HEAVENLY AND PANDEMIC NAMES IN HELIODORUS' AETHIOPICA*

INTRODUCTION

A reader's interpretation of a character name may be influenced by a prior encounter with it, or by its etymological construction, or both. The connotations carried by a name encourage the reader to expect a certain characterization, leaving an author with two options: he may choose to defeat expectations, in which case the name may be read as ironic, and the author will have created 'a constant play between his construction and [the reader's] expectation'; alternatively, he may fulfil expectations, providing the reader with a certain self-satisfaction at having correctly identified a character type. It is the contention of this article that Heliodorus selected his character names with a more profound purpose in mind than mere labelling, and in fact aimed to elicit from his readers a broad spectrum of emotions and associations. The methodology of the study is drawn from Hägg's analysis of the character names in Xenophon of Ephesus' Ephesiaca: I have cross-referenced the names of the Aethiopica with pre-existing ancient literature, and have also considered any possible etymological significance in the names, which might then contribute to the reader's understanding of character or role. For the dissertation on which this discussion is based, in accordance with Hägg's methodology I also conducted an examination of epigraphical and papyrological evidence to discover whether Heliodorus' names were in use in everyday life through the classical, Hellenistic and imperial periods, and hence whether the names might have been viewed as 'realistic' by an ancient reader. The investigation found that the majority of the Greek and Egyptian characters' names were attested in the evidence. Of all the thirty-eight names, seven of those that were rare or absent from the epigraphy were attested elsewhere, wholly or in part, as 'geographical' names, and as such would be realistic to an ancient reader.³

While Heliodorus' names may be realistic, it is overwhelmingly their literary and etymological connotations that inform the reader's response to, and interpretation of,

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- ¹ E. Bowie, 'Names and a gem: aspects of allusion in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*', in D. Innes, H. Hine and C. Pelling (edd.), *Ethics and Rhetoric: Classical Essays for Donald Russell on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (Oxford, 1995), 269–80, at 269.
- ² T. Hägg, 'The naming of the characters in the romance of Xenophon Ephesius', *Eranos* 69 (1971), 25-59.
- ³ E.g. Meroebos contains the name of the Ethiopian capital, Meroe, while the Hydaspes River may be found in India; in many other cases, where the exact name was lacking, the epigraphy or historical texts yielded very similar names. We may conclude, therefore, that Heliodorus aimed not only for literary and etymological significance in his choice of character names, but also for a general atmosphere of realism. See M. Jones, *Noms sans frontières: the meanings of personal names and their significance in Heliodoros' Aithiopika* (University of Wales, Swansea, Diss., 2003) for full details and analysis of the epigraphical and papyrological findings, as well as literary and etymological discussion of all names not covered by this discussion. The sources used for the collation of epigraphical and papyrological evidence are as follows: W. M. Calder (ed.), *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua Volume 1 [MAMA]* (Manchester, 1928); J. Keil and

his characters. Etymological thought and wordplay may be traced back to Homer, encompassing virtually every form of literature to some extent,⁴ and as Bain has remarked, '[i]t would be hard to exaggerate the power of names and the emphasis placed on the "true meaning" of appellatives in Greek and Roman culture.' It is important to note, however, that ancient etymology was not always correct, as Bain emphasises:

From a linguistic point of view, most, if not all, of ancient etymology . . . is distressingly off-beam, but that is no reason for avoiding the study of it. For the student of literature it is important to know the resonances and associations which words had for the ancient native speaker.⁶

Of course, this is a field where concrete proof cannot be offered, and I am well aware that some of the interpretations put forward in this article will not convince all readers. Having issued that caveat, however, I feel it is vital to approach the topic of etymology with an open mind, and to test out all possibilities. Heliodorus demonstrates on several occasions that etymological and allegorical curiosity was thriving at the time of writing. Calasiris' digression on Homer's allegory and the etymology of his name is a prime example of this, though the novel is peppered throughout with similar indications, 8 many of which inform the modern reader that accuracy was not of huge concern.9 Heliodorus seems to have been toying with meanings which may not have been etymologically correct: how a word could be interpreted mattered as much as how it should be. Hence, I will not confine myself to 'correct' etymologies alone. Likewise, the structural complexity of Heliodorus' narrative and the intricacies of his Greek suggest that his attribution of names from literature may not be straightforward. Accordingly, we shall see that some names appear to have been given for their direct appropriateness to their bearers, and others with ironic intent, for their utter incongruousness. We shall also observe that certain names help to characterize others, rather than merely their own bearers.

A. Wilhelm (edd.), MAMA Volume 3 (Manchester, 1931); W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and W. K. C. Guthrie (edd.), MAMA Volume 4 (Manchester, 1933); C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron (edd.), MAMA Volume 5 (Manchester, 1937); W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder (edd.), MAMA Volume 6 (Manchester, 1939); W. M. Calder (ed.), MAMA Volume 7 (Manchester, 1956); W. M. Calder and J. M. R. Cormack (edd.), MAMA Volume 8 (Manchester, 1962); B. Levick, S. Mitchell, J. Potter and M. Waelkens (edd.), MAMA Volume 10 (London, 1993); L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde (edd.), Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie volumes 1–7 (Paris, 1939–70); M. Sartre (ed.), Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie volume 13 (Paris, 1982); P.-L. Gatier (ed.), Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie volume 21.2 (Paris, 1986); M. Sartre (ed.), Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie volume 21.4 (Paris, 1993); F. Preisigke (ed.), Namenbuch (Heidelberg, 1922); P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews (edd.), A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names Volumes 1–4 (Oxford, 1987–2000).

- ⁴ For further discussion see J. J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor, 1996); see also M. Paschalis, *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names* (Oxford, 1997).
- ⁵ D. Bain, 'The magic of names: some etymologies in the *Cyranides'*, *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 9 (1996), 337–50, at 337.
 - ⁶ Bain (n. 5), at 337. For the variety to be found in a name, see Pl. Cra. 395Aff. on Atreus.
 - ⁷ Heliod. 3.12ff.
- ⁸ Heliod. 2.34: the etymology of 'Hypata'; 2.35: the meanings of the names of the hero and heroine; 5.13: the etymology of 'amethyst'; 8.11: the pantarbe ring; 9.19: the derivation of the word for 'arrow' from the word for 'bone'; 9.22: the etymology of 'Nile'.
- ⁹ For instance, the etymological explanation Heliodorus offers for 'amethyst' is rejected outright by Plutarch (*Mor.* 647C), while his connection of 'arrow' and 'bone' appears to be a Heliodorus original.

