philo comments on the guests, at 21, where Philo anticipates the contents of Hetoemocles' letter, at 38, where Lycinus asks Philo to remember what he has told him, and Philo says he will, and at the end, where Lycinus addresses Philo directly. Lucian has used the Platonic technique of a dialogue within a dialogue. This is also used by Ps.-Lucian in his *Amores*.[110] Theomnestus turns around Lycinus' request for more tales and asks him to say which are better, those who love women or those who love boys. Lycinus replies by recounting a conversation he had with Charicles and Callicratidas. At the end Lycinus asks Theomnestus for his verdict,

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[108] See Trapp (1990), pp.157-61.

[109] See Branham (1989), pp.104-20, on Lucian's *Symposium*, especially p.105, where he says that it is "formally identical to Plato's *Euthydemus*", and pp.237-8, n.4, on Lucian's "Platonic" dialogues.

[110] See Goldhill (1995), p.102: "as so often in Plato this (sc. Ps.-Luc. *Am.*) is thus a dialogue reported in a dialogue".

and the frame is briefly resumed. Again there is much that is Platonic in this work,[111] and the framing technique finds a likely forbear in Plato's narrative strategy.[112]

These other examples increase the probability that a reader of Achilles Tatius' work, when put in mind of Plato at many junctures and especially in the opening conversation, would recognise another Platonic feature when finding that the double frame was not resumed at the end of the novel. None of the dialogues has exactly the same narrative structure as *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, but this should not be regarded as a problem, for it is the general practice of having a frame which is not always resumed that I wish to show is a significant feature of some of Plato's works. My argument is enhanced if it is right to think that Achilles Tatius' Cleitophon is named after the Platonic Cleitophon. For the *Cleitophon* could be read as an introductory conversation to the *Republic*, and was presumably intended to be so read by the arranger of the tetralogies we possess. The *Republic* is one of those dialogues in which, while it is resumed at various points throughout, the frame is discarded at the

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[111] See Trapp (1990), pp.156-7.

[112] See Trapp (2000), p.223 and p.230, for Dio's use of Platonic compositional technique. A passage which bears many similarities to Plut. *Amat.* and Ps.-Luc. *Am.* is the debate at the end of book 2 (*L. & C.* 2.35-8). As with the lack of a logical conclusion which would respond to the opening frame of the novel, Achilles Tatius seems to undermine his reader's expectations here too by not bringing the debate to a definitive close. He deliberately leaves it open-ended, as if to let the reader decide for himself who has won. See Goldhill (1995), pp.91ff.

end.[113] Thus the reader who spotted this correspondence would realise that the dropping of the double frame at the end was similar to Plato's practice.

But does this not confuse the issue? In expanding an answer (Solution 6.) to the beginning/end discrepancy problem, have I not shown that the problem no longer exists, by arguing that a reader would be primed for such an ending by his knowledge of Plato? I do not think so, for the questions that this debate presupposes would still be asked by the reader who did not think it strange that the frames were not resumed. The recognition that the end of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* reflects Platonic narrative practice would not obscure the discrepancies that are bound up with the imitation of this practice. It might be objected that Platonic dialogues do not contain the sort of discrepancies involved in Achilles Tatius' novel, and that the reader would ignore them, deceived by the Platonic imitation. But that would be to underestimate both the reader and the seriousness of the discrepancies.

2.12 Conclusion

How, then, is Solution 8., that Achilles Tatius set up discrepancies between the opening frame and the end of his novel in order to call into question the most basic novel convention, to be married with the argument that Achilles Tatius consciously imitated Platonic techniques of narration? If the subversion theory is secure, and I hope to have shown that it is in terms of both logic and consistency, the issue is how does Achilles Tatius' evocation of a Platonic open-endedness in his work fit in with

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[113] This is not to imply that the *Cleitophon* is to be/was meant to be interpreted as a frame to the *Republic*, for if Socrates were addressing the latter to Cleitophon, he would surely not have referred to him impersonally during its course.

the subversion?[114] I would argue that Platonic narrative technique, specifically the lack of frame-resumption, gave Achilles Tatius the wherewithal to accomplish his aim of raising the possibility that he has subverted the greatest novelistic convention of them all: the happy ending. The imitation of Platonic technique did not lead the reader to ignore the discrepancies, rather it enabled their existence. For by this method Achilles Tatius was able to avoid resuming his frames, thus engineering the doubts that a reader entertains upon finishing the novel and comparing its end with its beginning. It is true that Achilles Tatius did not need to imitate Plato in this way: he could merely have not resumed his frames. But by evoking an author whose regular practice it was to leave his works open-ended, he softened the blow. A reader of Plato would not miss the logical ending of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, but he would realise the repercussions of its absence.

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[114] Why Plato should not have wanted to resume his frames, or why he wanted to have frames in the first place, is beyond the scope of this thesis, whether the answer be distancing Plato/the reader from the material, dramatic realism, literary aesthetics, any other reason, or a combination.

Chapter 3.

The Naming of Leucippe in Achilles Tatius

3.1 Leucippe in *LGPN*

There is only one attestation of the name Leucippe in *LGPN*. It would be an obvious advantage for this thesis if this sole instance occurred in Plato. Or, if it did not, it would be convenient, if I wanted to argue that Achilles Tatius named his Leucippe after the sole attested bearer. Neither is the case, however, for she belonged to first century BC Attica and nothing more is known of her which might have been of use here. The rarity of the name is, of course, a bonus, and it would seem that the *prima facie* case that Achilles Tatius derived this name from a particular source would be enhanced by this.[1] However, the male equivalent of Leucippe, Leucippos, is not as uncommon: *LGPN* I has 22, II has 4, III.A has 3, and III.B has 1. There is also a Leucippodorus and a Leucippidas in III.B. This raises the question of whether the fact that there is only one recorded instance of the name Leucippe is due to its having belonged to a woman, rather than to its having been especially rare. Below is a table containing the number of attested males, females and indeterminates for each volume of *LGPN* with the respective percentages.[2]

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[1] As was the case for Philebus in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, for example.

[2] I have used the updated figures of www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk. These include 3 more attestations for I (there is no indication of numbers per gender in the published volume I), 1 more male for II, 2 more males for III.B, and the switch of one indeterminate to the total of males in III.B.

		Male	Female	Indet.	Total
I	No.	60,249	5,700	540	66,489
	%	**90.6**	**8.6**	**0.8**	**100**
II	No.	56,618	5,691	52	62,361
	%	**90.8**	**9.1**	**0.1**	**100**
III.A	No.	36,848	6,335	78	43,261
	%	**85.2**	**14.6**	**0.2**	**100**
III.B	No.	38,752	4,620	84	43,456
	%	**89.2**	**10.6**	**0.2**	**100**
Total	No.	192,467	22,346	754	215,567
	%	**89.3**	**10.4**	**0.3**	**100**

Roughly 90% of attestations belong to males and 10% to females. Thus the lack of bearers of the name Leucippe in *LGPN* should not be so surprising, if we assume that males were more likely to be attested than females. If the ratio of males to females was roughly 1:1,[3] this might indicate that were other women with the name Leucippe who are unattested. However, one form of attestation comprises literary sources, from which Achilles Tatius is more likely to be drawing if he intended some form of allusion.[4] There may have been a Leucippe, or more, who appeared in a work/s which is/are no longer extant,[5] but if a plausible case can be made for another reason why Achilles Tatius gave his heroine the name Leucippe, it is not necessary to worry

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[3] It is more likely to have been nearer this than to 9:1, which is the ratio of the attestations in *LGPN*.

[4] As I hope to have shown in the previous two chapters.

[5] See below for Leucippe in Plato's *Critias*.

unduly about unknown possibilities. At any rate, the statistical data (even Leucippos is not that common) are no great burden for any argument to bear.

3.2 Leucippe in Plato's *Critias*

There is also a Leucippe mentioned in the *Critias* of Plato.[6] Having finished his description of Athens and the life her inhabitants lived, Critias proceeds to do the same for Atlantis. Poseidon received the island as one of his domains and shaped the place for his descendants, who were the result of his union with the daughter of an original inhabitant:

> τούτῳ δ᾽ ἦν ἔνοικος τῶν ἐκεῖ κατὰ ἀρχὰς ἐκ γῆς ἀνδρῶν γεγονότων
> Εὐήνωρ μὲν ὄνομα, γυναικὶ δὲ συνοικῶν Λευκίππη· Κλειτὼ δὲ μονογενῆ
> θυγατέρα ἐγεννησάσθην. (Plat. *Crit.* 113c8-d2)

This is all we are told about this Leucippe, and it is not enough to substantiate any claim that Achilles Tatius had her in mind when naming his heroine. The fact that her daughter is called Cleito, and that Achilles Tatius' hero is called Cleitophon, is tantalising, and the possibility that this passage had some part to play can not be ruled out. However, it has already been maintained that Cleitophon is named after the eponymous interlocutor of Plato's dialogue, and it should be noted that this passage is relatively obscure.[7]

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[6] This Leucippe does not (yet) appear in *LGPN*, and this highlights the dangers involved in dealing with a) statistical data and b) statistical data that are incomplete. Besides, since she is described as an inhabitant of ancient Atlantis, it will be interesting to see in which volume the editors of *LGPN* decide to put her!

[7] See the *Index Locorum* in Dillon (1993) - 26 of Plato's dialogues appear; the *Critias* is one of the few that does not.

3.3 The Leucippe of Achilles Tatius and Plato's Good Horse of the Soul

I wish instead to argue that Achilles Tatius derived the inspiration for naming his heroine Leucippe from a passage of Plato that was particularly famous. After a brief argument for the immortality of the soul (*Phdr.* 245c5-246a2) Socrates describes its structure: ἐοικέτω δὴ συμφύτῳ δυνάμει ὑποπτέρου ζεύγους τε καὶ ἡνιόχου (*Phdr.* 246a6-7). Gods' souls are entirely constituted from good parts, but those of others are mixed:

> καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ ἄρχων συνωρίδος ἡνιοχεῖ, εἶτα τῶν ἵππων ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ καλός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐκ τοιούτων, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἐναντίων τε καὶ ἐναντίος (*Phdr.* 246b1-3).

Socrates picks this up at *Phdr.* 253c7 and proceeds to describe the two horses of the soul. Among other things, the good horse is λευκὸς ἰδεῖν (*Phdr.* 253d5). What I intend to propose is that Achilles Tatius named his heroine after the Platonic good horse of the soul, splicing together the words λευκὸς and ἵππος. I shall first adduce a passage from Aristophanes[8] as part of an argument to show that Greeks were aware of the force of constituent parts of a name; I shall then argue that the passage of the *Phaedrus* in which the white horse appears was particularly well known; and finally I shall provide some allusions to the Platonic passage in Achilles Tatius' novel which act as clues to the provenance of Leucippe's name.

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[8] From a play, *Nubes*, that Achilles Tatius may have expected his readers to know - see 1.7.3.

3.4 Constituent Parts of Greek Names

At the beginning of Aristophanes' *Nubes* Strepsiades bemoans his lot, and especially the debt he is in owing to his son's passion for horses. He tells the audience that he had argued with his wife over what they should call their son:

ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἵππον προσετίθει πρὸς τοὔνομα,

Ξάνθιππον ἢ Χάριππον ἢ Καλλιππίδην,

ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ πάππου 'τιθέμην Φειδωνίδην.

τέως μὲν οὖν ἐκρινόμεθ'· εἶτα τῷ χρόνῳ

κοινῇ ξυνέβημεν κάθέμεθα Φειδιππίδην. (Ar. *Nu.* 63-7)

This neatly combines two points: first that the presence of ιππ in a name could be expected to convey associations with horses, and second that compound names retained the meaning of their parts.[9] This situation is analogous to the case of names such as Smithson. In normal usage the name has no significance beyond the fact that it denotes a person. But it actually has, or rather had, a meaning too: the son of a smith.

Aristophanes here conveniently gives us an insight into Greek naming practice, or at least portrays a familiar or plausible scenario. The importance of the parts of a name can also be discerned from various other sources. As far as historically attested names are concerned, it can hardly be a coincidence that Chaerephon and

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[9] Dubois (2000), p.43-4, remarks that λεύκιππος is a possessive compound, but that it was not necessarily understood as such. Hippolytus, whose etymological meaning is "he whose horses are unyoked" (Ibid., pp.48-51), was very likely understood as meaning "loosed by (i.e. torn apart by) horses" - Hornblower on p.12 of Hornblower/Matthews (2000), with n.6. Therefore the etymological meaning of Leucippe need not obstruct my case, if there are reasons to think of it as meaning, or referring to, something else.

Chaerecrates[10] share the first of the component parts of their names and that the sole

attested Leucippe is the daughter of a Leucis. In Plato's *Cratylus*, especially 394ff.,

Socrates gives examples of names which should be given in a manner appropriate to

their constituent parts. When considering what an impious man should be called, one

name that is ruled out is Theophilus[11] and another is Mnesitheus. This brings us to one

or two fictional examples from second sophistic authors. A man bearing the name

Mnesitheus is mentioned by Zeus in Lucian *J.Tr.* as one who was mean in his

sacrifice, despite the fact that his ship had just been rescued.[12] While I think it unlikely

that Lucian had the passage of Plato's *Cratylus* in mind, it is reasonable to suppose

that he chose the name with a sense of irony in awareness of its etymological meaning.

At the end of book 2 of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, as Bowie notes,[13] a "spontaneous

oracle" "spells out for the reader" that the "chief criterion" of choosing the names

Theagenes and Charicleia "was clearly the sense of the component Greek terms":

Τὴν χάριν ἐν πρώτοις αὐτὰρ κλέος ὕστατ' ἔχουσαν

φράζεσθ', ὦ Δελφοί, τόν τε θεᾶς γενέτην (2.35.5).

However, some indication that the parts of a name are meaningful in themselves must

be given if these meanings are to be realised. This occurs explicitly in the passages

from Aristophanes, Plato and Heliodorus and can be inferred in the passage from

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[10] See 1.7.2, pp.82-3, n.80.

[11] See 1.11.3.

[12] ἑκκαίδεκα θεοὺς ἑστιῶν ἀλεκτρυόνα μόνον κατέθυσε, γέροντα κἀκεῖνον ἤδη καὶ κορυζῶντα, καὶ λιβανωτοῦ χόνδρους τέτταρας εὖ μάλα εὐρωτιῶντας, ὡς αὐτίκα ἐπισβεσθῆναι τῷ ἄνθρακι, μηδὲ ὅσον ἄκρᾳ τῇ ῥινὶ ὀσφραίνεσθαι τοῦ καπνοῦ παρασχόντας, καὶ ταῦτα ἑκατόμβας ὅλας ὑποσχόμενος ὁπότε ἡ ναῦς ἤδη προσεφέρετο τῷ σκοπέλῳ καὶ ἐντὸς ἦν τῶν ἑρμάτων. (Luc. *J.Tr.* 15)

[13] (1995), pp.277-8.

Lucian. That a reader of Achilles Tatius' novel was expected to carry out the same procedure on the name Leucippe and its constituent parts requires proof in the form of indications in the text, for otherwise the reader may not have realised that the name had some such sort of significance.[14]

3.5 The Popularity of the *Phaedrus* and Socrates' Second Speech

It seems reasonable to expect that a second century reader would have readily recognised any allusion to Socrates' second speech in the *Phaedrus* with its memorable mythical images, for second century writers seem to have had the same expectation.[15] Trapp considers examples of allusions to this speech with discussion[16] and lists[17] references to the part concerning the soul of the lover in a number of second century authors, including Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tatius, Longus, Plutarch, Ps.-Lucian and Dio, although the list for Achilles Tatius should, I hope to show, be expanded. O' Sullivan lists some further instances of allusion in Achilles

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[14] A partial analogue is Apuleius' use of the name Thrasyllus. Although I have argued that he chose it for another reason, Repath (2000), it does have an etymological connection with θρασύς, to which Apuleius himself draws attention: *Thrasyllus, praeceps alioquin et de ipso nomine temerarius ...* (Ap. *Met.* 8.8).

[15] See Plut. *Ant.* 36.2: καὶ τέλος, ὥσπερ φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων τὸ δυσπειθὲς καὶ ἀκόλαστον τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποζύγιον, ἀπολακτίσας τὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια πάντα ... , with Pelling (1988), *ad loc.*, and *Virt. mor.* 445c: οἷον ὁ Πλάτων ἐξεικονίζει περὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποζύγια, τοῦ χείρονος πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ζυγομαχοῦντος ἅμα καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον διαταράττοντος, ἀντέχειν ὀπίσω καὶ κατατείνειν ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀναγκαζόμενον.

[16] (1990), pp.148-164.

[17] Ibid., p.172.

Tatius 1.[18] It is even more likely that a reader would be attuned to spotting any such allusions if he was reading an erotic novel. As Anderson puts it:

> Novelists and their readers alike could be expected to know both the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*. Both texts represented Plato's literary elegance and humour at its most whimsical and refined; both are largely concerned with love, and extensively imitated in many other genres....The novelist who encounters these literary touches in the standard set text on the psychology of love will have a ready-made arsenal.[19]

Moreover, by the time the reader encounters Leucippe he will have negotiated a Plato-laden opening and will have had his awareness of the possibility of Platonic references aroused.[20]

3.6 Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and The Horses and Charioteer of the Soul

The starting point for this argument is Leucippe herself. If she is described in the same or similar terms to the good horse of the soul, the *prima facie* case would be reasonably strong. The next task is to compare the description of the bad horse with the portrayal of Leucippe, with the assumption that any clear echoes would indicate a

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[18] (1978), p.326, n.61. Many of these will be discussed below and in ch.4.

[19] (1982), pp.5-6.

[20] An attempt has been made by Drake (1968-9), pp.108-9, to argue that in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* Lucius' white horse, which reappears as Candidus at *Met.* 11.20, is inspired by Plato's white horse of the soul. This would be partially analogous to what I shall argue. Griffiths (1978), pp.159-61, however, is sceptical.

perversion of the Platonic material. The behaviour of the two horses and their charioteer in the myth is the next source. Finally it will remain to consider whether the descriptions and behaviour of the two horses and their charioteer find any reflections in the novel as a whole. Any obvious allusions would help the case that Leucippe was named after the good horse by demonstrating that Achilles Tatius expected his readers to remember the Platonic passage, to recognise the references and to understand their purpose. This method involves taking some passages of *Leucippe and Cleitophon* out of order and so may not reflect the way in which information was revealed to the reader, but it does allow for a more logical argument, at least in terms of dealing with the Platonic source material.[21] The case will be cumulative, built up on a nexus of allusions which involve the reader in a hermeneutic game.

The Platonic good horse of the soul is described as follows:

ὁ μὲν τοίνυν αὐτοῖν ἐν τῇ καλλίονι στάσει ὢν τό τε εἶδος ὀρθὸς καὶ διηρθρωμένος, ὑψαύχην, ἐπίγρυπος, λευκὸς ἰδεῖν, μελανόμματος, τιμῆς ἐραστὴς μετὰ σωφροσύνης τε καὶ αἰδοῦς, καὶ ἀληθινῆς δόξης ἑταῖρος, ἄπληκτος, κελεύσματι μόνον καὶ λόγῳ ἡνιοχεῖται (*Phdr.* 253d3-e1).

Parts of this description could be argued to be echoed where Achilles Tatius is dealing with Leucippe herself. When Cleitophon first sees Leucippe he is struck by her appearance. As well as her golden hair and rosebud lips, he emphasises her black eyebrows and white cheeks:

ὀφρὺς μέλαινα, τὸ μέλαν ἄκρατον· λευκὴ παρειά, τὸ λευκὸν εἰς μέσον ἐφοινίσσετο ... (1.4.3)

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[21] The other options were a) considering the novel's passages in strict narrative order, which would have disabled the comparison of similar points, and b) dealing with the more concrete allusions first, which would have had the disadvantage of not following either text in a logical fashion.

Her whiteness is emphasised, although this is perhaps not in itself remarkable, having been an attractive feature of a woman since at least Homer's time, and it is Leucippe's beauty that is the focus here.[22] Later, when Thersander goes to see Leucippe in the house in which she is being kept, Cleitophon relates that she cried and indulges in a generalisation concerning the power of tears to accentuate the character of the eye.

ἐὰν δὲ ἡδὺς καὶ τοῦ μέλανος ἔχων τὴν βαφὴν ἠρέμα τῷ λευκῷ στεφανούμενος ... τὸ δὲ μέλαν πορφύρεται ... Τοιαῦτα Λευκίππης ἦν τὰ δάκρυα (6.7.1-3).

While I do not think that these passages would automatically remind a reader of the white appearance of the good horse (λευκὸς ἰδεῖν Phdr. 253d5) and its black eyes (μελανόμματος Phdr. 253d5-6), and it would clearly be inadvisable to build my case on this example alone, I believe that in conjunction with manifold other allusions to the description of both horses of the soul and their activities these passages can be seen as part of an allusive network.

The portrayal of the bad horse finds an echo in a passage already discussed with regard to the naming of Gorgias. Leucippe has been maddened by his φάρμακον, but when Cleitophon and Menelaus go to her and the former asks her what is wrong:

Ἡ δὲ ὡς εἶδέ με, ἀναπηδήσασα παίει με κατὰ τῶν προσώπων, ὕφαιμον βλέπουσα (4.9.2.).

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[22] Chloe is described in similar terms, with her whiteness also a prominent feature: ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι ... καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὅτι λευκότερον ἀληθῶς καὶ τοῦ τῶν αἰγῶν γάλακτος (Long. D. & C. 1.17.3); ὁ δὲ (sc. εἴκασε) μήλῳ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ὅτι λευκὸν καὶ ἐνερευθὲς ἦν. (D. & C. 1.24.3); αὐτὴ τότε πρῶτον Δάφνιδος ὁρῶντος ἐλούσατο τὸ σῶμα, λευκὸν καὶ καθαρὸν ὑπὸ κάλλους καὶ οὐδὲν λουτρῶν ἐς κάλλος δεόμενον (D. & C. 1.32.1). Callirhoe is also notable for her white flesh: ὁ χρὼς γὰρ λευκὸς ἔστιλψεν εὐθὺς μαρμαρυγῇ τινι ὅμοιον ἀπολάμπων (Char. 2.2.2).

Leucippe ὕφαιμον βλέπουσα might allude to the epithet ὕφαιμος (*Phdr.* 253e3), which is given to the bad horse among other undesirable characteristics at *Phdr.* 253e1-5. These are the only occurrences of ὕφαιμος in both Plato and *Leucippe and Cleitophon*. In the latter ὕφαιμον βλέπουσα clearly means "her eyes all bloodshot", as Gaselee translates it.[23] According to *LSJ* ὕφαιμος in the *Phaedrus* means "hot-blooded" and is used to convey the temperament of the bad horse. However, the description of the bad horse is mainly concerned with outward form, and, furthermore, ὕφαιμος follows γλαυκόμματος in the list of attributes and so is more naturally taken as referring to its eyes.[24] A strict dichotomy in meaning is not necessary, though, for bloodshot eyes were evidently taken as symptomatic of an aggressive or unbalanced mental state.[25] There does not, at any rate, seem to be any semantic reason why the use of ὕφαιμος here by Achilles Tatius could not be an allusion. The probability that this is a reference is increased by the fact that Leucippe is described as ἀναπηδήσασα at Cleitophon, her beloved. This is the reverse of the good horse's reaction when the charioteer sees τὸ ἐρωτικὸν ὄμμα (*Phdr.* 253e5): ἑαυτὸν κατέχει μὴ ἐπιπηδᾶν τῷ ἐρωμένῳ (*Phdr.* 254a2-3). The adverse effect of the φάρμακον on Leucippe results in her adopting an aspect of the appearance of the bad horse of the soul and leads to her acting in the opposite way to the good horse, which

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[23] (1969), p.207. It is a common enough phrase: cf. Aelian *NA* 3.21; Men. *Epit.* 900, and Luc. *Par.* 41.

[24] Rowe (1986), Hamilton (1973) and Nehamas/Woodruff (1997) all take it to mean "bloodshot", *pace* Hackforth (1952), who concurs with *LSJ*. As for whether a horse could be both γλαυκόμματος and ὕφαιμος, the former would concern the pupil and the latter the "white" of the eye.

[25] Cf. Eur. *HF* 933, where bloodshot eyes are a sign of madness.

is, by implication and from what follows (*Phdr.* 254a3ff.), the way in which the bad

horse wishes to behave. The incongruity between this and the name Leucippe is

symptomatic of Achilles Tatius' humour. It is also ironic that it is the love-potion of a

rival of Cleitophon that makes Leucippe behave like the bad horse towards her own

beloved.

The only other part of the description of the bad horse that might be alluded

to, at least with reference to Leucippe herself, is the fact that it is βραχυτράχηλος

(*Phdr.* 253e2). Although this word does not appear in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*,

τράχηλος occurs four times in all, two of which instances refer to Leucippe.[26] The first

of these two occurs as Satyrus is giving Cleitophon advice on his next moves with his

beloved:

σὸν ἔργον ἤδη δέσποινάν τε καλεῖν καὶ φιλῆσαι τράχηλον. (2.4.4)

This, again, is not remarkable, but it is strongly and verbally linked to the other

occurrence, where Thersander is attempting to force his affections onto Leucippe:

καὶ ἐπιθεὶς τὴν χεῖρα τῷ τραχήλῳ περιέβαλεν ὡς μέλλων φιλήσειν.

(6.18.4)

The use of τράχηλος would not here constitute a reference by itself, but it is possibly

significant in light of the explicit allusion that immediately precedes it. Thersander has

gone into the cottage in which Leucippe, with whom he is in love, is being held

captive. Although he composes himself, he is inflamed by the sight of her, and μικροῦ

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[26] Of the other two, one is used of Charicles' horse (on the behaviour of which see below, 3.7): Ὁ δὲ

κακοδαίμων Χαρικλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἱππείας ταλαντούομενος κύματος, ἐκ τῆς ἕδρας ἐσφαιρίζετο, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπ'

οὐρὰν κατολισθαίνων, ποτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ τράχηλον κυβιστῶν (1.12.4), and the other is metaphorical and refers

to the isthmus which bound Tyre to the mainland: συνδεῖ γὰρ αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον στενὸς αὐχήν, καὶ

ἔστιν ὥσπερ τῆς νήσου τράχηλος. (2.14.3)

μὲν προσπεσὼν περιεχύθη τῇ κόρῃ (6.18.2). He manages to control himself, however,

and begins to speak to her, but his words are incoherent. This enables Achilles Tatius

to embark on one of his favourite *topoi*, the psychological *sententia*:

> Τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ ἐρῶντες, ὅταν πρὸς τὰς ἐρωμένας ζητήσωσι λαλεῖν· οὐ γὰρ
> ἐπιστήσαντες τὸν λογισμὸν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ ἐρώμενον
> ἔχοντες, τῇ γλώττῃ μόνον χωρὶς ἡνιόχου τοῦ λογισμοῦ λαλοῦσιν. (6.18.3.)

Although this takes us beyond the descriptions of the horses, it would seem to be a

clear reference to the charioteer of the *Phaedrus* myth. For although the charioteer is

not explicitly equated with reason in the *Phaedrus*, consideration of the passage in the

Republic in which Socrates distinguishes the three parts of the soul makes it plain that

this should be the case. Having established that the soul can be the source of

contradictory desires (*Rep.* 439c2-d3), Socrates claims that there are (at least) two

parts of the soul and that they are correct in: τὸ μὲν ᾧ λογίζεται λογιστικὸν

προσαγορεύοντες τῆς ψυχῆς (*Rep.* 439d5-6). This is clearly the role of the charioteer in

the *Phaedrus* myth, and the similarity of the overall structure of the soul is confirmed

at the end of the dissection where the positions of the horses are adumbrated:

> Οὐκοῦν τῷ μὲν λογιστικῷ ἄρχειν προσήκει, σοφῷ ὄντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὴν ὑπὲρ
> ἁπάσης τῆς ψυχῆς προμήθειαν, τῷ δὲ θυμοειδεῖ ὑπηκόῳ εἶναι καὶ συμμάχῳ
> τούτου; (*Rep.* 441e4-6)

The reader of Plato would surely have realised that the charioteer represented the

rational part of the soul, as Plutarch points out:

> καὶ Πλάτων αὐτὸς εἰκάσας συμφύτῳ ζεύγει καὶ ἡνιόχῳ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶδος
> ἡνίοχον μέν, ὡς παντὶ δῆλον, ἀπέφηνε τὸ λογιστικὸν τῶν δὲ ἵππων τὸ μὲν
> περὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπειθὲς καὶ ἀνάγωγον παντάπασι περὶ ὦτα λάσιον,
> κωφόν, μάστιγι μετὰ κέντρων μόγις ὑπεῖκον τὸ δὲ θυμοειδὲς εὐήνιον τὰ
> πολλὰ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ σύμμαχον. (*Quaest. Plat.* 1008c)

The reader of Achilles Tatius, therefore, would not have needed to think twice about whether the passage from *Leucippe and Cleitophon* was a reference. Thersander's desire for Leucippe is so great that reason is allowed to play no part in his dealings with her. This is a relatively straightforward allusion, and emphasises Thersander's baseness in contrast with the virtue of Leucippe. It is not the bad horse in Thersander that is causing the problem, rather it is the absence of the controlling part, the charioteer. After some time spent trying to kiss her, Thersander resorts to force:

καὶ τὴν μὲν λαιὰν ὑποβάλλει τῷ προσώπῳ κάτω, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ τῆς κόμης λαβόμενος, τῇ μὲν εἷλκεν εἰς τοὐπίσω, τῇ δὲ εἰς τὸν ἀνθερεῶνα ὑπερείδων ἀνώθει. (6.18.5)

This might remind the reader, especially given the reference to them above, of how the charioteer and his horses react to sight of the beloved:

ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἔδεισέ τε καὶ σεφθεῖσα ἀνέπεσεν ὑπτία, καὶ ἅμα ἠναγκάσθη εἰς τοὐπίσω ἑλκύσαι τὰς ἡνίας οὕτω σφόδρα, ὥστ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰ ἰσχία ἄμφω καθίσαι τὼ ἵππω, τὸν μὲν ἑκόντα διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀντιτείνειν, τὸν δὲ ὑβριστὴν μάλ᾽ ἄκοντα. (*Phdr.* 254b7-c3)

The twists of what Achilles Tatius is doing with his model should now become clear. Thersander speaks without the control of the charioteer in his soul and tries to force Leucippe, his beloved, back (εἷλκεν εἰς τοὐπίσω). The analogue for this behaviour is the charioteer of the soul trying to do exactly the opposite, drag the bad horse away from the beloved (εἰς τοὐπίσω ἑλκύσαι τὰς ἡνίας οὕτω σφόδρα). Thersander's force (ἀνέλκειν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐβιάζετο, εἷλκεν, ὑπερείδων ἀνώθει, ἐπαύσατο τῆς βίας 6.18.5-6) and Leucippe's resistance (νεύει κάτω, κατεδύετο, ἀντικατεδύετο καὶ ἔκρυπτε, τῇ τῆς χειρὸς πάλῃ 6.18.4-5) recall the charioteer's struggle with the bad horse of the soul (*Phdr.* 254a3ff.). However, Achilles Tatius reverses the roles with Thersander's

intemperate behaviour described in terms of the charioteer, and Leucippe's chaste refusal reflecting the bad horse's recalcitrance. The perversion is complete when one considers that the white horse, after whom I am arguing Leucippe is named, willingly obeys the charioteer in being dragged backwards.

Another firm allusion occurs with the very appearance of Leucippe. When the bad horse forces its yokemate and charioteer to go up to the object of their affection and suggest the pleasures of sex (*Phdr*. 254a3-7), the other two resist at first, but then yield and agree to do as they are told (*Phdr*. 254a7-b3):

καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τ' ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον τὴν ὄψιν τὴν τῶν παιδικῶν ἀστράπτουσαν. (*Phdr*. 254b3-5)

We infer from Sostratus' letter to his brother Hippias ('Ηκουσι πρὸς σὲ θυγάτηρ ἐμὴ Λευκίππη καὶ Πάνθεια γυνή 1.3.6) that the two women who are brought back from the shore by Hippias at 1.4 are Leucippe and Panthia. The latter is described first by Cleitophon (γυνή 1.4.1) and then he tells:

Ὡς δὲ ἐνέτεινα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπ' αὐτήν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρθένος ἐκφαίνεταί μοι καὶ καταστράπτει μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῷ προσώπῳ. (1.4.2)[27]

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[27] Heliodorus seems to be alluding to this passage at 1.21.3 where Charicleia is asked for her reaction to Thyamis' proposal that they be married: καὶ δή ποτε πρὸς τὸν Θύαμιν ἀντωπήσασα καὶ πλέον ἢ πρότερον αὐτὸν τῷ κάλλει καταστράψασα (καὶ γὰρ πεφοίνικτο τὴν παρειὰν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων πλέον ἢ σύνηθες καὶ τὸ βλέμμα κεκίνητο πρὸς τὸ γοργότερον). The flush of her cheeks picks up Leucippe's natural colouring (λευκὴ παρειά, τὸ λευκὸν εἰς μέσον ἐφοινίσσετο 1.4.3) and the look of her eye is reminiscent of Cleitophon's description of Leucippe's (ὄμμα γοργὸν ἐν ἡδονῇ Ibid.), to which Xen. Eph. 1.2.6 on Anthia should be compared: ὀφθαλμοὶ γοργοί. Cf. also Hld. 9.14.1: Ἤδη γοῦν παρατατόμενος ἑωρᾶτο κόμπῳ τε Περσικῷ τὰς ὄψεις προκαταλαμβάνων καὶ ἀργυροῖς τε καὶ ἐπιχρύσοις τοῖς ὅπλοις τὸ πεδίον καταστράπτων, and especially Hld. 3.3.4, where Theagenes appears in the

The metaphor of beauty as lightning is not unique to these two authors,[28] but the possibility that the lightning flash of the beauty of her face recalls the striking beauty of the beloved is increased by the fact that Cleitophon's reaction ('Ως δὲ εἶδον, εὐθὺς ἀπωλώλειν· κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον τιτρώσκει βέλους καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ 1.4.4) is also reminiscent of the *Phaedrus* at two separate points: δεξάμενος γὰρ τοῦ κάλλους τὴν ἀπορροὴν διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων (*Phdr.* 251b1-2), and: οὕτω τὸ τοῦ κάλλους ῥεῦμα πάλιν εἰς τὸν καλὸν διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἰόν, ᾗ πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἰέναι (*Phdr.* 255c5-7).[29] However, it is not only at this point that the comparison between beauty and lightning figures in the novel.

At 6.6.3 Leucippe hears the doors of the cottage, in which she is being held, open. As she looks up, Thersander catches his first glimpse of her:

ἀνανεύσασα μικρόν, αὖθις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κατέβαλεν. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος τὸ κάλλος ἐκ παραδρομῆς ὡς ἁρπαζομένης ἀστραπῆς ...

In a textual note on this passage O' Sullivan argues that ἁρπαζομένην ἀστραπήν should be read instead,[30] and this seems reasonable. If this emendation is accepted, Leucippe's beauty is described in terms of lightning at the points where the two

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procession at Delphi: ὥστε ἔδοξας ἂν ὑπ' ἀστραπῆς τὸ φαινόμενον πρότερον ἅπαν ἡμαυρῶσθαι, τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς ὀφθεὶς κατέλαμψεν.

[28] Cf. especially: "Ἤστραψε γλυκὺ κάλλος· ἰδοὺ φλόγας ὄμμασι βάλλει·/ ἆρα κεραυνομάχαν παῖδ' ἀνέδειξεν "Ερως;/ χαῖρε Πόθων ἀκτῖνα φέρων θνατοῖσι, Μυΐσκε,/ καὶ λάμποις ἐπὶ γᾷ πυρσὸς ἐμοὶ φίλοις. (*AP* 12.110); and Philostr. *Ep.* 34: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀποδύσῃ, ἀστράπτειν τὰ ἔνδον οἶμαι. See also Musaeus 792-3: ἡ δὲ θεῆς ἀνὰ νηὸν ἐπώιχετο παρθένος Ἡρώ/ μαρμαρυγὴν χαρίεσσαν ἀπαστράπτουσα προσώπου, where he is imitating Achilles Tatius. See Hopkinson (1994), *ad loc.*

[29] See 4.1 for this and other allusions to the same passages.

[30] (1977). See also idem (1980), q.v. ἀστραπή. The only other instance of ἀστραπή occurs at 3.2.2. where it has its literal meaning.

principal men in her life first see her. And just in case the reader was in any danger of forgetting that the *Phaedrus* is behind all this, Cleitophon proceeds to add a generalising comment which is reinforced by what Thersander said:

... μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κάθηται τὸ κάλλος - ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπ' αὐτὴν καὶ εἱστήκει τῇ θέᾳ δεδεμένος, ἐπιτηρῶν πότε αὖθις ἀναβλέψει πρὸς αὐτόν. Ὡς δὲ ἔνευσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, λέγει· "Τί κάτω βλέπεις, γύναι; Τί δὲ σου τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς γῆν καταρρεῖ; Ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μᾶλλον ῥεέτω τοὺς ἐμούς. (6.6.3-4)[31]

This echoes the same parts of the *Phaedrus* quoted above in connection with Cleitophon's reaction to his first sighting of Leucippe's beauty.