Although the significance of Heliodorus' names has been touched on by Morgan and Bowie, ¹⁰ I suggest that there is more to be learned from an in-depth examination of the particular choices Heliodorus made. Morgan has argued that Cnemon's story serves as an example of impure love, intended as a negative paradigm against which the reader may measure the pure, positive love of Theagenes and Chariclea. ¹¹ Dowden then extended the argument to suggest that this distinction is modelled on Plato's *Symposium*, in which Pausanias discriminates between heavenly and pandemic love. ¹² Dowden concluded that the overall atmosphere of the *Aethiopica* is essentially Platonic, and I argue here that Heliodorus named many of his characters with the aim of underscoring this Platonism, and focusing the reader on the theme of heavenly and pandemic love in particular. Drawing on the insights of Morgan, Bowie and Dowden, the article firstly examines the names of the protagonists, whose literary or etymological associations could be said to evoke the heavenly; next the names of Cnemon's story are analysed, in order to trace possible pandemic allusions. ¹³

HEAVENLY NAMES

There are two major literary-historical namesakes which serve to characterize Theagenes. In the sixth century B.C. the rhapsode, Xenophanes of Colophon, attacked the works of Homer, prompting others to come to Homer's defence. Tradition held that the first to defend him was Theagenes of Rhegium. ¹⁴ Theagenes was said to have interpreted Homer's works allegorically, propounding the idea that Homeric myths held scientific concepts of the structure of the universe: 15 he was also thought to have begun the practice of giving biographical sketches of Homer's life. This interest in Homeric allegory remained prevalent into the fourth century A.D., and is exhibited by Heliodorus in a discussion between Calasiris and Cnemon.¹⁶ Calasiris speaks of the clues left by Homer as a means of identifying the gods, gives his own thumbnail sketch of Homer's origins, 17 and then informs Cnemon of Theagenes' visit to him in Delphi. Calasiris' digression on the allegorical interpretation of Homer and his origins, followed immediately by mention of Theagenes, subtly suggests that we are to associate the latter with his sixth-century namesake. Moreover, the choice of the name allows Heliodorus to characterize Calasiris indirectly, for the priest expounds on Homeric allegory and wisdom at the perfect moment, just before we are told of the arrival of a young man who bears the name of the archetypal Homeric interpreter. Calasiris' portrayal as an elderly sage, familiar with the works of the heavens, is thus enhanced by his acquaintance with Theagenes.

¹⁰ J. R. Morgan, 'History, romance, and realism in the *Aithiopika* of Heliodoros', *ClAnt* 1 (1982), 221–65, at 247 and notes; Bowie (n. 1), 269–78.

¹¹ J. R. Morgan, 'The story of Knemon in Heliodoros' Aithiopika', JHS 109 (1989), 99–113.

¹² K. Dowden, 'Heliodoros: serious intentions', CQ 46 (1996), 267-85, at 269; Pl. Symp. 180Eff.

¹³ All excerpts from the *Aethiopica* are taken from the Budé text: R. M. Rattenbury and T. W. Lumb (edd.), *Héliodore: Les Éthiopiques (Théagène et Chariclée)* (Paris, 2003³). Translations are those of Morgan in B. P. Reardon (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley, 1989). All other texts and translations are from the Loeb Classical Library.

¹⁴ R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age (Oxford, 1968), at 9.

¹⁵ F. Buffière, Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque (Paris, 1956), at 3.

¹⁶ Heliod. 3.12ff.

¹⁷ Theories abounded in antiquity regarding Homer's origins: see M. Heath, 'Was Homer a Roman?', *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 10 (1998), 23–56.

The second Theagenes was a successful athlete of the fifth century B.C. who, according to Pausanias, excelled in boxing and the pancration, ¹⁸ and whom we may equate directly with Heliodorus' character, who puts his own athletic abilities to good use when he tackles a rampaging bull and an Ethiopian giant. ¹⁹ While Hydaspes calls it 'wrestling', ²⁰ the expertise demonstrated by Theagenes in his fight with the giant—and even with the bull—more accurately reflects the pancration, whose loose rules permitted kicking and a multitude of grips and holds. ²¹ Theagenes' manoeuvres encourage the reader to recall his namesake, the pancration victor; the association is made still more explicit when he is referred to as 'a lifelong devotee of the gymnasium and athletic endeavor and a past master in the art of combat'. ²² Turning again to Pausanias, we find a further similarity between the two:

At Phthia in Thessaly [Theagenes] gave up training for boxing and the pancratium. He devoted himself to winning fame among the Greeks for his running also . . . His ambition was, I think, to rival Achilles by winning a prize for running in the fatherland of the swiftest of those who are called heroes.²³

Here the athlete is linked to Phthia and to Achilles, while Heliodorus' Theagenes claims to come from Phthia, and traces his own descent from Achilles.²⁴ He even engages in the same sports as his namesake, although in reverse order: where his predecessor began with boxing and the pancration, and later devoted himself to running, Theagenes begins with running at the Pythian games,²⁵ and progresses to the pancration against the bull and the Ethiopian giant. Pausanias had made a connection between Theagenes and Achilles, which Heliodorus was then able to exploit in order to give his character a pedigree and to create expectations of athletic ventures.²⁶ There is one final parallel that connects the two, for the athlete was said to be the son of a god. Heliodorus' character draws attention to his descent from Achilles, yet at no point are any mortal parents mentioned, which goes against the generic introduction of romantic heroes, who are often identified by reference to

¹⁸ Paus. 6.6.5ff.; 6.11.4ff.

¹⁹ Heliod. 10.30.1.5ff.; 10.32.2. ²⁰ Heliod. 10.31.1.5.

²¹ E.g. Heliod. 10.30.2ff.: ἐπιρρίπτει δὲ ἑαυτὸν τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ ταύρου καὶ τοῖς κέρασι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πρόσωπον κατὰ τὸ μεταίχμιον ἐνιδρύσας τοὺς πήχεις δὲ οἱονεὶ στεφάνην περιθεὶς καὶ εἰς ἄμμα κατὰ τοῦ ταυρείου μετώπου τοὺς δακτύλους ἐπιπλέξας τό τε ὑπόλοιπον ἑαυτοῦ σώμα παρ' ὤμον τοῦ βοὸς τὸν δεξιὸν μετέωρον καθείς παραφέρει μεν εἰς τοὕμπροσθεν καὶ προβάλλει τῶν ἐκείνου σκελῶν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πόδας, ταῖς χηλαῖς δὲ συνεχῶς ἐναράττων τὴν βάσιν τε κατὰ τὰ σφυρὰ καὶ ἀστραγάλους τἢ πτέρνῃ σφοδρῶς τε καὶ ἐπαλλήλως ἐκμοχλεύσας εἰς γόνυ τε ὀκλάσαι βιασάμενος ἀμφιβαίνει τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς βουβῶνας τὰ σκέλη καταπείρας τούς τε καρποὺς οῖς ἐπερειδόμενος ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἀνεῖχε τὰ στέρνα ἐκκρουσάμενος καὶ τοῖς κροτάφοις εἰς ἄμμα τοὺς πήχεις περιαγαγών ἐπί τε τὰ μετάφρενα καὶ ὤμους ἀνέλκων ἐφαπλῶσαι τῇ γῇ τὴν γαστέρα κατηνάγκασε.

²² Heliod. 10.31.5.1–3. A reference in Athenaeus associates the athlete Theagenes with bulls, drawing another parallel between the two figures: he was said to have eaten an entire bull (Ath. 10.412D–E).

²⁶ Athenaeus' reference to Posidippus' Hellenistic epigram suggests that the career of the athlete, Theagenes, was well known, so we cannot state conclusively that Pausanias was Heliodorus' direct source for the construction of his character. However, if, with Bowie, we wish to see Pausanias appealing to a literary elite, then he may well have served as the *pepaideumenos* Heliodorus' immediate inspiration. On the dissemination of Pausanias, and his literary success or otherwise, see E. Bowie, 'Inspiration and aspiration: date, genre, and readership', in S. E. Alcock, J. F. Cherry and J. Elsner (edd.), *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (Oxford, 2001), 21–32, at 28–32.

their parents.²⁷ By remaining silent regarding Theagenes' mortal origins, Heliodorus leaves us with the impression that, like his athletic namesake, he is truly descended from the gods, an impression reinforced by the etymological associations of his name, as we shall see shortly. Influenced by prior familiarity with the name Theagenes, ancient readers would therefore equate it with athletic glory, Homeric allegory, and the military prowess and divine origin of Achilles, all of which identifies Heliodorus' character as superior to the average human, and superior also to the generic hero.²⁸

Although a rare name in extant ancient literature, Chariclea does appear in Lucian's *Toxaris*, as the name of an adulterous woman who sells her sexual talents on a whim:

Charikleia was a dainty piece of femininity, but outrageously meretricious, giving herself to anyone who happened to meet her, even if he should want her at very little cost; if you but looked at her, she nodded at once, and there was no fear that Charikleia might perhaps be reluctant. She was clever, too, in every way, and an artist comparable with any courtesan you please at alluring a lover, bringing him into complete subjection when he was still of two minds, and when at last he was in her toils working him up and fanning his flame, now by anger, now by flattery, soon by scorn and by pretending to have an inclination for someone else. She was every bit of her thoroughly sophisticated, that woman, and plentifully armed with siege-engines to train upon her lovers.²⁹

This, of course, is the antithesis of Heliodorus' Chariclea, who remains chaste at all costs. In view of the scarcity of the name in everyday life, ³⁰ however, readers may well have been expected to recall this figure. Lucian tells us that his Chariclea 'times without number, had played at being in love . . . versatile and thoroughly practised mischief-maker that she was . . . '³¹ Heliodorus' heroine also plays at being in love, or at least at acceding to marriage, first to Charicles' nephew, Alcamenes, next to the pirate chief, Trachinus, and finally to the bandit chief, Thyamis. ³² Her response to Trachinus' claiming her as his wife is to feign acquiescence:

Charikleia, the clever little minx, ever quick to turn a situation to her own advantage . . . discarded the downcast expression that her ordeals had brought to her face, and composed her features into an alluring smile.³³

- ²⁷ Cf. Chariton 1.1; Xenophon of Ephesus 1.1; Achilles Tatius 1.3.
- ²⁸ Literary sources tell us of a further three figures by the name of Theagenes: a seventh-century B.C. tyrant of Megara (Paus. 1.28.1), a lubricious Athenian of the fifth century B.C. (Ath. 6.242F), and a Cynic philosopher who committed suicide for love of a prostitute (Alciphron, Letters of Courtesans 11; Lucian, The Downward Journey 6). The tyrant and the Athenian could not be further from Heliodorus' character, who is by no means tyrannical and is deeply concerned with the maintenance of his own chastity and fidelity to Chariclea (e.g. 5.4.5.7–9 and 8.6.4), so any intended association is surely ironic. We might see some connection to the philosopher, but again ironic: where the philosopher committed suicide on account of a courtesan, Theagenes attempts suicide because of the supposed loss of Chariclea (2.2.1 and 2.5.1), a far more worthy object of his affections; any association would therefore point up Chariclea's moral superiority.
 - ²⁹ Lucian, *Toxaris* 13ff.
 - ³⁰ Only six instances were found in the epigraphical and papyrological evidence.
 - 31 Lucian, Toxaris 14.
- ³² Heliod. 4.13, 5.26, and 1.22 (in the structure of the narrative the reader meets Thyamis before Alcamenes and Trachinus, but by the chronology of the story Chariclea has met Alcamenes and Trachinus before we learn of their meeting).
- ³³ Heliod. 5.26.2.2–6. See also 10.19.1: Chariclea, alarmed at talk of the sacrifice of Theagenes, 'forced herself to subdue the frenzy of her emotions to the exigencies of her situation. Once more she tried to work round stealthily to her goal'; note that Heliodorus subtly connects

However, we read at several points in the novel that, unlike Lucian's character, Chariclea uses false promises only as temporary expedients *in extremis* and, as she says herself, her dissimulations are for noble ends.³⁴ Chariclea, like her namesake, is thus attractive to men and manipulative of them, but her goals are very different from those of Lucian's creation. Heliodorus' characterization is therefore at once comparable with Lucian's and ironic, for although the two share many traits, our Chariclea is infinitely superior from a moral viewpoint, and consequently her nobility is thrown into relief.

The name of Charicles' nephew, Alcamenes, may also be interpreted as underscoring the perfection of Heliodorus' heroine. The best-known Alcamenes was renowned for his sculptures of deities, the most famous of which was the Aphrodite Ourania (Heavenly Aphrodite), which stood outside the walls of Athens, on the banks of the Ilissus. Several sources refer to this statue, 35 and all state that it was the most famous and beautiful of Alcamenes' works: as Lucian's Polystratus says, 'Surely I should be the laziest man in all the world if I had neglected the most beautiful of the sculptures of Alkamenes.'36 The name Alcamenes would surely evoke images of heavenly love in the form of the sculptor's most famous statue. Furthermore, cultured readers would be familiar with the statue's location, which was also the favourite spot of Plato's Socrates, and recollections of the Platonic dialogues on love would then be triggered. Not only does the name Alcamenes highlight Chariclea's moral purity, but it also points up her beauty, for she is equated with the most beautiful goddess and with one of the most beautiful sculptures of the classical period, the dramatic date of the novel. Indeed, at several points Heliodorus draws analogies between Chariclea and goddesses or their statues:³⁷ 'On a rock sat a girl, a creature of such indescribable beauty that one might have taken her for a goddess'; 'Some said she must be a godthe goddess Artemis, or the Isis they worship in those parts'; '. . . or was this girl a statue of the goddess, a living statue?'; '... she is like a statue of ideal beauty that draws all eyes and hearts to itself'. 38 Heliodorus had no need to choose a name that would characterize Alcamenes himself by literary association: no significant character development is necessary, as we learn of him only from Charicles' words, which in turn are reported by Calasiris. Instead Heliodorus could select a name that would characterize his heroine by association.

Let us now explore the possible etymological interpretations of the names of the hero and heroine. The most significant pre-modern reading we have of Heliodorus'

this scene to her behaviour in the Trachinus episode by using the aorist passive participle $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\rho\alpha\chi\upsilon\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\hat{\imath}\sigma\alpha$, reminding the reader of the pirate chief's name.