The cognate verb, ἀστράπτω, appears four times in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* and is also used, exclusively in fact, of beauty.[32] At 1.19.1 the beauty of the peacock, described by Cleitophon to Satyrus in 1.16, is compared with that of Leucippe:

Τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἀστράπτον τοῦ ταὼ ἧττον ἐδόκει μοι τοῦ Λευκίππης εἶναι προσώπου.

By implication Leucippe's κάλλος is more ἀστράπτον than that of the peacock.[33] Cleitophon proceeds to claim that her beauty rivalled the flowers of the meadow and that:

Ναρκίσσου μὲν τὸ πρόσωπον ἔστιλβε χροιάν, ῥόδον δὲ ἀνέτελλεν ἐκ τῆς παρειᾶς, ἴον δὲ ἡ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμάρμαιρεν αὐγή, αἱ δὲ κόμαι

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[31] See 4.1.

[32] A point emphasised by O' Sullivan (1977), p.239, while discussing the emendation mentioned above: "And, of course, ἀστραπήν suggests that the beauty of Leucippe is ἀστράπτον like all the best beauty in Achilles Tatius."

[33] On the peacock's place in the garden, see 5.2.

βοστρυχούμεναι μᾶλλον εἱλίττοντο κιττοῦ· τοσοῦτος ἦν Λευκίππης ἐπὶ τῶν

προσώπον ὁ λειμών. (1.19.1-2)

This reminds the reader directly of the description given by Cleitophon at 1.15 of the

garden where this attempted seduction is taking place.[34] Ivy embraces the trunks of

the trees (1.15.3), the shapes and colours of the rose and narcissus are described

(1.15.5), and then Cleitophon passes this comment on the violet:

Τῷ ἴῳ κάλυξ μὲν οὐδαμοῦ, χροιὰ δὲ οἵαν ἡ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀστράπτει

γαλήνη. (1.15.6)

The violet gleam of Leucippe's eyes (1.19.1), then, would seem to have the colour

that a calm sea ἀστράπτει. Shortly afterwards Leucippe leaves to play her lyre, and

immediately, at the beginning of book 2, Cleitophon follows her. She sings a piece of

Homer and then a song celebrating the rose. One of its assets is that it possesses

κάλλος ἀστράπτον (2.1.2).[35] That this comes from the mouth of Leucippe might seem

to be enough for the argument that she is connected with this method of depicting

beauty and that this derives from the effect that the beloved has on the charioteer and

his team at *Phdr.* 254b3-5. But the connection is made more explicit by Cleitophon

who, having finished relating the subjects of the songs, says that:

ἐγὼ δὲ ἐδόκουν τὸ ῥόδον ἐπὶ τῶν χειλέων αὐτῆς ⟨ἰδεῖν⟩, ὡς εἴ τις τῆς

κάλυκος τὸ περιφερὲς εἰς τὴν τοῦ στόματος ἔκλεισε μορφήν. (2.1.3)[36]

In each of these instances of ἀστράπη and its cognate verbs, Leucippe's beauty is

directly or indirectly referred to.[37] Her beauty recalls that of the beloved, which is

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[34] Noted by Vilborg (1962), p.37, and Bartsch (1989), p.52.

[35] Cf. Philostr. *Ep.* 3: ταῦτα (sc. roses) γῆς ἀστραπαί.

[36] See also 1.4.3: τὸ στόμα ῥόδων ἄνθος ἦν, ὅταν ἄρχηται τὸ ῥόδον ἀνοίγειν τῶν φύλλων τὰ χείλη. Cf.

Long. *D. & C.* 1.18.1 (Daphnis on Chloe): χείλη μὲν ῥόδων ἁπαλώτερα.

what she is to Cleitophon. Her position is thus ambivalent - both "white horse" and beloved, and here again Achilles Tatius exploits the potential for the contamination of the constituent parts of his Platonic source.

Another network of allusions to the charioteer and horses myth in the *Phaedrus* can also be connected with Leucippe. Almost at the very beginning of the novel the anonymous narrator describes a painting he came across while walking about Sidon. It is of Europa (Εὐρώπης ἡ γραφή 1.1.2). Having related the surroundings in the painting, he concentrates on Europa and the bull. She is sitting side-saddle:

τῇ λαιᾷ τοῦ κέρως ἐχομένη, ὥσπερ ἡνίοχος χαλινοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ βοῦς

ἐπέστραπτο ταύτῃ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ τῆς χειρὸς ἕλκον ἡνιοχούμενος. (1.1.10)

ἡνίοχος, ἡνιοχέω and χαλινός figure prominently in the *Phaedrus*,[38] especially where, from 253e5 to 255a1, Socrates describes the struggles that occur between the charioteer and the bad horse when they see the beloved. However, this much would not have been likely to make a reader think of the Platonic passage, for charioteers and bridles are far from rare in Greek literature, and it would not have been surprising for Europa riding the bull to be described in this way. Nevertheless, when this bull is referred to later, we can see something of more significance emerging and so can look back to this passage in a different light.

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[37] The fourth occurrence of ἀστράπτω, while it does refer to beauty, is used to describe the city of Alexandria: Ἀνιόντι δέ μοι κατὰ τὰς Ἡλίου καλουμένας πύλας συνηντᾶτο εὐθὺς τῆς πόλεως ἀστράπτον τὸ κάλλος, καί μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐγέμισεν ἡδονῆς. (5.1.1)

[38] 15, 2 and 3 times respectively.

Callisthenes, a Νεανίσκος ... Βυζάντιος (2.13.1), gets himself appointed as one

of the ambassadors who are to perform a sacrifice to Hercules at Tyre, in obedience

to the oracle which Sostratus interprets at 2.14.1-6. Conspicuous among the victims

for this sacrifice are: οἱ τοῦ Νείλου βόες (2.15.3). Cleitophon describes the appearance

of the Egyptian bull, and among its features are its thick neck: τὸν αὐχένα παχύς,

which is reminiscent of the bad horse being both κρατεραύχην and βραχυτράχηλος

(253e2). The link between this bull and the *Phaedrus* myth becomes stronger when

Cleitophon moves on to its colour:

Ἡ χροιὰ δὲ οἵαν Ὅμηρος τοὺς τοῦ Θρᾳκὸς ἵππους ἐπαινεῖ. (2.15.3)

The horses of the Thracian to which Cleitophon is referring, as any reader of Homer

would have known, were those that Odysseus and Diomedes stole in *Iliad* 10 and

they, of course, were white:

τοῦ (sc. Rhesus) δὴ καλλίστους ἵππους ἴδον ἠδὲ μεγίστους·

λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι (*Il.* 10.436-7).[39]

The bull, then, is the same colour as Homer's famous white horses, a fact given added

significance when one considers that it is a different colour from the bull in Moschus'

poem: τοῦ δή τοι τὸ μὲν ἄλλο δέμας ξανθόχροον ἔσκε (*Eur.* 84). This change of colour is

significant, for, although in Lucian *DMar.* 15.2 Zeus as the bull is λευκός, Achilles

Tatius appears to follow the model provided by Moschus in his description of the

bull's horns:

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[39] This passage seems to have been memorable enough for Vergil to imitate it when describing

Turnus' horses: *qui candore nives anteirent, cursibus auras* (*Aen.* 12.84).

ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν κροτάφων ὄρθιον ἀναβαῖνον, κατὰ μικρὸν ἑκατέρωθεν

κυρτούμενον τὰς κορυφὰς συνάγει τοσοῦτον, ὅσον αἱ τῶν κεράτων διίστασιν

ἀρχαι· καὶ τὸ θέαμα κυκλουμένης σελήνης ἐστὶν εἰκών. (2.15.3)

echoing:

ἴσά τ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι κέρα ἀνέτελλε καρήνου

ἄντυγος ἡμιτόμου κεραῆς ἅτε κύκλα σελήνης. (*Eur.* 87-8)[40]

I would argue that, whether he has switched the bull's colour or is maintaining a more

contemporary opinion, by comparing it with Homer's famous white horses, Achilles

Tatius is really drawing the reader's attention to the white horse of the *Phaedrus*. This

is something strengthened by the fact that at the culmination of Cleitophon's

description of the bull we find a more straightforward allusion to the white horse of

Plato:

Βαδίζει δὲ ταῦρος ὑψαυχενῶν ... (2.15.4)

One of the white horse's traits was that it was ὑψαύχην (*Phdr.* 253d5). And once the

connection between the Egyptian bull and the good horse has been established, the

bull is compared with the bull of the Europa story:

... καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ἐστι βασιλεύς. Εἰ δὲ ὁ

μῦθος Εὐρώπης ἀληθής, Αἰγύπτιον βοῦν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμιμήσατο. (2.15.4)[41]

So, Europa rode the bull as a charioteer would a horse with a bridle, and this bull,

according to Cleitophon, must have been an Egyptian one, for they are kings among

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[40] Lucian merely has: τὰ κέρατα εὐκαμπής (*DMar.* 15.2).

[41] Another connection between the two bulls might be that the flowers at the sacrifice are νάρκισσος

καὶ ῥόδα καὶ μυρρίναι (2.15.2), and the flowers in the meadow in the painting of Europa and the bull

are νάρκισσος καὶ ῥόδα καὶ μύρριναι (1.1.5).

bulls. They also carry their necks high and are as white as Rhesus' horses. But what does all this have to do with Leucippe?

The most obvious link between her and Europa and the bull occurs at 1.4.3. Having been struck with the lightning flash of Leucippe's face, Cleitophon, according to the majority of the manuscript tradition says:

Τοιαύτην εἶδον ἐγώ ποτε ἐπὶ ταύρῳ γεγραμμένην Σελήνην

This is read by Garnaud and Vilborg, but instead of Σελήνην Gaselee adopts Εὐρώπην, arguing that "it seems necessary to adopt the reading of the β MSS. Εὐρώπην to give some point to the introduction of the story."[42] If the latter is preferred, the link between Leucippe and Europa is straightforward and explicit.[43] However, there are three problems with this:[44] Σελήνην is the *lectio difficilior*, it has stronger support in the MSS, and ποτε would then be inapt.[45] Yet even these problems are not insurmountable. In 1.2.1 the anonymous narrator arrives in Sidon and offers thanks for his safety to the goddess of the Phoenicians (σῶστρα ἔθυον ἐμαυτοῦ τῇ τῶν

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[42] (1969), p.14, n.1. Bartsch (1989), p.165 reads the same, without comment. O' Sullivan (1980), beyond noting the two variants, is silent on the matter.

[43] As Vilborg (1962), p.21, notes, Europa "gives a still closer connexion with the description of the girl riding on the bull." It should also be remembered that Cleitophon mentions the myth of Europa at 2.15.4.

[44] See Vilborg (1962), pp.21-2.

[45] As Hägg (1971a), p.203, argues, ποτε "obviously alludes to something outside and before the action of the romance, linked to this only by Clitophon's association", and, ibid., n.2, "εἶδον ποτε cannot possibly ... be interpreted as an allusion to the situation narrated in I.1-2." This does not mean, of course, that the reader would not think of that situation.

Φοινίκων),[46] and we are told that: καλοῦσιν αὐτὴν 'Αστάρτην οἱ Σιδώνιοι. He then wanders about the city, περισκοπῶν τὰ ἀναθήματα, among which is the painting of Europa. That this painting is an offering, and that there is a grove nearby (τινος ἄλσους ... γείτονος 1.2.3) might indicate that this painting is to be found in a temple, possibly that of Astarte. At Lucian *Syr.D.* 4 we are told the following:

"Ἔνι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱρὸν ἐν Φοινίκῃ μέγα, τὸ Σιδώνιοι ἔχουσιν. ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, 'Αστάρτης ἐστίν· 'Αστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἔμμεναι. ὡς δ' ἐμοί τις τῶν ἱρέων ἀπηγέετο, Εὐρώπης ἐστὶν τῆς Κάδμου ἀδελφεῆς.[47]

This opens up the possibility that Selene and Europa were identified, or confused, and that Achilles Tatius made Cleitophon refer to the former at 1.4.3 in order to make the connection between Europa and Leucippe less straightforward.[48] At any rate that there is a connection can hardly be doubted, as it is not by Vilborg, who prefers to read Σελήνην:

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[46] Diggle (1972) argues that σῶστρα ⟨τῇ 'Αφροδίτῃ⟩ ἔθυον ἐμαυτοῦ τῇ τῶν Φοινίκων should be read, citing Fr. Gr. Hist. iii c 2.790, F 2.31 Jacoby, where the Phoenicians say that Astarte is Aphrodite. No such emendation is necessary, however, for the text as it stands implies that the goddess of Phoenicia has different names in different parts of Phoenicia, not that the Phoenicians called her something different from the Sidonians.

[47] Lucian proceeds to relate the Europa story and claims that he had heard it from other Phoenicians too, although they deny that the temple belongs to Europa.

[48] Such a tactic would be commensurate with much of what Bartsch (1989), *passim*, argues is his strategy of complicating the reading process. ποτε might then have been added by a scribe who did not fully realise what was going on.

Nevertheless, the author certainly intended to allude to the picture of Europa. Selene is sometimes depicted as riding on a bull, so Achilles Tatius could use her to give associations to Europa.[49]

The mention of a picture of a woman riding a bull, so soon after the description of the painting of Europa, would not fail to arouse the reader's curiosity, and there is another connection between Europa and Leucippe here. On the one hand the anonymous narrator describes Europa's posture, her dress,[50] her body and the way she is holding her veil in considerable detail (1.1.10-12), but does not mention her face or hair, while when Cleitophon first sees Leucippe, he talks only about her face and hair. It is as if Achilles Tatius is completing the description of one woman. For the sequence of thought would then be; "I saw this amazing woman. She reminded me of Selene/Europa on the bull. (Achilles Tatius knows the reader has already been told about the dress, body and situation of Europa). Her face and hair were as follows ..."

Europa and Leucippe are also linked by the similarities between the meadow in the painting (1.1.3-6) and the garden in which Cleitophon later begins his seduction of Leucippe (1.15).[51] The closeness of the trees in the meadow and the roof that their leaves form:

δένδρων αὐτοῖς ἀνεμέμικτο φάλαγξ καὶ φυτῶν· συνεχῆ τὰ δένδρα· συνηρεφῆ τὰ πέταλα· συνῆπτον οἱ πτόρθοι τὰ φύλλα, καὶ ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὄροφος ἡ τῶν φύλλων συμπλοκή. (1.1.3)

is picked up by the description of the trees in Cleitophon's garden:

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[49] (1962), p.22.

[50] Including the fact that: λευκὸς ὁ χιτών (1.1.10).

[51] See Bartsch (1989), pp.50-2, for this. See also 5.2 for a more detailed analysis of the description of the garden.

ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖς κίοσιν ἔνδον ἦν ἡ τῶν δένδρων πανήγυρις. Ἔβαλλον οἱ κλάδοι,
συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλον· αἱ γείτονες τῶν πετάλων
περιπλοκαί, τῶν φύλλων περιβολαί, τῶν καρπῶν συμπλοκαί. (1.15.1-2)

The mottled shade that this creates:

Ἔγραψεν ὁ τεχνίτης ὑπὸ τὰ πέταλα καὶ τὴν σκιάν, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἠρέμα τοῦ
λειμῶνος κάτω σποράδην διέρρει, ὅσον τὸ συνηρεφὲς τῆς τῶν φύλλων
κόμης ἀνέῳξεν ὁ γραφεύς. (1.1.4)

is similar to that created in the garden:

τῶν δὲ φύλλων ἄνωθεν αἰωρουμένων, ὑφ' ἡλίῳ πρὸς ἄνεμον συμμιγῆ ⟨καὶ⟩
ὠχρὰν ἐμάρμαιρεν ἡ γῆ τὴν σκιάν. (1.15.4)[52]

The meadow is enclosed by a wall:

Ὅλον ἐτείχιζε τὸν λειμῶνα περιβολή· εἴσω δὲ τοῦ τῶν ὀρόφων
στεφανώματος ὁ λειμὼν ἐκάθητο. (1.1.5)

as is the garden:

καὶ περὶ τὸ ἄλσος τειχίον ἦν αὔταρκες εἰς ὕψος καὶ ἑκάστη πλευρὰ τειχίου -
τέσσαρες δὲ ἦσαν πλευραί - κατάστεγος ὑπὸ χορῷ κιόνων (1.15.1).

The flowers in the meadow:

Αἱ δὲ πρασιαὶ τῶν ἀνθέων ὑπὸ τὰ πέταλα τῶν φυτῶν στοιχηδὸν
ἐπεφύκεσαν, νάρκισσος καὶ ῥόδα καὶ μύρριναι. (1.1.5)

have their counterparts too:

Τὰ δὲ ἄνθη ποικίλην ἔχοντα τὴν χροιὰν ἐν μέρει συνεξέφαινε τὸ κάλλος,
καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τῆς γῆς πορφύρα καὶ νάρκισσος καὶ ῥόδον. (1.15.5)

And finally the position of the spring in the meadow, the constriction of its flow and

even the verb used for its bubbling up:

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[52] Garnaud accepts the emendation which O' Sullivan (1978), pp.325-6, proposes, arguing that this
is a reference to the Phaedrus.

Ὕδωρ κατὰ μέσον ἔρρει τοῦ λειμῶνος τῆς γραφῆς, τὸ μὲν ἀναβλύζον

κάτωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἄνθεσι καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς περιχεόμενον.

Ὀχετηγός τις ἐγέγραπτο δίκελλαν κατέχων καὶ περὶ μίαν ἀμάραν

κεκυφὼς καὶ ἀνοίγων τὴν ὁδὸν τῷ ῥεύματι. (1.1.5-6)

are remarkably similar to those of the spring in the garden:

Ἐν μέσοις δὲ τοῖς ἄνθεσι πηγὴ ἀνέβλυζε καὶ περιεγέγραπτο τετράγωνος

χαράδρα χειροποίητος τῷ ῥεύματι. (1.15.6)

These parallels between the meadow and the garden seem to invite comparison

between what occurs in and around each of them. Zeus in the form of the bull seems

to have taken Europa from the meadow, for the maidens, who are looking out to sea,

are standing at one end of it ('Ἐν δὲ τῷ τοῦ λειμῶνος τέλει πρὸς ταῖς ἐπὶ θάλατταν τῆς

γῆς ἐκβολαῖς τὰς παρθένους ἔταξεν ὁ τεχνίτης. 1.1.6), and it seems safe to assume that

Europa had been with them before her abduction.[53] In the garden described by

Cleitophon in 1.15 he and Satyrus try to intimate the former's desires to Leucippe by

discoursing on erotic topics from nature (1.16-18). Bartsch adds the point that:

> One effect of this unusual assimilation of painting and nature is the
>
> strengthening of the association between Europa and the novel's
>
> heroine Leucippe, who is associated with Clitophon's garden because
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> he explicitly compares her to it at 1.19.1-3, and because the first
>
> successful steps to their love affair are taken in it."[54]

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[53] Certainly if Moschus' poem is anything to go by, Eur. 63-112.

[54] (1989), p.52. Cf. ibid., pp.53-4, where she argues that through the representation of Europa as

"strangely calm" (in contrast with, for instance, Luc. DMar. 15.2: πάνυ ἐκπλαγὴς) "the picture of

Europa not only foreshadows Leucippe's dangerous journey across the sea and the eventual outcome

Therefore, the links established between Europa and Leucippe, through Cleitophon's comparison at 1.4.3 and through the other parallels, make it seem that Cleitophon is playing the role of the abducting Zeus. The connection is strengthened by the fact that at 2.15.4 Cleitophon claims that Zeus must have taken the form of an Egyptian bull. For this garden is where Cleitophon's advances begin, advances which eventually lead to the couple's elopement to Egypt in 2.31-2.

By an elaborate network of descriptions in which information is revealed piecemeal and the reader is left to work out how it all interrelates, we come to the position where Leucippe is equated with Europa. Europa rides the bull which is itself explicitly compared to a bull which is white and has characteristics of the white horse of the soul. The method of Europa's riding, in this light, can be seen to be an allusion to the charioteer's control of his team, and the very obedience of the bull is reminiscent of the compliance of the good horse. Rather like in the episode with Thersander at 6.18 where he lost his metaphorical charioteer and Leucippe's behaviour was similar to that of the bad horse, here Europa/Leucippe is in the position of the charioteer on a bull which is the equivalent of the white horse. If the substitution is completed and Cleitophon replaces the bull/Zeus, we have the situation where Leucippe is seemingly in charge of her lover. But the case of Europa and Zeus is not this simple, for Zeus was the more active partner, and this fits in with Cleitophon's role in the drama. Leucippe is thus the charioteer in Europa, the white horse by virtue of her name, and the beloved as the abductee/seductee. On a more simplified level, and to return to the initial argument, the fact that Leucippe is linked

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of sanctioned union, but also Leucippe's very laxity concerning her own virginity, which she agrees to yield to Clitophon (2.19.2) and her readiness to flee with the hero."

with Europa who is riding a bull which recalls the white horse of the soul is another piece in the jigsaw which would have lead the reader to realise the derivation of her name.

3.7 Horses and their Riders and the Charioteer and Horses of the Soul

It remains to consider other allusions to the passage of the *Phaedrus* which contains the myth of the charioteer and his good and bad horses, to determine whether at any other points Achilles Tatius uses this myth at all, or with any sort of pattern. The next logical step, after considering those passages where Leucippe is directly or indirectly concerned, is to deal with those parts where horses are an important feature.

The first such part is relatively substantial. At 1.7.1 Cleinias, Cleitophon's cousin, is introduced, and his passion for his young lover is mentioned. In fact:

Οὕτω δὲ εἶχε φιλοτιμίας πρὸς αὐτό (sc. τὸ μειράκιον), ὥστε καὶ ἵππον πριάμενος, ἐπεὶ θεασάμενον τὸ μειράκιον ἐπήνεσεν, εὐθὺς ἐχαρίσατο φέρων αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον. (1.7.1)

The object of his affections, Charicles, appears at 1.7.3 and announces that he is being married off to an ugly girl (1.7.4). Cleinias urges him to refuse and abuses the whole female sex with considerable vehemence and at some length, before Charicles declares, rather level-headedly, that there is plenty of time to sort out the issue and that:

Τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον, ἐφ' ἱππασίαν ἄπειμι· ἐξ οὗ γάρ μοι τὸν ἵππον ἐχαρίσω τὸν καλόν, οὔπω σου τῶν δώρων ἀπέλαυσα. Ἐπικουφιεῖ δέ μοι τὸ γυμνάσιον τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ λυ̲ούμενον. (1.8.11)

But Cleitophon adds the ominous comment that Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπῄει τὴν τελευταίαν ὁδόν, ὕστατα καὶ πρῶτα μελλήσων ἱππάζεσθαι (Ibid.). This note of impending doom is

confirmed at 1.12 by the equivalent of a messenger's speech, in which one of

Charicles' servants tells how the horse was startled, went berserk and killed its

master.

There was a noise:

καὶ ὁ ἵππος ἐκταραχθεὶς πηδᾷ ὄρθιον ἀρθεὶς καὶ ἀλογίστως ἐφέρετο. Τὸν

γὰρ χαλινὸν δακὼν καὶ τὸν αὐχένα σιμώσας ... (1.12.3).[55]

This echoes the passage of the *Phaedrus* at several points. First of all the leaping of

the horse (πηδᾷ) recalls, and is opposed to, the reaction of the good horse of the soul

which: ἑαυτὸν κατέχει μὴ ἐπιπηδᾶν τῷ ἐρωμένῳ (*Phdr*. 254a2-3).[56] For in the myth the

good horse does not impose itself on the beloved and respects its master's wishes,

whereas here Charicles' horse is a present from his lover and causes his terrible death.

Its rearing straight upwards (ὄρθιον ἀρθεὶς) echoes the posture of the good horse: τό τε

εἶδος ὀρθὸς (*Phdr*. 253d4), although in this instance it is not an admirable property,

rather it is a prelude to the manic behaviour which is to follow. Its wild movement

(ἀλογίστως ἐφέρετο) is a reference to the reaction of the bad horse when it sees the

beloved: βίᾳ φέρεται (*Phdr*. 254a4). The substitution of βίᾳ with ἀλογίστως is a signal

to the reader of the danger Charicles is in. For a horse (described in terms of the bad

horse) to be moving without reason reminds the reader of the control that the

charioteer, who was earlier equated with reason, λογισμός,[57] exerts on the bad horse.

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[55] The text in the first half of this quotation is uncertain: see O' Sullivan (1980) q.v. ὄρθιος and πηδάω. However, the general meaning, whatever the reading, is unchanged, and the proposed emendations do not omit any of the words that I wish to concentrate on.

[56] Discussed above on pp.173-4, where Leucippe herself was the culprit.

[57] See p.175.

If Charicles' horse is moving without reason, i.e. its charioteer, then it will pose a serious threat to him, the beloved. It is also literally out of control for, in wiping off the sweat from his horse, Charicles let go of the reins: τοῦ ῥυτῆρος ἀμελήσας (1.12.2). Its biting of its bit (τὸν γὰρ χαλινὸν δακών) is almost a direct quotation of *Phdr.* 254d7: ἐνδακὼν τὸν χαλινόν.[58] The latter extract comes from the point where the bad horse is attempting its second violent approach to the beloved, and the relation between the two passages is clearly that the sexual violence on which the bad horse is intent is being compared with the carnage that Charicles' horse is about to cause. And finally the bending of its neck (τὸν αὐχένα σιμώσας) by Charicles' horse alludes to two elements of description of the bad horse: its strong neck (κρατεραύχην, *Phdr.* 253e2) and its snub nose (σιμοπρόσωπος, Ibid.). Such a concentrated piece of allusive writing invites further investigation into the rest of the speech, and then into those passages concerning the events that the speech contains.

In the rest of the messenger speech the verb πηδάω recurs twice more and in both instances it refers to the wild actions of the horse: ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω πηδῶν (1.12.4), and: Ὁ δὲ ἵππος ... ἐς ὕλην ἐπήδησε (1.12.5), reinforcing the allusion to the good horse's self-restraint (*Phdr.* 254a2-3) and, by implication, the opposite wishes of its yokemate. And lastly Charicles' horse is ἐκταραχθεὶς τῷ πτώματι (1.12.6), when the youth falls off it, and this recalls the effect that the violent recoil from the beloved

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[58] Cf. Dio 36.46: χαλινὸν ἀδάμαντος ἐνδακόντα, with Russell (1992), *ad loc.*, and Trapp (1990), pp.149-50. Cf. also Luc. *Nav.* 30: τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακών, where Lycinus claims that he will not be able to control his horse, if Samippus makes him ἵππαρχος and his horse is θυμοειδής. The overall Platonising of the works in which these two phrases occur (for the former see Trapp (1990), pp.148-52; for the latter see 1.3, pp.44-8) guarantee their status as verbal references.

suffered by the charioteer (*Phdr.* 254b7-c3) has on the bad horse: ὁ δὲ λήξας τῆς ὀδύνης, ἢν ὑπὸ τοῦ χαλινοῦ τε ἔσχεν καὶ τοῦ πτώματος (*Phdr.* 254c5-6).

After this speech Cleitophon accompanies Cleinias to see Charicles' body, and both the latter's father and lover lament.[59] One word that recurs in their mourning is πονηρός. Towards the beginning of his speech the father exclaims: ὦ πονηρῶν ἱππασμάτων (1.13.2), and near the end he contrasts the hoped-for marriage torch with the funeral flame and says: "Ω πονηρᾶς ταύτης δᾳδουχίας (1.13.6). However, neither of these instances is sufficient for it to be connected with the categorical description of the bad horse at *Phdr.* 254e6: ὁ πονηρός. In Cleinias' lament, on the other hand, πονηρός is applied directly to the destructive horse. Cleinias bemoans the fact that it was he who gave his beloved the horse ('Εγὼ δὲ ὁ κακοδαίμων ἐχαριζόμην θηρίον μειρακίῳ καλῷ 1.14.2) and that he decorated τὸ πονηρὸν θηρίον (Ibid.) with luxurious trappings. Almost immediately afterwards he addresses the horse: "Ιππε πάντων θηρίων ἀγριώτατε, πονηρὲ καὶ ἀχάριστε καὶ ἀναίσθητε κάλλους (Ibid.). Cleinias continues by contrasting the care that Charicles took over the horse with the treatment that the horse gave its rider:

ὁ μὲν κατέψα σου τοὺς ἱδρῶτας καὶ τροφὰς ἐπηγγέλλετο πλείονας καὶ ἐπῄνει τὸν δρόμον, σὺ δὲ ἀπέκτεινας ἐπαινούμενος. (1.14.3)

The wiping away of the sweat was mentioned in the messenger speech (τὸν ἵππον ἱδροῦντα κατέψα καθήμενος ... 'Απομάττοντος δὲ τῆς ἕδρας τοὺς ἱδρῶτας 1.12.2-3) just before the fateful noise occurred, but the rest of this quotation seems to show Cleinias' own picture of the events. At any rate, it is the repeated mention of the

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[59] καὶ ἦν θρήνων ἅμιλλα, ἐραστοῦ καὶ πατρός (1.14.1), as Achilles Tatius puts it, with his characteristic, and, one assumes, deliberate lack of taste.

horse's sweat which may have some significance. For, after the first attempt by the bad horse to leap on the beloved and the violent counter-reaction by the charioteer, the good horse: ὑπ' αἰσχύνης τε καὶ θάμβους ἱδρῶτι πᾶσαν ἔβρεξε τὴν ψυχήν (*Phdr*. 254c4-5).[60] Finally a reference may be discerned at 1.8.11, where Charicles announces that he going for a ride on the horse that his lover gave him: ἐξ οὗ γάρ μοι τὸν ἵππον ἐχαρίσω τὸν καλόν, οὔπω σου τῶν δώρων ἀπέλαυσα. The idea of enjoyment is connected with the bad horse, who, after much time has been spent in the company of the beloved, unsurprisingly want things to go that extra bit further:

ἐν οὖν τῇ συγκοιμήσει τοῦ μὲν ἐραστοῦ ὁ ἀκόλαστος ἵππος ἔχει ὅτι λέγῃ

πρὸς τὸν ἡνίοχον, καὶ ἀξιοῖ ἀντὶ πολλῶν πόνων σμικρὰ ἀπολαῦσαι (*Phdr*.

255e4-256a1)

In *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, however, the roles are reversed, with the beloved wanting to enjoy the gift of the horse instead of the horse wanting to enjoy the beloved.

Where do these references, some of which are more secure than others, lead us? Cleinias, in his slave-like devotion,[61] gives his lover a horse whose behaviour is largely reminiscent of that of the bad horse, and which destroys him. In a literal sense Cleinias' over-indulgence has lead to the death of his beloved. On a metaphorical level, it is as if Cleinias has given Charicles his bad horse, and this leads to the

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[60] Which recalls the effect that seeing a θεοειδὲς πρόσωπον ... κάλλος εὖ μεμιμημένον ἤ τινα σώματος ἰδέαν (*Phdr*. 251a2-3) has on the man who has recently witnessed the Forms: ἰδόντα δ' αὐτὸν οἷον ἐκ τῆς φρίκης μεταβολή τε καὶ ἱδρὼς καὶ θερμότης ἀήθης λαμβάνει (*Phdr*. 251a7-b1).

[61] When Cleitophon introduces his cousin and relates how he impulsively gave Charicles his horse, he says: Ἔσκωπτον οὖν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τῆς ἀμεριμνίας, ὅτι σχολάζει φιλεῖν καὶ δοῦλός ἐστιν ἐρωτικῆς ἡδονῆς. (1.7.2)

inevitable consequences. In the *Phaedrus* the lover and his beloved who condescend

to a physical relationship do not suffer too greatly,[62] because, although their souls do

not grow the wings that those of the Platonic lovers do, they still retain some sense

that they do not consider it the culmination of their relationship:

> ἐὰν δὲ δὴ διαίτῃ φορτικωτέρᾳ τε καὶ ἀφιλοσόφῳ, φιλοτίμῳ δὲ χρήσωνται,
>
> τάχ' ἄν που ἐν μέθαις ἤ τινι ἄλλῃ ἀμελείᾳ τὼ ἀκολάστω αὐτοῖν ὑποζυγίω
>
> λαβόντε τὰς ψυχὰς ἀφρούρους, συναγαγόντε εἰς ταὐτόν, τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν
>
> πολλῶν μακαριστὴν αἵρεσιν εἱλέσθην τε καὶ διεπραξάσθην· καὶ
>
> διαπραξαμένω τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη χρῶνται μὲν αὐτῇ, σπανίᾳ δέ, ἅτε οὐ πάσῃ
>
> δεδογμένα τῇ διανοίᾳ πράττοντες. (*Phdr.* 256b7-c7)

This situation, which Plato would have us believe is slightly unfortunate, only arises

through carelessness and the scheming of the bad horses. The use of the word

φιλοτίμῳ is recalled at 1.7.1 (Οὕτω δὲ εἶχε φιλοτιμίας πρὸς αὐτό), and this would imply

that Cleinias and Charicles conform to this type of lover. However, the implication is

there that if the bad horses got out of control, the consequences would be devastating.

Socrates does not mention this, as he is trying to argue for the benefits that can be

derived from the man who is a lover (Ταῦτα τοσαῦτα, ὦ παῖ, καὶ θεῖα οὕτω σοι

δωρήσεται ἡ παρ' ἐραστοῦ φιλία *Phdr.* 256e3-4), but the opinion of the majority, that

sexual intercourse is the best thing (*Phdr.* 256c3ff.), does hint at the darker

possibilities. It is some such situation that I would argue Achilles Tatius is describing

in the death of Charicles. Cleinias' love for him may be of the kind which leads to no

great harm, but the danger is there of a lapse into base physicality. This, I believe, is

represented in the gift from the lover of the horse which recalls the bad horse.

The point at which Charicles' horse is frightened:

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[62] In fact they: οὐ σμικρὸν ἆθλον τῆς ἐρωτικῆς μανίας φέρονται (*Phdr.* 256d5-6).

ψόφος κατόπιν γίνεται, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ἐκταραχθεὶς πηδᾷ ὄρθιον ἀρθεὶς καὶ

ἀλογίστως ἐφέρετο (1.12.3)

is recalled in nearly exactly the same words in book 2, where Cleitophon is with

Leucippe in the garden at sunset, embracing and kissing her:

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐπεχείρουν τι προὔργου ποιεῖν, ψόφος τις ἡμῶν κατόπιν γίγνεται·

καὶ ταραχθέντες ἀνεπηδήσαμεν. (2.10.4)

This passage is surely meant to remind the reader of the earlier one, and it would

therefore seem appropriate to search for some significance. At first glance the

relationship appears to be one of contrast between the physicality of the feelings that

Cleinias has for Charicles and the unconsummated nature of Cleitophon's and

Leucippe's romance. The latters' springing apart prevents them from doing anything

further, whereas in the previous instance the violent horse needed only small

provocation before it destroyed the beloved, the damage having been done in the

giving of the horse by the lover. However, I think it would be unwise to see Achilles

Tatius as pursuing and endorsing a strictly Platonic moral code, especially given what

we know of his sense of humour and subversive tendencies. After all, it is not as if

Cleitophon and Leucippe want to be chaste; it is only the fault of chance and

circumstances that they do not fulfil their desires.[63] In this case it is Satyrus who made

the noise: Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ψόφον, προσιόντα θεασάμενός τινα (2.10.5). Later

in the book, after elaborate preparation, the couple are actually in bed when Pantheia

has a disturbing dream and: Ταραχθεῖσα οὖν ὑπὸ δείματος, ὡς εἶχεν ἀναπηδᾷ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν

τῆς θυγατρὸς θάλαμον τρέχει (2.23.5). Cleitophon τὸν ψόφον ἀκούσας ἀνοιγομένων τῶν

---

[63] At least in terms of the story. Of course, Achilles Tatius the author is in control and so he manages

to stay, albeit cheekily, within the conventions of the genre.

θυρῶν, εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδησα (2.23.6). Many of the elements of the sentence from 2.10.4

are repeated here (Ταραχθεῖσα - ταραχθέντες, ἀναπηδᾷ/ἀνεπήδησα - ἀνεπηδήσαμεν, τὸν

ψόφον - ψόφος) reminding the reader of the previous occasion on which they were

interrupted. And when Cleitophon tries to press his claims at the start of book 4

(περιπτυξάμενος αὐτὴν οἷός τε ἤμην ἀνδρίζεσθαι. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπέτρεπε, "Μέχρι πότε,"

εἶπον, "χηρεύομεν τῶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὀργίων; 4.1.2-3), he is prevented from

succeeding by Leucippe's dream in which Artemis said: Μενεῖς δὲ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἄν σε

νυμφοστολήσω (4.1.4). So, although Leucippe and Cleitophon metaphorically want to

give free rein to their bad horses, external factors prevent them from doing so. The

contrast between the situations found at 1.12.3 and 2.10.4 is thus more complicated

and problematic than the reader of an "ideal" novel would expect or want, again

raising the issue of the games that Achilles Tatius is playing with this genre.

Charicles' horse, although the main and strongest instance, is not the only part

of the novel where a connection can be discerned between horses and those of the

Phaedrus passage. The other tragic homosexual sub-plot also involves horses.[64] On

board the ship on which Cleitophon and Leucippe are eloping with Cleinias and

Satyrus in tow is a man who asks them to join him (2.33). He is called Menelaus and

he tells them he is returning to Egypt from exile. He had accidentally killed his

beloved while hunting (2.33.2-34).[65] A boar had sprung out, and the youth had chased

it until the boar turned and charged, at which point Menelaus shouted:

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[64] And a link between the two is established after Menelaus has finished his story: Ἐπεδάκρυσεν ὁ

Κλεινίας αὐτοῦ λέγοντος Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, ἀναμνησθεὶς Χαρικλέους. Καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος, "Τἀμὰ

δακρύεις," ἔφη, "ἢ καί σέ τι τοιοῦτον ἐξήγαγε;" Στενάξας οὖν ὁ Κλεινίας καταλέγει τὸν Χαρικλέα καὶ τὸν

ἵππον, κἀγὼ τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ. (2.34.7)

[65] The Adrastus story of Hdt. 1.35-45 is the model here.

"ἕλκε τὸν ἵππον, μετένεγκε τὰς ἡνίας· πονηρὸν τὸ θηρίον." (2.34.3)

This recalls what the charioteer does when he sees the face of the beloved: καὶ ἅμα ἠναγκάσθη εἰς τοὐπίσω ἐλκῦσαι τὰς ἡνίας (254b8-c1). In this case it is not the horse which is πονηρόν, it is the boar. Menelaus also uses the same word of himself, when the youth, whom he has hit with a poorly aimed javelin cast, refuses to blame him: οὐκ ἐμίσει με τὸν πονηρὸν (2.34.5). In this case it is Menelaus' over-indulgence which indirectly causes his beloved's destruction,[66] and it is a combination of him and the boar, both described with the same term, πονηρὸν, which kills him. The youth, on the other hand, failed to follow the charioteer's example in trying to avoid the potentially dangerous object he was pursuing by reining in his horse.

The issue of being able to control a horse arises at two other points. The first concerns Callisthenes, the man who abducted Cleitophon's sister Calligone under the mistaken impression that she was Leucippe (2.13-18). His chief characteristic was his licentiousness. He fell in love with Leucippe without ever having seen her, and according to Cleitophon: τοσαύτη γὰρ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ὕβρις (2.13.1). He asked Sostratus for her hand, but: ὁ δὲ βδελυττόμενος τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀκολασίαν, ἠρνήσατο (2.13.2). These passages recall the epithet applied to the bad horse of the soul as it suggests to the charioteer that some enjoyment of the beloved is due: ὁ ἀκόλαστος (*Phdr.* 255e5). The same adjective is used of the bad horses in the lover and his beloved when they take the souls of those who pursue a less contemplative way of life off guard: τὼ ἀκολάστω (*Phdr.* 256c2). This aspect of Callisthenes' character is picked up in the news that Sostratus has for Cleitophon and Leucippe when everyone

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[66] Ἥρων μειρακίου καλοῦ· τὸ δὲ μειράκιον φιλόθηρον ἦν. Ἐπεῖχον τὰ πολλά, κρατεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνάμην. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, εἱπόμην κἀγώ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄγρας. (2.34.1)

has been reunited in the final book. He begins as if his contribution will concern

Calligone (φέρε ἀκούσατε ... καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὰ οἴκοι πραχθέντα περὶ Καλλγόνην τὴν σὴν

... ἀδελφήν 8.17.1), but we have already been told about her abduction at 2.13-18,

and the remainder of his speech concentrates on Callisthenes. He describes how

Callisthenes learnt that Calligone was not Leucippe, but fell in love with her anyway,

and how his character underwent a dramatic conversion. Sostratus is reminded of

Themistocles:

Κἀμὲ οὖν ὑπεισήει τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὅτι κἀκεῖνος τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν

σφόδρα δόξας ἀκόλαστος εἶναι ... (8.17.7).

Sostratus regrets his initial rejection of Callisthenes and then, as if it were a major part

of his rehabilitation, tells how he:

καὶ τῶν εἰς πόλεμον γυμνασίων οὐκ ἠμέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἐρρωμένως ἐν

ταῖς ἱππασίαις διέπρεπεν. Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ παρὰ τὸν τῆς ἀσωτίας χρόνον

τούτοις χαίρων καὶ χρώμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τρυφῇ καὶ παιδιᾷ· τὸ δὲ ἀνδρεῖον

ὅμως αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἔμπειρον λεληθότως ἐτρέφετο. (8.17.8-9)

Callisthenes' character change is symbolised by his ability to control horses in a

disciplined manner. And, of course, by reforming himself and rejecting his former

ἀκολασίαν, it is the bad horse of his soul, ὁ ἀκόλαστος, that he has learnt to master.

The other point at which the ability to ride seems to be an issue is at 3.14.2.

Cleitophon and some others have been rescued from the Herdsmen by Charmides and

his forces. The general asks who each of them is and ὅπλα δώσειν ὑπέσχετο (3.14.1).

Cleitophon asks for a horse:

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἵππον ᾔτουν, σφόδρα γὰρ ᾔδειν ἱππεύειν γεγυμνασμένος. Ὡς δέ τις

παρῆν, περιάγων τὸν ἵππον ἐπεδεικνύμην ἐν ῥυθμῷ τὰ τῶν πολεμούντων

σχήματα, ὥστε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν σφόδρα ἐπαινέσαι. (3.14.2)

Cleitophon is an expert with horses, but again the reader is asked to consider what this might mean on the metaphorical level. Is Cleitophon, who fell in love with Leucippe at first sight and who wanted to let his bad horse loose, really as accomplished a horseman as he claims?

3.8 Conclusion

Achilles Tatius relies on the knowledge of his reader of a particularly famous piece of Plato in deriving the name of his heroine from the description of the good, white horse of the soul. But, as with much else in this novel, the allusions and echoes are not straightforward. This is not necessarily to argue that Achilles Tatius was moralising, condemning homosexuality or endorsing Plato's views, rather he used a well-known myth in a way that would enrich his narrative and increase his reader's interest in it. Achilles Tatius delights in the incongruities that having a heroine called Leucippe entails and frequently warps his source into a playful mixture of reference.

In the first chapter I argued that various names in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* and other second sophistic literature were more or less straightforward allusions to their namesakes and that they opened up a wealth of references around them. In the second chapter I maintained that the use of the name Cleitophon was one important part of the nexus of allusions in the opening conversation of the novel and that this helped to signal to the reader that Achilles Tatius was employing Platonic narrative technique. In this chapter I have developed this approach and aim to have shown that Leucippe is a more sophisticated onomastic reference to a very famous piece of Plato and that Achilles Tatius engages his reader in a complicated hermeneutic game.

Chapter 4.

Seeing and Digressing

4.1 The flow of Beauty

A number of allusions which have been noted in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, but not fully explored, consist of clear references to the flow of beauty which is described in Socrates' second speech in the *Phaedrus*.[1] O'Sullivan and Trapp have listed what they consider to be allusions to this, but the extent to which this idea pervades *Leucippe and Cleitophon* and the purposes of the allusions to it have been neglected.[2] The two passages of Plato which are the basis for this idea are the following:

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[1] See 3.5 for the popularity of this.

[2] (1978), p.326, n.61., and (1990), p.155 and p.172. Vilborg (1962), *passim*, also notes several echoes in passing. Bychkov (1999) notes the allusions at 1.4.4, 1.9.4 and 5.13.4, and compares 6.6.4, but his main concern is to argue that "Achilles' remarks on visual perception were inspired by the Epicurean school which was 'flourishing' in the second century A.D.", p.341. I do not share his confidence, and he undercuts his own argument, ibid., n.5, by saying "Achilles Tatius could have had in mind also the simplified version of Plato's theory of vision from the *Phaedrus*." At any rate, he does not deny that the Platonic allusions are present, and on the other hand I would not want to preclude the use of other sources. In fact, if he is right that there is an admixture of atomist theory, this points towards an interest in philosophy on the part of the novelist and an imaginative blending of sources.

δεξάμενος γὰρ τοῦ κάλλους τὴν ἀπορροὴν διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων (*Phdr.* 251b1-2),[3]

where a man sees a beautiful face or form which reminds him of absolute beauty, and:

τότ' ἤδη ἡ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἐκείνου πηγή, ὃν ἵμερον Ζεὺς Γανυμήδους ἐρῶν ὠνόμασε, πολλὴ φερομένη πρὸς τὸν ἐραστήν, ἡ μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔδυ, ἡ δ' ἀπομεστουμένου ἔξω ἀπορρεῖ· καὶ οἷον πνεῦμα ἤ τις ἠχὼ ἀπὸ λείων τε καὶ στερεῶν ἀλλομένη πάλιν ὅθεν ὡρμήθη φέρεται, οὕτω τὸ τοῦ κάλλους ῥεῦμα πάλιν εἰς τὸν καλὸν διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἰόν, ᾗ πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἰέναι (*Phdr.* 255c1-7),

where the lover and beloved benefit from their companionship. There are three points in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* at which explicit references to these passages have been spotted, and I shall deal with those first; yet the number of other occasions where Achilles Tatius alludes to these passages, or where his novel can be argued to display looser evocations of them, is quite considerable and therefore requires further investigation.

The first such instance occurs as Cleitophon sees Leucippe for the first time:[4]

Ὡς δὲ εἶδον, εὐθὺς ἀπωλώλειν· κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον τιτρώσκει βέλους καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ· ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐρωτικῷ τραύματι. (1.4.4)

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[3] Cf. ἐπιρρυείσης δὲ τῆς τροφῆς (*Phdr.* 251b5), and: ὅταν μὲν οὖν βλέπουσα πρὸς τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς κάλλος, ἐκεῖθεν μέρη ἐπιόντα καὶ ῥέοντ' - ἃ δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ἵμερος καλεῖται - δεχομένη (*Phdr.* 251c5-7), where the idea of a flow is repeated.

[4] Vilborg (1962), p.22, merely comments that: "The tenet (sc. that love enters man through the eyes) is found several times in the erotic literature ... and derives perhaps ultimately from Plato (*Phdr.* 251B)." He also compares 1.9.4-5 and 5.13.4.

The effect of this allusion is to emphasise Leucippe's beauty, for it is referred to in the same terms as that which was a clear reminder of absolute beauty in both passages of the *Phaedrus*. But the relationship between the allusion and its sources raises questions. Although in the first quotation the flow of beauty occurs in one direction only, in the second the reciprocity seems to be the crucial point, as it accounts for the weaker feelings of love in the beloved (*Phdr.* 255c7-e4). Just how reciprocal is the situation we find in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*? The answer is not at all, for all we are told is that Cleitophon stared at Leucippe, not that their eyes met. Here, right at the beginning of the novel, we get a glimpse of how self-absorbed Cleitophon is - the flow of beauty is one way, and that is all that is needed for him to fall head over heels in love. However, owing to the verbal similarity between the two Phaedran passages, one cannot be sure whether Achilles Tatius has one or the other or both in mind. Nevertheless, it remains possible that the reader was supposed to realise how self-centred Cleitophon is, necessarily perhaps, given the nature of his narration.[5]

The next allusion to the two Phaedran passages forms a major part of the consolation which Cleinias offers Cleitophon before he advises him on how to win Leucippe (1.9.2-7). Cleitophon is finding the pain of being in love unbearable and thinks that: Οὐ γέγονεν ἄλλῳ τοιοῦτον ἀτύχημα· τὸ γὰρ κακόν μοι καὶ συνοικεῖ (1.9.2). Cleinias, on the other hand, chides him for talking nonsense, arguing that he is fortunate in just the respect that Leucippe is staying in the same house:

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[5] Cf. Ἐν τούτῳ πόρρωθεν ἰδόντες προσιοῦσαν τὴν θεράπαιναν διελύθημεν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἄκων καὶ λυπούμενος, ἡ δὲ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἶχεν (2.8.1), at which point Cleitophon and Leucippe have just enjoyed their first kiss. Reardon (1994a) offers an account for the reasons why Achilles Tatius chose such a mode of narration.

Ἄλλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐραστῇ καὶ βλέμμα μόνον ἤρκεσε τηρουμένης παρθένου,

καὶ μέγιστον τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν νενόμικεν ἐραστής, ἐὰν καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων

εὐτυχῇ (1.9.3).

The idea that a look is enough for a lover reminds the reader of the ideal chastity

practised by those who overcome the bad horses of their souls in the *Phaedrus*,

although the implication here, of course, is that the lover is not really content with the

situation, rather he is having to make do with it. There is no direct verbal

reminiscence as yet, but the strength of the allusion in what immediately follows

allows us to view the passage as a whole as engaging with Plato's philosophy of

erotic psychology. For Cleinias contrasts the situation of the lover who is allowed

only a look, or perhaps a word, with Cleitophon's good fortune of constantly being in

the company of his beloved. But before he proceeds to offer his advice on what his

friend should do next, he delivers an encomium of the pleasure that can be derived

from looking and eyes meeting:

Οὐκ οἶδας οἷόν ἐστιν ἐρωμένη βλεπομένη· μείζονα τῶν ἔργων ἔχει τὴν

ἡδονήν. 'Οφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντανακλώμενοι ἀπομάττουσιν ὡς ἐν

κατόπτρῳ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ εἴδωλα· ἡ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροή, δι' αὐτῶν

εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρέουσα, ἔχει τινὰ μίξιν ἐν ἀποστάσει (1.9.4).[6]

In addition to the Platonic flow of beauty entering the soul through the eyes, we find

here two more elements derived from the second Phaedran passage. The beloved has

received the effluence which rebounded from his lover and has been filled with

feelings of love. He does not know what is happening to him or what to call it, ἀλλ'

οἷον ἀπ' ἄλλου ὀφθαλμίας ἀπολελαυκὼς πρόφασιν εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχει, ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν κατόπτρῳ

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[6] Garnaud (1991), p.17, says that this is perhaps from *Phdr.* 251b, and compares *L. & C.* 5.13.4, for

which see below.

ἐν τῷ ἐρῶντι ἑαυτὸν ὁρῶν λέληθεν (*Phdr*. 255d4-6). In Achilles Tatius the idea of the mirror has been transferred from the beloved seeing himself in his beauty reflected off his lover to the eyes of both lovers receiving the images of each other as if in a mirror. And the images themselves have a Phaedran precedent in the description of the beloved's emotional state: εἴδωλον ἔρωτος ἀντέρωτα ἔχων (*Phdr*. 255d8-e1).[7] Cleinias might appear to be advocating a Platonic love, where the lovers, although here in a seemingly genuinely mutual way, derive satisfaction from the beauty of the other, but in fact he is trying to console Cleitophon, who is currently being denied further pleasures. For it is not the reminder of the Form of beauty which is the principal benefit; rather the meeting of eyes is described as a substitute for sex, as the phrases μείζονα τῶν ἔργων ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν and ἔχει τινὰ μίξιν ἐν ἀποστάσει make clear, coming as they do directly before and after a clear verbal reference to the *Phaedrus*. Cleinias further describes the flow of beauty into the soul as: ὀλίγον ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων μίξεως· καινὴ γάρ ἐστι σωμάτων συμπλοκή (1.9.5), which makes the point explicit. But Cleinias does not seem to think that this, even with his ringing endorsement of it, will satisfy Cleitophon, for he says:

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[7] Cf. Plut. *Vit. Alc.* 4.4, which is a clear and explicit demonstration that this passage of Plato was particularly memorable or important (on Alcibiades' relationship with Socrates): καταφρονῶν δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, θαυμάζων δ᾽ ἐκεῖνον, ἀγαπῶν δὲ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην, αἰσχυνόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρετήν, ἐλάνθανεν εἴδωλον ἔρωτος, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀντέρωτα κτώμενος, ... Part of Callicratidas' argument that a Socratic/Platonic love is the best seems to be drawing on the same source: ὅταν γὰρ ἐκ παίδων ὁ σπουδαῖος ἔρως ἐντραφεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἤδη λογίζεσθαι δυναμένην ἡλικίαν ἀνδρωθῇ, τὸ πάλαι φιληθὲν ἀμοιβαίους ἔρωτας ἀνταποδίδωσιν, καὶ δυσχερὲς αἰσθέσθαι ποτέρου πότερος ἐραστής ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἀπ᾽ ἐσόπτρου τῆς τοῦ φιλήσαντος εὐνοίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ὁμοίου πεσόντος εἰδώλου. (Ps.-Luc. *Am.* 48)

Ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἔσεσθαι ταχὺ μαντεύομαι. Μέγιστον γάρ ἐστιν

ἐφόδιον εἰς πειθὼ συνεχὴς πρὸς ἐρωμένην ὁμιλία. Ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ φιλίας

πρόξενος καὶ τὸ σύνηθες τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς χάριν ἀνυσιμώτερον. (1.9.5)

No matter that Cleinias claims that: ἐρωμένη βλεπομένη ... μείζονα τῶν ἔργων ἔχει τὴν

ἡδονήν (1.9.4), for it is sexual intercourse in which Cleitophon is interested, and here

the eye, and by implication the Phaedran flow of beauty through the eyes to the soul,

is reduced to a procurer of what the philosophical lovers would avoid.

The Phaedran atmosphere of Cleinias' advice is maintained by further

allusions. After arguing that, since wild beasts can be tamed, women must be easier to

soften, Cleinias claims that: Ἔχει δέ τι πρὸς παρθένον ἐπαγωγὸν ἡλικιώτης ἐρῶν (1.9.6).

This is reminiscent of part of Socrates' reply to Lysias where he argues that:

ἥλικα γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος τέρπειν τὸν ἥλικα - ἡ γὰρ οἶμαι χρόνου

ἰσότης ἐπ' ἴσας ἡδονὰς ἄγουσα δι' ὁμοιότητα φιλίαν παρέχεται (*Phdr.*

240c1-3).

This is cited by O'Sullivan and Vilborg as an echo,[8] and the probability that it is an

allusion is increased by what follows in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*:

τὸ δὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐπεῖγον εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι

τίκτει πολλάκις ἀντέρωτα. (1.9.6)

This is an echo of the image of love which the beloved received from the overflow of

his beauty back from his lover: εἴδωλον ἔρωτος ἀντέρωτα ἔχων (*Phdr.* 255d8-e1, see

above).[9] Rowe claims that ἀντέρως is a term Plato invented,[10] and his use of it is the

earliest recorded in *LSJ*. Hackforth suggests that:

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[8] (1978), p.326, n.61, and (1962), p.27.

[9] Spotted by O' Sullivan (1978), p.326, n.61, and Vilborg (1962), p.27.

[10] (1986), p.188, *ad loc.*

It is possible that in using the word ἀντέρως Plato is thinking of Aesch.

Ag. 544: τῶν ἀντερώντων ἱμέρῳ πεπληγμένοι.[11]

Although the context there is not sexual, for the chorus are conversing with the newly-returned herald, that Plato had this passage in mind might be increased by the similarity of what immediately follows it: ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις; (Aesch. *Ag.* 545), to the terms in which the relationship of the beloved and his lover is described: ποθεῖ καὶ ποθεῖται (*Phdr.* 255d8), which itself immediately precedes the idea of counter-love. Be that as it may, the possibility that Plato coined the word ἀντέρως and the importance of the concept of mutual love in this passage make it extremely unlikely that Achilles Tatius is not deliberately referring to it here. It is, however, stripped of its metaphysical significance, as its causes, according to Cleinias, are what we would now recognise as the hormonal surges of youth and the gratification derived from the knowledge that one is found attractive.[12]

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[11] (1952), p.108, n.3.

[12] A possible allusion to the *Theaetetus*, one which would maintain the Platonic, if not the Phaedran, atmosphere, occurs when Cleinias explains that Cleitophon requires no instruction in love: "Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ ἀρτίτοκα τῶν βρεφῶν οὐδεὶς διδάσκει τὴν τροφήν, αὐτόματα γὰρ ἐκμανθάνει καὶ οἶδεν ἐν τοῖς μαζοῖς οὖσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν τράπεζαν, οὕτω καὶ νεανίσκος ἔρωτος πρωτοκύμων οὐ δεῖται διδασκαλίας πρὸς τὸν τοκετόν. Ἐπὰν γὰρ ἡ ὠδὶς παραγένηται καὶ ἐνστῇ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἡ προθεσμία, μηδὲν πλανηθείς, κἂν πρωτοκύμων ᾖς, εὑρήσεις τεκεῖν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μαιωθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ. (1.10.1-2) Cf. the passage from the *Theaetetus* where Socrates explains to the eponymous interlocutor that he is a practising midwife of the soul and that, although he is barren as far as wisdom is concerned, some of those who associate with him make amazing progress: καὶ τοῦτο ἐναργὲς ὅτι παρ' ἐμοῦ οὐδὲν πώποτε μαθόντες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ παρ' αὑτῶν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ εὑρόντες τε καὶ τεκόντες. τῆς μέντοι μαιείας ὁ θεός τε καὶ ἐγὼ αἴτιος. (Plat. *Tht.* 150d6-e1) Cf. also Plat. *Symp.* 208e1-209e4, with Dover (1980), p.151.

Another phrase that may derive from the *Phaedrus* occurs as Cleinias is dispensing further advice, after Cleitophon has asked how he is to make Leucippe know she is loved. He is to say μηδὲν ... πρὸς τὴν παρθένον ᾿Αφροδίσιον (1.10.2), but is to attempt the deed in silence:

Παῖς γὰρ καὶ παρθένος ὅμοιοι μέν εἰσιν εἰς αἰδῶ· πρὸς δὲ τὴν ᾿Αφροδίτης

χάριν κἂν γνώμης ἔχωσιν, ἃ πάσχουσιν ἀκούειν οὐ θέλουσι (1.10.3).

This echoes the actions of the bad horse when the charioteer has seen τὸ ἐρωτικὸν ὄμμα (*Phdr.* 253e5). Unlike the good horse which is obedient to the charioteer, the bad horse ignores him and springs forward:

καὶ πάντα πράγματα παρέχων τῷ σύζυγί τε καὶ ἡνιόχῳ ἀναγκάζει ἰέναι τε

πρὸς τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ μνείαν ποιεῖσθαι τῆς τῶν ἀφροδισίων χάριτος. (*Phdr.*

254a4-7)

The bad horse's wish to mention sex to the beloved is portrayed as the wrong kind of reaction, the unphilosophical one, as the horse represents base desire. Cleitophon is told not to talk about sex, not because it is wrong, but because it will hinder his cause. Yet again Achilles Tatius can be seen to be playing loose with his Platonic material.

The third point at which the evocation of the Phaedran flow of beauty has been noticed occurs in book 5, where Cleitophon, who thinks that Leucippe is dead, meets Melite for the first time since he has agreed to succumb to her overtures (5.12). She is described in terms similar to those used for Leucippe: ῥόδον δὲ ἐμπεφυτεῦσθαι ταῖς παρειαῖς (5.13.1) recalls ῥόδον δὲ ἀνέτελλεν ἐκ τῆς παρειᾶς (1.19.1);[13] ᾿Εμάρμαιρεν

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[13] Garnaud (1991), p.29, notes the correspondence. See Menelaus' argument: Καὶ τὸ ῥόδον διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων εὐμορφότερόν ἐστι φυτῶν, ὅτι τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ φεύγει ταχύ (2.36.2)! Cf. ἐκεῖνο (sc. the rose) μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ κάλλιστον ἀνθέων, βραχὺ τὴν ὥραν, παρέπεται γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐννεάσαν τῷ ἦρι (Philostr. *Ep.* 51), and φθονερὸν δεινῶς τὸ ἄνθος καὶ ὠκύμορον καὶ παύσασθαι ταχύ. (Philostr. *Ep.* 4)

αὐτῆς τὸ βλέμμα μαρμαρυγὴν Ἀφροδίσιον (5.13.2) is reminiscent of ἴον δὲ ἡ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμάρμαιρεν αὐγή (1.19.1);[14] and κόμη πολλὴ καὶ βαθεῖα καὶ κατάχρυσος τῇ χροιᾷ (5.13.2) might well remind the reader of κόμη ξανθή, τὸ ξανθὸν οὖλον (1.4.3).[15] Cleitophon proceeds to relate that Melite could not eat properly and did nothing but look at him, for which he gives the following explanation:

Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡδὺ τοῖς ἐρῶσι πλὴν τὸ ἐρώμενον· τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν πᾶσαν ὁ ἔρως καταλαβὼν οὐδὲ αὐτῇ χώραν δίδωσι τῇ τροφῇ. Ἡ δὲ τῆς θέας ἡδονὴ διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων εἰσρέουσα τοῖς στέρνοις ἐγκάθηται· ἕλκουσα δὲ τοῦ ἐρωμένου τὸ εἴδωλον ἀεί, ἐναπομάσσεται τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς κατόπτρῳ καὶ ἀναπλάττει τὴν μορφήν·[16] ἡ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροὴ δι' ἀφανῶν ἀκτίνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρωτικὴν ἑλκομένη καρδίαν ἐναποσφραγίζει κάτω τὴν σκιάν. (5.13.3-4)

This excerpt contains verbal allusions to the two principal Phaedran passages under discussion, and also to *Phdr.* 255d4-6 and *Phdr.* 255d8-e1, both of which are quoted

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[14] μαρμαίρω only occurs elsewhere in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* at 1.15.4, where it refers to the shade in the garden.

[15] The force of this last correspondence might be diminished, however, by the consideration that golden hair seems to be one of the generic factors that contribute to the heroine's beauty in the Greek novel. Cf. Daphnis gazing at Chloe: τότε πρῶτον καὶ τὴν κόμην αὐτῆς ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι ξανθὴ (*D. & C.* 1.17.3); Charicleia appearing at Delphi: ἡ κόμη δὲ οὔτε πάντῃ διάπλοκος οὔτε ἀσύνδετος, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πολλὴ καὶ ὑπαυχένιος ὤμοις τε καὶ νώτοις ἐπεκύμαινε τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ κορυφῆς καὶ ἀπὸ μετώπου δάφνης ἁπαλοὶ κλῶνες ἔστεφον ῥοδοειδῆ τε καὶ ἡλίωσαν διαδέοντες καὶ σοβεῖν ταῖς αὔραις ἔξω τοῦ πρέποντος οὐκ ἐφιέντες. (Hld. 3.4.5); Anthia appearing in the procession in Ephesus: κόμη ξανθή, ἡ πολλὴ καθειμένη, ὀλίγη πεπλεγμένη, πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων φορὰν κινουμένη (Xen. Eph. 1.2.6).

[16] Cf. Ἡ μὲν οὖν μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπιοῦσα ᾤχετο· ... Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐδόκει παρεῖναι· ἀπελθοῦσα γὰρ τὴν μορφὴν ἐπαφῆκέ μου τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς (1.19.2), where Leucippe leaves Cleitophon with her image. Vilborg (1962), p.99, compares Xen. *Symp.* 4.21: (Critobulus to Socrates re. Cleinias) οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι οὕτω σαφὲς ἔχω εἴδωλον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὡς εἰ πλαστικὸς ἢ ζωγραφικὸς ἦν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἧττον ἐκ τοῦ εἰδώλου ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ ἀπειργασάμην;

above.[17] As always it is necessary to go beyond merely noting the existence of this allusion to investigate whether it is used for any purpose. The fact that this same allusion is used at the point at which Cleitophon first sees Leucippe and that Melite here is described in similar terms to Leucippe would seem to provide one starting point, that is a comparison between the two women and the two situations. Melite is beautiful,[18] but it is not her beauty that is given the same compliment as Leucippe's of being portrayed in words that remind the reader of the Phaedran beloved, whose beauty in turn stirs the memory of absolute beauty in his lover. She is established as a worthy rival through her similarity to Leucippe, but it is Cleitophon whose beauty is flowing and fixing his image in the onlooker's soul. This is quite logical, for where it was he who was transfixed by Leucippe's beauty, here it is Melite who is smitten by him. The repetition of this allusion also invites a comparison between the passive and apparently reluctant behaviour of Leucippe and Cleitophon's reactions to the blatant attempts at seduction made by Melite. Leucippe acted coyly out of a sense of shame;[19] by way of contrast Cleitophon resists because he still can not forget Leucippe. There is also a comparison to be made with the other occurrence of this allusion noted so far, where Cleinias is offering his advice to his cousin and friend. There the flow of

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[17] There is also perhaps an admixture of Stoic theory here too. Cf. D. L. 7.46: καταληπτικὴν μέν, ἥν κριτήριον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων φασί, τὴν γινομένην ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἐναπεσφραγισμένην καὶ ἐναπομεμαγμένην. See also Bychkov (1999), pp.340-1.

[18] This does not make Melite the exception as a love rival, for Arsake is καλή, but depraved, (Hld. 7.2); Lycaenion is νέον καὶ ὡραῖον καὶ ἀγροικίας ἀβρότερον (D. & C. 3.15.1); and Manto is beautiful: ἦν δὲ καλή (Xen. Eph. 2.3.1) In fact Cyno is the exception, for she is not only deceitful, insatiable and homicidal, she is also hideous: γυναῖκα ὀφθῆναι μιαράν, ἀκουσθῆναι πολὺ χείρω, ἅπασαν ἀκρασίαν ὑπερβεβλημένην (Xen. Eph. 3.12.3).

beauty was a mutual event which Cleinias termed a different kind of intercourse, whereas here Cleitophon is again describing one-way traffic. Melite is infatuated with him, but by admitting that he finds her attractive (ἔδοξα οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἰδεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα 5.13.2 and Καὶ ἅμα λέγουσα κατεφίλει με, προσιέμενον οὐκ ἀηδῶς τὰ φιλήματα 5.13.5[20]), Cleitophon calls into question his ability to fulfil his oath:

Φθάνω γὰρ ἐπομοσάμενος ἐνταῦθα μὴ συνελθεῖν, ἔνθα Λευκίππην ἀπολώλεκα. (5.12.3)

This makes it all the more of a surprise when he manages to put Melite off, which itself makes it all the more of a shock when he succumbs precisely at the moment at which his submission becomes culpable.[21]

Another allusion to the flow of beauty, which, although extended, has previously been overlooked, occurs when Thersander sees Leucippe for the first time. At 6.6.3 Leucippe hears the doors of the cottage in which she is being held open. As she looks up, Thersander catches his first glimpse of her:

ἀνανεύσασα μικρόν, αὖθις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κατέβαλεν. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος τὸ κάλλος ἐκ παραδρομῆς, ὡς ἁρπαζομένης ἀστραπῆς[22] - μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κάθηται τὸ κάλλος - ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπ' αὐτὴν καὶ εἱστήκει τῇ θέα δεδεμένος, ἐπιτηρῶν πότε αὖθις ἀναβλέψει πρὸς αὐτόν. Ὡς δὲ ἔνευσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, λέγει· "Τί κάτω βλέπεις, γύναι; Τί δὲ

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[19] A phenomenon explained to Cleitophon by Cleinias at 1.10.2-7.

[20] The repetition of οὐκ ἀηδῶς gives a sense of sly understatement, as if Cleitophon realises that it would be inappropriate to praise Melite's looks excessively, but also that he needs to begin motivating his lapse at the end of the book.

[21] See below, pp.233-4.

[22] See 3.6, pp.178-9, for the importance of the lightning metaphor here and O' Sullivan's emendation.

σου τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς γῆν καταρρεῖ; Ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς

μᾶλλον ῥεέτω τοὺς ἐμούς. (6.6.3-4)

Not only is Leucippe's beauty described in terms of lightning at the points where the two men in her life first see her, but Cleitophon also proceeds to add a generalising comment, reinforced by what Thersander says, that echoes the parts of the *Phaedrus* with which I have been dealing and which Cleitophon refers to in his remarks at 1.4.4. It might be argued that this is not an allusion, since there is not as close a verbal correspondence as seen in the passages discussed so far. However, all the requisite elements - the flow of beauty, the part eyes have to play and the involvement of the soul - are present, and it looks like Achilles Tatius is here tinkering with his Platonic model rather than abandoning it.[23] What is the purpose of the allusion here? Leucippe's beauty is, of course, emphasised again, but more interesting is a comparison between the two men involved. Cleitophon's and Thersander's reactions to her beauty are instructive. Cleitophon, as mentioned above, is more of a passive victim of extreme beauty, whereas Thersander aggressively seeks to divert the flow of Leucippe's beauty to his own eyes. This contrast is reflected in Cleitophon's rather fatalistic attitude and Thersander's recourse to force and abuse once his attempts have failed.[24] Another point of interest to come out of this passage is the use by Achilles Tatius of the flow of beauty in a situation where, instead of providing any benefits, it causes trouble. This is because Thersander's reaction to Leucippe's beauty is not one

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[23] 5.13.4 adapts the model too, after all.

[24] For the former see especially 1.9.1-2 and 1.9.7, where Cleitophon asks Cleinias for advice in his desperation, and 1.11 and 2.5, where he explains his dilemma; for the latter see 6.18, where Thersander tries to force himself on Leucippe.

of which the philosopher would approve. Of course, the reaction of Cleitophon himself is not entirely philosophical, but at least he does not attempt rape.

This allusion is sustained in the following chapter where Leucippe bursts into tears in response to Thersander's words. Cleitophon embarks on a disquisition on the effect that a tear has on the eye: Δάκρυον γὰρ ὀφθαλμὸν ἀνίστησι καὶ ποιεῖ προπετέστερον (6.7.1). If the eye is ugly, a tear makes it uglier: if beautiful, more beautiful. The latter, of course, is the case where Leucippe is concerned. Thersander is smitten all the more and Cleitophon indulges in a crescendo of generalisations which culminate in another allusion to the Phaedran flow of beauty: tears naturally evoke pity, especially those of women; the more abundant they are, the more bewitching; if the weeping woman is beautiful, and the beholder her lover, he copies her weeping.

'Επειδὴ γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὄμματα τῶν καλῶν τὸ κάλλος κάθηται, ῥέον ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν ὁρώντων ἵσταται καὶ τῶν δακρύων τὴν πηγὴν συνεφέλκεται. 'Ο δὲ ἐραστὴς δεξάμενος ἄμφω τὸ μὲν κάλλος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἥρπασε, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐτήρησεν (6.7.5).

Again the reader encounters the flow of beauty to the eyes and its entry thereby into the soul. The lover's reception of this beauty (δεξάμενος) also recalls verbally the first of the two Phaedran passages: δεξάμενος γὰρ τοῦ κάλλους τὴν ἀπορροὴν διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων (Phdr. 251b1-2). Achilles Tatius has elaborated on the idea, however, and has Cleitophon claim that the flowing beauty stops at the eyes of the beholders and draws forth tears. This is not incompatible with what Plato's Socrates says, and the lover taking the beauty into his soul is thoroughly Platonic, but what follows is puzzling. How can anyone, let alone a lover, receive a tear? He can hardly receive his beloved's tear, but in what sense could he receive his own, the only remaining option?

It is worth considering whether help can be garnered from the two other passages which deal with crying in physiological detail. The first occurs at 3.11, after Cleitophon has spent 3.10 bemoaning his, and especially Leucippe's,[25] predicament. They have been captured by the Herdsmen and assume the worst, yet Cleitophon finds himself unable to weep. His explanation is that in moderate misfortune, tears come easily, evoke pity and offer relief. Whereas:

> ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπερβάλλουσι δεινοῖς φεύγει καὶ τὰ δάκρυα καὶ προδίδωσι καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. Ἐντυχοῦσα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν ἡ λύπη ἵστησί τε τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ μετοχετεύει καταφέρουσα σὺν αὐτῇ κάτω· τὰ δὲ ἐκτρεπόμενα τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁδοῦ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ καὶ χαλεπώτερον αὐτῆς ποιεῖ τὸ τραῦμα. (3.11.1-2)

Here the tears, prevented by grief from reaching the eyes, flow back to the soul. This tells us that tears come from within, and that they can flow into the soul,[26] thereby worsening its wound, but this is no great advance on τῶν δακρύων τὴν πηγὴν (6.7.5) which beauty activates in the beholder. The other passage again concerns Cleitophon. This time he is incarcerated and has overheard the false story that Leucippe has been killed. Although the next comment is: Ἦλθε δέ μοι τότε δάκρυα καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὴν λύπην ἀπεδίδουν (7.4.3), he does not weep at first, likening the situation to a bruise which does not appear immediately or a wound whose bleeding is delayed.

> οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴ παταχθεῖσα τῷ τῆς λύπης βέλει τοξεύσαντος λόγου τέτρωται μὲν ἤδη καὶ ἔχει τὴν τομήν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τάχος τοῦ βλήματος οὐκ ἀνέῳξεν οὔπω τὸ τραῦμα, τὰ δὲ δάκρυα ἐδίωξε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μακράν· δάκρυον γὰρ αἷμα τραύματος ψυχῆς. Ὅταν ὁ τῆς λύπης ὁδοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν

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[25] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐμά, κἂν ὑπερβολὴν ἔχῃ συμφορᾶς, ἧττον ἀλγῶ, τὰ σά, Λευκίππη, ποίῳ στόματι θρηνήσω (3.10.4).

[26] Acting, incidentally, in a very similar manner to the flow of beauty.