- ³⁴ Heliod. 1.26.6.5–6.
- 35 E.g. Plin. HN 36.15-16; Paus. 1.19.2; Lucian, Essays in Portraiture 4.
- ³⁶ Lucian, Essays in Portraiture 4.
- ³⁷ Hardie interprets Calasiris' description of both Theagenes and Chariclea at the Delphic pageant (3.4.1ff.) as a form of *ecphrasis*, such as would be used to describe works of art: P. Hardie, 'A reading of Heliodorus, *Aithiopika* 3.4.1–5.2', in R. Hunter (ed.), *Studies in Heliodorus* (Cambridge, 1998), 19–39, at 28. He also notes the conceit of likening women to works of art, and points out that Chariclea's very appearance is the result of her mother's absorption of a pictorial image at the moment of conception (as above, at 29).
- ³⁸ Heliod. 1.2.1.3–4; 1.2.6.2–3; 1.7.2.5–6; 2.33.3.9–11. We read of Alcamenes after the statue references, so the association between Alcamenes and Chariclea as a statue could only form in the reader's mind retrospectively; however, the narrative structure of the *Aethiopica* frequently demands retrospection from the reader, so it seems feasible to assume that the association is one that ancient readers may have made.

names is that of Philip the Philosopher,³⁹ which is generally dated to the Byzantine period. It has been postulated, however, that his work actually dates from as early as the fifth or sixth century A.D.,⁴⁰ and if this is the case his interpretations may be still closer to the understandings of Heliodorus' readers. Philip's Platonic allegorical reading of the text and its names exemplifies an approach that seems remote to a modern reader, although it could well have been second nature to Heliodorus' audience. His interpretations stemmed from 'false or fanciful etymologies based on similarity of sound',⁴¹ an approach we see also in Plato,⁴² emphasizing that a maximal view of etymology was the norm in antiquity.

The Delphic oracle in Book 2 places great emphasis on the etymological components of Theagenes' and Chariclea's names:⁴³

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Θεαγένης = θεά ('goddess') + γενέτης ('offspring'), i.e. 'goddess-born'. Xαρίκλεια = χάρις ('grace') + κλέος ('glory').<sup>44</sup>
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Calasiris lays the foundations for the reader's divine interpretation of these names when he pours a libation in their absence, saying to Cnemon that he considers them among the gods.⁴⁵ A reading of Theagenes' name as 'goddess-born' is upheld by the fact that we never learn of his parents: he traces his descent from Achilles, and hence from Thetis, but if we were informed of his mortal parentage, we might be distracted from the significance his own name bears. The absence of the usual genealogy of the romantic hero therefore focuses our attention on the divine allusion Theagenes' name holds within it.⁴⁶ Philip the Philosopher understood Chariclea's name to represent the intellect and the soul: 'Chariclea is a symbol of the soul and of the mind that sets the soul in order, for "fame" $[\kappa\lambda\hat{\epsilon}os]$ and "grace" $[\chi\hat{\alpha}\rho\iota s]$ are (respectively) mind, and

- ³⁹ The authorship of this allegorical interpretation of the *Aethiopica* is actually far from certain; for the sake of convenience I refer to the author throughout as 'Philip the Philosopher.' For translations of his text see N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), at 216–17; R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian* (Berkeley, 1986), at 306–11; and J. R. Morgan, 'Heliodorus and the critics', in W. Lamb (trs.), *Heliodorus: Ethiopian Story* (London, 1997), 286–305, at 288–90.
- ⁴⁰ L. Tarán, 'The authorship of an allegorical interpretation of Heliodorus' Aethiopica', in M.-O. Goulet-Cazé etc. (edd.), Σοφίης Μαιήτορες: "Chercheurs de sagesse." Hommage à Jean Pépin (Paris, 1992), 203–30, at 229.
 - ⁴¹ Wilson (n. 39), at 219.
- ⁴² Pl. Cra. 395D–E: Tantalus was so-called because of the 'balancing' (talanteia) of a stone over his head; as Socrates remarks, 'it seems exactly as if someone who wished to call him most wretched $(\tau \alpha \lambda \acute{a} \nu \tau \alpha \tau o \nu)$ disguised the name and said Tantalus instead'. Although this kind of etymology is exposed to some ridicule in the Cratylus, the work serves as evidence that it was popular.
- ⁴³ Heliod. 2.35.5: Tην χάριν ἐν πρώτοις αὐτὰρ κλέος ὕστατ' ἔχουσαν φράζεσθ', ὧ Δελφοί, τόν τε θεᾶς γενέτην . . .
- ⁴⁴ Of course, the name of Chariclea's foster-father, Charicles, also carries this meaning, yet when applied to him it serves to highlight his daughter's perfection, rather than to signify his own character. In the *Cratylus*, Socrates remarks that a hero's offspring may fall short of the heroism of his father, but is still entitled to inherit his father's name (393ff.). In Charicles and Chariclea we see the opposite of this observation: she is the fully formed version of what his name signifies, for she far surpasses his own 'grace' and 'glory'; Charicles, however, would seem an appropriate name for a priest of Apollo.
- 45 Heliod. 2.23.1.4-5: προσέτι Θεαγένει καὶ Χαρικλεία τοῖς καλοῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτοις εἰς θεοὺς ἀναγράφω.
- ⁴⁶ We saw earlier that the absence of a mortal genealogy also enhanced the impression that Theagenes was like his athlete namesake in divine parentage.

soul united with it.'47 Her meeting with Theagenes, he surmised, is a symbol of the Platonic meeting of the soul with its divine origin: the soul is led upwards 'to the sight of its origin' (pros thean tou genous), a phrase evoked by Theagenes' name, since $\theta \epsilon \alpha$ may mean 'sight'. 48 Reading the name as 'Sight of Origin' is perfectly valid in view of the Platonic allusions that permeate the text. Indeed, the Delphic oracle supports Philip's Platonic reading of both names when it predicts that Theagenes and Chariclea will wear 'a crown of white on brows of black'. The prediction seems to evoke the analogy of the *Phaedrus*, involving the struggle for supremacy between the black and the white horse.⁴⁹ The oracle leads us to believe that Chariclea and Theagenes' white horse will triumph over the black.⁵⁰ In fact, immediately before we meet Theagenes via Calasiris' narration, Heliodorus plants a subtle Platonic pun by having Calasiris say 'Please show the leader of [the Ainianes'] sacred mission in. I am all agog and aflutter to see what he is like.'51 The vocabulary used here is all important, for the Greek implies that Calasiris has been 'given wings' by the mere thought of the 'sight' of Theagenes: he is 'set on the wing towards the sight', 52 as is the Platonic soul towards true, divine beauty.⁵³ Similar effects are achieved later in the story. When Calasiris relates to Cnemon the appearance of Theagenes and Chariclea at the Delphic pageant, Cnemon exclaims 'It's them!', causing Calasiris to think that his surrogate children have actually arrived. On realizing his mistake, Calasiris remarks that he 'was all aflutter' at the prospect of seeing them once more.⁵⁴ Likewise, the mere sight of Chariclea gives Theagenes the wings needed to enter and win the footrace at the Pythian games.⁵⁵

An etymological analysis of Calasiris' name is more fruitful than a literary one, since it has no predecessors in extant literature.⁵⁶ Philip the Philosopher's interpretation of the name accords well with a Platonic understanding of Theagenes and

⁴⁷ Trs. Lamberton (n. 39), at 309.

⁴⁸ Philip was the first to observe that Chariclea's name may be symbolic not only etymologically, but also numerologically, for when its letters are converted to numerals they total 777 (see Lamberton [n. 39], at 309–10): the number seven was believed to be powerful in magical and religious contexts; furthermore, Chariclea is only named when she reaches the age of seven (2.33), suggesting that there is indeed significance in the numerological value of her name (although one wonders what name she went by before being adopted by Charicles!). The reader's attention is focused on Chariclea by the fact that no other characters have numerologically significant names; in fact, Heliodorus seems to imply that we are to look for such significance when he refers to the numerological value of the name of the River Nile (9.22). For further discussion, see M. Jones, 'The wisdom of Egypt: base and heavenly magic in Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*', *AN* 4 (2005), 79–98, at 88ff.