τὴν καρδίαν ἐκφάγη, κατέρρηκται μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ τραῦμα, ἀνέῳκται δὲ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡ τῶν δακρύων θύρα, τὰ δὲ μετὰ μικρὸν τῆς ἀνοίξεως ἐξεπήδησεν. Οὕτω κάμὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῆς ἀκροάσεως τῇ ψυχῇ προσπεσόντα καθάπερ τοξεύματα κατεσίγασε καὶ τῶν δακρύων ἀπέφραξε τὴν πηγήν, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἔρρει, σχολασάσης τῆς ψυχῆς τῷ κακῷ.[27]

(7.4.5-6)

That tears are αἶμα τραύματος ψυχῆς implies that it is the soul from which they come. This is reinforced by the fact that, by gnawing at the heart, the tooth of grief causes the wound of the soul to burst and the door of tears to be opened. The last sentence too confirms this impression, as the bad news attacks Cleitophon's soul and τῶν δακρύων ἀπέφραξε τὴν πηγήν.

To bring the discussion back to 6.7.5, how does the spring of tears being located in the soul help in interpreting how the lover can be said to receive his own tear? Tears can be prevented, by grief or a swift shock, from reaching the eyes, and so, far from being non-sensical, it would be pertinent and even significant, given Cleitophon's grasp of physiology, to say that a lover's tears had reached his eyes.[28]

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[27] To this passage should be compared 1.6.2-4, where Cleitophon describes why, inflamed by the sight of Leucippe, he was unable to sleep: Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τὰ ἄλλα νοσήματα καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος τραύματα νυκτὶ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπανίσταται μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἡσυχάζουσι καὶ ἐρεθίζει τὰς ἀλγηδόνας· ὅταν γὰρ ἀναπαύηται τὸ σῶμα, τότε σχολάζει τὸ ἕλκος νοσεῖν· τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τραύματα, μὴ κινουμένου τοῦ σώματος, πολὺ μᾶλλον ὀδυνᾷ. Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὦτα πολλῆς γεμιζόμενα περιεργίας ἐπικουφίζει τῆς νόσου τὴν ἀκμήν, ἀντιπεριάγοντα τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ πονεῖν σχολῆς· ἂν δὲ ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ σῶμα πεδηθῇ, καθ᾽ αὑτὴν ἡ ψυχὴ γενομένη τῷ κακῷ κυμαίνεται. Πάντα γὰρ ἐξεγείρεται τότε τὰ τέως κοιμώμενα.

[28] Gaselee's (1969) translation of the preceding phrase (καὶ τῶν δακρύων τὴν πηγὴν συνεφέλκεται 6.7.5) as "and draws forth the fount of tears", p.317, might lead to the objection that the "fount of tears" is mobile and so cannot be situated in the soul. A more natural translation, however, and one

The solution must be to understand εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς *vel sim.* Thus the lover receives

both his lover's beauty and his own tear *in his eyes* ('Ο δὲ ἐραστὴς δεξάμενος ἄμφω sc.

εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς), and, Platonically, takes the beauty into his soul (τὸ μὲν κάλλος εἰς

τὴν ψυχὴν ἥρπασε,), but keeps the tear in his eye (τὸ δὲ δάκρυον εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς

ἐτήρησεν,) in the belief that it will show that he is in love: μαρτυρίαν γὰρ ταύτην

νενόμικεν ὅτι καὶ φιλεῖ (6.7.6). The relevance of this is to show how Achilles Tatius

adapts his model. By this stage in the novel the flow of beauty has become a *topos*,

but rather than simply entering through the eyes and flowing into the soul, here it

draws forth tears, which come from the soul.

Achilles Tatius' use of Plato's flow of beauty occurs at crucial junctures in his

erotic narrative: when Cleitophon first sees Leucippe (1.4.4); when Cleinias gives

Cleitophon the advice that is necessary to start the ball rolling (1.9.4); when

Cleitophon first sees Melite after he has consented to a liaison (although not until they

reach Ephesus)[29] (5.13.4); and when Thersander first sees Leucippe and is inflamed by

her weeping (6.6.3-4/6.7.5). Given the importance that Achilles Tatius evidently

attaches to this Platonic idea, it is worth investigating whether it resonates throughout

the novel in a form that allows it to be connected, verbally or thematically, with the

explicit allusions traced so far.

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which obviates this objection, is "stream of tears". Cf. S. *Ant.* 802-3: ἴσχειν δ'οὐκέτι πηγὰς δύναμαι

δακρύων, and, for the singular: S. *Tr.* 851: ἔρρωγεν παγὰ δακρύων.

[29] μόνον ὅπως τὸ γύναιόν μοι μὴ παρέχῃ πράγματα, ἐπείγουσα πρὸς τὸ ἔργον, ἔστ' ἂν εἰς "Εφεσον

ἀφικώμεθα. (5.12.2)

4.2 The Eyes Have It

The starting point is Cleinias' advice to Cleitophon and the idea that a lover counts himself lucky if he can see his beloved: "Ἄλλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐραστῇ καὶ βλέμμα μόνον ἤρκεσε τηρουμένης παρθένου, καὶ μέγιστον τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν νενόμικεν ἐραστής, ἐὰν καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων εὐτυχῇ (1.9.3). Cleinias' encomium of the pleasure derived from eyes meeting and its function as a substitute for sex is not straightforward, for he is trying to console Cleitophon and almost ignores what he has just said in proceeding to advise his friend on how to consummate his desire. But since his seemingly enthusiastic praise contains an explicit and manifold allusion to the concept of beauty and love in the *Phaedrus*, it is worth exploring how the protagonists react to the position of only being able to satisfy their desires as far as their eyes are concerned, μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων.

Between his first sighting of Leucippe (1.4.2) and Cleinias' advice to him (1.9-10), Cleitophon has to make do with only eye contact. As he stretches τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς towards Pantheia (1.4.2), Leucippe appears, καὶ καταστράπτει μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῷ προσώπῳ (Ibid.).[30] Already the importance of eyes is stressed, to be further enhanced by the first direct allusion to the Phaedran flow of beauty (1.4.4).[31] Cleitophon is ashamed to be caught staring at her and: Τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀφέλκειν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς κόρης ἐβιαζόμην· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελον, ἀλλ' ἀνθεῖλκον ἑαυτοὺς ἐκεῖ τῷ τοῦ κάλλους ἑλκόμενοι πείσματι, καὶ τέλος ἐνίκησαν (1.4.5).[32] Dinner follows and Cleitophon reacts

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[30] Discussed in 3.6, pp.177-8.

[31] See above.

[32] This is reminiscent, although not verbally, of Socrates' reply to Glaucon's suggestion that perhaps the spirited part of the soul is of the same nature as the appetitive part: 'Ἀλλ', ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ποτὲ ἀκούσας τι πιστεύω τούτῳ· ὡς ἄρα Λεόντιος ὁ 'Αγλαΐωνος ἀνιὼν ἐκ Πειραιῶς ὑπὸ τὸ βόρειον τεῖχος ἐκτός,

ecstatically to his father's arrangement: μικροῦ προσελθὼν τὸν πατέρα κατεφίλησα, ὅτι μοι κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνέκλινε τὴν παρθένον (1.5.2). He feasts on the sight of the maiden (1.5.3/1.6.1) and has difficulty sleeping, although when he does sleep, all he can dream about is her (1.6.2-5). When his slave[33] wakes him up, he tries to find her:

'Αναστὰς οὖν ἐβάδιζον ἐξεπίτηδες εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς κόρης, βιβλίον ἅμα κρατῶν, καὶ ἐγκεκυφὼς ἀνεγίνωσκον· τὸν δὲ ὀφθαλμόν, εἰ κατὰ τὰς θύρας γενοίμην, ὑπείλιττον κάτωθεν, καί τινας ἐμπεριπατήσας διαύλους, καὶ ἐποχετευσάμενος ἐκ τῆς θέας ἔρωτα σαφῶς ἀπῄειν ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν κακῶς. (1.6.6)

The importance of seeing here is coloured with an allusion to the *Phaedrus*.[34] Cleitophon's drawing off of love from the sight of the maiden (ἐποχετευσάμενος ἐκ τῆς θέας ἔρωτα), recalls the soul of the man ὅταν θεοειδὲς πρόσωπον ἴδῃ κάλλος εὖ μεμιμημένον ἤ τινα σώματος ἰδέαν (*Phdr.* 251a2-3):

ἰδοῦσα δὲ καὶ ἐποχετευσαμένη ἵμερον ἔλυσε μὲν τὰ τότε συμπεφραγμένα, ἀναπνοὴν δὲ λαβοῦσα κέντρων τε καὶ ὠδίνων ἔληξεν, ἡδονὴν δ' αὖ ταύτην γλυκυτάτην ἐν τῷ παρόντι καρποῦται. (*Phdr.* 251e3-252a1).

The metaphor of drawing off desire/love from the sight of the beloved and the near verbal identity of ἐποχετευσάμενος and ἐποχετευσαμένη are not all that confirm this as an allusion. For immediately prior to the above excerpt from the *Phaedrus* Socrates

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αἰσθόμενος νεκροὺς παρὰ τῷ δημίῳ κειμένους, ἅμα μὲν ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμοῖ, ἅμα δὲ αὖ δυσχεραίνοι καὶ ἀποτρέποι ἑαυτόν, καὶ τέως μὲν μάχοιτό τε καὶ παρακαλύπτοιτο, κρατούμενος δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, διελκύσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, προσδραμὼν πρὸς τοὺς νεκρούς, "'Ιδοὺ ὑμῖν," ἔφη, "ὦ κακοδαίμονες, ἐμπλήσθητε τοῦ καλοῦ θεάματος." (Plat. *Rep.* 439e6-440a3)

[33] Possibly Satyrus - see 1.5.2, pp.61-2.

[34] One noted by O'Sullivan (1978), p.326, n.61, Vilborg (1962), p.24, and Garnaud (1991), p.12.

describes how the soul is caught between the pleasure of seeing its beloved and the agony his absence causes:

ἐκ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων μεμειγμένων ἀδημονεῖ τε τῇ ἀτοπίᾳ τοῦ πάθους καὶ ἀποροῦσα λυττᾷ, καὶ ἐμμανὴς οὖσα οὔτε νυκτὸς δύναται καθεύδειν οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν οὗ ἂν ᾖ μένειν, θεῖ δὲ ποθοῦσα ὅπου ἂν οἴηται ὄψεσθαι τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ κάλλος (*Phdr.* 251d7-e3).

The soul's inability to sleep is paralleled in Cleitophon's insomnia: Ὡς δὲ εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον παρῆλθον, ἔνθα μοι καθεύδειν ἔθος ἦν, οὐδὲ ὕπνου τυχεῖν ἠδυνάμην (1.6.2), and its restlessness and hurry to see its beloved in Cleitophon's purposeful wandering about the house (1.6.6, quoted above). But although Cleitophon behaves in a similar way to the soul of the lover, he is rather more restrained. Just as he will be advised by Cleinias: μηδὲν μὲν εἴπῃς πρὸς τὴν παρθένον 'Αφροδίσιον (1.10.2), and this forms a contrast with the bad horse's unbridled shamelessness,[35] here Cleitophon is prevented from running around like a madman after Leucippe by propriety and instead chooses the rather more genteel method of pretending to read in order to see her. The general state of the lover's soul, which is described in detail (*Phdr.* 251b7-252b1), might also be alluded to when Cleitophon says: σαφῶς ἀπῄειν ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν κακῶς (1.6.6). However, Cleitophon's soul is in a bad way because he is filled with desire, whereas the Platonic lover thinks that seeing is γλυκυτάτην (*Phdr.* 251e5), and this again highlights the deliberate and humorous discrepancy between Achilles Tatius' use of Platonic material and the content of that material.

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[35] See above, p.208.

Cleitophon gets no further for three days (Καὶ ταῦτά μοι τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐπυρσεύετο 1.6.6), and goes to Cleinias for advice.[36] Cleitophon, however, remains worried, for he is betrothed to another. In the course of outlining his dilemma (1.11) the importance of sight is again stressed. His father wants him to marry his half-sister:

καλὴν μέν, ὦ θεοί, πρὶν Λευκίππην ἰδεῖν· νῦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς

τυφλώττω καὶ πρὸς Λευκίππην μόνην τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχω. (1.11.2)

It would seem that she too only has eyes for him, as becomes evident at the banquet in honour of Dionysus (2.3). Cleitophon is still gawping at her, Τοῦ δὲ πότου προϊόντος ἤδη καὶ ἀναισχύντως ἐς αὐτὴν ἑώρων (2.3.3), and she begins to behave in the same way: Ἤδη δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ περιεργότερον εἰς ἐμὲ βλέπειν ἐθρασύνετο (Ibid.). This continues for a further ten days (καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν ἡμερῶν ἐπράττετο δέκα Ibid.). Then, in a phrase which recalls Cleinias' μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων (1.9.3) and his ensuing advice, Cleitophon says that: καὶ πλέον τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐκερδαίνομεν ἢ ἐτολμῶμεν οὐδέν (2.3.3). It is clear that he, and presumably Leucippe, are not content with just looking at each other, even if it μείζονα τῶν ἔργων ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν (1.9.4).

Cleitophon, who is finding that Cleinias' recommendation that he be subtle is not paying dividends, now confides in Satyrus. He offers rather more forthright advice:

Δεῖ δέ σε καὶ τὴν κόρην οὐ μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων μόνων πειρᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥῆμα δριμύτερον εἰπεῖν. Τότε δὲ πρόσαγε τὴν δευτέραν μηχανήν· θίγε χειρός, θλῖψον δάκτυλον, θλίβων στέναξον. (2.4.3-4)

There is a choice of readings for μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων μόνων, with μέχρι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν and μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων μόνον the others. There are arguments in favour of both τῶν

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[36] For which see above, pp.203-8.

ὀφθαλμῶν and τῶν ὀμμάτων. Achilles Tatius could be said to prefer the former, for whereas ὀφθαλμός does not occur in the *Phaedrus*,[37] and ὄμμα occurs four times, two of which where Socrates is describing the flow of beauty (*Phdr*. 251b2 and 255c6),[38] when Achilles Tatius is alluding to these passages he seems to prefer ὀφθαλμός, ὄμμα being used only at 5.13.4. However, ὄμμα also occurs at 1.9.3 and 6.7.5, at places very close to these Phaedran allusions. In fact the latter instance affords a convenient example of Achilles Tatius' *variatio* in this respect, with there seeming to be no difference of meaning between ὀφθαλμός in: μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κάθηται τὸ κάλλος (6.6.3), and ὄμμα in: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὄμματα τῶν καλῶν τὸ κάλλος κάθηται (6.7.5). Perhaps the best example of what seems to be their interchangeability occurs after Leucippe's mother, Pantheia, has asked her how there came to be a man in her room (2.28). Leucippe is defiant and feels grief, anger and shame simultaneously. These three emotions are described as τρία τῆς ψυχῆς κύματα (2.29.1), and Cleitophon gives a grand physiological and psychological exposition on their workings. Shame is treated first: Ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἰδὼς διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων εἰσρέουσα τὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐλευθερίαν καθαιρεῖ (2.29.2). There is no discernible difference in meaning,[39] and the language is incidentally Phaedran, albeit bizarre in the circumstances.[40] On the other

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[37] The closest is ὀφθαλμία, which is used as an analogy for what happens to the beloved as his beauty rebounds from his lover (*Phdr*. 255d3-6).

[38] The other two occurrences are used of the blinding of Stesichorus: τῶν γὰρ ὀμμάτων στερηθεὶς διὰ τὴν Ἑλένης κακηγορίαν (*Phdr*. 243a5-6), and of the beloved when the charioteer of the soul first sees him: ὅταν δ᾽ οὖν ὁ ἡνίοχος ἰδὼν τὸ ἐρωτικὸν ὄμμα (*Phdr*. 253e5).

[39] Although it could be asked why Achilles Tatius needed to use the two words, where τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῶν would surely have been sufficient.

[40] The meaning of the phrase itself is rather obscure - see Gaselee (1969) *ad loc.*, pp.112-3, n.1.

hand, it might be argued that since the phrase μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων occurs at four other points in the novel,[41] it should be read here. The meaning, at any rate, is identical, whichever reading is adopted, and the idea remains that it is insufficient for lovers merely to gaze at each other. Spurred on by Satyrus' advice Cleitophon does make further advances, and the couple do gradually get around to kissing and embracing (2.4-10), but just as something more seems to be on the cards, Cleitophon's father hastens his wedding preparations, Ἐνύπνια γὰρ αὐτὸν διετάραττε πολλά (2.11.1). Eye contact between the two, at least as a substitute for sex, is no longer an issue, but before the theme returns with even more force and pertinence with the introduction of Melite, the reader is afforded two more examples of its importance.

The first occurs as Cleitophon's marriage to Calligone is prevented by her abduction at the hands of Callisthenes. Callisthenes is ἄσωτος ... καὶ πολυτελής (2.13.1). He hears that Sostratus has a θυγατέρα ... καλήν (Ibid.) and wants to have her as his wife. Cleitophon, in familiarly sententious vein, continues:

ἦν ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἐραστής· τοσαύτη γὰρ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ὕβρις, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν εἰς ἔρωτα τρυφᾶν καὶ ταῦτα πάσχειν ἀπὸ ῥημάτων, ἃ τῇ ψυχῇ διακονοῦσι τρωθέντες ὀφθαλμοί. (Ibid.)

A man in such want of self-control as Callisthenes suffers from mere rumours what anyone else feels on actually seeing someone beautiful. As well as emphasising Callisthenes' intemperance and temerity, this passage reinforces the function that sight plays throughout the novel. It can also be compared with particular passages. The wounded eyes and their relationship to the soul recalls Cleitophon's comment when

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[41] 1.9.3, for which see above, p.217; 5.22.5 (twice); and 5.25.4, for which see below. Cf. 5.19.3: "Εἶτα ἔστηκας," ἔφην, "ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὤτων μόνον εὐφραίνεις, ἀλλ' οὐ δεικνύεις καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι τἀγαθά;", also dealt with below.

he first sees Leucippe: κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον τιτρώσκει βέλους καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ· ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐρωτικῷ τραύματι (1.4.4), which is itself, of course, a clear reference to the *Phaedrus*.[42] The subsequent behaviour of the two men forms an illustrative contrast as Cleitophon dithers, seeks advice from his closest friends and moves painfully slowly, whereas Callisthenes asks Sostratus outright (Προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ Σωστράτῳ πρὶν ἢ τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἐπιπεσεῖν, ᾐτεῖτο τὴν κόρην 2.13.2). Sostratus, βδελυττόμενος τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀκολασίαν (Ibid.), refuses. Callisthenes feels insulted and is suffering from his love:

ἀναπλάττων γὰρ ἑαυτῷ τῆς παιδὸς τὸ κάλλος καὶ φανταζόμενος τὰ

ἀόρατα ἔλαθε σφόδρα κακῶς διακείμενος. (Ibid.)

The language here too invites comparison with other points in the novel. ἀναπλάττω is only used elsewhere at 5.13.4: Ἡ δὲ τῆς θέας ἡδονὴ διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων εἰσρέουσα τοῖς στέρνοις ἐγκάθηται· ἕλκουσα δὲ τοῦ ἐρωμένου τὸ εἴδωλον ἀεί, ἐναπομάσσεται τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς κατόπτρῳ καὶ ἀναπλάττει τὴν μορφήν.[43] The contrast between the two passages is that in the first Callisthenes is actively imagining Leucippe's beauty, unencumbered as he is by actually having seen her, whereas in the second Melite is the recipient of the image of Cleitophon. φανταζόμενος (2.13.2) also finds resonances in the rest of the novel. The verb φαντάζομαι only occurs elsewhere at 1.9.1, where Cleitophon is telling Cleinias his predicament: ὅλος γάρ μοι προσέπεσεν ὁ Ἔρως, καὶ αὐτόν μου διώκει τὸν ὕπνον τῶν ὀμμάτων· πάντα Λευκίππην φαντάζομαι. Cleitophon is prevented from seeing anything else by the impression that Leucippe's beauty has left on/in him, whereas Callisthenes is fantasising about what he has not (yet) seen. A more

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[42] See above, pp.202-3.

[43] See above, pp.208-11.

interesting comparison is provided by Thersander's reaction to what Sosthenes, his steward, has to say about Leucippe. Sosthenes had been dismissed by Melite (5.17.10/6.3.3), but when he heard his master Thersander was alive, decided to curry favour with him. He tells him about Cleitophon and then, having failed to win her over for himself, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸν (sc. Thersander) τῆς Μελίτης ἀπαγάγοι (6.3.4), claims to have bought Leucippe for him:

"Κόρην ἐωνησάμην, ὦ δέσποτα, καλήν, ἀλλὰ χρῆμά τι κάλλους ἄπιστον· οὕτως αὐτὴν πιστεύσειας ἀκούων, ὡς ἰδών. (6.3.4-5)

Thersander reacts enthusiastically ('Ἐπήνεσεν ὁ Θέρσανδρος 6.4.1) and so is directly comparable to Callisthenes, who desired Leucippe without having seen her. Sosthenes whisks Leucippe off εἴς τι δωμάτιον ἀπόρρητον (6.4.2) and tells Thersander what he has done:

Τοῦ δὲ Σωσθένους αὐτῷ μηνύσαντος τὰ περὶ τῆς Λευκίππης καὶ κατατραγῳδοῦντος αὐτῆς τὸ κάλλος, μεστὸς γενόμενος ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ὡσεὶ κάλλους φαντάσματος, ... (6.4.4)

Thersander too is busy imagining Leucippe's beauty to himself. We know from the description of Callisthenes that τοσαύτη γὰρ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ὕβρις (2.13.1), and therefore anticipate that Thersander's character will be much the same as his; and so it proves to be.[44] After he has met Cleitophon, who is attempting to escape, and packed him off to prison (6.5), he enters the hut where Leucippe is being held and sees her for the first time, and at this point we meet one of the direct echoes of the Phaedran flow of beauty.[45] As was noted earlier, actually seeing her inflames him all the more.

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[44] We have already seen his violence in 5.23, where he assaults Cleitophon, although, it has to be said, he does do this with some justification.

[45] See above, pp.211-13.

Callisthenes, of course, never gets to see Leucippe, at least in the course of the novel, for by a clever, and contrived, device Achilles Tatius has him abduct the wrong girl, thus clearing the way for Cleitophon to woo Leucippe. For at the time of the first sacrifice Cleitophon's mother is ill, and Leucippe pretends to be ill so that she can see Cleitophon. As a result Calligone goes out with Leucippe's mother (2.16.1):

Ὁ δὲ Καλλισθένης τὴν μὲν Λευκίππην οὐχ ἑωρακώς ποτε, τὴν δὲ Καλλιγόνην ἰδὼν τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμήν, νομίσας Λευκίππην εἶναι - ἐγνώρισε γὰρ τοῦ Σωστράτου τὴν γυναῖκα -, πυθόμενος οὐδέν - ἦν γὰρ ἑαλωκὼς ἐκ τῆς θέας -, ... (2.16.2)

Callisthenes' did not have to see Leucippe to fall in love with her, and he falls for someone else on sight.[46] We do not get another full blown disquisition from Cleitophon on the flow of beauty at this point because it was never needed by Callisthenes for him to be inspired with passion.

The second example of the importance of seeing is provided by the behaviour of the general Charmides.[47] Cleitophon and Leucippe have been rescued by the soldiers who are waging war on the herdsmen, and, inevitably, Charmides falls in love with Leucippe: Ἐν τούτῳ δὴ Χαρμίδης - τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ στρατηγῷ - ἐπιβάλλει τῇ Λευκίππῃ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν (4.2.1). There is a hippopotamus hunt and: Καλεῖ δὴ πρὸς

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[46] And, as we hear from Sostratus later, Callisthenes: "Μαθὼν κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν ὡς οὐκ εἴη θυγάτηρ ἐμή, διημαρτηθείη δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον αὐτῷ, ἤρα δὲ ὅμως καὶ σφόδρα τῆς Καλλιγόνης (8.17.3), which is all very convenient!

[47] For whose name and its delayed introduction until this episode, see 1.5.2.

τὴν θέαν ἡμᾶς ὁ στρατηγός· καὶ ἡ Λευκίππη συμπαρῆν (4.3.1).[48] This is where the trouble begins:

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ θηρίον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἴχομεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Λευκίππην δὲ ὁ στρατηγός· καὶ εὐθὺς ἑαλώκει.[49] Βουλόμενος οὖν ἡμᾶς παραμένειν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἵν' ἔχῃ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ χαρίζεσθαι, περιπλοκὰς ἐζήτει λόγων (4.3.1-2).

He shows no attempt at self-control,[50] but desires to give his eyes their fill, and, of course, he is not going to be satisfied with that. He asks Menelaus to procure Leucippe for him (4.6), but on his return Menelaus gives a series of excuses (4.7.1-7). Eventually he relents (Leucippe's alleged period is the clinching argument), but even so he demands what he *can* have:

Ὃ δὲ ἔξεστιν, αἰτῶ παρ' αὐτῆς· εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἡκέτω τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ λόγων μεταδότω· ἀκοῦσαι θέλω φωνῆς, χειρὸς θιγεῖν, ψαῦσαι σώματος· αὖται γὰρ ἐρώντων παραμυθίαι. Ἔξεστι δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ φιλῆσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ κεκώλυκεν ἡ γαστήρ. (4.7.8)

It is important to him that he be able to see her, although he wants to do everything else, barring full intercourse, as well. He is prevented from doing anything by a bout of love-potion inspired madness in Leucippe, but Charmides nevertheless provides a

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[48] This last clause might imply that this is the first time that Charmides has seen Leucippe. He did in fact observe her apparent disembowelment (Ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς καθ' ἓν τῶν πραττομένων ἀνεβόων καὶ τὰς ὄψεις ἀπέστρεφον τῆς θέας 3.15.5), but hardly in the circumstances in which he would be likely to fall for her!

[49] This is verbally similar to what happens to Callisthenes when he sees Calligone: ἦν γὰρ ἑαλωκὼς ἐκ τῆς θέας -, ... (2.16.2).

[50] Unlike Cleitophon at 1.4.5.

clear illustration of the power of sight, and also that in an unPlatonic and unPhaedran way it is only the precursor to further pleasures, not a substitute.

The theme of eye contact, as opposed to the effect that seeing can have, resurfaces with the introduction of Melite at 5.13.[51] Eye contact remained the extent of Cleitophon and Leucippe's relationship only until Cleitophon sought some advice and got around to doing something about it. She was willing, which is more than can be said for her reaction to Thersander. She rejects him so utterly that, after their first meeting, the issue of further eye contact is not raised. The case of Cleitophon and Melite is more complicated, for he is still devoted to Leucippe, although she is thought to be dead, but still finds Melite attractive. She is nothing less than desperate, but, being a woman, can not attempt to use force as Thersander does. Thus a situation is engineered where all that takes place for a considerable amount of chronological time, although not narrative time,[52] is eye contact, and this is described in Phaedran terms at 5.13.4. The focus from then on, at least from Cleitophon's point of view, is how he avoided Melite's advances, both on board ship to Ephesus and in Ephesus (5.14-6). The situation is complicated on their arrival there by the return of Leucippe, although barely recognisable, to the action (5.17). She reveals herself through a letter to Cleitophon (5.18), and he asks Satyrus whether she has come back to life. Satyrus

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[51] See above, pp.208-11.

[52] Melite has been pestering Cleitophon for four months already, if one accepts, with Vilborg (1962), p.98, that the following is "a lapse of the author": καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἑαυτῆς τὴν οὐσίαν. Δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ δύο μῆνας ἐνθάδε (sc. Alexandria) διέτριψεν, ἀκολουθῆσαι δεομένη. (5.11.6), Cf. (Melite to Leucippe, who she thinks is Lacaena): Ἐγὼ δέ, φίλη, μηνῶν τεσσάρων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δι' αὐτὸν διέτριψα, δεομένη, λιπαροῦσα (5.22.4).

tells him that she was the girl they had met on the estate. Cleitophon excitedly asks: Εἶτα ἕστηκας, ... ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὤτων μόνον εὐφραίνεις, ἀλλ' οὐ δεικνύεις καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι τἀγαθά; (5.19.3). Throughout the novel so far it has not been enough for Cleitophon to enjoy Leucippe μέχρι γὰρ τῶν ὀμμάτων, but now he is even denied that pleasure, satisfied merely μέχρι τῶν ὤτων. Cleitophon replies with a letter of his own (5.19-20). He then needs to put off Melite again, for, as he puts it (ironically in view of what happens at the end of the book): ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀδύνατον ἦν Λευκίππην ἀπολαβόντι γυναῖκα ἑτέραν κἂν ἰδεῖν (5.21.1). This causes Melite to go to Leucippe in the belief that she is called Lacaena and is from Thessaly in order to ask her for magical help.

Melite has heard that a Thessalian woman can cast a spell to ensure that her lover is not distracted by another woman and asks Leucippe whether she saw the young man with whom she was walking the day before. She, ὑπολαβοῦσα πάνυ κακοήθως (5.22.3), asks whether she means Τὸν ἄνδρα (Ibid.), to which Melite pours forth a sarcastic lament on how ironic this question is given the lack of marital contact that has occurred. She is usurped by a dead girl called Leucippe and has tried everything, but to no avail. At the climax of her complaint she says:

> Μόλις δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ πείθεται· ἐπείσθη δὲ μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων. Ὄμνυμι δή σοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην αὐτήν, ὡς ἤδη πέμπτην ἡμέραν αὐτῷ συγκαθεύδουσα, οὕτως ἀνέστην ὡς ἀπὸ εὐνούχου. Ἔοικα δὲ εἰκόνος ἐρᾶν· μέχρι γὰρ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἔχω τὸν ἐρώμενον. (5.22.5)

Melite twice uses the phrase μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων to describe the extent of her relationship with Cleitophon, but it certainly does not seem that she would agree with Cleinias' statement that eye contact μείζονα τῶν ἔργων ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν (1.9.4). The Phaedran flow of beauty is insufficient as far as she is concerned, as indeed it was for

Cleitophon in his pursuit of Leucippe, and between these two instances of a phrase

that serves as a reminder of the significance of eye contact the reader finds another

Platonic allusion: οὕτως ἀνέστην ὡς ἀπὸ εὐνούχου. This recalls Alcibiades' account of

the chaste night he spent with Socrates:

> εὖ γὰρ ἴστε μὰ θεούς, μὰ θεάς, οὐδὲν περιττότερον καταδεδαρθηκὼς
>
> ἀνέστην μετὰ Σωκράτους, ἢ εἰ μετὰ πατρὸς καθηῦδον ἢ ἀδελφοῦ
>
> πρεσβυτέρου. (Plat. Symp. 219c6-d2)[53]

The appeal to the gods and goddesses is reflected in Ὄμνυμι δή σοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην

αὐτήν (5.22.5) and Cleitophon's feat is even more impressive in that he has spent five

nights with Melite, whereas Alcibiades only seems to have spent one with Socrates

(κατεκείμην τὴν νύκτα ὅλην Symp. 219c1-2). The substitution of μετὰ πατρὸς ... ἢ

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[53] Noted by Vilborg (1962), p.104., and Anderson (1982), p.25. This seems to have been a

particularly memorable passage, for it is frequently alluded to. It is exploited twice in Ps.-Luc. Am., at

49, where Callicratidas is promoting Socratic behaviour as the ideal: Δεῖ δὲ τῶν νέων ἐρᾶν ὡς

Ἀλκιβιάδου Σωκράτης, ὃς ὑπὸ μιᾷ χλαμύδι πατρὸς ὕπνους ἐκοιμήθη, and at 54, where Theomnestus finds

himself unable to believe that Socrates abstained: ἐρωτικὸς γὰρ ἦν, εἴπερ τις, καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ ὑπὸ

μίαν Ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτῷ χλανίδα κλιθεὶς οὐκ ἀπλῆξ ἀνέστη, where ἀνέστη is a verbal allusion. It is also

one of the defining characteristics of Platonic/Socratic philosophy at Luc. Vit.Auct. 15: (Platonic

Philosopher) Τίς δ᾿ ἂν ἐπιτηδειότερος ἐμοῦ γένοιτο συνεῖναι καλῷ; καὶ γὰρ οὐ τῶν σωμάτων ἐραστής εἰμι,

τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ ἡγοῦμαι καλήν. ἀμέλει κἂν ὑπὸ ταὐτὸν ἱμάτιόν μοι κατακέωνται, ἀκούσῃ αὐτῶν λεγόντων

μηδὲν ὑπ᾿ ἐμοῦ δεινὸν παθεῖν. (Buyer) Ἄπιστα λέγεις, τὸ παιδεραστὴν ὄντα μὴ πέρα τῆς ψυχῆς τι

πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπ᾿ ἐξουσίας, ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ ἱματίῳ κατακείμενον. Cf. Philostr. Ep. 7: ἦν

πτωχὸς ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ᾿ ὑπέτρεχεν αὐτοῦ τὸν τρίβωνα ὁ πλούσιος Ἀλκιβιάδης. It perhaps even finds a

humorous echo at D. & C. 3.9.5, where Chloe sleeps with her mother and Daphnis sleeps with

Chloe's father. Chloe's only pleasure is looking forward to the next day, when she will see Daphnis

again, whereas: Δάφνις δὲ κενὴν τέρψιν ἐτέρπετο· τερπνὸν γὰρ ἐνόμιζε καὶ πατρὶ συγκοιμηθῆναι Χλόης,

ὥστε καὶ περιέβαλλεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατεφίλει πολλάκις, ταῦτα πάντα ποιεῖν Χλόην ὀνειροπολούμενος.

ἀδελφοῦ πρεσβυτέρου with ὡς ἀπὸ εὐνούχου should not be seen as problematic in terms of regarding this as an allusion. Achilles Tatius is not only indulging in *variatio*, for calling someone a eunuch is also used abusively by Melite when she is angrily accosting Cleitophon later in the book: Εὐνοῦχε καὶ ἀνδρόγυνε καὶ κάλλους βάσκανε (5.25.8), and semi-humorously when Thersander reacts incredulously to Leucippe's claim that she is a παρθένος:

> "Παρθένος;" εἶπεν ὁ Θέρσανδρος· "ὦ τόλμης καὶ γέλωτος· παρθένος
> τοσούτοις συννυκτερεύσασα πειραταῖς; Εὐνοῦχοί σοι γεγόνασιν οἱ λῃσταί;
> Φιλοσόφων ἦν τὸ πειρατήριον; Οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶχεν ὀφθαλμούς;"
> (6.21.3)[54]

Thus the pejorative overtones of the word make it particularly suitable in the context of Melite's speech to Leucippe.

Another facet of this allusion occurs in Melite's following words: Δέομαι δέ σου γυναικὸς γυνὴ τὴν αὐτὴν δέησιν, ἣν καὶ σύ μου χθὲς ἐδεήθης· δός μοί τι ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν ὑπερήφανον[55] (5.22.6). For Alcibiades, directly prior to the passage quoted above, claims that Socrates will not contradict him (*Symp.* 219c1) and that even though he tried his best:

> οὗτος (sc. Socrates) τοσοῦτον περιεγένετό τε καὶ κατεφρόνησεν καὶ
> κατεγέλασεν τῆς ἐμῆς ὥρας καὶ ὕβρισεν - καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνό γε ᾤμην τι εἶναι,
> ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί· δικασταὶ γάρ ἐστε τῆς Σωκράτους ὑπερηφανίας.
> (*Symp.* 219c3-6)

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[54] This passage again emphasises the important part that sight has to play in the formation of desire.

[55] This is the only occurrence of ὑπερήφανος in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, although ὑπερηφανέω also occurs once, again referring to Cleitophon's rejection of Melite: (Satyrus to Cleinias): Ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα τί παθὼν ὑπερηφανεῖ, νομίζων αὐτῷ Λευκίππην ἀναβιώσεσθαι. (5.11.6).

Socrates is also scornfully arrogant, but the fact that the same concept is used to describe the behaviour of the two men inevitably invites a comparison between their behaviour and their motivations. Socrates is entirely in control of himself and sees bodily gratification as an obstacle to the ascent to the Forms, whereas Cleitophon is trying in the face of dire temptation to stay faithful to the memory of the supposedly dead Leucippe. His determination was only going to last until they reached Ephesus,[56] and he was only prevented from succumbing then by the reappearance of his beloved. The paradoxical nature of the situation in the novel is also emphasised by this allusion. Just as it was barely thinkable that an older man would have been able to resist the beauty of Alcibiades,[57] so it is almost incredible that Cleitophon could have resisted the beautiful Melite. Leucippe has no reason not to believe Melite, for she is begging a virtual stranger for help, but Satyrus shows a more cynical, and as the reader can agree, more realistic view of Cleitophon's character in 5.20. Satyrus reassures his friend that he has told Leucippe that he had married Melite against his will. Cleitophon is aghast that he has mentioned this ('Ἀπολώλεκάς με 5.20.2), but Satyrus accuses him of stupidity (Τῆς εὐηθείας Ibid.), for the whole city knows that he is married. Cleitophon protests, and is adamant in the face of Satyrus' disbelief:

"'Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔγημα, μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, Σάτυρε, καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην."
"Παίζεις, ὦ' γαθέ· συγκαθεύδεις." "Οἶδα μὲν ἄπιστα λέγων, ἀλλ' οὔπω πέπρακται· καθαρὸς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν Μελίτης Κλειτοφῶν. (5.20.2-3)

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[56] 5.14.3 (Cleitophon to Melite): "Ἄρξει δέ ... τῶν συνθηκῶν ἡ εἰς "Εφεσον ἡμῶν ἄφιξις.

[57] See Dover (1980), pp.164-5, for the comic paradox of an attractive young man failing to seduce an older admirer here.

Leucippe agrees to Melite's request (5.22.7), and, just when a resolution to the drama is in sight, Thersander reappears, assaults Cleitophon and has him locked up (5.23), while Melite discovers Leucippe's letter to Cleitophon and realises what has been happening (5.24). She goes to accost him and reproaches him roundly, pitying herself and accusing Cleitophon and Leucippe of having fun at her expense (5.25.1-3). Her second speech concentrates on the wrongs that she believes she has suffered at Cleitophon's hands:

"Οἴμοι δειλαία τῶν κακῶν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπώλεσα διὰ σέ, οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιμί σε τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου κἂν μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων τῶν κενῶν, ἐπεὶ μὴ δεδύνησαι τούτων πλέον. (5.25.4)

The phrase μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων, which has come to stand for Melite's view of her relationship with Cleitophon, here recurs for the last time, in a speech which resonates with bitterness for pleasures denied. Her husband hates her for her μοιχείαν, which has been ἄκαρπον and ἀναφρόδιτον (5.25.5); other women get pleasure as well as shame, where Melite has only enjoyed the latter (Ibid.); Cleitophon has insulted Eros and not been affected by her tears,[58] her requests, the time they have spent together or their embraces (5.25.6-7).

ἀλλά, τὸ πάντων ὑβριστικώτατον, προσαπτόμενος, καταφιλῶν, οὕτως ἀνέστης ὡς ἄλλη γυνή. (5.25.7)

The worst thing of all is that he did not do anything, but got up as if he were another woman. This time Achilles Tatius employs *variatio* of both subject, Cleitophon instead of Melite, and noun, ὡς ἄλλη γυνή, instead of ὡς ἀπὸ εὐνούχου. In the former

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[58] Οὐ κατέκλασέ σε ταῦτα τὰ ὄμματα δακρύοντα; (5.25.6). This reproach is all the more forceful given Cleitophon's grand exposition on the power of tears at 6.7.1-7.

passage (5.22.3-6) the focus is on the extent to which Melite has tried to win over Cleitophon, and on his imperviousness: he is described as, or likened to λίθοις, σίδηρός, ξύλον, τι τῶν ἀναισθήτων, and an εἰκόνος. Thus it is fitting that Melite should be the subject and that Cleitophon should be insulted as someone unable to fulfil her desires. In the latter passage (5.25.6-7) Cleitophon's lack of daring is the focal point, and so he becomes the subject of the allusion. A different noun is employed partly to avoid repetition, much as the allusions to the Phaedran flow of beauty were each couched differently, but also because Εὐνοῦχε is reserved for the final outburst of insults at the end of the speech. But before hurling the torrent of abuse Melite wonders what it was that could have prevented Cleitophon from submitting to her: Οὐ μὲν δὴ γεγηρακυίᾳ συνεκάθευδες, οὐδὲ ἀποστρεφομένη σου τὰς περιβολάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νέᾳ καὶ φιλούσῃ, εἴποι δὲ ἂν ἄλλος ὅτι καὶ καλῇ (5.25.8). This is reminiscent of Alcibiades' complaint that Socrates: κατεγέλασεν τῆς ἐμῆς ὥρας (Symp. 219c4). The reasons for Cleitophon's and Socrates' forbearance are very different: the latter has no time for such physical contact and in fact considers it detrimental, whereas Cleitophon is trying to remain faithful to Leucippe's memory. Unfortunately, Achilles Tatius sabotages any nobility on the part of his hero by having him finally succumb to Melite when he has come to realise that Leucippe is still alive. The irony of this is even emphasised, unwittingly, by Cleitophon himself when he gives the reasons for his lapse. Rather than argue that he could not resist her beauty, or that he needed to keep her on his side so that she would fulfil her promise of helping him to escape (5.26.11), he claims that he was afraid that Eros would be angry with him,

> καὶ ἄλλως ὅτι Λευκίππην ἀπειλήφειν, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς Μελίτης ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἔμελλον, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ γάμος ἔτι τὸ πραττόμενον ἦν, ἀλλὰ φάρμακον ὥσπερ ψυχῆς νοσούσης. (5.27.2)

Achilles Tatius does not even allow Cleitophon to use persuasive arguments in his defence, such is his determination to present the reader with a problematic character.[59]

The allusion to Alcibiades' lack of success with Socrates recurs again in the final book. Cleitophon, at Sostratus' invitation, is recapping the adventures he and Leucippe have undergone. In his narration to the anonymous narrator he relegates his account of the events recounted from 2.31, when they eloped, to 5.7, when he is injured, to just over 6 lines[60] (8.5.1), and condenses the contents of books 6 and 7 into 2 lines (8.5.3), while just over 8 lines are given over to his dealings with Melite, which cover the relatively small section from 5.11.4 to the end of that book. While these presumably do not correspond to the proportions given to these sections in Cleitophon's actual speech to Sostratus, it is not difficult to see why he should concentrate on the episode with Melite when he is giving an account of his account, for this is the most delicate part. How, Cleitophon's interlocutor and the reader wonders, is Cleitophon going to cope with this tricky subject? Will he be forced to lie, or might he come clean? As it happens, and as we would expect from Cleitophon, we get a partial and adapted version of events: Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Μελίτην ἐγενόμην, ἐξῆρον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐμαυτοῦ πρὸς σωφροσύνην μεταποιῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐψευδόμην (8.5.2). He mentions her love, his continence and her persistence. In fact he seems to be omitting very little:

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[59] Goldhill (1995), pp.96-7, sees the humour in this passage, but not the effect that it has on the reader's perception of Cleitophon's character.

[60] In the Budé text.

τὴν ναῦν διηγησάμην, τὸν εἰς Ἔφεσον πλοῦν, καὶ ὡς ἄμφω
συνεκαθεύδομεν, καί, μὰ ταύτην τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, ὡς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀνέστην
γυνή. (Ibid.)

Again this allusion occurs towards the end of a speech or a section outlining Melite's
and Cleitophon's relationship. *Variatio* is employed once more with the substitution
of ὡς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀνέστην γυνή for οὕτως ἀνέστης ὡς ἄλλη γυνή (5.25.7), and there is
an allusion to μὰ θεούς, μὰ θεάς (*Symp.* 219c7) in μὰ ταύτην τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, Artemis
being particularly suitable in the setting of Ephesus and as a goddess of chastity. The
paradoxical force of the Platonic passage is also present in the allusion to it here,
although Cleitophon uses it to portray himself in a good light. For whereas Melite,
when Achilles Tatius had her make this allusion, expressed the sense of insult that
Alcibiades felt on Socrates' rejection of him, Cleitophon intends to convey his
temperance, the quality in Socrates that Alcibiades simultaneously admired.[61]
However, the force of the allusion this time is undercut, as far as the reader and the
anonymous narrator are concerned, by the next sentence:

Ἓν μόνον παρῆκα τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ δραμάτων, τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Μελίτην
αἰδῶ (8.5.3).

Cleitophon does not lie (οὐδὲν ἐψευδόμην 8.5.2), he merely omits the incriminating
part, and we know that, however impressive the reference to Socrates' legendary
abstinence makes him seem,[62] he fell at the last hurdle. A further erosion of

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[61] Τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο τίνα οἴεσθέ με διάνοιαν ἔχειν, ἡγούμενον μὲν ἠτιμάσθαι, ἀγάμενον δὲ τὴν τούτου φύσιν
τε καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀνδρείαν, ἐντετυχηκότα ἀνθρώπῳ τοιούτῳ οἵῳ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ᾤμην ποτ᾽ ἐντυχεῖν εἰς
φρόνησιν καὶ εἰς καρτερίαν; (*Symp.* 219d3-7)

[62] Cleitophon's reference even occurs at a symposium: Τοῦ δὲ δείπνου καιρὸς ἦν (8.4.1); καὶ ἦν ὅλον τὸ
συμπόσιον αἰδώς. (Ibid.)

Cleitophon's integrity is achieved by the fact that he uses the same idea and similar phraseology as those employed by Melite to chide him at a time when he had not yet succumbed. He transforms a complaint into a boast, but by making him use the same allusion as Melite, Achilles Tatius is drawing attention to his guilt.

The use of the flow of beauty and the chaste restraint of Socrates in humorous adaptations are complementary. Achilles Tatius takes a form of love which is attacked directly elsewhere[63] to engineer situations in which his characters describe their thoroughly unPlatonic desires in Platonic terms. Not only is eye contact in which beauty flows from one to another wholly inadequate as a means of satisfying those desires, Socrates' famous forbearance can be turned around and used as a form of abuse.[64] Moreover, the ways in which these allusions are made raise other questions.

4.3 The Place of *Sententiae*

Cleitophon's economy with the truth when he is telling Sostratus his adventures raises the question of how Cleitophon's manipulation of the relation of his story might affect his interlocutor's and the reader's appreciation of the narrative they receive. For there is perhaps not a great deal of difference between Sostratus asking for Cleitophon's story and the anonymous narrator's request for the same. Can we trust Cleitophon's story as we have it in the novel? Might he have omitted some of the more incriminating bits? It would be hard to argue that Cleitophon has presented himself in a pure light in the novel, and he has included incidents and thoughts that would surely be left out in a sanitised account. The reason he gives an edited version to Sostratus is

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[63] At Ps.-Luc. *Am.* 53-4, for instance.

[64] See   C.3 for more on this.

that Sostratus is Leucippe's father, and Cleitophon is therefore keen to impress him as much as possible, especially given the way he has treated him.[65] But if what we have and what the anonymous narrator hears is the unadapted truth, what on earth is Cleitophon doing, telling some of his most intimate secrets to a stranger? This issue has already been addressed,[66] but germane to it is the place that Cleitophon's philosophical, and other, digressions have in the narrative.

One approach to this question has been made by Goldhill when, beginning with the surprising lack of an end to the debate at the end of book 2, he proceeds to generalise about Achilles Tatius' narrative technique.[67] He wishes to progress beyond Bartsch's thesis that Achilles Tatius uses descriptions and digressions to "engage a reader in a necessarily failing process of interpretation"[68] and offers three points. The first is that:

> The self-conscious games with narrative and the self-conscious games
> with philosophical, physiological or psychological digressiveness are
> part and parcel of the same concern with that central category of
> ancient thought, *to eikos* - the probable or the natural.[69]

The second springs from this:

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[65] Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς τὸν Σώστρατον ὀρθοῖς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνάμην, συνεὶς οἷα αὐτὸν διατεθείκειν. (8.4.1)

[66] Under the discussion of Solution 5.b) in 2.6 and Solution 8. in 2.9.

[67] (1995), pp.91-102.

[68] Ibid., p.92, referring to Bartsch (1989).

[69] Ibid., p.93.

... it is in particular the rhetorical, philosophical, physiological discourses, and the characters' mobilization of them, that produce the most acute worries of appropriateness for readers. Thus what Achilles Tatius provokes is not just a question of 'Is this funny?', but, more scrupulously, a question of how seriously or how comically he challenges or supports the acknowledgement of secure communal values, the proprieties of intellectual discourse.[70]

The third is an investigation of the ways in which φιλοσοφέω is used in the novel,[71] with the conclusion that:

At crucial points in this narrative, in other words, 'to be a philosopher', *philosophein*, means 'to be committed to sexual chastity and its supporting arguments', or in one case 'to suffer in silence', 'stoically', just as such terminology is set in humorous tension with the arguments and behaviour of the characters.[72]

The problem shared by these approaches, although I think that they are on the right lines, is that Goldhill does not distinguish between the novelist and Cleitophon. It is exclusively Cleitophon who uses the term φιλοσοφέω,[73] twice in direct speech,[74] so while it is an interesting tack to ask how it is used and what it means, it also needs to

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[70] Ibid., pp.93-4.

[71] Ibid., pp.94-8

[72] Ibid., p.98.

[73] At. 1.12.1; 5.16.7; 5.23.7; 5.27.1; and 8.5.7. The word φιλόσοφος, however, is only used by Satyrus at 2.21.5 and by Thersander at 6.21.3.

[74] 5.16.7 and 8.5.7.

be considered whether it is important to ask who uses it. The nature of such a first-person narrative as we encounter in this novel means that it might not always, or indeed ever, be clear whether the novelist is speaking *in propria persona*, having forgotten his medium. However, Achilles Tatius shows sufficient skill in the difficult task of accounting for how Cleitophon can know what he relates[75] and gives Cleitophon such a consistent character, that it would be ungenerous, to say the least, to claim that certain parts, most likely the digressions, are intrusions by the author, who uses his character as a mouthpiece.[76] In raising the issue of the uses of φιλοσοφέω, Goldhill is ostensibly trying to examine the "digressiveness" of the novel, but unfortunately he does not get around to comparing the conceptions of "philosophising" with the "philosophical" digressions. Perhaps he was distracted by the sheer wealth of material which this discussion unearthed, or perhaps his efforts were stymied by the fact that digressions are not usefully labelled as "philosophical", or otherwise. If sexual abstinence is described as "doing philosophy", then how is doing philosophy to be described?

An improvement on this already sophisticated reading can be found in an article by Morales.[77] She argues that "The contextualization of these passages (sc. "the so-called digressions[78]) is extremely important"[79], and this is shown to be

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[75] See under the discussion of Solution 1. in 2.2.

[76] See, e.g., Perry (1967), p.119: "They (sc. Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus) do not tell the love story for its own sake ... but rather use it as a framework within which to display their sophistical wares".

[77] Morales (2000).

[78] Morales, ibid., p.69, insists that it is "not sufficient to lump them all (sc. descriptions, inset tales, *sententiae* etc.) together under the label 'digression'". I entirely agree, but "digression" nevertheless

illuminatingly correct by her consideration of some examples of *sententiae*. One of these is the pronouncement of Cleitophon at the beginning of his explanation of a painting of Tereus, Philomela and Procne:

Βαρβάροις δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐχ ἱκανὴ πρὸς ᾿Αφροδίτην μία γυνή, μάλισθ᾿ ὅταν αὐτῷ καιρὸς διδῷ πρὸς ὕβριν τρυφᾶν. (5.5.2)

Morales comments that "This judgement not only applies to Tereus, but is also relevant to Thersander: both are adulterous and both Thracian."[80] There is, however, no evidence in the text that Thersander is Thracian.[81] Nevertheless this does not vitiate her following argument, which credits Achilles Tatius with something like the skill he possessed. She says, quite rightly, that there is no reason to read the above *sententia* as the opinion of Achilles Tatius, and that considering it "in the light of the rest of the narrative promotes a very different reading of it."[82] For Cleitophon is shown to be an adulterer at the end of book 5 and this means that:

> the *sententia* is a joke, an ironic jibe at Clitophon's hypocrisy, which undermines, rather than underpins, his authority in his laying down the law about the other people. Clitophon is exposed as an unreliable

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serves as a useful term when trying to convey a vague idea of all the passages that *seem* not to be a part of the basic narrative.

[79] Ibid., pp.69-70.

[80] Ibid., p.79.

[81] In fact he would appear to be a native of Ephesus, for the priest, who says in court that: εἰ μὲν ἄλλη που βεβιωκὼς ἔτυχον, καὶ μὴ παρ᾿ ὑμῖν, ἔδει μοι λόγων περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ βεβιωμένων (8.9.6), is able to give a rather lurid account of Thersander's dissolute youth (8.9.1-5).

[82] (2000), p.79.

narrator and the didacticism of his sententiousness exposed to ridicule as absurdly pompous.[83]

While I do not see why this makes Cleitophon "an unreliable narrator" (he does not seem to have lied or to have omitted anything important), and the undermining only occurs in retrospect, this is surely the correct method of reading such passages and gives us an insight into the reason for their inclusion.

The other *sententia* that Morales treats at length is more akin to the passages with which this chapter has been dealing: 6.19.1-7, an allegorical treatment of love and anger and their effects on the soul. She argues that "there is a tension between the didacticizing form of the sententious declaration and the hackneyed lessons which it conveys, the ridiculousness of which is heightened by the sabotage of the erotic tradition upon which the account draws."[84] The authority claimed by the contents of the *sententia* "is exposed as a laughable pretension",[85] for straight after it Cleitophon relates how Thersander reacted: ἀτυχήσας δὲ ὧν ἤλπισεν, ἀφῆκε τῷ θυμῷ τὰς ἡνίας. Ῥαπίζει δὴ κατὰ κόρρης αὐτήν (6.20.1). Morales' final comment is no less damning:

> In this extreme case (not every case is as clear as this), the romantic narrative renders the pseudo-scientific sententiousness absurd and defuses its significance.[86]

While it might be true that it "defuses its significance" as an account of what happened (Cleitophon could easily have said that Thersander got angry and hit her),

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[83] Ibid., p.80.

[84] Ibid., pp.83-4.

[85] Ibid., p.84

[86] Ibid.

that does not mean that it has no significance at all. For it is either Achilles Tatius

being absurd, or it is Cleitophon, and although Morales does not make this explicit,

using her earlier separation of the author and his hero,[87] it must surely be Cleitophon

who is guilty of over-indulgence. Thus it is Cleitophon's propensity to lecture that is

undercut by the subsequent bathetic narrative of Achilles Tatius.

I have continually argued in this chapter that Achilles Tatius deliberately

makes his hero's character a problematic one, and Morales' reading of his

sententiousness in context draws attention to another facet of it. This approach can be

extended to Cleitophon's Platonising *sententiae*, the starting point of this chapter, but

the issue is perhaps not quite so clear cut, at least initially. To take the first instance of

an allusion to the Phaedran flow of beauty, it could be argued that, along with the

reference to the dazzling beauty of the beloved, it gives a profound philosophical

significance to what is a crucial juncture in the novel. The reader who has only got as

far as 1.4.4 might well assume that he has now seen the young couple whose

adventures will spring from this one moment and who will undergo many hardships

for each other.[88] But just as the assumptions of a reader who is used to the

conventions of the Greek novel are going to be subverted, distorted and repeatedly

frustrated by Achilles Tatius' narrative, so the apparent importance of this first

allusion to the flow of beauty may be undercut by what follows.

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[87] She argues, p.79, that "the characterization of him (sc. Cleitophon) as cowardly, effeminate, and

self-serving makes this conflation (sc. of Achilles Tatius and Cleitophon) even less credible."

[88] Although, as the reader who reaches 8.5 and Cleitophon's version of events will know, the

misfortunes have largely been borne by Leucippe.

Morales' contextualising approach reaps more rewards when applied to the second occurrence of the allusion, Cleinias' advice. As pointed out earlier,[89] Cleinias' grand praise of eye contact in Platonic terms is savagely undermined by his following advice on how to get Leucippe into bed. Goldhill also points out that:

> This extraordinary account of the gaze as copulation ... blends together the language of medicine and science ... with the abstract language of ethical philosophy ... to concoct a finely intellectualized image of what we have already seen described as peeping over a book at a girl.[90]

The introduction of Melite affords another opportunity for Cleitophon to expound in Platonic terms, and the context of this *sententia* also helps to undercut its significance. Melite is not eating properly (even though the δεῖπνον is πολυτελές 5.13.3) because she is besotted with Cleitophon. He explains sententiously that: Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡδὺ τοῖς ἐρῶσι πλὴν τὸ ἐρώμενον (Ibid.), and proceeds to give another Platonic account of the flow of beauty. After which he says to her, συνείς (5.13.5): "'Ἀλλὰ σύ γε οὐδενὸς μετέχεις τῶν σαυτῆς, ἀλλ' ἔοικας τοῖς ἐν γραφαῖς ἐσθίουσιν." (Ibid.). συνείς, from its position, would seem to refer to the content of his Phaedran *sententia*, but from what he goes on to say it must mean that Cleitophon realises that Melite is unable to eat because all she can think about is him (οὐκ ἠδύνατο τυχεῖν ὁλοκλήρου τροφῆς, πάντα δὲ ἔβλεπέ με 5.13.3). This raises the question of why, if he knows what is going on, Cleitophon bothers to tell Melite. The answer would seem to be that he is angling, flirtatiously, for the sort of comment that he receives: Ἡ δέ, "Ποῖον γὰρ ὄψον," ἔφη, "μοι πολυτελὲς

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[89] Above, pp.203-8.

[90] (1995), p.76. He does not, however detail the sources for the "language of medicine and science" or "the abstract language of ethical philosophy", nor does he mention the *Phaedrus*.

ἢ ποῖος οἶνος τιμιώτερος τῆς σῆς ὄψεως;" (5.13.5), after which she kisses him. The

Platonic allusion is at odds with the playful dallying with which it is sandwiched, and,

as with its occurrence in Cleinias' speech, it is deployed here to provide an element of

humour. Yet whereas Cleinias was in the privileged position of *praeceptor amoris* and

so his use of it could be seen to reflect more on the ignorance of his friend than on his

lack of originality, here Cleitophon is being unnecessarily bombastic.[91] Cleitophon's

use of it here is also humorous because it is his own beauty that he is talking about.

His *sententia* may be couched in general terms,[92] but it springs from the fact that

Melite is looking at him. Either Cleitophon shows very little modesty in detailing the

profound impression that he has on Melite, with only the veil that he uses a *sententia*

to cover his boastfulness, or perhaps it would more realistic, and certainly more

charitable, to think that Cleitophon is so used to delivering gnomic utterances that he

does not fully realise the implications of this one.

The final two instances of this allusion come in rapid succession and convey

the effect that Leucippe's beauty has on Thersander. They are not as extreme cases as

some, for they are reasonably well integrated into the text: the first comes from

Thersander's mouth (6.6.4) and the second is directly applicable to the situation

(6.7.1-7). There is a contrast between Thersander's respectably genteel behaviour

here[93] and his later frustration and use of force,[94] but this is not achieved exclusively

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[91] I shall return to this in greater detail below.

[92] And necessarily so: see Morales (2000), p.72.

[93] ἐδάκρυε γὰρ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν παθὼν μέν τι, κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, ἀνθρώπινον (6.7.7); (Thersander to Sosthenes)
Νῦν μὲν αὐτὴν θεράπευσον· ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὡς ἔχει λύπης· ὥστε ὑπεκστήσομαι καὶ μάλα ἄκων, ὡς μὴ ὀχληρὸς
εἴην. Ὅταν δὲ ἡμερώτερον διατεθῇ, τότε αὐτῇ διαλεχθήσομαι. Σὺ δέ, ὦ γύναι, θάρσει (6.7.8-9).

[94] See especially 6.18ff.

through the relationship between the *sententiae* and their context. I have already dealt with the comparison between Cleitophon's and Thersander's reactions to Leucippe's beauty that the repetition of this allusion demands, and it can be added here that it is perhaps noteworthy that Cleitophon's use of these *sententiae* does not detract significantly from the portrayal of Thersander's character. We might have expected him to make comments along lines similar to those found at 5.5.2 concerning the intemperance of barbarians, in order to bias his listener's appreciation of his rival, but the *sententiae* he does use show Thersander as love-struck as he was. It is, therefore, their respective reactions to her overwhelming beauty that are shown to be important.

Morales' approach of analysing *sententiae* in context pays rich dividends, and other approaches employed in this chapter so far have read allusive *sententiae* in relation to their source (in this case one particular idea in Plato's *Phaedrus*), in relation to each other in themselves and in relation to their respective contexts. These last two raise the question of what significance there might be in a *sententia* that is repeated, albeit with *variatio*.[95] In this case Cleitophon tells the anonymous narrator about the flow of beauty no less than three times (1.4.4; 5.13.4; 6.7.5). It is possible that Achilles Tatius was particularly interested in this idea and so made his narrator expound it at every given opportunity, but to argue this would be to fall back on the idea that Cleitophon is merely a mouthpiece, and this is to deny any subtlety to his novel. It is also possible that Achilles Tatius thought that his readership was particularly interested in this idea and so gave Cleitophon every chance to pronounce on it. But while it is true that the *Phaedrus*, and this part of it, seems to have been especially well known, once reminded of it at 1.4.4, would a reader really have

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[95] Cleitophon's pronouncements on tears are similarly connected.

appreciated its more elaborate repetition? This approach also does not progress far from the view that Cleitophon is merely "a cipher for the novelist".[96]

4.4 *Sententiae* and the Characterisation of Cleitophon

I should like to argue that Achilles Tatius wanted to portray Cleitophon as especially keen on the Phaedran flow of beauty (among other things), as excessively devoted to sententiousness, and that this is commensurate with and a contributory factor towards his character as revealed throughout his own narration. Achilles Tatius' hero is made to hold forth at every given opportunity, and the overbearing nature of his narration can be gathered from Morales' list of *sententiae*.[97] She lists 40 under the headings "on lovers, love-making, and emotions" (15), "on vision" (11), "on women" (9), "on Providence and Rumour" (2), "on barbarians" (2), and "on slaves" (1). 3 of those "on women" (2.35.3-5; 2.37; 2.38) are bracketed because, although "they are sententious in so far as they are generalizing statements", "they are spoken in the specific contestatory context of a debate and thus do not so much lay down the law as argue the law."[98] On this criterion one of those "on lovers etc." (2.36.1-2) should receive the same treatment. We are now left with 36. One of these, included in the "on women" list, should be deleted, for Menelaus' comment at 5.4.2 that: Ὁρᾷς ὅσων γέμει κακῶν ἡ γραφή· ἔρωτος παρανόμου, μοιχείας ἀναισχύντου, γυναικείων ἀτυχημάτων is specific and not in the least sententious.[99] On the other hand another should be

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[96] A view from which Morales (2000), p.79, is trying to escape.

[97] Ibid., pp.73-4.

[98] Ibid., pp.73-4, n.11.

[99] Unless, of course, there has been a typographical error; cf. "6.19.1-19" on p.80, which should read "6.19.1-7".

added to the "on love etc." list: Ἀληθὴς δέ ἐστιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ λόγος, ὅτι μνήμην ἐκπλήσσειν πέφυκε φόβος (7.10.4).[100] Thus the total is returned to 36. Of these 24 are spoken by Cleitophon in his narration,[101] 3 by him in speeches,[102] 4 by Cleinias, 2 by Sosthenes, 1 by Menelaus, 1 by Melite and 1 by Charicles. The 9 not spoken by Cleitophon can be grouped into those which are used as part of some advice (1.9.3-7, 1.9.4-5, 1.10.1-7 (Cleinias); 4.8.4-6 (Menelaus); 6.13.4, 6.17.4 (Sosthenes)), those contained in complaints/diatribes (1.7.4-5 (Charicles); 1.8.1-9 (Cleinias)), and that used as part of a plea (6.10.4-6 (Melite)[103]).

Cleitophon's general attitude and his propensity to lecture begin to be revealed by consideration of the three *sententiae* spoken by him to characters in his narration. The first (4.8.1-3) contains his reaction to Menelaus' news that Charmides wants to have Leucippe in his company so that he can, among other things, kiss her. Cleitophon embarks on a ridiculously inopportune encomium of the kiss, arguing that kissing is better than sexual intercourse:

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[100] There are possibly others: Morales herself writes, in a note whose point is to emphasise that her grouping is somewhat "arbitrary and subjective", that Scarcella "counts (but does not list) fifty-eight *gnomai* in *Leucippe and Clitophon*", p.74, n.12. The greater number, however, might be due to the fact that Morales groups sets of "*gnomai*", e.g. 6.19.1-7.

[101] 1.3.2-3; 1.4.4; 1.5.5-6; 1.6.2-4; 2.3.3; 2.8.1-3; 2.13.1-2; 2.29.1-5; 3.4.4-5; 3.11.1-2; 4.14.9; 5.13.4; 5.22.8; 5.27.1; 5.27.4; 6.6.2-3; 6.6.3; 6.7.1-3; 6.7.4-8; 6.18.3-4; 6.19.1-7; 7.4.4-5 (Morales has 7.4.4-8); 7.10.4; 7.10.5.

[102] For which see below.

[103] This is the only one uttered by a woman, as noted by Morales (2000), p.77.

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔργον τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ ὅρον ἔχει καὶ κόρον, καὶ οὐδέν ἐστιν,

ἐὰν ἐξέλῃς αὐτοῦ τὰ φιλήματα· φίλημα δὲ καὶ ἀόριστόν ἐστι καὶ

ἀκόρεστον καὶ καινὸν ἀεί. (4.8.2)[104]

And if this was not absurd enough, Cleitophon proceeds to declare, totally irrelevantly

and without reason, that: Τρία γὰρ τὰ κάλλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνεισιν, ἀναπνοὴ καὶ

φωνὴ καὶ φίλημα· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ χείλεσιν ἀλλήλους φιλοῦμεν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ τῆς

ἡδονῆς ἐστι πηγή (4.8.2-3). The culmination of Cleitophon's argument is that since he

has only kissed Leucippe, if someone else kissed her, that would constitute adultery:

Εἰ δέ τις ἁρπάσει μου καὶ ταῦτα, οὐ φέρω τὴν φθοράν· οὐ μοιχεύσεταί μου τὰ φιλήματα

(4.8.4). When Cleitophon finds himself in trouble, he does not consider how best to

escape it, but wallows in self-pity and simultaneously wastes time by lecturing a friend

in the most ludicrous manner. Menelaus responds with the rather curt, but certainly

more practical, Οὐκοῦν ... βουλῆς ἡμῖν ἀρίστης δεῖ καὶ ταχίστης. (Ibid.). While it is true

that Menelaus then proceeds to deliver a *sententia* of his own (on how a lover who

comes to despair can turn nasty, especially if he is in a position of power), at least it is

relevant to the situation in which they find themselves and serves as an accurate

analysis of their predicament. The other two examples of Cleitophon directing a

sententia at someone occur in rapid succession as he describes to Leucippe the

painting of Tereus, Procne and Philomela. The first (5.5.2) and its ironic implications

have already been mentioned,[105] and it too is something of a bombastic and self-

satisfied point with Cleitophon smugly asserting his superiority.[106] The second can

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[104] Cf. Cleinias' comment to Cleitophon that: Οὐκ οἶδας οἷόν ἐστιν ἐρωμένη βλεπομένη· μείζονα τῶν

ἔργων ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν. (1.9.4)

[105] See pp.240-1.

[106] See Morales (2000), pp.77-80, on "Sententiousness and Power".

only be termed tactless, considering that it is spoken to Leucippe, as Cleitophon

passes a general comment on Procne's willingness to gain revenge on Tereus by

killing their son Itys:

Οὕτως αἱ τῆς ζηλοτυπίας ὠδῖνες νικῶσι καὶ τὴν γαστέρα. Μόνον γὰρ

ὀργῶσαι γυναῖκες ἀνιᾶσαι τὸν τὴν εὐνὴν λελυπηκότα, κἂν πάσχωσιν ἐν οἷς

ποιοῦσιν οὐχ ἧττον κακόν, τὴν τοῦ πάσχειν λογίζονται συμφορὰν τῇ τοῦ

ποιεῖν ἡδονῇ. (5.5.7)[107]

The only view that the reader can have after such a tirade is best put by Ovid: *quis*

nisi mentis inops tenerae declamat amicae? (*Ars* I, 465).

The context of the three *sententiae* which Cleitophon pronounces in direct

speech in his narration and their, at best, inappropriateness allow indications of how

the reader might have reacted to such statements when they come directly from

Cleitophon's mouth during his narration, that is the clear majority of them. I

suggested above that the first instance of the Phaedran allusion (1.4.4) may have been

taken at face value by the reader,[108] but the following argument might cast doubt on

even that. The flow of beauty through the eyes into the soul is an explicit reference to

a standard work of philosophy and this is enhanced by the fact that it is couched in

generic terms as a psychological/philosophical *sententia*. *Sententiae*, as Morales

argues,[109] stand out from the narrative by retarding it and "invite the reader to detach"

them "from the narrative"[110] by various characteristics (e.g. the "present tense, self-

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[107] If this is true, one only hopes that Leucippe never finds out about Cleitophon's dalliance with

Melite!

[108] See p.242.

[109] Morales (2000), pp.75-6.

[110] Ibid., p.76.

aggrandizement and universality"[111]). The sententiousness of the allusion not only entails that Cleitophon is not telling the anonymous narrator what happened - he is rather detailing what happens in such situations, and so is presenting it as a theory - but it also emphasises that he is expounding a theory which is lifted straight out of Plato's *Phaedrus*. This technique may in fact add to the reader's appreciation of Cleitophon's character, as he can be seen to be trying to impress a total stranger by passing off a theory as his own.[112] We do not, of course, find out what the anonymous narrator thinks of Cleitophon, owing to the lack of a resumption of the opening frame, but it is not hard to imagine him chuckling to himself, as in fact the reader might be, while Cleitophon expounds philosophical commonplaces[113] in an attempt to appear erudite or intellectual. There is also, perhaps, humour to be found in the fact that the anonymous narrator seems to be the older man, for he refers to Cleitophon as a νεανίσκος (1.2.1); Cleitophon's bombastic lecturing is thus even more inappropriate. So much is speculation, but it does take us beyond treating the use of such allusions to exceptionally famous passages as merely an attempt by the author to impart a veneer of respectability to his work.

If the first occurrence of this allusion and its sententiousness was designed to make the reader view Cleitophon in a certain light, the effect of its repetition must

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[111] Ibid.

[112] If Achilles Tatius had had Cleitophon include the allusion in his narration ("Her beauty flowed through my eyes into my soul" etc.) the effect would not have been significantly different, for the reader would surely still have recognised its status as an explicit reference. The only difference is that its form as a *sententia* ensures that it stands out from the narrative.

[113] See below, pp.253-9.

have been to reinforce this: the narrator may have been amused by it the first time, but surely by the third instance he must have been getting rather tired of it. The importance of *sententiae* on vision which incorporated the Phaedran flow of beauty was emphasised by their occurrence at crucial points in the narrative,[114] and their predominance can be gauged by examining Morales' list of 11 *sententiae* "on vision".[115] Morales admits that: "I have grouped them (sc. the *sententiae*) thematically, but many categories cover a range of topics under their umbrella title and there are other ways in which they could have been ordered."[116] In fact it is pertinent to ask whether some of the *sententiae* included in the "on vision" list would not be better placed elsewhere. 2.3.3 describes the effect that Eros and Dionysus have on the soul:[117] the visual element here is found, not in the *sententia* itself, but in what this makes Cleitophon and Leucippe do, namely gaze at each other. 3.4.4-5 claims that the vast size of the sea increases the fear of death in a drowning man:[118] all this has to do with "vision" is that the size of the sea is conveyed, unsurprisingly, by the eyes. 3.11.1-2 is a disquisition on why tears do not come in moments of extreme sorrow,[119] and the only mention of anything remotely visual is that tears ἐστι τοῖς

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[114] See p.216.

[115] (2000), p.73: 1.4.4; 1.9.4-5; 2.3.3; 3.4.4-5; 3.11.1-2; 5.13.4; 6.6.2-3; 6.6.3; 6.7.1-3; 6.7.4-8; 7.4.4-5.

[116] Ibid., p.74.

[117] "Ερως δὲ καὶ Διόνυσος, δύο βίαιοι θεοί, ψυχὴν κατασχόντες ἐκμαίνουσιν εἰς ἀναισχυντίαν, ὁ μὲν καίων αὐτὴν τῷ συνήθει πυρί, ὁ δὲ τὸν οἶνον ὑπέκκαυμα φέρων· οἶνος γὰρ ἔρωτος τροφή.

[118] Ὁ γὰρ ἐν θαλάττῃ θάνατος βραδὺς προαναιρεῖ πρὸ τοῦ παθεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ὀφθαλμὸς πελάγους γεμισθεὶς ἀόριστον ἐκτείνει τὸν φόβον, ὡς καὶ διὰ τούτων θάνατον δυστυχεῖν πλείονα· ὅσον γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ μέγεθος, τοσοῦτος καὶ ὁ τοῦ θανάτου φόβος.

[119] See p.214.

πάσχουσιν εἰς τοὺς κολάζοντας ἱκετηρία (3.11.1). 7.4.4-5 compares the delay of tears

with the time blood takes to well up from a deep wound,[120] and that a man who has

been slashed by a boar's tusk: ζητεῖ τὸ τραῦμα καὶ οὐκ οἶδεν εὑρεῖν (7.4.4) hardly

qualifies this *sententia* as "on vision". These are more akin to those in the "on lovers,

love-making, and emotions" list and should be moved there. The places of three more

are dubious: 6.6.2 finds Cleitophon arguing that a person's emotions are reflected in

their face;[121] 6.6.3 is the assertion that beauty is particularly found in the eye;[122] and

6.7.1-2 is a description of the power of tears to increase the character of the eye.[123]

These would more suitably be titled "on appearance".[124]

Out of the original 11, then, we are left with 4 - 1.4.4, 1.9.4-5, 5.13.4, and

6.7.4-8. The last of these details the effect that the tears of a beautiful woman have on

her lover, but includes a portion on vision, and so could be placed under either "on

vision" or "on lovers, love-making, and emotions". All of these four *sententiae*, that is

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[120] See pp.214-5.

[121] Ὁ γὰρ νοῦς οὐ μοι δοκεῖ λελέχθαι καλῶς ἀόρατος εἶναι τὸ παράπαν· φαίνεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ τῷ προσώπῳ. Ἡσθεὶς τε γὰρ ἐξέλαμψε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰκόνα χαρᾶς καὶ ἀνιαθεὶς συνέστειλε τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς τὴν ὄψιν τῆς συμφορᾶς.