⁴⁹ Pl. *Phdr*. 246Aff.

⁵⁰ Heliod. 2.35.5.6. This line of the oracle also alludes to the recognition of Chariclea as the white child of black parents, though the Platonic intertext would be unmistakable for an ancient reader, particularly as the oracle applies to Theagenes as well as Chariclea.

⁵¹ Heliod. 2.34.8.3-5: . . . ἀνεπτέρωμαι πρὸς τὴν θέαν . . .

⁵² Trans. mine.

⁵³ Pl. Phdr. 249D: πτερῶταί τε καὶ ἀναπτερούμενος προθυμούμενος ἀναπτέσθαι...

⁵⁴ Heliod. 3.4.9.2ff: ὅπως με ἀνεπτέρωσας ὁρᾶν τοὺς φιλτάτους καὶ δεικνύναι προσδοκηθείς, ὧ Κνήμων.

 $^{^{55}}$ Heliod. 4.2.3.3–4: Tίνα δὲ ὄψις ἐκείνης τάχα καὶ <u>πτερώσαι</u> δύναται καὶ μετάρσιον ἐπισπάσασθαι;. In another novel packed with Platonic allusions, Cleitophon sprouts wings at the prospect that Leucippe may be alive: ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἀκούσας ἀναπτεροῦμαι . . . (Achilles Tatius 7.15.1.4–5).

⁵⁶ Calasiris does appear as a proper name in the papyrological evidence from Egypt, so may be considered realistic. Note also that Herodotos tells us that a *kalasiris* is both a fringed linen tunic worn by Egyptians, and a class of Egyptian warrior (2.81, 2.164ff.). If Heliodorus intended

Chariclea's relationship. He identified Calasiris as a figure who 'draws us to the good' (pros ta kala syron), deriving the suffix $-\sigma\iota\rho\iota s$ from $\sigma'\iota\rho\omega$ ('draw'). In fact, at one point Calasiris speaks of true wisdom being directed 'to the good' (pros to kalon).⁵⁷ This perhaps implies that we can see Calasiris as a Platonic charioteer to the love of Theagenes and Chariclea, guiding them towards Ethiopia, where their heavenly love may finally be consummated. Calasiris' appearance has indeed been likened to that of a Neoplatonic philosopher, ⁵⁸ making a Platonic interpretation of his name all the more apposite. Furthermore, Heliodorus uses the verb $\phi \alpha\iota \delta \rho \dot{\nu} \nu \omega$ ('make bright'), ⁵⁹ referring to Calasiris' bright clothes, and this is followed almost immediately by Calasiris' suggestion that he and Cnemon retire from the burning sun to talk further. An ancient reader could not fail to see the allusion to Plato's Phaedrus here, in both the subtle use of $\phi \alpha\iota \delta \rho \dot{\nu} \nu \omega$ and Calasiris' words, which echo those of Socrates. ⁶⁰

We have observed thus far that Heliodorus did not attribute character names in a simplistic manner, but selected them not only in order to characterize their bearers, but also for their ability to characterize others by means of association, as in the case of Alcamenes, and in part that of Theagenes. More importantly, we have seen that the names of Theagenes, Chariclea and Calasiris make the overall Platonic atmosphere of the novel more tangible, pointing up the nobility and near-divine status of their bearers. Let us now consider those names that could be read as the antithesis of the above, to observe how, through careful choice of names, Heliodorus emphasizes the Platonic binary opposition of heavenly and pandemic.

PANDEMIC NAMES⁶¹

I focus here on the characters of Cnemon's story, in accordance with Morgan's identification of them as presenting a paradigm of negative love. Bowie remarks that

readers to recall this information, then there is surely some irony here, for Herodotus tells us that the *Kalasiries* 'practise no trade but only war, which is their hereditary calling'. Calasiris' 'hereditary calling' is the priesthood of Isis, but he is far from warlike, and does all he can to avoid confrontation, leaving Memphis in part so as not to witness the predicted combat of his sons (2.25). Furthermore, we learn from Herodotus that the *Kalasiries* received handouts of meat and wine in payment for acting as the king's bodyguard, so unlike Heliodorus' character they were clearly not vegetarian teetotallers! Bowie (n. 1), at 277 has suggested that Calasiris' name may be intended to recall that of Calchas, and Calasiris indeed uses the simile of a snake eating a nest of baby birds (2.22.4.5–11), a reference almost identical to a portent interpreted by Calchas in the *Iliad* (2.311ff.). As Bowie explains, any onomastic allusion to such a figure would endow Calasiris with credibility as a wise man.

- ⁵⁷ Heliod. 3.16.4.6–7.
- ⁵⁸ Morgan (n. 10), at 250.
- ⁵⁹ Heliod. 2.21.5.2. See also 1.29.4, where Chariclea, τὸ φαιδρότατου τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, is secreted in the cave by Cnemon; and 3.10.4, where Theagenes attempts to conceal his lovesickness: . . . ἐπὶ τὸ φαιδρότερου ἐαυτὸν μεταπλάττων . . .
- 60 I wonder too whether Heliodorus has included in the name a sly reference to himself. Winkler has suggested that he alludes to himself in Theagenes' choice of code word: Theagenes selects $\phi \hat{o}\hat{v}\iota\xi$ (5.5), but the word is not used again until Heliodorus' colophon, in which he identifies himself as $\Phi \hat{o}\hat{v}\iota\xi$ (10.41.4.3): see J. J. Winkler, 'The mendacity of Kalasiris and the narrative strategy of Heliodorus' Aithiopika', YCIS 27 (1982), 93–158, at 157; see also E. Bowie, Phoenician games in Heliodorus' Aithiopika', in Hunter (n. 37), 1–18 for a discussion of the significance of $\phi \hat{o}\hat{v}\iota\xi$ in the novel as a whole. Following Winkler's lead, we could understand $Ka\lambda \hat{a}\omega \rho_{IS}$ as $\kappa a\lambda \delta s$ ('beautiful', 'fine') + $\Sigma \hat{\nu}\rho o_{S}$ ('Syrian'), and read the name as a self-referential pun playing on Heliodorus' Syrian origins.
- ⁶¹ In what follows I acknowledge my debt to Bowie's observations (n. 1), although I feel that certain of them are worthy of further development.