[122] See pp.211-3. Even though the context of this *sententia* deals with Thersander looking at Leucippe, the *sententia* itself merely conveys a generalising statement about appearance: μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κάθηται τὸ κάλλος.

[123] Δάκρυον γὰρ ὀφθαλμὸν ἀνίστησι καὶ ποιεῖ προπετέστερον· Κἂν μὲν ἄμορφος ᾖ καὶ ἄγροικος, προστίθησιν εἰς δυσμορφίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἡδὺς καὶ τοῦ μέλανος ἔχων τὴν βαφὴν ἠρέμα τῷ λευκῷ στεφανούμενος, ὅταν τοῖς δάκρυσιν ὑγρανθῇ, ἔοικε πηγῆς ἐγκύμονι μαζῷ. Χεομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν δακρύων ἅλμης περὶ τὸν κύκλον, τὸ μὲν πιαίνεται, τὸ δὲ μέλαν πορφύρεται, καὶ ἐστιν ὅμοιον, τὸ μὲν ἴῳ, τὸ δὲ ναρκίσσῳ· τὰ δὲ δάκρυα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔνδον εἰλούμενα γελᾷ.

[124] The alternative, of course, would be to change "on vision" to " on vision and appearance", but it is what the *sententiae* are actually on rather Morales' classificatory system that is the issue here.

all of the *sententiae* which can properly be classed as "on vision", consist of or contain allusions to the Phaedran flow of beauty.[125] The idea then, is repeated, and becomes hackneyed even in the course of the novel, but the effect would be even more pronounced if it was hackneyed to start with. It is not enough to argue that this would have been the case purely because the *Phaedrus* was very popular, for this disregards any consideration of Achilles Tatius' aims and presuppositions about his readership. In fact the critical consensus was, and to a certain extent still is, that Achilles Tatius was not a particularly sophisticated (although definitely "sophistic") or demanding author and that his use of such an allusion would have been the pinnacle of his ambition. More recent criticism has inclined to credit Achilles Tatius with more skill, and if the arguments contained in this thesis are accepted, he expected his reader to be familiar with a wide range of Platonic material and with the *Phaedrus* in particular depth. But this is still insufficient without some sort of proof that one idea or part of one dialogue might have been thought of as hackneyed, whereas another idea or part of a different dialogue, or even the same one, might not.

One form of proof requires external evidence: ideally another author needs to say that this piece of Plato has become a commonplace or use it in such a way as to suggest that it has.[126] The former would be too good to be true,[127] but there is a possible indication of the latter from Plutarch's *Amatorius*, when Plutarch is waxing

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[125] The other allusion, 6.6.3, is not a *sententia* and will be dealt with below.

[126] Of course, the latter of these raises the same problems as those at issue here.

[127] But see 5.3 for Flavianus' request to Autobulus to omit Platonic *topoi* from his argument at the beginning of Plutarch's *Amatorius*, and how this relates to the scene-setting in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*.

lyrical and Platonically[128] about the virtues of true love. Lovers look in the thoughts of the beloved for a image which is a περίκομμα τοῦ καλοῦ: if they do not find one, they search for others:

> ὅπου δ' ἂν ἔχωσιν ἴχνος τι τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀπορροὴν καὶ ὁμοιότητα σαίνουσαν,
>
> ὑφ' ἡδονῆς καὶ θαύματος ἐνθουσιῶντες καὶ περιέποντες, εὐπαθοῦσι τῇ
>
> μνήμῃ καὶ ἀναλάμπουσι πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐράσμιον ἀληθῶς καὶ μακάριον καὶ
>
> φίλιον ἅπασι καὶ ἀγαπητόν. (Plut. Amat. 765d)

ἀπορροὴν here is presumably intended to recall the Phaedran flow of beauty, and, if this is so, the fact that it requires no further explanation would imply that Plutarch's interlocutors, and by extension his readers, were expected to know what he meant.

More obvious allusions also occur, with some degree of frequency. When Lucian says that the hall itself inspires the mind of the speaker, he adds:

> σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰσρεῖ τι διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καλόν, εἶτα πρὸς
>
> αὐτὸ κοσμῆσαν ἐκπέμπει τοὺς λόγους. (Luc. Dom. 4)[129]

Philostratus seems to have been particularly taken with the idea. The best example occurs at the beginning of Ep. 12, where he asks a woman:

> Πόθεν μου τὴν ψυχὴν κατέλαβες; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων, ἀφ' ὧν
>
> μόνων κάλλος ἐσέρχεται;

Ep. 10 contains a similar thought:

> κάλλος δὲ ἅπαξ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ῥυὲν οὐκέτ' ἄπεισιν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ
>
> καταγωγίου. οὕτω κἀγώ σε ὑπεδεξάμην καὶ φέρω πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν
>
> ὀμμάτων δικτύοις.

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[128] See Trapp (1990), pp.157-161.

[129] See 5.1, pp.262-3, for the reference to the setting of the Phaedrus which occurs almost immediately after this allusion, and Trapp (1990), p.147 with n.11. Garnaud (1991), p.8, draws attention to this passage.

To which *Ep.* 11 should also be compared:

Ποσάκις σοι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνέῳξα ἵνα ἀπέλθῃς, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ δίκτυα ἀναπτύσσοντες τοῖς θηρίοις ἐς ἐξουσίαν τοῦ φυγεῖν· ... καὶ δὴ πάλιν, ὥσπερ εἴωθα, ἐπαίρω τὰ βλέφαρα· ἀπόπτηθι ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν λῦσον καὶ γενοῦ ξένος ἄλλων ὀμμάτων. οὐκ ἀκούεις, ὅς γε καὶ μᾶλλον ἔχῃ τοῦ πρόσω καὶ μέχρι τῆς ψυχῆς.[130]

Lastly, an allusion might be regarded as a commonplace if another author whose literary aspirations are unequivocally low uses it. Such an approach is clearly problematic, for assessing such qualities is difficult,[131] and some allowance must be made for personal taste on the part of the author, but perhaps Xenophon of Ephesus is one writer whose supporters will not be too numerous.[132] He uses the idea twice:

διέκειτο δὲ καὶ ᾿Ανθία πονήρως, ὅλοις μὲν καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ ᾿Αβροκόμου κάλλος εἰσρέον δεχομένη (1.3.2); and:

καλῶς μοι διηκονήσατε, καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν ἐμὸν καλῶς εἰς τὴν ᾿Αβροκόμου ψυχὴν ὡδηγήσατε. (1.9.7)[133]

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[130] Cf. κάλλος γὰρ περίπυστον ἀμωμήτοιο γυναικός/ ὀξύτερον μερόπεσσι πέλει πτερόεντος ὀιστοῦ·/ ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδός ἐστιν· ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῖο βολάων/ κάλλος ὀλισθαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ φρένας ἀνδρὸς ὀδεύει (Musaeus 829-32), which, with the ensuing text, seems to be derived from Achilles Tatius himself. See Hopkinson (1994), *ad loc.*

[131] Witness the rapidly changing appreciation of Achilles Tatius.

[132] Anderson's (1989) comment, p.125, will pass for the general consensus here: "The main interest of Xenophon's *Ephesian Tale of Anthia and Habrocomes*, to give it its full title, is as a specimen of penny dreadful literature in antiquity".

[133] Trapp (1990), notes no further allusions to the *Phaedrus* in Xenophon of Ephesus' novel.

Another form of proof would be internal. Repetition by itself would obviously not be enough, for that is the starting point here. Nor would the fact that it is Cleitophon who repeats the idea combined with the argument that he is presented as a lecturing buffoon suffice, for that would bring the discussion full circle. Help might come from the allusions not contained in *sententiae* uttered by Cleitophon. One of these is not contained in a *sententia* at all, but is spoken by Thersander to Leucippe:[134]

"Τί κάτω βλέπεις, γύναι; Τί δέ σου τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς γῆν καταρρεῖ; Ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μᾶλλον ῥεέτω τοὺς ἐμούς." (6.6.4)

The only element missing is any mention of the involvement of Thersander's soul, but this objection is largely obviated by Cleitophon's *sententia* and narration of Thersander's reaction which precede this short speech:

Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος τὸ κάλλος ἐκ παραδρομῆς ὡς ἁρπαζομένης ἀστραπῆς - μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κάθηται τὸ κάλλος - ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ εἱστήκει τῇ θέα δεδεμένος (6.6.3).

What does it mean to have Thersander speak in Platonic terms? Has he been inspired by Leucippe's beauty, or does having the villain utter it prove that the sentiment is trite? An indication of what level of intellectual attitude we should expect from Thersander can be gleaned from the priest's speech in the climactic law suit. He gives an account of Thersander's youth:

Καί τοί γε νέος ὢν συνεγίνετο πολλοῖς αἰδοίοις ἀνδράσι καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἅπασαν εἰς τοῦτο δεδαπανήκει. σεμνότητα δ᾽ ἔδρακε καὶ σωφροσύνην ὑπεκρίνατο, παιδείας προσποιούμενος ἐρᾶν καὶ τοῖς εἰς ταύτην αὐτῷ χρωμένοις πάντα ὑποκύπτων καὶ ὑποκατακλινόμενος ἀεί. Καταλιπὼν γὰρ τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν, ὀλίγον ἑαυτῷ μισθωσάμενος στενωπεῖον, εἶχεν ἐνταῦθα τὸ οἴκημα, ὁμηρίζων μὲν τὰ πολλά, πάντας δὲ τοὺς χρησίμους

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[134] The other, 1.9.4-5, will be dealt with below.

πρὸς ἅπερ ἤθελε προσηταιρίζετο δεχόμενος. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἀσκεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐνομίζετο (8.9.2-3).

This, of course, is not an impartial character assessment, for the priest is fiercely on the side of the hero and heroine and makes numerous double entendres, but he has spent his whole life in Ephesus ('Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἄλλῃ που βεβιωκὼς ἔτυχον καὶ μὴ παρ' ὑμῖν 8.9.6) and Sopater, who speaks on Thersander's behalf, only has this to say about his client's youth:

Τὸν δὲ Θερσάνδρου βίον ἴσασι πάντες καὶ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας μετὰ σωφροσύνης κόσμιον (8.10.7).

How much credence can be allowed to this is debatable since it occurs in a speech riddled with lies and false speculation. At any rate, Thersander's behaviour in the rest of the novel is more in keeping with what the priest says. Thus a man of bad character who does not seem to have paid much attention in school is made to allude to Plato's flow of beauty. It would therefore seem to be a common idea that formed part of the cultural make-up of any free man and so one which it might not have been particularly impressive to use, especially repeatedly.

The other occurrence of the allusion is a *sententia*, one of the 4 spoken by Cleinias and one of the 3 which form his advice to Cleitophon in 1.9-10.[135] In fact almost all of both his speeches consist of *sententiae* - 1.9.3-7 and 1.10.1-7 from Morales' list correspond exactly with them. But if it is right to view a reference to the Phaedran flow of beauty as hackneyed, how does this affect the reader's view of Cleinias and his advice; or, on the other hand, if such a reference forms part of the advice from someone in the privileged position of *praeceptor amoris*, does this mean

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[135] The other *sententia* spoken by Cleinias is his diatribe against women, 1.8.1-9.

that the author does not regard it as a commonplace after all? A solution to this conundrum is provided in the text, by Cleinias himself. After claiming, in response to Cleitophon's request for help, that love is an αὐτοδίδακτος ... σοφιστής (1.10.1), Cleinias nevertheless agrees to dispense some instruction and introduces it as follows:

"Ὅσα δέ ἐστι κοινὰ καὶ μὴ τῆς εὐκαίρου τύχης δεόμενα, ταῦτα ἀκούσας μάθε. (1.10.2)

Morales states that this "not only applies to the advice which he is about to offer on boys' and girls' behaviour, but also characterizes numerous other passages of similar kind throughout the novel ... (which) can be considered as *sententiae*".[136] Among these should be included his previous speech, which contains the Phaedran allusion. Moreover, there seems to be no reason not to think that Cleinias would use the above phrase to describe it: its proximity and similarity of tone would encourage this assumption. Cleinias therefore reveals that he considers his advice κοινὰ - the sort of thing everyone (except Cleitophon) knows - and this includes the Phaedran allusion. By explicitly acknowledging that he is expounding commonplaces, Cleinias would be able to refute any charge that this was all he was capable of; rather than reflecting badly on him, it rather shows what level of advice he assumes Cleitophon needs and so should colour the reader's opinion of him instead. On a higher lever, that fact that Achilles Tatius has one of his characters use the flow of beauty idea in advice which would seem to be as κοινὰ as the advice which he says is κοινὰ shows that Achilles Tatius too regards it as κοινὰ. This enables us to appreciate what Achilles Tatius expected of his readership and also what he expected his readership to think of Cleitophon as he enthusiastically repeats the same idea himself. The reader may have

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[136] (2000), pp.71-2.

expected the anonymous narrator (as a cipher for himself) to greet his first use of it at 1.4.4 as amusing, but once the reader encounters Cleitophon's narration of Cleinias' advice and realises where Cleitophon got the Phaedran idea from, he may have formed a lower estimation of Cleitophon when he uses it again later.[137] This would only complement the other things which count against him, the very things which Cleitophon relates, apparently ignorant of how they make him seem. It would also grant Achilles Tatius a considerable level of sophistication as, rather than littering his novel with allusions in an attempt to appear erudite, he would be laughing at his own characters for trying to do something similar.[138]

4.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to explore the ways in which Achilles Tatius uses one idea from the *Phaedrus* and the wider issues that these raise. The Phaedran flow of beauty occurs with relative frequency and at important junctures in the narrative, and so it is illuminating not only to consider each allusion and its context, but also to compare the allusions themselves, their contexts and their relation to other similar passages. The importance that the idea gains has ramifications throughout the novel, as the Platonic contrast between philosophical contemplation and physical gratification is played out, often with ironic twists. Achilles Tatius' use of the allusion also has a bearing on broader questions, such as the place of *sententiae* and other "digressions" in the narrative, his reasons for using, for the most part, first person

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[137] Cf. Cleitophon's use of: ὡς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀνέστην γυνή (8.5.2), a phrase which he borrowed almost *verbatim* from Melite.

[138] And possibly at other writers and novelists too.

narration, his attitude towards the genre in which he is writing and his intellectual expectations of his readership.

One objection to the conclusions reached is to argue that they betray a reading of a text with a modern set of sensibilities and that an ancient reader may have had a different view.[139] Other writers, notably Heliodorus in this genre, contain "digressions", and so would seem to be catering for some kind of demand. Is Achilles Tatius catering for the same kind of demand, or does he have a different attitude altogether? Such questions lie outside the scope of this thesis, and I have concentrated on particular examples in order to try to establish, largely from internal evidence, the ways in which certain "digressions", in this case mostly *sententiae*, are used and how these affect our appreciation of Achilles Tatius' expectations of his ancient readership. My conclusions are not intended to constitute an over-arching theory which can deal with all instances of *sententiae*, inset tales and the like, for although they could be extended to certain cases, such as Chaerephon's and Charmides' natural history lectures,[140] others, such as the anonymous narrator's description of the painting of the abduction of Europa, would seem to require a different explanation.[141]

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[139] Such a charge could easily be levelled at much of that contained in Anderson (1982).

[140] 2.14.7-10, and 4.3.2-5, 4.4.2-8 and 4.5 respectively. For one aspect of the way in which they function, see 1.5.3 for the former, and 1.7.2 for the latter.

[141] See Bartsch (1989) for this and other descriptions.

Chapter 5.

Setting the Scene

5.1 Uses of the Phaedran *Locus Amoenus*

The scene in which Cleitophon and the anonymous narrator have their conversation

closely recalls the famous setting of the *Phaedrus*,[1] and this serves both to establish at

the outset a Platonic feel to the novel and to signal to the reader what will emerge as

extensive engagement with the contents of the *Phaedrus*. However, this allusion is not

isolated in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, nor is it unparalleled in second sophistic

literature as a whole. As Goldhill puts it:

> since Plato's *Phaedrus* the background of erotic discourse is repeatedly
>
> seen as significant.[2]

Given this and the popularity of the *Phaedrus* in the second sophistic, it is no

coincidence that the scene for many an erotic discourse echoes the setting of Plato's

dialogue. Before dealing further with erotic scene-setting in Achilles Tatius' novel, it

is worth considering the ways in which the background of the *Phaedrus* is recalled by

other authors. This will enable a comparison of their and Achilles Tatius' uses and

should allow a clearer investigation of his own purposes: to discover whether Achilles

Tatius was merely being unoriginal in employing a hackneyed literary device, whether

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[1] See 2.10, pp.146-9. Elements of: Καὶ ταῦτα δὴ λέγων, δεξιοῦμαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπί τινος ἄλσους ἄγω

γείτονος, ἔνθα πλάτανοι μὲν ἐπεφύκεσαν πολλαὶ καὶ πυκναί, παρέρρει δὲ ὕδωρ ψυχρόν τε καὶ διαυγές, οἷον

ἀπὸ χιόνος ἄρτι λυθείσης ἔρχεται. Καθίσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπί τινος θώκου χαμαιζήλου καὶ αὐτὸς

παρακαθισάμενος (1.2.3), recall: *Phdr.* 229a7-b2, 230b2-3, 230b6, 236d10-e1 (plane tree); 229b7-8,

230b5-7 (stream); 228e4-229a2, 229a7, 229b1-2 (sitting down).

[2] (1995), p.103.

he was engaging in some kind of literary discourse, or whether he was being ludic.[3]
Trapp has noted many allusions, and dwells on those which he considers need
establishing.[4] I shall concentrate on some of the others he lists, although not on those
that contain no reference to the physical setting, on one or two others which he does
not mention and on one which I hope to show should be added to the catalogue. The
importance of verbal reminiscence will be stressed throughout, as in the rest of this
thesis.

The most obvious variety of reference is the explicit mention.[5] A good
example of this occurs at *Dom.* 4,[6] where, in warming to his task of praising the hall,
Lucian cites the example of Socrates as one who was inspired by his surroundings:

πιστεύομεν ... λόγου δὲ σπουδὴν μὴ ἐπιτείνεσθαι πρὸς κάλλη χωρίων;
καίτοι Σωκράτει μὲν ἀπέχρησε πλάτανος εὐφυὴς καὶ πόα εὐθαλὴς καὶ
πηγὴ διαυγὴς μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ, κἀνταῦθα καθεζόμενος Φαίδρου τε
τοῦ Μυρρινουσίου κατειρωνεύετο καὶ τὸν Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου λόγον
διήλεγχε καὶ τὰς Μούσας ἐκάλει ... [7]

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[3] These aims are not, of course, mutually exclusive.

[4] (1990), pp.141-8, with the list on p.171.

[5] And the most obvious of these is probably that at Plut. *Am.* 749a, a passage which will be deployed
later.

[6] Noted, but not discussed, by Trapp (1990), p.147.

[7] πόα εὐθαλὴς recalls: πόα καθίζεσθαι ἢ ἂν βουλώμεθα κατακλινῆναι (*Phdr.* 229b1-2), and: πάντων δὲ
κομψότατον τὸ τῆς πόας, ὅτι ἐν ἠρέμα προσάντει ἱκανὴ πέφυκε κατακλινέντι τὴν κεφαλὴν παγκάλως ἔχειν
(*Phdr.* 230c3-5). It should also be noted that Lucian uses the same word to describe the spring as
Achilles Tatius at 1.2.3: διαυγὴς - διαυγές. The plane tree of the *Phaedrus*, along with that of Hdt.
7.27, is also mentioned at Luc. *Dom.* 5: Καὶ μὴν οὐ κατά γε σκιὰν μόνην οὐδὲ κατὰ πλατάνου κάλλος ἡ
ὑποδοχή, οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰλισσῷ καταλιπὼν τὴν βασιλέως λέγῃς τὴν χρυσῆν.

Here Lucian exploits the association between words and setting to compare the hall

he is about to praise with an evidently memorable *locus amoenus* and at the same time

to establish himself as a rival of Socrates, whose famous speeches on love in the

Phaedrus are alluded to by Lucian. The mention of a plane tree, grass and a spring

seems to be no less significant in making the reference than the names of Phaedrus,

Lysias and the Ilissus.[8]

Another instance of an explicit reference occurs towards the beginning of

Callicratidas' speech in praise of homosexual love in Ps.-Lucian *Amores*:

εὐξαίμην γάρ, εἴπερ ἦν ἐν δυνατῷ, τὴν ἐπήκοόν ποτε τῶν Σωκρατικῶν

λόγων πλατάνιστον, 'Ακαδημίας καὶ Λυκείου δένδρον εὐτυχέστερον, ἐγγὺς

ἡμῶν ἑστάναι πεφυκυῖαν, ἔνθ' ἡ Φαίδρου προσανάκλισις ἦν, ὥσπερ ὁ ἱερὸς

εἶπεν ἀνὴρ πλείστων ἁψάμενος χαρίτων· αὐτὴ τάχα ἂν ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν

Δωδώνῃ φηγὸς ἐκ τῶν ὀροδάμνων ἱερὰν ἀπορρήξασα φωνὴν τοὺς παιδικοὺς

εὐφήμησεν ἔρωτας ἔτι τοῦ καλοῦ μεμνημένη Φαίδρου (*Am.* 31).[9]

The plane tree is the focus of this reference, and is used to convey the setting of

Plato's *Phaedrus* as a whole.[10] In expressing his wish that the plane tree which heard

Socrates' speeches could be present, Callicratidas is acknowledging the central

importance of the *Phaedrus* in the tradition of erotic discourse and claiming the

support and authority of Socrates for his ensuing argument.[11] And he is not altogether

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[8] Cf. *Axiochus* 364a1-2: 'Εξιόντι μοι ἐς Κυνόσαργες καὶ γενομένῳ μοι κατὰ τὸν 'Ιλισὸν ... , where the

author achieves an authenticating effect by mentioning the Ilissus.

[9] See Trapp (1990), pp.156-7.

[10] Although, as Trapp (1990), p.157, points out, the oak of Dodona recalls *Phdr.* 275b.

[11] See especially *Am.* 48-9 and Trapp (Ibid.) for other Phaedran references. Two other explicit

references to the setting of the *Phaedrus*, both of which concentrate on the plane tree, can be found

in Cicero at *de Orat.* 1.7.28 and *Brut.* 6.24 - see Trapp (1990), p.146.

deprived of a Phaedran setting, which leads to the second category of reference: straightforward allusion.[12]

Lycinus tells Theomnestus about when he, Charicles and Callicratidas went to Cnidus on the way to Italy and visited the temple of Aphrodite and the famous statue of her by Praxiteles (11). The precinct was luxuriant with plants and trees, and:

τούτοις δ' ἀνεμέμικτο καὶ τὰ καρπῶν μὲν ἄλλως ἄγονα, τὴν δ' εὐμορφίαν

ἔχοντα καρπόν, κυπαρίττων γε καὶ πλατανίστων αἰθέρια μήκη (12).

Although the size of the plane trees may recall: Ὁρᾷς οὖν ἐκείνην τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην πλάτανον; (*Phdr.* 229a8), and: ἥ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὕτη μάλ' ἀμφιλαφής τε καὶ ὑψηλή (*Phdr.* 230b2-3); the eroticism of the breezes (Καί πως εὐθὺς ἡμῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τεμένους Ἀφροδίσιοι προσέπνευσαν αὖραι 12) could be argued to be inspired by: Ἐκεῖ σκιά τ' ἐστὶν καὶ πνεῦμα μέτριον (*Phdr.* 229b1), and: εἰ δ' αὖ βούλει, τὸ εὔπνουν τοῦ τόπου ὡς ἀγαπητὸν καὶ σφόδρα ἡδύ (*Phdr.* 230c1-2); and the shadiness of the spot (ἦν δ' ὑπὸ ταῖς ἄγαν παλινσκίοις ὕλαις ἱλαραὶ κλισίαι 12) might be reminiscent of: Ἐκεῖ σκιά τ' ἐστὶν (*Phdr.* 229b1), and: τοῦ τε ἄγνου τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ σύσκιον πάγκαλον (*Phdr.* 230b3-4), the lack of any specific verbal triggers should frustrate the temptation to regard the description of the precinct as particularly Phaedran rather than indebted to a more general tradition of *loci amoeni*. The presence of the plane trees among such a wealth of other flora is not conclusive, although, ironically, the presence of a plane tree by itself can be just that in a different context.[13]

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[12] I use "straightforward allusion" to refer to an appropriation of the Phaedran setting rather than a reworking, although, of course, the one is not always clearly separable from the other.

[13] See below, pp.267-8. It should also be noted that the presence of several Phaedran elements might not always be conclusive. A possible example is Meleager 13 (*AP* 7.196) in Gow/Page (1965):

When the three men had been into the temple to contemplate the statue of Aphrodite (13-17), they returned to the precinct in order to have a civilised debate as to whether homosexual or heterosexual love was better:

ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἥκομεν εἴς τι συνηρεφὲς καὶ παλίνσκιον ὥρᾳ θέρους ἀναπαυστήριον, Ἡδύς, εἰπών, ὁ τόπος, ἐγώ, καὶ γὰρ οἱ κατὰ κορυφὴν λιγυρὸν ὑπηχοῦσι τέττιγες, ἐν μέσῳ πάνυ δικαστικῶς καθεζόμην αὐτὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀφρύσιν τὴν Ἡλιαίαν ἔχων. (18)

The idea of shade is repeated, and Ἡδύς ... ὁ τόπος is reminiscent of: τὸ εὔπνουν τοῦ τόπου ὡς ἀγαπητὸν καὶ σφόδρα ἡδύ (Phdr. 230c1-2),[14] but the factor that clinches this as an allusion to the Phaedrus is the presence of the cicadas and the verbal similarity of: οἱ κατὰ κορυφὴν λιγυρὸν ὑπηχοῦσι τέττιγες to: θερινόν τε καὶ λιγυρὸν ὑπηχεῖ τῷ τῶν τεττίγων χορῷ (Phdr. 230c2-3).[15] When the plane trees are added to this, the setting is undoubtedly Phaedran. Ps.-Lucian thus locates the debate between Charicles and Callicratidas in the literary world of the Phaedrus and thereby establishes a relationship between his debate and the syncrisis between the speeches of Lysias and Socrates. Callicratidas' wish for the plane tree that overheard the contents of the Phaedrus (31) is given added significance, for he is in fact in a setting which is similar

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Ἀχήεις τέττιξ, δροσεραῖς σταγόνεσσι μεθυσθείς/ ἀγρονόμαν μέλπεις μοῦσαν ἐρημολάλον,/ ἄκρα δ᾽ ἐφεζόμενος πετάλοις πριονώδεσι κώλοις/ αἰθίοπι κλάζεις χρωτὶ μέλισμα λύρας·/ ἀλλά, φίλος, φθέγγου τι νέον δενδρώδεσι Νύμφαις/ παίγνιον, ἀντῳδὸν Πανὶ κρέκων κέλαδον,/ ὄφρα φυγὼν τὸν Ἔρωτα μεσημβρινὸν ὕπνον ἀγρεύσω/ ἐνθάδ᾽ ὑπὸ σκιερᾷ κεκλιμένος πλατάνῳ. Penna (1952), pp.110-11, argues that this is a case of direct reminiscence. Gow and Page ad loc., however, say that they are not convinced that Meleager described his scene with Plato's Phaedrus in mind, and the probable date of his Garland in the early first century BC (Gow/Page (1965), pp.xiv-xvi) militates against this.

[14] Cf. πάντως δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος ἡδύς (L. & C. 1.2.3).

[15] See also Phdr. 258e6-259d8 and below, pp.281-3, on Achilles Tatius.

to that of the *Phaedrus*, and by wishing to substitute the one for the other he emphasises their similarity.

A further example of a straightforward allusion,[16] and one which shows the economy with which one can be achieved, occurs in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* when the character called Socrates dies.[17] Aristomenes suggests: "*Iuxta platanum istam residamus*" (1.18), and: *haud ita longe radices platani lenis fluvius in speciem placidae paludis ignavus ibat, argento vel vitro aemulus in colorem* (1.19). Rather than in indulging in a pleasant discussion in such a *locus amoenus*, this Socrates dies an unpleasant and horrific death. A parallel has been suggested by Jones between this passage and a fragment of Lollianus' *Phoenicica*,[18] which has survived in P.Oxy. 1368, col. II:[19]

κεῖμαι δὴ ὑπὸ τῇ π[λα-]τανίστῳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ κόρη καλή, ἄμφω ἀνῃρημένοι.

Stephens and Winkler, citing *LSJ*, note that πλατανίστῳ "is the earlier form of the noun" and that "πλατανός is used in the novelists",[20] although they do not explain whether this is significant. It might be argued that this passage could not constitute an allusion to the *Phaedrus* because Plato himself uses πλάτανος, but the supposedly earlier form has already been seen at Ps.-Luc. *Am.* 31, where it is an explicit reference to the plane tree of the *Phaedrus*.[21] However, since there is nothing else in the

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[16] Not in Trapp (1990). Nor is the Lollianus fragment.

[17] Mentioned in 1.3, p.38.

[18] (1980), p.252.

[19] Stephens/Winkler (1995), p.326.

[20] Ibid., p.328.

[21] It also occurred at Ps.-Luc. *Am* 12, and occurs at Alciphron 4.13.4, for which see below, pp. 270-6.

fragment that would indicate that it is an allusion, and since the parallel between it and Ap. *Met.* 1.18-9 is not certain (and even if it were, there would be no guarantee that Lollianus' was using the plane tree in the same way), it is probably safest not to regard this as an allusion.

A third category of references consists of those that reflect the sheer popularity of the *Phaedrus* and the fame of its setting by evoking it with the mere mention of a plane tree. Unlike the plane trees of Ps.-Lucian *Am.* 12, which were only confirmed as allusively Phaedran by the contents of 18 and 31 and which needed such confirmation owing to the presence of a wealth of other flora, the plane tree of Lucian *Vit.Auct.* 16 is guaranteed to be Phaedran by its context in the sale of the life of the Platonic philosopher.[22] The buyer is incredulous that although he is a παιδεραστής, he is only concerned with the soul (15). The Platonic philosopher replies:

> Καὶ μὴν ὀμνύω γέ σοι τὸν κύνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον οὕτω ταῦτα ἔχειν. (16)[23]

Rather than the beginning of the *Phaedrus*, this alludes to the point at which Phaedrus tries to make Socrates speak in reply to Lysias' speech on why a non-lover is to be preferred to a lover:

> ὁ δέ μοι λόγος ὅρκος ἔσται. ὄμνυμι γάρ σοι - τίνα μέντοι, τίνα θεῶν; ἢ βούλει τὴν πλάτανον ταυτηνί; - ἦ μήν, ἐάν μοι μὴ εἴπῃς τὸν λόγον ἐναντίον αὐτῆς ταύτης, μηδέποτέ σοι ἕτερον λόγον μηδένα μηδενὸς μήτε ἐπιδείξειν μήτε ἐξαγγελεῖν. (*Phdr.* 236d9-e3)

The purpose of this allusion is to have a dig at the expense of Socrates by alluding to one of the charges on which he was condemned to death, that of introducing new

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[22] Not mentioned by Trapp (1990).

[23] Socrates swears νὴ τὸν κύνα at *Ap.* 22a1. See Burnet (1924), *ad loc.* for other examples of such a Ῥαδαμάνθυος ὅρκος.

gods,[24] and this is confirmed by the answer of the buyer: Ἡράκλεις τῆς ἀτοπίας τῶν θεῶν (Ibid.). However, the presence of the plane tree in this work shows that it was one of the most memorable parts of Plato, and so one of those most easily exploited for comic effect. A very similar passage can be found in *Icaromenippus* where Menippus is complaining to a friend about the uselessness of the philosophers:

Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν θεῶν τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν; ὅπου τοῖς μὲν ἀριθμός τις ὁ θεὸς ἦν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ χηνῶν καὶ κυνῶν καὶ πλατάνων ἐπώμνυντο. (9)[25]

And such is the persistence of the image of the plane tree that the following is thought to be, and at some distance might well be, a reference to the *Phaedrus*:[26]

ἀπίωμεν ἔνθα αἱ πλάτανοι τὸν ἥλιον εἴργουσιν, ἀηδόνες δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες εὔηχα κελαδοῦσν, ἵν' ἡ μελῳδία τῶν ὀρνέων τὰς ἀκοὰς ἐνηδύνουσα τό τε ὕδωρ ἠρέμα κελαρύζον τὰς ψυχὰς καταθέλξειεν. (Ps.-Luc. *Philopatr.* 3)

In addition to the plane trees, the water and shade are the other Phaedran elements present, although they are subordinate. If this is accepted as an allusion to the *Phaedrus*, it demonstrates that the Phaedran scene was not only a *locus amoenus* and a *locus classicus* for an erotic discourse, it was also a suitable setting in which to have any discussion.

The fourth category of reference to the setting of the *Phaedrus* consists of reworkings on various different levels. Trapp argues that Dio in *Orr.* 1 and 36 adapts the Platonic model for his own purposes.[27] There are no plane trees or cicadas, the elements that would be most obvious, but further allusions to and uses of Phaedran

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[24] See Plat. *Ap.* 26bff.

[25] Not mentioned by Trapp (1990).

[26] By Trapp (1990), p.147, and Macleod (1967), p.423, n.6.

[27] (1990), pp.141-145, and pp.148-153, respectively.

material elsewhere in those orations increases the likelihood that Dio is utilising the

setting of the *Phaedrus* at 1.52-3 and 36.1.[28] The opening of Ps.-Lucian *Dem.Enc.* is

also indebted to the *Phaedrus*, as the narrator meets Thersagoras the poet and the

two indulge in a *syncrisis* of Demosthenes and Homer. They meet at around midday:

σμικρὸν πρὸ μεσημβρίας (1); ἔλαθον ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τοῦτο τῆς μεσημβρίας ἐκπεσών (Ibid.),

and this recalls the time of day at which Socrates and Phaedrus have their

conversation: ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ (*Phdr.* 259a2); μεσημβριάζοντα (*Phdr.* 259a6).[29] There is

also a quotation of the very first words of the *Phaedrus* (Ὦ φίλε Φαῖδρε, ποῖ δὴ καὶ

πόθεν; *Phdr.* 227a1) as the narrator greets Thersagoras: Θερσαγόρας, ἔφην, ὁ ποιητής,

ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν; (1).[30]

A similar claim has been made for the opening of *Daphnis and Chloe* by

Hunter.[31] The case there, however, is harder to make owing to the lack of verbal

allusions, as Hunter himself concedes:

> The absence of the most familiar Phaedran landmarks, the plane-tree
>
> and the cicadas, suggests a re-writing at the level of theme and
>
> structure, not merely a verbal allusion.[32]

While it is true that the plane tree and the cicadas do not appear in Dio *Orr.* 1 and 36,

nor in Ps.-Lucian *Dem.Enc.*, at least in those cases there were specific verbal triggers

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[28] See Trapp (2000), pp.214-9, for Dio's use of Plato in general in *Or.* 36.

[29] One of the elements of Dio *Or.* 1.52-3 to which Trapp (1990), p.143, draws attention.

[30] There is a further allusion at *Dem.Enc.* 5 where Μὴ μανείην, ἔφη, ταῦτά γε, κἂν εἰ πολλῆς δεῖ τῆς μανίας ἐπὶ τὰς ποιητικὰς ἰοῦσιν θύρας refers to: ὃς δ' ἂν ἄνευ μανίας Μουσῶν ἐπὶ ποιητικὰς θύρας ἀφίκηται (*Phdr.* 245a5-6). Trapp (1990), p.152, draws attention to Dio *Or.* 36.33.

[31] (1997).

[32] Ibid., p.24.

which signified that the *Phaedrus* was certainly lurking somewhere in the background. In the prologue of *Daphnis and Chloe*, however, neither do the tell-tale elements of the Phaedran setting appear, nor do any verbal allusions. The case thus becomes very difficult to make and quite possibly overly subjective. Hunter does find an ally in the setting for the conversation in *L. & C.* 1.2.3:

> the explicit verbal evocation of the *Phaedrus* at the start of Achilles Tatius' novel is very different, although that passage might in fact encourage us in the belief that the Platonic work is important for Longus also.[33]

Nevertheless, this is still not enough, and something like the more thorough engagement with the *Phaedrus* as a whole as seen in Dio *Or.* 36 would be needed in the rest of Longus' novel, if Hunter's case were to be able to stand.[34]

A more plausible argument could perhaps be made for Alciphron 4.13.[35] A courtesan is writing to a lady friend to tell her about a picnic that she and her friends held. They walked to one of their lover's country houses, and at 4.13.4 the courtesan describes the spot at which they stopped:

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[33] Ibid.

[34] There are one or two possible allusions, including one to the cicadas (for which see below, pp.281-2), but nothing on a sufficient scale for anything approaching probability, let alone certainty, when dealing with the initial setting.

[35] This does not make its way into Trapp (1990), but that might be on grounds of date. See Appendix, p.309, for this issue.