Cnemon's tale is modelled on New Comedy,62 and Heliodorus makes it plain that we are to associate the story with that genre by his choice of the name Cnemon, which is found in only three other sources. Its first occurrence is in Menander's Dyscolus, as the name of a choleric old hermit; it is then found in Lucian as the name of a deceased misanthrope, and finally in Aelian as the name of a reclusive and cantankerous farmer. 63 Lucian and Aelian both drew on Menander for their characterization, so it appears that by their period the name Knemon was inextricably bound up with the image of a grumpy old man.⁶⁴ On reading the name Cnemon, we expect a character like those of Menander, Lucian and Aelian, but what we are given is in fact an affable young man, instantly friendly and supportive to the hero and heroine. Yet Cnemon's name serves to identify him as a misfit in the story of Theagenes and Chariclea. Despite the obvious differences between Cnemon and his namesakes, his appellation places him firmly in the corrupt, immoral and often trivial Athenian world of New Comedy. He has seeped from his proper genre into that of the hero and heroine, and is unworthy of anything more than a small and temporary role in it. Cnemon's departure from the novel in Book 6 would therefore be no great surprise to an ancient reader: he lacks the moral qualities necessary to proceed past the halfway point, and must return to his more appropriate comic origins at Athens. 65 Thus, as well as characterizing Cnemon himself, the name underscores the moral superiority of the hero and heroine.⁶⁶

An etymological interpretation of Cnemon's name is both comic and instructive as to his moral character and priorities. As Bowie notes, his name is played with by Calasiris, who quotes to Cnemon from Homer: the word he uses is $\kappa\nu\eta\mu\dot{a}\omega\nu$, meaning 'lower legs', ⁶⁷ enabling us to interpret Cnemon's name as 'Legs'. There is, however, an earlier hint at Cnemon's name, for when he and Calasiris arrive at Nausicles' house, the maidservants wash the dust of their journey from Calasiris' legs ($\kappa\nu\dot{\eta}\mu\eta\nu$). ⁶⁸ This interpretation of Cnemon's name seems particularly apt in view of the fact that Cnemon spends much of his time running around. ⁶⁹ The ancient belief that *nomen* equalled *omen* seems to apply here: Aristippus has consigned his son to a life of exile and flight by naming him 'Legs'. Yet Cnemon's name is also suggestive of his cowardice and 'feebleness of resolution', which have been well illustrated by Winkler: ⁷⁰ Heliodorus reinforces this cowardice with the name 'Legs', implying a constant state of flight.

⁶² Bowie (n. 1), at 271.

⁶³ Lucian, Dialogues of the Dead 18; Aelian, Letters of Farmers 13-16.

⁶⁴ This seems supported by the name's absence from epigraphical sources—surely no parent would wish to give their child a name with such connotations!

⁶⁵ For which see Dowden (n. 12), at 281. We might read Cnemon's name as an omen of a miserable future: his Athenian moral values lead him to choose Nausiclea on a whim, abandoning his promise to the morally superior Chariclea; if he were then to become a bitter old man like his namesakes, he would have the just deserts of one who chooses the path of base love. As we shall see, the etymological associations of Cnemon's name could also be read as ominous.

⁶⁶ Cf. Bowie (n. 1), at 271: 'Cnemon's story reminds us of certain aspects of the novel's inheritance from New Comedy in order that their condemnatory presentation may establish the novel's healthy distance from it.'

⁶⁷ Heliod. 3.12.2.6. See Bowie (n. 1), at 272–3. 68 Heliod. 2.22.2.1–2.

⁶⁹ He runs to Theagenes when he realizes there is danger afoot (1.27); he flees from Thermouthis, 'careering full tilt down the hillside' (2.19); then 'From the moment he deserted Thermouthis, [he] kept running until night fell and darkness put a break on his haste' (2.20); at the end of this episode he even dreams that he is running (2.20.4).

⁷⁰ Winkler (n. 60), at 143. For Cnemon as cowardly or easily frightened, see 2.7.3, 2.11.3, 2.13.2, 2.14.4, 2.18.3-4, 5.3.1, 6.1.3.

The name of Cnemon's father, Aristippus, occurs frequently in both literary and epigraphical sources, though there is one particular Aristippus to whom Heliodorus seems to have been alluding. We learn from Diogenes Laertius that Aristippus came from Cyrene to Athens in the fourth century B.C., drawn by the reputation of Socrates, and founded a school of philosophy.⁷¹ His philosophy advocated pleasure as the goal of life, yet also believed that pleasure was a sensation to be mastered, rather than allowed free rein. His penchant for pleasure and his simultaneous self-control are illustrated by a story recounted by Diogenes Laertius: when asked by the tyrant Dionysius to choose between three courtesans, Aristippus supposedly appropriated all three, but let them go once out of Dionysius' sight, '[t]o such lengths did he go both in choosing and in disdaining'. 72 However, advocates of pleasure were often misconstrued, and Aristippus seems to have acquired a reputation as a lover of pleasure for pleasure's sake, who sought gratification wherever possible. This reputation was fuelled by the fact that he lived openly with the courtesan, Lais, and from Plutarch we hear that he was still remembered for this by the era of the Second Sophistic. In his Amatorius, Plutarch has Protogenes, an advocator of homosexual love, argue that the culmination of an appetite for women is pleasure and enjoyment, and that this cannot be called love; he refers to Aristippus to defend his argument:

To this Aristippos bore witness when he replied to the man who denounced Lais to him for not loving him: he didn't imagine, he said, that wine or fish loved him either, yet he partook of both with pleasure.⁷³

Heliodorus' character is entirely taken in by Demaenete, as many believed his namesake was by Lais. Thus, by equating Aristippus with the philosopher, Heliodorus indirectly equates Demaenete with a prostitute, an equation suggested by Cnemon's description of her:

From the moment she entered the house, she had my father in her power, obedient to her every whim. She exploited her charms to win the old man's affection and lavished attentions on him. If ever a woman knew how to drive a man mad with passion, she did, so extraordinarily well versed was she in the arts of allurement.⁷⁴

It is not only the literary-historical associations of Aristippus' name that indirectly characterize Demaenete, but also its etymology. At its most simple level, Aristippus means 'Best Horse', with the suffix $-\iota\pi\pi\sigma s$ suggesting well-to-do, easy-going aristocracy, 75 and this is exactly the picture we are given of Aristippus. 76 Underlying this, however, may be another allusion to Plato's horses of the soul. Aristippus is essentially a good man, though easily led astray; if we understand him as the 'best horse'—the white horse—can we then interpret Demaenete as the black horse, luring him towards ephemeral pleasure? In the Platonic ideal the white horse triumphs over

⁷¹ Diog. Laert. 2.65ff. As Bowie notes (n. 1), 273, Diogenes Laertius lists a man named Aethiops among Aristippus' pupils (2.86); could this have inspired the author of the *Aethiopica*?

⁷² Diog. Laert. 2.67.

⁷³ Plut. Amatorius 750D.

⁷⁴ Heliod. 1.9.2.1–5. Note that Heliodorus uses the noun $\tau \epsilon \chi \nu \eta$ here, an ambiguous word that may carry sexual overtones; it is used again at 1.15.7.7 to hint at the shared 'skill' of Arsinoe and Thisbe, i.e. prostitution. Thus, by clever use of vocabulary Heliodorus equates Demaenete with prostitutes. See also Morgan (n. 11), 109 on the $\tau \epsilon \chi \nu \eta$ of the women in Cnemon's story.

⁷⁵ See J. C. Austin, 'The significant name in Terence', *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 7.4 (1921), at 85.

⁷⁶ Heliod. 1.9.

the impulses of the black horse, drawing the soul upwards to the sight of god. The destructive pull of Demaenete, however, dominates Aristippus' mind, causing his rejection of his own son. So at Athens desire for ephemeral pleasure is foremost in the mind, and this may again be contrasted with the relationship of Theagenes and Chariclea, who subdue their desire for pleasure in pursuit of the goals of Ethiopia and marriage.

Like Cnemon's, Demaenete's name instantly connects her to the adulterous world of Athens, for it appears twice in Lucian's writings,⁷⁷ and its occurrences in the epigraphical evidence are concentrated in Attica.⁷⁸ The etymology of her name exemplifies the concept that names could have an official and correct interpretation, as well as other possibilities, which, though not strictly correct, were clearly intended to be inferred by the reader. The true etymological meaning of Demaenete is 'Praised by the People'. However, it could equally be argued that the prefix, $\Delta \eta \mu$ -, is indicative of an obsession with physical—and thus pandemic—love.⁷⁹ The central part of the name, -\(\mu av\)-, could be interpreted as deriving from verbs connoting madness. Heliodorus seems to intend this association, for he has Cnemon use ἐκμαίνω ('drive mad') to describe Demaenete's hold over Aristippus, 80 immediately after she is first mentioned. The connotation of madness suggests not only that Demaenete drives others mad, but also that she herself is unstable, and this too is borne out by the text when $\frac{\partial \kappa}{\partial t} \mu \alpha \dot{t} \nu \omega$ appears again in Demaenete's description of her unrequited passion for Cnemon: 'But, as it is, I fancy I see him; I delude myself that I can hear his voice . . . These thoughts fan the flames of desire and drive me mad with longing.'81 Hence, the possible etymological interpretations of Demaenete's name indicate that her adherence to base, immoral love brings with it mental ruin.

The character of Teledemus is employed by Thisbe as a pretext in her plot against Demaenete. Thisbe acquires a room in Arsinoe's house ostensibly to have sex with Teledemus, but in reality so that she can lure Demaenete there on the promise of sex with Cnemon, thus setting her up for capture by Aristippus, apparently in flagrante delicto. Although Teledemus is only ever mentioned, and never actually features in the story as a character in his own right, an examination of the etymology of his name elucidates Heliodorus' use of the Platonic theme of pandemic and heavenly love. The verb $\tau \epsilon \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \omega$ can imply initiation, while we have seen that $\delta \eta \mu$ - may indicate base desires, as in Pausanias' identification of pandemic love in the *Symposium*. His name

⁷⁷ Lucian, *The Lover of Lies* 27; *The Scythian* 2. There is no obvious similarity between Lucian's characters and Heliodorus', however.

⁷⁸ The name Nausicles serves a similar purpose. Demosthenes refers to a famous Athenian general named Nausicles (*On the Crown* 114–15), and like this namesake, Heliodorus' Nausicles has a connection with Athens: he is said to have met Thisbe and Arsinoe there (2.8), and when he betroths Nausiclea to Cnemon, he intends to return there (6.8). Note that the epigraphical sources clearly link the name Nausicles to Athens, with thirteen out of fourteen occurrences in the region of Attica. The attribution of an Athenian name places Nausicles firmly in the ranks of the other Athenian characters, thus highlighting the moral superiority of the protagonists.

⁷⁹ For the $\delta\eta\mu$ - prefix used in this sense, see *Anth. Pal.* 7.345, where $\delta\eta\mu\omega\delta\eta s$ refers to a prostitute, and Archilochus fr. 206–7 (West), which implies synonymy between $\delta\eta\mu\omega s$ and $\mu\iota\sigma\eta\tau\eta$ γυνή ('prostitute'). Note that in his taxonomy of Egyptian wisdom at 3.16, Calasiris uses $\delta\eta\mu\omega\delta\eta s$ to mean 'base' wisdom, a counterpart to the base love of Athens, and the opposite of his own 'true' wisdom and the true love of Theagenes and Chariclea; for further discussion see Jones (n. 48).

⁸⁰ Heliod. 1.9.2.4.

 $^{^{81}}$ Heliod. 1.15.4: Νῦν δὲ ὁρᾶν φαντάζομαι, παρόντος ἀκούειν ἀπατῶμαι . . . Ταῦτα ὑπεκκαίει, ταῦτα ἐκμαίνει.

could therefore be thought to signify initiation into pandemic love, the kind of love he would indeed experience with the slave-prostitute Thisbe, were the story she feeds to Arsinoe true. Be Moreover, Teledemus' prefix could also be identified with the Platonic telos, the highest point, or goal, of the soul's anamnesis and quest for virtue. Shortly before Teledemus is first mentioned, Thisbe tells Demaenete that 'for most women one consummation $[\tau \epsilon \lambda o_s]$ is enough to dowse the flames of their desire'. Hence, the telos of pandemic love is not virtue and assimilation with the divine, as it is of heavenly love, but merely the sexual act. So both Teledemus and Demaenete stress the pandemic moral values of Cnemon's story, concomitantly emphasizing the perfection of the love of Theagenes and Chariclea.

Other names in Cnemon's story also serve to highlight Heliodorus' erotic dichotomy. The most famous literary Thisbe is found in Ovid's Metamorphoses, whose setting is Babylon, far removed from Cnemon's Athens. The tale concerns the mutual and altruistic love of Pyramus and Thisbe, whose decision to elope culminates in the tragic death of the lovers.85 Heliodorus' choice of the name Thisbe is without doubt ironic, as Bowie notes. 86 His Thisbe uses 'love' and sex as a means to an end, first as part of her plan with Demaenete to entrap Cnemon, and later to save her own skin.87 Cnemon and Thisbe are as dissimilar to Pyramus and Thisbe as they could possibly be, for their 'love' is not true love at all,88 simply an expedient for both parties: Cnemon wants sex and Thisbe manipulates him. Theagenes and Chariclea, however, are the true Pyramus and Thisbe, for their tales share many motifs: both Chariclea and Ovid's Thisbe are hidden in a cave; Theagenes and Pyramus believe their lovers dead and turn to suicide; and both couples are unwilling to live if the other should die. Like her predecessor, Heliodorus' Thisbe is also hidden in a cave, but an ancient reader would surely understand the irony here: in terms of characterization, Chariclea is the true altruistic lover, while Thisbe is only a perverted simulacrum of her namesake. 89 So again Heliodorus has chosen a name whose associations emphasize the ideal love of the hero and heroine.

Heliodorus seems to invite us to examine Thisbe's name, for he tells us that it is the only Greek word Thermouthis knows, 90 and that when he finds her dead he repeats her name over and over, 'dividing the word into separate syllables and pronouncing it

⁸² Heliodorus never states explicitly that Thisbe is a prostitute, but her words and actions imply as much: see 1.15.7.6–7, 1.16.1.4–8 and 2.8.4.6–8.

⁸³ Pl. *Symp.* 211B.

⁸⁴ Heliod. 1.15.8.5-6.

⁸⁵ Ov. Met. 4.55-165.

⁸⁶ Bowie (n. 1), at 276.

⁸⁷ Heliod. 1.11.3.3ff., 1.15.1.6ff.

⁸⁸ The same may be said of the relationship between Thisbe and Thermouthis, where the tables are turned on Thisbe and she is held in captivity as the object of Thermouthis' 'love': 'He is keeping me under lock and key . . . claiming that he has incarcerated me like this because he loves me' (2.10.2.4–7).