μικρὸν δὲ ἄπωθεν τῶν ἐπαυλίων πέτρα τις ἦν συνηρεφὴς κατὰ κορυφὴν[36] δάφναις καὶ πλατανίστοις, ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ μυρρίνης εἰσὶ θάμνοι, καὶ πως ἐξ ἐπιπλοκῆς αὐτὴν περιθεῖ κιττὸς ἐν χρῷ τῇ λίθῳ προσπεφυκώς· ἀπὸ δὲ αὐτῆς ὕδωρ ἀκήρατον ἐστάλαττεν. ὑπὸ δὲ ταῖς ἐξοχαῖς τῶν πετριδίων Νύμφαι τινὲς ἵδρυνται καὶ Πὰν οἷον κατοπτεύων τὰς Ναΐδας ὑπερέκυπτεν.[37]

The plane trees are not the only indicator of a possible Platonic allusion here, for there is pure water (ὕδωρ ἀκήρατον), which is paralleled by: χαρίεντα γοῦν καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ διαφανῆ τὰ ὑδάτια φαίνεται (*Phdr.* 229b7-8[38]), and a nympheum (ὑπὸ δὲ ταῖς ἐξοχαῖς τῶν πετριδίων Νύμφαι τινὲς ἵδρυνται καὶ Πὰν οἷον κατοπτεύων τὰς Ναΐδας ὑπερέκυπτεν), which might be intended to recall: Νυμφῶν τέ τινων καὶ Ἀχελῴου ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔοικεν εἶναι (*Phdr.* 230b7-8). The replacement of Achelous by Pan is only fitting given the latter's lascivious reputation: he is described as peeping at the nymphs: καὶ Πὰν οἷον κατοπτεύων τὰς Ναΐδας ὑπερέκυπτεν (4.13.4); Melissa's suggestion that they feast inside is countered with: "μὴ μὲν οὖν πρός γε τῶν Νυμφῶν καὶ τοῦ Πανός," εἶπον ἐγώ, "τούτου· ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὡς ἔστιν ἐρωτικός· ἡδέως οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα κραιπαλώσας ἴδοι (4.13.6); when Plangon gets up to dance: ὀλίγου ὁ Πὰν ἐδέησεν ἀπὸ

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[36] Cf. Ps.-Luc. *Am.* 18: ἐπεὶ δ' ἥκομεν εἴς τι συνηρεφὲς καὶ παλίνσκιον ὥρᾳ θέρους ἀναπαυστήριον, Ἡδύς, εἰπών, ὁ τόπος, ἐγώ, καὶ γὰρ οἱ κατὰ κορυφὴν λιγυρὸν ὑπηχοῦσι τέττιγες (18).

[37] Cf. Νυμφῶν ἄντρον ἦν, πέτρα μεγάλη, τὰ ἔνδοθεν κοίλη, τὰ ἔξωθεν περιφερής ... ἵνα τοῦ ἄντρου, τῆς μεγάλης πέτρας, ἦν τὸ μεσαίτατον, ἐκ πηγῆς ὕδωρ ἀναβλύζον ῥεῖθρον ἐποίει χεόμενον, ὥστε καὶ λειμὼν πάνυ γλαφυρὸς ἐκτέτατο πρὸ τοῦ ἄντρου πολλῆς καὶ μαλακῆς πόας ὑπὸ τῆς νοτίδος τρεφομένης. (*D. & C.* 1.4.1-3). It would be harder to argue that this is Phaedran because there are no clear indicators such as plane trees. This highlights the care required when dealing with such generic descriptions, which may owe as much to more contemporary treatments as to any *locus classicus*.

[38] Phaedrus continues: καὶ ἐπιτήδεια κόραις παίζειν παρ' αὐτά (*Phdr.* 229b8-9), which might be reflected by the courtesans' subsequent behaviour.

τῆς πέτρας ἐπὶ τὴν πυγὴν αὐτῆς ἐξάλλεσθαι (4.13.12); and as their carousal continues:

οὐκέθ' ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν προσβλέπειν ὡς πρότερον αἱ Νύμφαι, ἀλλ' ὁ Πὰν καὶ ὁ Πρίαπος ἥδιον

(4.13.16).[39] The courtesan writing the letter continues her reasons for preferring to

stay outdoors by arguing:

ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ταῖς μυρρίναις ἦν ἰδοὺ τὸ χωρίον ὡς ἔνδροσόν ἐστιν ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ

τρυφεροῖς ἄνθεσι ποικίλον. ἐπὶ ταύτης βουλοίμην ἂν τῆς πόας κατακλιθῆναι

ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ταπητίων ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν μαλθακῶν ὑποστρωμάτων. (4.13.6-

7)

While the flowers are perhaps too distant from: καὶ ὡς ἀκμὴν ἔχει τῆς ἄνθης (Phdr.

230b4-5), the courtesan's preference for lying down on grass is nearer the Platonic

model: καὶ πόα καθίζεσθαι ἢ ἂν βουλώμεθα κατακλινῆναι (Phdr. 229b1-2), and: πάντων

δὲ κομψότατον τὸ τῆς πόας, ὅτι ἐν ἠρέμα προσάντει ἱκανὴ πέφυκε κατακλινέντι τὴν

κεφαλὴν παγκάλως ἔχειν (Phdr. 230c3-5). She finishes her argument with:

νὴ Δία, ἀλλὰ ἔχει τοί τι πλέον τῶν ἐν ἄστει τἀνταῦθα συμπόσια, ἔνθα

ἀγροῦ ὑπαίθριοι χάριτες. (4.13.7)

This is similar to the sentiments expressed by Socrates in reply to Phaedrus' surprised

reaction (Phdr. 230c6-d2) to his overly enthusiastic description of their chosen spot:[40]

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[39] Cf. θεὸς ὁ Πὰν ἐρωτικός ἐστι καὶ ἄπιστος· ἠράσθη μὲν Πίτυος, ἠράσθη δὲ Σύριγγος, παύεται δὲ οὐδέποτε

Δρυάσιν ἐνοχλῶν καὶ 'Επιμηλίσι Νύμφαις πράγματα παρέχων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀμεληθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ὅρκοις

ἀμελήσει σε κολάσαι κἂν ἐπὶ πλείονας ἔλθῃς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐν τῇ σύριγγι καλάμων (D. & C. 2.39.3),

where Chloe demands a second oath from Daphnis; (Pan to Hermes) ἐρωτικὸς γάρ εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἂν

ἀγαπήσαιμι συνὼν μιᾷ ... ἐγὼ δὲ τῇ τε 'Ηχοῖ καὶ τῇ Πίτυϊ σύνειμι καὶ ἁπάσαις ταῖς τοῦ Διονύσου Μαινάσι

καὶ πάνυ σπουδάζομαι πρὸς αὐτῶν. (Luc. DDeor. 2.4); (Cleitophon, soliloquising) ἀλλὰ τὸν Πᾶνα, ὦ

φιλτάτη, φοβοῦμαι. Θεός ἐστι φιλοπάρθενος, καὶ δέδοικα μὴ δευτέρα καὶ σὺ Σῦριγξ γένῃ ... (L. & C.

8.13.2-3).

[40] See Rowe (1986), p.141, ad loc.

Συγγίγνωσκέ μοι, ὦ ἄριστε. φιλομαθὴς γάρ εἰμι· τὰ μὲν οὖν χωρία καὶ τὰ

δένδρα οὐδέν μ' ἐθέλει διδάσκειν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἄνθρωποι. (*Phdr.*

230d3-5)

Socrates' preference for the city stems from his desire for knowledge, and this is

humorously undercut by Alciphron as his characters all agree that they will have a

pleasanter time in the open air.

The mention of συμπόσια (4.13.7) leads to a second set of possible Platonic

allusions, this time to the *Symposium*.[41] The courtesan describes the setting further

and lists the food they had. Next comes the drinking:

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο συνεχῶς περιεσόβουν αἱ κύλικες· καὶ μέτρον ἦν τῆς

φιλοτησίας οὐδ' ὁπωσοῦν. ἐπιεικῶς δέ πως τὰ μὴ προσηναγκασμένα τῶν

συμποσίων τῷ συνεχεῖ τὸ πλεῖον ἀναλαμβάνει· ὑπεψεκάζομεν οὖν μικροῖς

τισι κυμβίοις ἀλλ' ἐπαλλήλοις. (4.13.11)

After the arrival of Socrates and when their meal is over, Pausanias, who is hungover

after the previous night, asks: τίνα τρόπον ῥᾶστα πιόμεθα; (*Symp.* 176a5-6).[42]

Aristophanes is of like mind, as is Eryximachus, who is nevertheless concerned to find

out what Agathon thinks. Once he replies that: Οὐδαμῶς ... οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔρρωμαι (*Symp.*

176b8), Eryximachus, wearing his doctor's hat, tells the company that: χαλεπὸν τοῖς

ἀνθρώποις ἡ μέθη ἐστίν (*Symp.* 176d1-2). Phaedrus declares that he will follow his

advice and:

ταῦτα δὴ ἀκούσαντας συγχωρεῖν πάντας μὴ διὰ μέθης ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐν

τῷ παρόντι συνουσίαν, ἀλλ' οὕτω πίνοντας πρὸς ἡδονήν. (*Symp.* 176e1-3)

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[41] The sort of thing which is helpful in shoring up another set of possible allusions.

[42] Which he soon modifies to: σκοπεῖσθε οὖν τίνι τρόπῳ ἂν ὡς ῥᾶστα πίνοιμεν. (*Symp.* 176a8-b1).

Drinking for pleasure is precisely what the courtesans of 4.13 do, and what Eryximachus says next is even more relevant:

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, φάναι τὸν Ἐρυξίμαχον, τοῦτο μὲν δέδοκται, πίνειν ὅσον ἂν

ἕκαστος βούληται, ἐπάναγκες δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι (*Symp.* 176e4-6).

What each of the courtesans want to drink turns out to be quite considerable:

ὑποβεβρεγμέναι (4.13.12); πρὸς Διονύσῳ ἐπαίζομεν (4.13.13); πάλιν συνεισήκει πότος

(4.13.16); and: ἐκραιπαλῶμεν μάλα νεανικῶς μέχρι μηδὲ λανθάνειν ἀλλήλας θέλειν,

μηδὲ αἰδουμένως τῆς ἀφροδίτης παρακλέπτειν· οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐξεβάκχευσαν αἱ προπόσεις

(4.13.18). And the implication that there being no drinking rules or compulsion would

lead to the avoidance of excessive drinking is flatly denied by: ἐπιεικῶς δέ πως τὰ μὴ

προσηναγκασμένα τῶν συμποσίων τῷ συνεχεῖ τὸ πλεῖον ἀναλαμβάνει (4.13.11). What

follows next in the letter might also be indebted to Plato:

καὶ παρῆν Κρουμάτιον ἡ Μεγάρας καταυλοῦσα, ἡ δὲ Σιμμίχη ἐρωτικὰ

μέλη πρὸς τὴν ἀρμονίαν ᾖδεν. ἔχαιρον αἱ ἐπὶ τῆς πίδακος Νύμφαι. ἡνίκα δὲ

ἀναστᾶσα κατωρχήσατο καὶ τὴν ὀσφῦν ἀνεκίνησεν ἡ Πλαγγών ...

(4.13.11-12)

For immediately after he has made his suggestion about the drinking, Eryximachus says:

τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο εἰσηγοῦμαι τὴν μὲν ἄρτι εἰσελθοῦσαν αὐλητρίδα χαίρειν ἐᾶν,

αὐλοῦσαν ἑαυτῇ ἢ ἂν βούληται ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἔνδον, ἡμᾶς δὲ διὰ λόγων

ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι τὸ τήμερον (*Symp.* 176e6-9).

As Dover puts it: "the paintings (sc. of parties) ... suggest that when everyone had

drunk a lot these girls might interest the guests more as sexual partners than as

accompanists of the singing."[43] By getting rid of the flute-girl Eryximachus signals

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[43] (1980), p.87, *ad loc.*

both his desire for a more sober occasion and his intent that they should indulge in intellectual discussion. Quite the opposite is found in the courtesan's account of their party in 4.13.11ff. For as soon as Crumatium starts playing the flute, Simmiche starts to sing raunchy songs and Plangon dances in such a way as to inspire the inanimate statue of Pan almost to ἐπὶ τὴν πυγὴν αὐτῆς ἐξάλλεσθαι. (4.13.12) This is precisely the sort of behaviour that Eryximachus wants to avoid and also allows us a glimpse of the sort of thing he might expect the women of the house to get up to.

A comparable passage occurs in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, when Nausicles holds a banquet to celebrate the return of Charicleia to Kalasiris and Theagenes. The men and women are separated, and the women are given the inside of the temple: ἰδίᾳ μὲν ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν ἐνδοτέρω τοῦ ἱεροῦ χώραν ἀποκληρώσας (Hld. 5.15.3), and this might be an echo of: ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἔνδον (*Symp.* 176e7-8). The procedure followed is, unsurprisingly, similar to that followed in Plato's *Symposium*; in both there is reclining: κατακλινέντος τοῦ Σωκράτους (*Symp.* 176a1) - τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι κατακλίνας (Hld. Ibid.); eating: τοῦ Σωκράτους καὶ δειπνήσαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων (*Symp.* 176a1-2) - ἐπεὶ δὲ εὐφροσύνης τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων εἰς κόρον ἦσαν (Hld. Ibid.); libations and hymns: σπονδάς τε σφᾶς ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ᾄσαντας τὸν θεὸν καὶ τἆλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα (*Symp.* 176a2-3) - οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐμβατήρια τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ ᾖδον καὶ ἔσπενδον αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ὕμνον τῇ Δήμητρι χαριστήριον ἐχόρευον (Hld. Ibid.); and finally drinking: τρέπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν πότον (*Symp.* 176a3-4) - Τοῦ πότου δὲ λαμπρῶς ἤδη βρυάζοντος (Hld. 5.16.1). The most telling correspondence, however, occurs as Nausicles drinks to Kalasiris' health and asks him for the story of his travels, one which he has been putting off owing to his misfortunes:

σὺ δὲ εἰ λόγους ἡμῖν οὓς ποθοῦμεν ἀντιπροπίνοις, ἀπὸ καλλίστων ἂν κρατήρων εὐωχοίης. Τὰς μὲν γὰρ γυναῖκας ἀκούεις ὡς διατριβὴν τῷ πότῳ

χορείαν ἐστήσαντο· ἡμῖν δὲ σὴ πλάνη κάλλιστα ἄν, εἰ βουληθείης, τὴν

εὐωχίαν παραπέμποι χοροῦ τε γινομένη καὶ αὐλοῦ παντὸς ἡδίων (Hld.

5.16.1-2).

The preference for words over dancing and flute music seems to be an allusion to

Eryximachus' stance in the *Symposium*. Kalasiris tells the story of Theagenes' and

Charicleia's love and the flight of all three of them from Delphi, and Heliodorus seems

to be suggesting a relationship between this tale and the discourse on the nature of

love in the *Symposium*. The comparison here is not, I think, one of humour; rather

Heliodorus is trying to add some *gravitas* to his tale by alluding to an occasion on

which an inspirational and deeply philosophical type of love was described. The case

with Alciphron, on the other hand, could hardly be more different.

As hinted at already, Alciphron draws a contrast between the behaviour of his

courtesans and the conduct of those present at the symposium in Agathon's house.

The allusions to the setting of the *Phaedrus* perform a similar function. While in such

a setting Socrates and Phaedrus had a discussion about the nature of love, the

culmination of which found Socrates endorsing a non-physical and intellectual pursuit.

In a scene which has several similar features Alciphron's courtesans could not make a

fuller demonstration of exactly the kind of love which Socrates claimed it was the

philosopher's duty to escape. Thus both sets of allusions allow Alciphron to make

humorous play with the Platonic material.

So far I have traced numerous allusions to the setting of the *Phaedrus* and

hope to have shown something of their diversity of form and purpose. The likelihood

that such an allusion is present in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is increased by the wealth

of other examples in second sophistic literature, and it is against this background that any such allusion in must be assessed.

5.2 Erotic Scene-Setting in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*

The scene of the conversation between the anonymous narrator and Cleitophon as described in 1.2.3 belongs to the relatively straightforward class of references to the setting of the *Phaedrus*; and owing to the uncluttered allusions and the surrounding Platonic references Achilles Tatius has so far proved an easier author to treat in this respect. But commentators have barely looked beyond this initial instance for the influence of Phaedran scene-setting. This, I would argue, is not the only place in the novel where the setting of the *Phaedrus* is evoked, as Anderson all too fleetingly suggests:

> And when Achilles' Clitophon sets out to woo Leucippe, even the sublime and idyllic décor of the *Phaedrus* and the discourses on the psychology of the soul take on a distinctly amorous flavour.[44]

The garden to which he is referring is that which Cleitophon describes in 1.15 and in which he and Satyrus indulge in a conversation (1.16-18) designed εὐάγωγον τὴν κόρην εἰς ἔρωτα παρασκευάσαι (1.16.1). This garden does indeed have plane trees:

Ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν δένδρων τῶν ἁδροτέρων κιττὸς καὶ σμῖλαξ παρεπεφύκει· ἡ μὲν ἐξηρτημένη πλατάνου καὶ περιπυκάζουσα ῥαδινῇ τῇ κόμῃ (1.15.3).

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[44] (1984), p.47. Cf. Anderson (1982), p.25: "When Clitophon has produced his enormous ecphrasis of the erotic garden, complete with plane-trees, he leaves the reader in no doubt that the scene is set for seduction."

That plane trees were an important part of any allusion to the Phaedran *locus amoenus*, as Hunter himself admits above,[45] has already been demonstrated by the frequency with which they occur and by the fact that the mention of them alone can be sufficient to evoke the *Phaedrus*. But the plane trees in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* are not merely a metonymy for an erotic scene, for they, and the other trees in the garden, seem to be erotically inclined themselves:

"Εθαλλον οἱ κλάδοι, συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλον· αἱ γείτονες τῶν πετάλων περιπλοκαί, τῶν φύλλων περιβολαί, τῶν καρπῶν συμπλοκαί. Τοσαύτη τις ἦν ὁμιλία τῶν φυτῶν. (1.15.2)[46]

περιπλοκή is used 10 times in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, twice metaphorically (4.3.2; 8.4.2), twice of the plants in the garden (1.15.2; 1.15.3), and six times to mean "embrace" (2.37.10; 2.38.4 (x2); 5.8.3; 5.25.8; 5.27.3), of which four uses are sexual (2.37.10; 2.38.4; 5.25.8; 5.27.3).[47] περιβολή is used twice, at 1.15.2, and at 1.1.5, where it refers to an enclosure.[48] συμπλοκή is used fourteen times, three times of plants (1.1.3; 1.15.2; 2.15.2), once of fighting (2.22.5), and ten times of a sexual

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[45] P.269.

[46] Cf. ἐν μετεώρῳ δὲ οἱ κλάδοι συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐπήλλαττον τὰς κόμας. (*D. & C.* 4.2.5) where the trees include πλάτανοι among the κυπάριττοι καὶ δάφναι καὶ ... πίτυς (4.2.3). This garden is modelled directly on Hom. *Od.* 7.114ff.

[47] The figures for the sexual and horticultural uses of περιπλοκή, συμπλοκή and περιβολή can be found at Bartsch (1989), p.51, n.12. She lists one of the instances of περιπλοκή at 2.38.4 and the instance at 5.8.3 as sexual, whereas in fact they refer to wrestling and Cleitophon embracing Cleinias respectively. περιπλέκω is used four times, once sexually (5.27.3).

[48] περιβάλλω, however, is used sixteen times, ten times to mean "to embrace", of which eight uses are sexual (2.7.5; 2.37.6; 5.13.1; 5.15.4; 5.27.2; 5.27.3; 6.18.4; 6.18.5).

embrace or sexual intercourse (1.9.5; 1.17.5; 2.37.6; 2.38.4; 4.7.5; 5.3.6; 5.15.5;

5.25.7; 5.26.2; 7.5.4).[49] ὁμιλία is used nine times, three times of non-sexual

intercourse (1.9.5; 1.15.2; 6.4.1), three times of sexual intercourse (6.8.1; 8.11.3;

2.37.8), twice of ambiguous, that is possibly sexual, intercourse (6.19.6; 8.12.2), and

once of mixing water with wine (4.18.3).[50] συμπίπτω is used four times, once of plants

(1.15.2), once of a clash (2.34.4), once of pre-sexual contact (2.38.4), and once of

falling on something (3.4.6). Thus the vocabulary used to describe the trees in the

garden is frequently, if not largely, deployed in sexual contexts. This interpretation is

given weight as Cleitophon relates various tales of eroticism from the natural world,

including the tale that: ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου φυτὸν ἐρᾶν, τῷ δὲ φοίνικι τὸν ἔρωτα μᾶλλον

ἐνοχλεῖν (1.17.3):

> πτόρθον· γὰρ τοῦ θήλεος φοίνικος λαβὼν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἄρρενος καρδίαν
>
> ἐντίθησι. Καὶ ἀνέψυξε μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ φυτοῦ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἀποθνῆσκον
>
> πάλιν ἀνεζωπύρησε καὶ ἐξανέστη, χαῖρον ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἐρωμένης συμπλοκῇ.
>
> Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι γάμος φυτοῦ. (1.17.5)

If plants are capable of love, then the garden is awash with amorous trees.[51]

The next part of the description of the garden that alludes to the *Phaedrus*

refers not to the setting, but to Socrates' first speech in which he attempts to outdo

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[49] συμπλέκω is used four times, three times sexually (5.15.5; 5.16.2; 7.5.4), and once of wrestling as a

sexual innuendo (8.9.4).

[50] ὁμιλέω is used three times, once of sexual intercourse (2.37.5), once of being familiar with

something (8.6.2), and once of being involved in something (8.18.2).

[51] It is also tempting to regard Achilles Tatius' choice of the palm, φοῖνιξ, for one of Cleitophon's

examples as significant, for Cleitophon himself is a Phoenician: Ἐμοὶ Φοινίκη γένος (1.3.1). See

Bowie (1998) for Heliodorus' use of the different meanings of φοῖνιξ.

Lysias' argument that those who are not in love are preferable as lovers to those who are in love. Socrates claims, although he will later famously disown the contents of this speech, that the man in love will always try to make his beloved inferior and that this inevitably has detrimental effects on the beloved's mind and body. As well as keeping his beloved far away from philosophy (*Phdr.* 239a7-b6), he will be seen:

μαλθακόν τινα καὶ οὐ στερεὸν διώκων, οὐδ' ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρῷ τεθραμμένον ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ συμμιγεῖ σκιᾷ (*Phdr.* 239c6-7).

This is taken up by the shadow cast in the garden:

τῶν δὲ φύλλων ἄνωθεν αἰωρουμένων ὑφ' ἡλίῳ πρὸς ἄνεμον συμμιγῆ ⟨καὶ⟩ ὠχρὰν ἐμάρμαιρεν ἡ γῆ τὴν σκιάν. (1.15.4)[52]

Garnaud has here followed O' Sullivan,[53] who argues that the variant reading συμμιγῆ ⟨καὶ⟩ should be read owing to the curiousness of the phrase: ὑφ' ἡλίῳ πρὸς ἄνεμον συμμιγεῖ, and the fact that Achilles Tatius "knew and occasionally echoed Plato's *Phaedrus*".[54] He quotes the above passage from the *Phaedrus* and argues that συμμιγής and σκιά "go together syntactically" there, and so should do here. Whether or not this is right (for the emendation is not without its problems, with its disruption of the balance of the sentence), the purpose of the allusion is the same: to highlight

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[52] The similarity between this and: Ἔγραψεν ὁ τεχνίτης ὑπὸ τὰ πέταλα καὶ τὴν σκιάν, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἠρέμα τοῦ λειμῶνος κάτω σποράδην διέρρει, ὅσον τὸ συνηρεφὲς τῆς τῶν φύλλων κόμης ἀνέῳξεν ὁ γραφεύς (1.1.4) has already been noted (see 3.6, p.187), as have the other similarities between the meadow in the Europa painting and the garden.

[53] (1978), pp.325-6.

[54] One of the echoes he lists, ibid., p.326, n.61, implies that: καὶ ὁ καρπὸς ὡραίαν εἶχε τὴν ἄνθην ... (*L. & C.* 1.15.4), alludes verbally to: καὶ ὡς ἀκμὴν ἔχει τῆς ἄνθης (*Phdr.* 230b4-5, referring to the agnus). Vilborg (1962), p.32, agrees. However, this seems to me doubtful at best.

the fact that Cleitophon is in love and in pursuit of a beloved who is indeed: πόνων μὲν

ἀνδρείων καὶ ἱδρώτων ξηρῶν ἄπειρον, ἔμπειρον δὲ ἀπαλῆς καὶ ἀνάνδρου διαίτης (Phdr.

239c7-d1, on the object of the lover's affections), because she is a woman.[55]

The garden contains birds, both χειροήθεις and ἐλεύθερον ἔχοντες τὸ πτερόν

(1.15.7), including οἱ μὲν ᾄδοντες τὰ ὀρνίθων ᾄσματα (Ibid.):

Οἱ ᾠδοὶ δέ, τέττιγες καὶ χελιδόνες· οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἡοῦς ᾄδοντες εὐνήν, αἱ δὲ

τὴν Τηρέως τράπεζαν. (1.15.8)

The cicadas, one of the two "most familiar Phaedran landmarks", remind the reader of

the setting of the conversation of the Phaedrus again. They are mentioned when

Socrates details the attractiveness of their chosen καταγωγή (Phdr. 230b2):

θερινόν τε καὶ λιγυρὸν ὑπηχεῖ τῷ τῶν τεττίγων χορῷ (Phdr. 230c2-3),

and they form the focus of the conversation from Phdr. 258e6-259d8, as Socrates and

Phaedrus move into the second half of the dialogue in their attempt to answer: Τίς οὖν

ὁ τρόπος τοῦ καλῶς τε καὶ μὴ γράφειν; (Phdr. 258d7). Phaedrus is keen to discuss the

topic, and Socrates remarks that they have time and that:

καὶ ἅμα μοι δοκοῦσιν ὡς ἐν τῷ πνίγει ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν οἱ τέττιγες

ᾄδοντες καὶ ἀλλήλοις διαλεγόμενοι καθορᾶν καὶ ἡμᾶς. (Phdr. 258e6-

259a1)

They would earn more respect from the cicadas if they talked rather than falling asleep

in the midday sun and they may benefit when the cicadas die and: μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλθὸν

παρὰ Μούσας ἀπαγγέλλειν τίς τίνα αὐτῶν τιμᾷ τῶν ἐνθάδε (Phdr. 259c5-6). Hunter has

argued that this passage lies behind the incident involving the swallow and the cicada

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[55] The Phaedrus passage is also alluded to by Plutarch at Amat. 752b-c: καὶ μετοικίζειν τὸν θεὸν ἐκ

γυμνασίων καὶ περιπάτων καὶ τῆς ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένης διατριβῆς ...

in Daphnis and Chloe.[56] This seems probable, and one might emphasise the verbal echoes and thematic similarities: ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ (*Phdr.* 259a2), μεσημβριάζοντα (*Phdr.* 259a6) - τὸ μεσημβρινὸν (*D. & C.* 1.25.1); νὼ ... νυστάζοντας (*Phdr.* 259a2-3) - ἡ Χλόη καταννυστάξασα (Ibid.); ὥσπερ προβάτια μεσημβριάζοντα (*Phdr.* 259a5-6) - τῶν ποιμνίων σκιαζομένων (Ibid.).

Achilles Tatius deploys the cicadas for much the same purpose as the plane trees: to locate the garden in the world of the *Phaedrus* and to signal his text's engagement with it.[57] The subject of their song is also perhaps not insignificant: τὴν Ἠοῦς ... εὐνήν (1.15.8). This refers to Tithonus, who was granted immortality, but not perpetual youth, and so withered away until he was transformed into a cicada. This is similar to the story told by Socrates about the origin of cicadas:

> λέγεται δ' ὥς ποτ' ἦσαν οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι τῶν πρὶν Μούσας γεγονέναι, γενομένων δὲ Μουσῶν καὶ φανείσης ᾠδῆς οὕτως ἄρα τινὲς τῶν τότε ἐξεπλάγησαν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, ὥστε ἄδοντες ἠμέλησαν σίτων τε καὶ ποτῶν, καὶ ἔλαθον τελευτήσαντες αὐτούς· ἐξ ὧν τὸ τεττίγων γένος μετ' ἐκεῖνο φύεται (*Phdr.* 259b6-c3).[58]

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[56] (1983), pp.56-7.

[57] Trapp (1990), p.161, claims that "Cicadas are used in an explanatory image in (Plut. *Amat.*) 767D", citing the Phaedran passages as the sources. This is erroneous, for: οἱ δὲ παίδων δεόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ γυναικῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ τέττιγες εἰς σκίλλαν ἤ τι τοιοῦτο τὴν γονὴν ἀφιᾶσιν, οὕτω διὰ τάχους οἷς ἔτυχε σώμασιν ἐναπογεννήσαντες, is far more likely to be an allusion to: τέως γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐκτὸς εἶχον (sc. τὰ αἰδοῖα), καὶ ἐγέννων καὶ ἔτικτον οὐκ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀλλ' εἰς γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ τέττιγες (Plat. *Symp.* 191b7-c2).

[58] The cicadas are also referred to at *Phdr.* 262d3-5: ἴσως δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Μουσῶν προφῆται οἱ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ᾠδοὶ ἐπιπεπνευκότες ἂν ἡμῖν εἶεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. Cf. Anacreontea 5.11-2: θέρεος γλυκὺς προφήτης./ φιλέουσι μέν σε Μοῦσαι, with Hopkinson (1994), pp.78-9, *ad loc.*

Socrates is concerned with being seen to talk by the cicadas so that they may report favourably to the Muses, in particular Calliope and Ourania. Achilles Tatius' cicadas sing a story of love and would therefore be more appreciative of an erotic discourse. This is precisely what Cleitophon, with the aid of Satyrus, tries to give them as he attempts to seduce Leucippe to the accompaniment of their song. Achilles Tatius has thus retained a key element of the Phaedran setting, but adapted it to suit his purposes and the erotic pitch of his novel.

Also present in the garden is a peacock, and in his desire to make Leucippe εὐάγωγον ... εἰς ἔρωτα (1.16.1) Cleitophon takes his cue from it (ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρνιθος λαβὼν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν Ibid.). Leucippe and Cleio are standing opposite the peacock, which is showing its tail:

> Ἔτυχε γὰρ τύχῃ τινὶ συμβὰν τότε τὸν ὄρνιν ἀναπτερῶσαι τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐπιδεικνύναι τῶν πτερῶν. (1.16.2)[59]

This is an allusion to the wings that the soul grows in Socrates' second speech:

> ἣν ὅταν τὸ τῇδέ τις ὁρῶν κάλλος, τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀναμιμνῃσκόμενος, πτερῶταί τε καὶ ἀναπτερούμενος προθυμούμενος ἀναπτέσθαι, ἀδυνατῶν δέ, ὄρνιθος δίκην βλέπων ἄνω (Phdr. 249d5-8).

Instead of seeing beauty and growing wings in response, however, the peacock displays beauty by spreading his tail, and in another twist of the original a man behaving ὄρνιθος δίκην (Phdr. 249d7) is replaced by a bird. The same verb occurs later

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[59] ἀναπτερόω only occurs elsewhere in Leucippe and Cleitophon at 7.15.1, where its meaning is metaphorical: Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἀκούσας ἀναπτεροῦμαι, καὶ τὰ ὄμματα ἀνεγείρω καὶ ἀναβιοῦν ἠρχόμην. Vilborg (1962), p.34, compares Philostr. VS II.27.3: ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ταὼ ὡς ἀναπτεροῦντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπαίνου.

in the same speech where Socrates describes the effect that having a lover has on the beloved:

τὸ τοῦ κάλλους ῥεῦμα πάλιν εἰς τὸν καλὸν διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἰόν, ᾗ πέφυκεν

ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἰέναι, ἀφικόμενον καὶ ἀναπτερώσαν, τὰς διόδους τῶν πτερῶν

ἄρδει τε καὶ ὥρμησε πτεροφυεῖν τε καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐρωμένου αὖ ψυχὴν ἔρωτος

ἐνέπλησεν. (Phdr. 255c5-d3)[60]

This allusion does not depend on the repetition of one word, for it is reinforced by what follows:

"Τοῦτο μέντοι οὐκ ἄνευ τέχνης ὁ ὄρνις," ἔφην, "ποιεῖ· ἀλλ' ἔστι γὰρ

ἐρωτικός. "Οταν ἐπαγαγέσθαι θέλῃ τὴν ἐρωμένην, τότε οὕτως

καλλωπίζεται. 'Ορᾷς ἐκείνην τὴν τῆς πλατάνου πλησίον;" (1.16.2-3)

As if the mention of the peacock's erotic intent and the fact that he is trying to seduce his beloved were not sufficient to remind the reader of the erotic subject of Socrates' speech, Achilles Tatius throws in a plane tree for good measure. The peacock possesses both wings and beauty, but instead of the former being grown in response to a chaste association with the latter in the ascent to metaphysical reality, he uses both to attempt to persuade his hen to have sexual intercourse. And the fact that Cleitophon takes his cue from this bird indicates his attitude to "Platonic" love. The peacock is mentioned again when Cleitophon has finished his disquisition on erotic encounters in the natural world and compares Leucippe's beauty to that of the peacock:

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[60] ἀναπτερόω also occurs, once, in *Daphnis and Chloe* at 2.7.1, where Daphnis and Chloe ask Philetas what Eros is, and in his reply he says that he τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπτεροῖ. Here too it seems to be an allusion to the *Phaedrus* passages, increasing the probability that the same is the case in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*. See Hunter (1983), p.109, n.43.

Τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἀστράπτον τοῦ ταὼ ἧττον ἐδόκει μοι τοῦ Λευκίππης εἶναι
προσώπου. (1.19.1)

Yet another Phaedran idea, the dazzling face of the beloved,[61] is associated with the

peacock, an idea whose general significance has already been highlighted.[62] This

completes the Phaedran atmosphere created not only in the garden, but in the first

book as a whole, a book all but framed by Phaedran settings.

The setting of the opening conversation and the elements of the garden that

place them in the world of the *Phaedrus* keep the reader alert to the allusions to and

adaptations of this most popular of writings on erotic psychology. Achilles Tatius is

concerned not merely to show his awareness of what the *Phaedrus* contains, but also

to engage with it in a game in which his reader can take part. It is not enough to claim

that Achilles Tatius is indulging in scene-setting in order solely to signal the general

subject matter of at least the opening book or two of his novel. He is rather assuming

a knowledge of the contents of the *Phaedrus* on the part of this reader, a knowledge

which he can use by indicating the importance of the *Phaedrus* in his scene-setting

and which he can manipulate by the events which occur in those scenes. And the links

between the scenes are themselves carefully established. The garden shares similarities

with the meadow in the painting of Europa's abduction,[63] and also, through allusions

to the *Phaedrus*, with the *locus amoenus* where Cleitophon narrates his story. The

theme of what took place in and around the meadow is the carrying off of Europa by

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[61] Cf. καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τ' ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον τὴν ὄψιν τὴν τῶν παιδικῶν ἀστράπτουσαν. ἰδόντος δὲ τοῦ ἡνιόχου

ἡ μνήμη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κάλλους φύσιν ἠνέχθη (*Phdr.* 254b3-6).

[62] See 3.6, pp.177-81.

[63] See 3.6, pp.186-8.

Zeus, while the scene under the plane tree by the cool stream is set for an erotic discourse. Both of these themes coincide in the garden as the erotic conversation is designed to inspire similar feelings in Leucippe so that Cleitophon's seduction can proceed apace.

5.3 Scene-Setting and the Characterisation of Cleitophon

However, as argued in the previous chapter, Achilles Tatius may not be making allusions just for their own sake, or for the sake of their literary connotations. For there is one, very important, case of a reference to the setting of the *Phaedrus* which remains to be considered,[64] one which should have a considerable influence on our appreciation of the uses of the Phaedran scene made by Achilles Tatius and his near contemporaries. At the beginning of Plutarch's *Amatorius* Flavian and some others ask Autobulus to give his account of a conversation on mount Helicon on love in which his father had taken part. Flavian asks:

(Flavian) "Ἄφελε τοῦ λόγου τὸ νῦν ἔχον ἐποποιῶν[65] τε λειμῶνας καὶ σκιὰς καὶ ἅμα κιττοῦ τε καὶ σμιλάκων διαδρομὰς καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα τοιούτων τόπων ἐπιλαβόμενοι γλίχονται τὸν Πλάτωνος Ἰλισσὸν καὶ τὸν ἅγνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὴν ἠρέμα προσάντη πόαν πεφυκυῖαν προθυμότερον ἢ κάλλιον ἐπιγράφεσθαι.

(Autobulus) Τί δὲ δεῖται τοιούτων, ὧ ἄριστε Φλαουιανέ, προοιμίων ἡ διήγησις; (Plut. *Amat.* 749a)[66]

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[64] Mentioned on p.262, n.5.

[65] It is not clear whether Flavian is referring to epic poets in particular, or whether he might mean poets in general. *LSJ* takes ἐποποιός in Luc. *J.Tr.* 6 to mean "verse-maker".