⁸⁹ Thisbe and Chariclea are frequently set up as each other's *Doppelgänger*: both are hidden in the cave by their brigand suitors (1.28–9, 2.12); Thyamis kills Thisbe, mistaking her for Chariclea (1.30–1); both scorn the thought of preferring a bandit to a Greek (1.25, 2.10); Chariclea plays along with Nausicles' identification of her as Thisbe (5.8) and is then mistaken for Thisbe by Cnemon (5.2–3); Nausicles intends to send Thisbe to Persinna as her companion (2.24)—a sort of surrogate daughter, in contrast to Chariclea, Persinna's true daughter. There is, however, 'a vast difference between the two, a difference as great as that between man and god' (5.10.2.5–6). For more on the antithetical relationship of Chariclea and Thisbe, see Morgan (n. 11), at 111.

⁹⁰ Heliod. 2.12.4.4-5.

less and less distinctly' until he falls asleep. Upon analysis of Thisbe's name, we might detect an association with prostitution and death. The Suda's entry for $\theta i \sigma \beta \eta$ reads $\dot{\eta}$ $\sigma o \rho \dot{o} s$ ('coffin'), relating $\theta i \sigma \beta \eta$ unambiguously with death. We must exercise caution here, for Byzantine definitions may have been different from those of Heliodorus' period. Closer to Heliodorus' time, however, Hesychius suggests a connection between $\theta i s$ and death: as well as the common definitions, 'heap', 'bank', or 'hill', Hesychius gives the additional definition $\partial \sigma \tau \dot{\epsilon} \omega \nu \ \sigma \omega \rho \dot{o} s$ ('heap of bones'), so Thisbe's prefix does seem to have morbid connotations. Aristophanes, Athenaeus and Lucian all use $\sigma o \rho \dot{o} s$ to refer pejoratively to prostitutes: Aristophanes' Bdelycleon accuses Philocleon of being 'fondly infatuated with a fresh—coffin!'; Athenaeus speaks of Gnathaena, who had 'advanced in years and was nothing but a coffin'; and Lucian mentions one 'Philematium the Coffin'. If $\theta i \sigma \beta \eta$ had the meaning $\sigma o \rho \dot{o} s$ for readers of the Aethiopica, it might therefore serve to categorize her as a prostitute and hint at her impending death, implying that the most pandemic of loves, prostitution, has only negative consequences.

Finally we must consider Thisbe's rival, Arsinoe. As in the case of Thisbe, we might detect an amusing irony here, for the name was borne by several Ptolemaic queens, while Heliodorus' character is merely a flute-girl and apparently also a part-time prostitute. Arsinoe also appears in Antoninus Liberalis' *Metamorphoses*, as a young woman who rejects the advances of a suitor; when he then starves himself to death, she peeps out at the body on its way for cremation, thus cocking a snook at him even after his death, and for this she is turned to stone by Aphrodite. As Bowie remarks, this mythical Arsinoe clearly had a distorted view of love, so Heliodorus' use of the name may be intended to recall a woman who shared the same outlook, so far removed from the true emotion and co-dependence of Theagenes and Chariclea. The etymology of Arsinoe's name may be understood to derive from $\alpha i \rho \omega$ ('destroy') and $\nu \delta os$ ('mind'), so like that of Demaenete earlier, it appears to indicate the mental ruin that comes to those who advocate pandemic love.

CONCLUSION

The complexity and variety of Heliodorus' Greek betokens his fascination with the potential of his language, a potential which is exploited to its fullest degree in an array of paronomastic games and allusions. The narrative technique of the

- 91 Heliod. 2.14.5.7–10: "ὧ Θίσβη" ἔλεγε καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις καὶ πλέον οὐδέν, ἔως τὸ ὄνομα κατὰ μέρος ἀποτέμνων καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐκλείπων ἔλαθεν εἰς ὕπνον ἐμπεσών.
 - ⁹² Suda, s.v. θίσβη.
 - 93 Ar. Wasps 1365; Athenaeus 13.580C; Lucian, Dialogues of the Courtesans 11.
- ⁹⁴ Athenaeus and Lucian apply $\sigma o \rho o \delta$ to ageing prostitutes; Thisbe is clearly still young, but does not have long to live, so $\sigma o \rho o \delta$ is equally appropriate for her as for an ageing prostitute, and the reader would apprehend the full meaning of her name retrospectively. Labelling a prostitute 'coffin' presumably had the associated implication that she drained her clients physically, emotionally and financially, leading to a metaphorical death; such a connotation would perfectly suit the pandemic Thisbe.
- ⁹⁵ Heliodorus may have expected his readers to recall Theocritus' *Idyll* 15, in which queen Arsinoe is associated especially with the festival of Adonis, an occasion celebrated by lovers, courtesans and those who frequented them: see M. Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis*, J. Lloyd (trans.), (Sussex, 1977), at 65, with Alciphron, *Letters of Courtesans* 10.1 and 14.8. If this were the case, the name would seem an apt one for a prostitute.
- ⁹⁶ Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses* 39; see F. Celoria, *The Metamorphoses of Antoninus Liberalis: A Translation with a Commentary* (London, 1992), at 98–9.
 - ⁹⁷ Bowie (n. 1), at 276.

Aethiopica, with its construction of suspense, its demand for retrospection from the reader, and its use of dramatic revelation, impresses upon the reader's attention the natures of the things so revealed. These factors encourage us to look for meaning where it is not always instantly apparent, a concept reinforced by our guide Calasiris, holding forth to Cnemon on allegory and divinity. 98 Sandy remarks that:

Heliodorus . . . conditions the reader to anticipate that even the most apparently insignificant events have a significance that is part of some still unclear transcending goal. 99

Precisely as events might carry a significance which may not be discerned immediately, so too might character names. The allusions suggested by many of these names characterize not only their bearers, but also those around them, enabling the reader to draw moral messages from names as well as from actions.

To achieve significance, Heliodorus does not seem to have created any obviously fictitious names, and even names unattested in epigraphy and papyrology are wholly believable in construction and meaning. For a well-read and perceptive reader—and Heliodorus' Greek requires such a reader—the instant realism of the names would gradually be superseded by the richness of meaning discovered by the application of literary and etymological knowledge. The associations suggested in this study support Dowden's overall interpretation of the Aethiopica as Platonic, and encourage a Platonic understanding of the relationships of the novel. Those who seek transient pleasure, with no thought for the consequences, will pay the price, for the path of pandemic love leads to exile, madness, destruction and death. 100 By contrast, adherence to heavenly love requires moral fibre on an almost divine scale, but is ultimately rewarding: those who follow a higher moral path will face hardships, yet will receive the blessing and assistance of the gods to reach their true telos, for as Hydaspes remarks, 'these things have been brought to pass by the gods' will'. 101 What is important in the Aethiopica, then, is not necessarily what is visible, but what is just beneath the surface, and by examining the characters' names we may see more clearly the latent Platonism of the work.

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⁹⁸ Heliod. 3.12-3.

⁹⁹ G. Sandy, 'Characterization and philosophical decor in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*', *TAPhA* 112 (1982), 141–67, at 167.

¹⁰⁰ Tempted by his physical attraction to Rhodopis, even the heavenly Calasiris must endure exile in order to avoid succumbing to pandemic pleasures (2.25.4).

¹⁰¹ Heliod. 10.40.1; see also Sisimithres' words at 10.39.3: 'Let us not be blind to the miracles the gods have wrought.'