[66] For the Ilissus see: Δεῦρ' ἐκτραπόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισὸν ἴωμεν (*Phdr.* 229a1), and: Εἰπέ μοι, ὧ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἐνθένδε μέντοι ποθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰλισοῦ λέγεται ὁ Βορέας τὴν Ὠρείθυιαν ἁρπάσαι (*Phdr.*

This clearly belongs to the first category of reference: explicit mention. As Trapp puts it, "The discourse does indeed eschew the *locus amoenus*, but the very denial signals a Phaedran presence, and the signal is amply justified by what follows,"[67] and:

> Plutarch's *recusatio* at the beginning of the *Amatorius*, turns out to be a rejection only of slavish and unimaginative use of the *Phaedrus*; it is certainly not a rejection of the work itself as a proper object of imitation.[68]

The opinion expressed in the first of these quotations is accurate, but the first half of the second is slightly misleading: Plutarch (through Flavian) is not rejecting slavish imitation of the *Phaedrus*, rather he is rejecting the sort of things that poets write when they strive for the effect that Plato gained with the setting of the *Phaedrus*. He is denying the need for any such description with which to set both the mood and the scene, for, as Autobolus continues:

229b4-5); for the agnus see: τοῦ τε ἅγνου τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ σύσκιον πάγκαλον, καὶ ὡς ἀκμὴν ἔχει τῆς ἄνθης, ὡς ἂν εὐωδέστατον παρέχοι τὸν τόπον (*Phdr*. 230b3-5); and for the gentle grass slope and near verbal identity see: πάντων δὲ κομψότατον τὸ τῆς πόας, ὅτι ἐν ἠρέμα προσάντει ἱκανὴ πέφυκε κατακλινέντι τὴν κεφαλὴν παγκάλως ἔχειν (*Phdr*. 230c3-5).

[67] (1990), p.159.

[68] Ibid., p.161. Cf. Goldhill (1995), p.145: "the pleasing pun on the topographical, laced with the explicit recollection of Plato's famous dialogue on desire, the *Phaedrus*, set by the Ilissus, establishes the literary and philosophical texture of the dialogue to come, as it places itself under the aegis of sophisticated withdrawal from explicit striving for Platonic or poetic effect." In a note to this, p.178, n.75, he remarks that "The same joke occurs in Achilles Tatius 1.1-2" without further comment or argument.

εὐθὺς ἡ πρόφασις, ἐξ ἧς ὡρμήθησαν οἱ λόγοι, χορὸν αἰτεῖ συμπαθῆ καὶ σκηνῆς δεῖται, τά τ' ἄλλα δράματος οὐδὲν ἐλλείπει (Ibid.).

Nevertheless, the sentiment of the passage is ambiguous; it might be a rejection of the sort of things that poets indulge in when they consciously endeavour to achieve the same effect as the setting of the *Phaedrus*, or it might be a rejection of what poets write when they want to create a similar effect to that which Plato produced. That is, are the poets trying to imitate Plato, or are they merely using settings to create a certain atmosphere? Although Trapp tends toward the former, it is noteworthy that, other than σκιάς, the elements that Flavianus says the poets employ are not present in the *Phaedrus*. Hunter could use this as evidence that "The absence of the most familiar Phaedran landmarks, the plane-tree and the cicadas"[69] is not an insurmountable objection to the argument that a Phaedran reminiscence is intended. I would prefer, on the other hand, to pursue a middle course, the one truest to what Plutarch/Flavian says, and argue that the poets were aware of the success of the Phaedran setting and so strove to achieve a similar effect, although by employing features such as ivy and smilax and without necessarily imitating Plato verbally.

What bearing does this have on the case of allusions to the setting of the *Phaedrus* in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*? First of all the passage from the *Amatorius* implies that Plutarch thinks that such scene-setting is unnecessary, and perhaps even hackneyed. He does not, of course, distance himself from it completely, because he puts the reader in mind of it by mentioning it. However, it is pertinent to ask what effect this passage might or should have on our reading of the instances of references to the setting of the *Phaedrus* in other authors. One need not argue that the other

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[69] (1997), p.24.

authors under consideration had necessarily read Plutarch's dialogue, although some may have done, particularly in view of the similarities between it and Ps.-Lucian *Amores* and the debate at the end of book 2 of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*. It is sufficient that by Plutarch's time a reference to the beginning of the *Phaedrus* or an attempt to achieve the same or a similar effect was a well-established practice and that, if Trapp's arguments are accepted, reworkings of the scene by the Ilissus were expected to be recognised by at least some readers of Dio. If this is true, what view are we to take of an author who does slavishly imitate Plato? Either a lack of sophistication would be involved, or else something more subtle.

To treat the other authors first, we seem to have different modes of use of the Phaedran scene.[70] One of the most frequent is humour, where the reference needs to be reasonably obvious for the joke to work.[71] In this group would be found Alciphron 4.13, Apuleius *Met.* 1.18-9 (with possibly Lollianus *Phoenicica*), Lucian *Vit.Auct.* 16 and *Icar.* 9. Another use is the reworking for pointed effect, among which would be included Longus *D. & C.* Proem (if this is a reworking at all), Dio 1.52-3 and 36.1ff. The largest group involves the use of the Phaedran setting to signal a relationship, of whatever sort, with that text: Cicero *de Orat.* 1.7.28 and *Brutus* 6.24, Ps.-Lucian *Am.*, *Philopatr.* 3 and *Dem.Enc.*, Lucian *Dom.* 4, Plutarch *Amat.* 749a, and finally Achilles Tatius *Leucippe and Cleitophon* 1.2.3. None of these uses incurs the charge

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[70] As opposed to the categories of forms of reference or allusion which were outlined earlier.

[71] Of course, there is perhaps irony in the fact that so many authors have seized on the description of the Phaedran setting by Socrates when he himself is probably being ironic (see Rowe (1986), p.141, *ad loc.*). See Trapp (1990), p.164., n.51, with p.166, nn.55 and 56.

of slavish imitation, either because the Phaedran scene is being manipulated, or because it is briefly alluded to in the knowledge that no further evocation is required.

The remaining passage is *L. & C.* 1.15-16 and this seems harder to place. It is not obviously a joke and it contains several clear allusions and so does not fit in the "reworkings" category. The most promising type is therefore the last, but there are problems with this too. First, the others in the last category are economical, that is they achieve their purpose with the minimum of Platonic intrusion. The only exception to this is Ps.-Lucian *Am.*, but the case there is a special one, for at 12 and 18 the allusions to Plato are economical, and where they are not, in 31, we find an explicit evocation of the plane tree of the *Phaedrus*. Ps.-Lucian is thus going out of his way to signal the relationship of his dialogue with the *Phaedrus*, but he also manages a balancing act by distancing the one from the other. For Callicratidas does not remark on how similar to the Phaedran setting their surroundings are, nor does he wish to be in them; rather he wishes that that plane tree could be transported to help him with his argument. The plane tree is a metonymy for one part of the *Phaedrus*, albeit probably the most famous, and Lucian's use of it here shows how the arguments it overheard are only a part of the wider debate in which his characters are involved. Callicratidas also expresses the physical distance between the two settings:

πλὴν ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' ἀμήχανον,

ἦ γὰρ πολλὰ μεταξὺ

οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα   (Ps.-Luc. *Am.* 31).[72]

The second problem is that Achilles Tatius has already signalled the relationship between his novel and the *Phaedrus* with due economy at 1.2.3, and so it seems

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[72] Quoting Hom. *Il.* 1.156-57. Munro/Allen (1920) have: ἦ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ ...

superfluous to do the same here in far greater detail. The answer may lie in the fact

that it is not Achilles Tatius who is describing the garden in 1.15-16: it is his hero

Cleitophon.

In the last chapter it was argued that Achilles Tatius deliberately makes

Cleitophon sound a fool by having him expound repeatedly and at length on an idea

that was given to him by someone else. The case here, I would argue, is similar.

Achilles Tatius succinctly establishes at 1.2.3 that Plato, and particularly the

Phaedrus, is going to be important in his novel. He may have felt the need to do this

in order to aid his reader, or rather signal that a game was about to begin, and perhaps

also to indicate that his novel was going to depart from the historiographical pose and

chart new territory in the waters of dialogue-novel.[73] Cleitophon, on the other hand, is

doing nothing of the sort. He is detailing at great length the garden in which his

seduction of Leucippe began. He is, in fact, doing precisely what the poets did, of

whose practices Plutarch seems to have disapproved. Cleitophon even uses, among

the Platonic ones, the same elements in his description of the garden as those which

Flavian asked Autobolus to omit: meadows, shade, ivy and smilax. The last two are

the easiest to spot, for Cleitophon waxes lyrical on them at some length:

Ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν δένδρων τῶν ἁδροτέρων κιττὸς καὶ σμῖλαξ παρεπεφύκει· ἡ

μὲν ἐξηρτημένη πλατάνου καὶ περιπυκάζουσα ῥαδινῇ τῇ κόμῃ· ὁ δὲ κιττὸς

περὶ πεύκην ἑλιχθεὶς ᾠκειοῦτο τὸ δένδρον ταῖς περιπλοκαῖς, καὶ ἐγίνετο τῷ

κιττῷ ὄχημα τὸ φυτόν, στέφανος δὲ ὁ κιττὸς τοῦ φυτοῦ. (1.15.3)[74]

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[73] See C.3, pp.300-1, for more on this.

[74] Cf. παντί γε μὴν δένδρῳ περιπλέγδην ὁ φίλερως προσείρπυζε κιττός (Ps.-Luc. *Am.* 12); καί πως ἐξ

ἐπιπλοκῆς αὐτὴν (sc. πέτρα) περιθεῖ κιττὸς ἐν χρῷ τῇ λίθῳ προσπεφυκώς (Alciphr. 4.13.4); εὐθὺς οὖν

κατακλώμεναι αἱ μὲν σμίλακος αἱ δὲ μυρρίνης κλάδους καὶ τὰ χλανίσκια ἐπιστορέσασαι αὐτοσχεδίως

One could easily imagine Plutarch/Flavian's reaction to this! The shade in the garden

has already been dealt with,[75] and this leaves us with meadows. λειμών does not

appear in the description of the garden in 1.15, but it is not missing altogether. For the

peacock's display to his beloved is put in the following terms by Cleitophon:

> ταύτῃ νῦν οὗτος τὸ κάλλος ἐπιδείκνυται λειμῶνα πτερῶν. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ ταώ
>
> λειμὼν εὐανθέστερος (1.16.3).

The implication is that the peacock's feathers, his own λειμών, are more beautiful than

the meadow in which they find themselves. This is bettered in terms of conceit when,

after he has finished his disquisition, Cleitophon praises Leucippe's beauty, and

sandwiched between the comparisons with the meadow is another mention of ivy:

> Τὸ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος κάλλος αὐτῆς πρὸς τὰ τοῦ λειμῶνος ἤριζεν ἄνθη.
>
> Ναρκίσσου μὲν τὸ πρόσωπον ἔστιλβε χροιάν, ῥόδον δὲ ἀνέτελλεν ἐκ τῆς
>
> παρειᾶς, ἴον δὲ ἡ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμάρμαιρεν αὐγή, αἱ δὲ κόμαι
>
> βοστρυχούμεναι μᾶλλον εἱλίττοντο κιττοῦ· τοσοῦτος ἦν Λευκίππης ἐπὶ τῶν
>
> προσώπων ὁ λειμών. (1.19.1-2)[76]

The setting is in fact a λειμών, complete with shade, ivy and smilax, not to mention

numerous Phaedran elements.

If Achilles Tatius was aware of Plutarch's *Amatorius*, it is extremely tempting

to see the identity of parts of Cleitophon's description of the garden with the features

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συνερρίψαμεν κλίνην (Alciphr. 4.13.8); and: ταύταις πάσαις (sc. cypresses, laurels, planes and pines)

ἀντὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου κιττὸς ἐπέκειτο, καὶ ὁ κόρυμβος αὐτοῦ μέγας ὢν καὶ μελαινόμενος βότρυν ἐμιμεῖτο.

(Long. *D. & C.* 4.2.3)

[75] τῶν δὲ φύλλων ἄνωθεν αἰωρουμένων ὑφ' ἡλίῳ πρὸς ἄνεμον συμμιγῆ ⟨καὶ⟩ ὠχρὰν ἐμάρμαιρεν ἡ γῆ τὴν

σκιάν (1.15.4). See above, pp.280-1.

[76] Cf. αὐτὸ (sc. χωρίον) δ' ἐστὶ λειμών τις ἢ κῆπος (Alciphr. 4.13.1).

that were denigrated by Flavian as a deliberate attempt to make Cleitophon look like the sort of person/poet who unthinkingly elaborated the setting, and here at inordinate length, before describing the events that took place in it.[77] The effect of this is yet again to convey his bombasticism. It could be objected that Achilles Tatius is here utilising a fertile tradition of *loci amoeni* to place his work within it, and this is certainly true on some level, just as he is placing his work in the world, both literary and intellectual, of the *Phaedrus*. But this would be to ignore his attitude to his literary forbears, which is scarcely ever straightforward, Flavian's words towards the beginning of Plutarch's *Amatorius*, and the fact that we should not necessarily read Cleitophon's words as if the thoughts and attitudes they express are Achilles Tatius' own; in fact the reverse approach, that of regarding what Cleitophon has to say as belonging to him, is surely more like the process that Achilles Tatius wanted his reader to undergo. Achilles Tatius is in effect both having his cake and eating it: he engineers the sort of *locus amoenus* which draws on a wide and varied, and not purely Platonic, tradition with all the benefits that this allows his work, while letting the unoriginality of it all rebound on his central character. One hopes that Plutarch would have been able to raise a smile at Cleitophon's description of the garden.

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[77] And if Achilles Tatius saw the irony in Socrates' own laudatory description of the spot by the Ilissus, then his having Cleitophon show no signs of knowing that he was trading in hackneyed images would be even more pertinent.

Conclusion

C.1 Platonic Allusions in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*

I hope to have shown that the number of allusions to Plato in Achilles Tatius' novel, and especially to the *Phaedrus*, is considerably larger than has so far been realised. Some have been spotted before, but they have generally not been fully explored, and other echoes of the same passages have been missed. While I hope that each allusion by itself has a strong enough argument for it, the case for all of them is enhanced by their sheer number. This general point of cumulative effect can be broken down into individual arguments which work on local, or more extended levels.

On a general level, for instance, as the case for Hippias was reinforced by the fact that there were other names which were more obviously descended from the Platonic corpus, so Leucippe's name becomes more likely to have been inspired by the white horse of the *Phaedrus* myth by the presence of other Platonic names in the novel. And the case for each individual Platonic name is dependent on the accumulation of allusive passages. On a local level, the Phaedran setting of the initial conversation makes the other Platonic references there more noticeable, but this also relates to, and should inform the interpretation of, Cleitophon's description of the garden (1.15), and mentally prepares the reader for more material from the *Phaedrus*. This occurs in abundance, and is nowhere more apparent than in the repeated use of the flow of beauty through the eyes into the soul. The repetition of this allusion has a cumulative effect all of its own. It also keeps the reader in mind of the *Phaedrus*, which in turn is essential if he is to realise the provenance of the heroine's name.

This eclectic survey of how interconnected the allusions to Plato are should, I hope, justify the procedure which I have followed in this thesis: namely separating the allusions out and dealing with linked examples or a particular question rather than providing a trawl through *Platonica* as they occur in the narrative. This has inevitably led to the treatment of certain passages more than once, the Phaedran setting for Cleitophon's narration being an obvious example. However, the fact that an allusion may serve more than one function is part of the argument that a cumulative effect is important in arguing for the presence of allusions. For if an allusion such as the Phaedran setting can be argued simultaneously to be part of signalling Platonic narrative technique, to hint at the potential subject matter of the narration and to provide a contrast with Cleitophon's own description of a *locus amoenus*, then its multiplicity of functions and the other passages that it links with bolster its status as an allusion. When all the strands that I have separated are woven back together, the result should be a stronger cloth.

There is a cumulative effect provided by other authors too. Apuleius' and Lucian's use of Platonic names confirms that such a practice existed; Plutarch and Lucian utilise a narrative technique which is recognisably Platonic in certain dialogues which are otherwise heavily indebted to Plato; and many authors deployed the Phaedran setting and flow of beauty in their works. The last two in fact go beyond merely verifying the presence of similar allusions in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, for they reveal the spin that Achilles Tatius put on them. This leads to the second point that I wish to emphasise in this conclusion.

C.2 The Place of Platonic Allusions in *Leucippe and Cleitophon*

Arguing that one passage is an allusion to another can sometimes lead to the dissection of those passages from their contexts. This has been one fault of some of the literature written on, or which mentions, Plato in the Greek novel, and I have accordingly tried to avoid this in the belief that it leads to a distorted view of the texts involved and their authors' intentions. Of course, it is possible that a writer may make an allusion, verbally or otherwise, to the work of another simply for the sake of doing so, and it is equally possible that a phrase may be subconsciously repeated. However, it is necessary in each case at least to examine the contexts of the passages involved in case something more is afoot. As far as *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is concerned it seems that this is usually, if not always, the case.

The broad thrust of this thesis is that the allusions to Plato that I have been considering or attempting to establish are exploited for their literary and philosophical connotations on the one hand, and for the internal dynamics that they help to provide on the other. They are not decoration to give Achilles Tatius' novel the appearance of intellectual respectability; in fact they are so abundant that they can be brought to bear on other questions. One is the readership of the novel. Achilles Tatius is catering, at least on some level, for a reader with a thorough knowledge of the *Phaedrus* and with a working knowledge of a significant proportion of the Platonic corpus. While such knowledge was not the sole preserve of the philosopher, only a man of the educated elite would have been able to play Achilles Tatius' game to the full.

Other questions which have been helped by the amount of Platonic allusion include the characterisation of the *dramatis personae*, in particular the main protagonists: Cleitophon, Leucippe, Thersander and Melite. Their portrayals are all

affected by Achilles Tatius' use of Phaedran psychology, and the clues that point to the inspiration for Leucippe's very name allow us to see her and those who interact with her as more than one of the parts of the charioteer of the soul and his team. Cleitophon's character is in part conveyed by his willingness to lecture his interlocutor and by his repetition of the image of the Phaedran flow of beauty, which he was told about by Cleinias. His description of the garden in 1.15 is at odds both with Achilles Tatius' own brief Phaedran scene-setting in the initial conversation and with Plutarch's strictures about the superfluousness of such a device.

This has a bearing on the wider issue of the manifold digressions in the novel, enabling us to see some, if not all, of Cleitophon's *sententiae* and his propensity for wallowing in detail as being either hopelessly out of context or unnecessary. Modern readers often do not know what to make of Achilles Tatius' seeming fondness for such apparently inconsequential passages, and part of the answer, I would argue, lies in the characterisation of the hero. His infidelity with Melite and his cowardice are others facets of this argument. This, of course, does not mean that Achilles Tatius' reader would not have enjoyed such *ecphrases* nor found such philosophical musings interesting, for our novelist does not tend to deal in black and white issues. He can simultaneously entertain his reader and sabotage his hero with the very same method of entertainment.

This in turn leads to the question of humour and Achilles Tatius' attitude to the genre in which he was writing. In addition to the fun to be had with his engagement with the Platonic corpus,[1] Achilles Tatius undermines his own hero with the words he makes him utter and subverts, or at least pushes the boundaries of, what

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[1] For which see C.3.

a reader might expect. Platonic allusions, to be sure, have less of a bearing on this question than on some others, but one area where they do have an important part to play is in the matter of the beginning/end problem. This is an example of a question which can be approached from the opposite angle and which can partly be helped by the Platonic elements involved. The concentration of allusions in the opening conversation, including the name of the hero himself, and the open-endedness of the frame are meant to recall Platonic narrative technique. However, rather than thinking that this was just another Platonic device, I believe the reader would have thought about the discrepancies involved and realised that the very ending of the novel is not only problematic, it also lacks the closure which would seal the happy ending. Achilles Tatius uses a Platonic technique to help him to achieve this air of uncertainty, which has the stench of the most severe subversion, but which allows no straightforward answer.

So far I have made generalising remarks about how the contents of this thesis hang together and how a seemingly simple task such as spotting allusions can lead to the consideration, and possible solutions, of other questions. However, the sheer weight of Platonic allusion in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* and its nature should lead the commentator to ask whether Achilles Tatius merely happens to be particularly fond of Plato and uses him as one of many literary sources, or whether he might have a wider Platonic strategy.

C.3 Achilles Tatius' Platonic Strategy

When all of the Platonic resonances in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* are added together they have a considerable cumulative effect. But a list of what they add up to reveals their importance to the novel as a whole. The setting for the dialogue between the

anonymous narrator and Cleitophon and for Cleitophon's narration is undeniably Phaedran. This has the effect of placing the *Phaedrus* at the forefront of the reader's mind, but with the conversation and Cleitophon's name it also establishes a Platonic feel out the outset. Not only is there a dialogue with several Platonic allusions, it is also not resumed at the end in, I would argue, imitation of Platonic technique. The basic structure, therefore, evokes that of a Platonic dialogue.

Cleitophon's narration contains five other characters with Platonic names: Chaerephon, Charmides, Cleinias, Gorgias and Hippias. Each of these has humorous contact with its Platonic namesake/s, but they have a further function of maintaining the Platonic atmosphere of the novel. Moreover Cleinias, at least in the first two books, and Cleitophon are never too far from the action and so serve as constant reminders of the Platonic background. Not only, then, does the novel look something like a Platonic dialogue, it also has several characters, some extremely important, with Platonic names. This process of allusive naming is carried a stage further in the name of the heroine, for although she has namesake in Plato's *Critias*, she seems to be named after the good horse of the soul of Plato's *Phaedrus*. This means not only that the hero and heroine both have Platonic names, but also that the reader is expected to be constantly on the look out for allusions to the *Phaedrus*, and that the novel makes continual play with Platonic ideas and concepts.

In addition to the setting for Cleitophon's narration, the garden in which he begins his seduction of Leucippe bears similarities to the Phaedran *locus amoenus*. This scene sets the tone for much of the eroticism that is to follow and serves as a secondary impulse in the narrative. There are other repeated allusions, including the flow of beauty and the idea of a chaste night after the manner of Socrates and

Alcibiades. There are also passages in which several different allusions are made, such as Cleinias' speeches in 1.9-10 and the debate at the end of book 2.

Leucippe and Cleitophon, then, is a work which bears the outward form of a Platonic dialogue, whose narration has a Platonic setting, which has various characters, including the two central ones, with Platonic names, and which is suffused with sustained and repeated Platonic allusions. Other works have these same features, and some have more than one. Ps.-Lucian's *Amores* and Plutarch's *Amatorius* both have Platonic dialogue structures, Phaedran settings,[2] and many of the same allusions which we find in Achilles Tatius' novel. Lucian's *Navigium* has a character with the Platonic name of Adeimantus. In each of these works, and in others mentioned intermittently throughout this thesis, the author is clearly aiming for some sort of Platonic effect. *Leucippe and Cleitophon* has all of these features in an arguably more sustained manner. So if other authors use these devices when they want to signal an engagement with Plato, what are we to conclude about Achilles Tatius, who does very similar things? There is surely more going on here than a set of limited literary games or an over-eagerness to display a knowledge of Plato for its own sake. In fact the broader question of how Achilles Tatius saw his novel is raised.

The first point to make is that whereas historiography seems to be the most important, or at least the most obvious, model for Chariton and Heliodorus and pastoral for Longus, Achilles Tatius makes extensive use of Plato.[3] The historiographical pose allows the treatment of a story as fact and grants the author a

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[2] Albeit disclaimed in the latter.

[3] As far as Xenophon is concerned the question is complicated by the possibility that the novel that bears his name is an epitome.

degree of authority. The pastoral heritage on which Longus draws gives a tale a timeless sense of mythical quality and allows him vast poetic licence.[4] Achilles Tatius, on the other hand, sets his novel in what we can only assume is more or less the contemporary world, and so his Platonic model must fulfil a different function. What it does is give his novel a philosophical atmosphere. This device, instead of enabling a mere relation of things as if true or the invention of things as if instructive, allows the analysis, in philosophical and psychological terms, of what takes place in his story. Of course, Achilles Tatius himself does not do this; rather he gives his characters free rein to describe what they think is happening. The reasons for this are not simple, and one effect is to portray Cleitophon in a certain light, but the content of what he and others say still has a bearing on the reader's appreciation of the story he is being told. This philosophical atmosphere, created and maintained by several Platonic devices, must mean that, if we regard *Callirhoe* and the *Aethiopica* as historiographical novels and *Daphnis and Chloe* as a pastoral novel, *Leucippe and Cleitophon* must be a "philosophical", or "Platonic" novel.

This is satisfactory as far as the outward appearance of the novel and some of the names contained in it go, but a consideration of the attitude displayed by Achilles Tatius in many of his allusions, including the names he gives his characters, reveals that it would be more accurate to regard *Leucippe and Cleitophon* as "anti-Platonic" rather than "Platonic".[5] To start with the names, Chaerephon, Charmides, Cleinias, Gorgias, Hippias and Leucippe all draw upon their Platonic namesakes in a humorous

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[4] He does, of course, draw on other traditions, but pastoral is the most obviously and thoroughly used.

[5] Cf. Anderson (1982), p.25: "Achilles clearly sees himself as a Plato *eroticus*, and much of the first two books as an anti-*Phaedrus*."

way.[6] Charmides is the opposite of the temperate youth he is in Plato, and Gorgias is not, and Hippias runs the risk of not being, as skilful in attaining their ends as the sophists Gorgias and Hippias claim they were. Chaerephon and Cleinias, rather than contradicting the expectations a reader would have had, are characters who exhibit similar traits to their Platonic namesakes, but whose circumstances show those traits to be unfortunate or ridiculous. Finally, the name Leucippe, as already documented, allows the reader to participate in a game of hide and seek with the elements of the myth of the *Phaedrus* in which the white horse of the soul appears, often with incongruous, and seldom with simple, results.

Other than the settings and narrative structure, which afford the novel a Platonic appearance, and the Platonic names, which achieve the same effect in addition to their humorous contributions, the other set of allusions dealt with, namely the flow of beauty and Alcibiades' account of the night he spent with Socrates, also point to a broader conclusion. In fact this is where the idea of a novel with a consistently "anti-Platonic" feel really comes into force, as the import of these allusions is emphasised by their surroundings in a novel which bears certain Platonic features. The flow of beauty is used at the moments when the reader first sees the onset of the most important emotions in the novel: the desire of Cleitophon for Leucippe, of Melite for Cleitophon and of Thersander for Leucippe. Since Melite and Thersander are the love rivals familiar from earlier novels, we should not be surprised that they wish to go further than the chaste gazing that is the spiritual beginning of a "Platonic" relationship in the *Phaedrus*, yet there is humour in the very fact that their

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[6] The name Cleitophon is the exception since it seems to have been chosen in order to highlight the structure of the novel.

lustful thoughts are described in terms which were meant to lead to nothing but philosophical contemplation. But it is also made perfectly clear that Cleitophon finds that eye contact is hardly the pinnacle of his desires and that he too, with Leucippe's willing consent, wishes to proceed further. And the use of the Socratic exemplar of restraint and philosophical detachment is used *as* a form of abuse by Melite and by Cleitophon to cover up his guilty tracks.

Such carefree uses of the Platonic models of philosophical love would have humour enough were they to occur individually, but when their number and extent are added up, it becomes apparent that there is more of a coherent system of denial in place. Achilles Tatius has taken the idea of non-sexual friendship, espoused in the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* in particular, and in a sophisticated reworking has shown how impractical, or indeed impossible, it is. People who are sexually attracted to each other simply do not behave in the way that Socrates thought they ought to, and Achilles Tatius' characters, in all their psychological realism, show this all too well. Moreover, the chief irony is that their psychological realism is achieved by the use of those very bits of Plato which are shown to be so absurd in their wilful ignorance of real life and everyday emotions. There are, of course, many other facets of Achilles Tatius' novel which could be highlighted, and I would not wish to make sweeping claims about this criticism of Plato being the most important.[7] There are also other points behind the use of Plato, some of which I hope to have shown. However, in an

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[7] Cf. Goldhill (1995), p.91 (pointing out the inadequacy of Anderson's comment quoted in n.5 above): "there is a far more complex self-positioning of Achilles Tatius with regard to intellectual traditions and, specifically, the philosophy (morality, medicine) of *eros*."

erotic novel which explains itself through the philosophising of its characters, this aspect must be an important part.

To claim, then, that *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is something of an "anti-Platonic" novel is not to argue that it is a profoundly philosophical allegory - the games which were had with Leucippe's name and the clues to its origin show that it is not - or to maintain that it is a direct parody of Platonic philosophy. Rather it contains elements, important in the novel's overall structure and attitude, which point to a sophisticated and amusing engagement with core philosophical texts, of which one factor is the absurdity of the idea of "Platonic" love. If the latter were the only thing that concerned Achilles Tatius, we would probably be dealing with a far less interesting work.

C.4 *Leucippe and Cleitophon* in Context

Although there are similar uses of Plato in at least some of the other novels, Achilles Tatius' novel surpasses them all in the number and depth of those uses. His choice of Plato as a model is part and parcel of this. Other authors such as Plutarch, Lucian and Ps.-Lucian make the same or similar uses of Plato and they provide confirmatory evidence as far as *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is concerned. Plutarch's *Amatorius*, Ps.-Lucian *Amores* and the end of book 2 of our novel also all contain debates on the preferability of homosexual or heterosexual love. These connections might perhaps point to the conclusion that *Leucippe and Cleitophon* has more in common with such philosophical dialogues on love and other works which are similarly Platonic than has previously been considered, and certainly in a broader way. On the other side of this coin, Achilles Tatius is playful, if not subversive, when dealing with Greek novel conventions and so puts some distance between his novel and his predecessors. While

I would not wish to argue for the re-classification of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*. I would argue that the situation is not as clear-cut as some commentators would wish it. Indeed, Plutarch's *Amatorius*, for instance, shares many similarities with the Greek novel. Rather I want to argue that *Leucippe and Cleitophon* is as much part of its literary environment as it is a member of the Greek novel genre. Achilles Tatius is doing something unparalleled in the other extant novels - not even Apuleius is as thorough-going in his use of Plato as I would maintain Achilles Tatius is - although to what extent this is an innovation can not be judged owing to the loss of material. The possibility that it was should not, at any rate, be ruled out. What is certain, however, is that Achilles Tatius has written the novel that the literary culture of his period of the second sophistic, reaching beyond the Greek novel to Lucian and others, deserved and possibly demanded.

Appendix:

Use of Data Contained in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN)*

According to Matthews "It is the fate of lexicographers to be out of date as soon as they are published" and "the notion of 'perfection' is inappropriate in a work which incorporates so many judgements".[1] Nevertheless, in addition to its more obvious potential for the historian *LGPN* is an immensely valuable tool for the study of onomastics in fiction. The frequency of the occurrences of a name can be used to help determine how probable it might be that one author has named a character after someone in particular, whether historical, mythical or fictional. For instance, if a name is exceptionally rare, or, ideally, if there is only one attestation and it occurs in an author predating the work in question, the case that a character with an identical name in the later author was named after the character in the earlier author is greatly strengthened. More realistically, if a name was more popular in the time of the earlier author, his character was the best known bearer of that name, and the same name was not in current use in the time of the later author, the case for a reference would again be reinforced.[2] Of course a cast-iron reference to a famous person would not have its case significantly dented by the name in question being reasonably common, and even

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[1] Hornblower/Matthews (2000), p.7.

[2] In this case the following argument from the preface to *LGPN* I, p.i, appears extremely question-begging: "We have, however, not excluded names provided by the novelists, and by mythographers such as Conon and Parthenius, since the names they employ are normal current names; we have dated them to the date of the author but labelled them 'fictitious'".

the ideal situation where there is only one previous bearer would not be conclusive unless some other connection could be found.

A major use, facilitated by the lexicon's arrangement by geography, is that some names can be "localised".[3] The implication of this for the names of fictional characters is that it should be possible to have a greater appreciation of whether a novelist, say, gave a character a name "in search of local colour".[4] If the name is not local, it raises the possibility that something more elaborate is afoot, although it should not be forgotten that the novelist may have been mistaken or carefree in his choice. It also needs to be pointed out that, unfortunately for my purposes, the volumes of *LGPN* published so far cover the Aegean Islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica - I (Oxford, 1987), Attica - II (Oxford, 1994), the Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia - III.A (Oxford, 1997), and Central Greece - III.B (Oxford, 2000), and not Asia Minor or Egypt, from where the majority of Greek novelists seem to have hailed and where they set a good part of their works.[5] This entails that it will not be possible to deal with the question of whether Achilles Tatius was in search of "local colour" in his choice of certain names, and it is possible that the publication of future volumes, whose contents will certainly be more pertinent, will significantly

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[3] A use which is highlighted in nearly all of the articles in Hornblower/Matthews (2000).

[4] Hornblower/Matthews (2000), p.14. See Bowie (1995), p.277, and Morgan (1982), p.247, on Heliodorus. Hägg (1971b), pp.55-6, concludes that Xenophon of Ephesus showed no tendency towards names chosen to give local colour, and he is sceptical whether such an effect might have been easy or possible, given the spread of Greek names in the Roman period. Hägg, however, did not have the luxury of being able to use *LGPN*.

[5] For Achilles Tatius' provenance see the unanimous testimony of the *Suda*, s. v. A 4695 (I. 439 Adler): Ἀχιλλεὺς Στάτιος, Ἀλεξανδρεύς, and the MSS.

change the situation presented by the data dealt with here. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile proceeding with the available data, especially since they are to be used only as a rough guide - if a name is popular, and popular in the second century in particular, the argument that it is used as an allusion, or as one aspect of an allusion, must be that bit tighter; on the other hand, if a name is exceptionally rare, the case need not be as strong.

I have collated the data contained within the four published volumes of *LGPN* and converted them into tables and graphs for each name. Each entry is assigned a date and I have accordingly allocated each bearer to a century ranging from the 6th BC to the 5th AD. Where less precision is possible, and the date is given as:

- (e.g.) iv/iii BC or 350-280 BC, I have added 0.5 to both centuries;

- (e.g.) 250-50 BC, I have added 0.3 to each of the first three centuries BC;

- (e.g.) 200-88 BC, I have added 0.5 to both centuries, even though it is more probable that the attestation belongs to the second century BC;

- (e.g.) 200 BC or c.200 BC, I have added 0.5 to both the third and second centuries BC;

- (e.g.) 200-199 BC, I have added 1 to the second century BC;

- hell. (hellenistic, 323-31 BC) I have added 0.3 to each of the first three centuries BC;

- imp. (imperial, 31 BC - 310 AD), I have added 0.3 to each of the first three centuries AD;[6]

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[6] It seemed easier to deal with decimals rather than fractions. When calculating row (i.e. volume/area) totals, I have rounded up 3 x 0.3 to 1; when calculating column (i.e. century) totals I

- arch. (archaic, 999-480 BC), I have added 1 to the 6th century BC:[7]

- inc. (inclusive, 999 BC - 700 AD) or hell.-imp., I have not included it owing to the small number of such instances, the fractions involved and the negligible impact on the overall picture. I shall, however, mention any such instances where they occur.

Several further points should be mentioned:

- the data in *LGPN* include Platonic characters and fictional characters.[8] The latter are entered for the place to which their author ascribes them, not for the place of origin of their author. Thus, e.g., characters in Lucian's *DMeretr.* are entered for Attica;

- where ? qualifies a date in *LGPN* (e.g. 250? BC, iv/iii? BC, hell.?), I have ignored it and used the date given;

- in *LGPN* Alciphron is listed as belonging to the iv century AD.[9] Although it is difficult to ascertain exactly when he lived, according to *OCD*, *RE* and Benner/Fobes[10] he should be dated to around the turn of the second and third centuries AD. I have nevertheless stayed with the dating of *LGPN* as either way Alciphron most probably post-dated Achilles Tatius;

- in *LGPN* Chaerephon is listed as v/iv BC and so 0.5 has been allocated to each century. However at Plat. *Ap.* 21a8-9 he is said by Socrates to be dead (ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος τετελεύτηκεν), which suggests that he had died by the date of Socrates' trial in 399

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have not rounded up. The sum total of column totals has been rounded up to agree with the sum total of row totals.

[7] There being less precision before the classical period, and for the sake of saving space.

[8] The two categories are, of course, not necessarily mutually exclusive.

[9] As he is in *LSJ*, presumably the source of the confusion.

[10] (1949), pp.6-18.

BC. Thus a few months can change an entry of 1 for one century into an entry of 0.5 for two centuries. I can see no way to avoid such distortions, although I do not think that they alter radically the nature of the evidence;

- Chariton's Callirhoe is listed as i/ii AD, whereas her father Hermocrates is listed as v BC. While the latter reflects, or is supposed to be, the historical person, Callirhoe is presumed fictional, and so dated to the probable date of the author;

- the names of characters in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* are not included in *LGPN*, although those in Ps.-Lucian's *Onos* are;

- the volumes of *LGPN* do not give information on the total number of attestations per century or period. So if, for example, a particular name was attested twice as many times for the fifth century BC as it was for the second century AD, it would be difficult to draw a conclusion about the relative popularity of the name if there were twice as many attestations overall for the fifth century BC as there were for the second century AD;

- the total of attestations in each volume varies. I has 66,489, II has 62,361, III.A has 43,261, and III.B has 43,456.[11] Therefore it would not be surprising, or indeed necessarily significant, if the attestations of a particular name were fewer for one area than for another;

- the darkest shading in the graphs represents the data contained in *LGPN* I, the next darkest that in *LGPN* II, and so on.

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[11] Using the updated figures of www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk. See 3.1 for a breakdown of these figures into gender groups.

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