The Greek Romance Materials in the Plays of Shakespeare.

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THE GREEK ROMANCE MATERIALS IN THE PLAYS OF SHAKESPEARE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of English

by

Carol Gesner
B. S. in Ed., New Jersey State Teachers College, 1944
M. A., University of New Hampshire, 1949
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IN MEMORIAM

Konrad von Gesner
1516 -- 1565

Ralph Lawrence Gesner
1892 -- 1947
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ........................................................................ vll
FOREWORD ................................................................. x

PART I   THE GREEK ROMANCE

Chapter I   The Development of the Genre ................. 1
A) The Greek romance as a literary genre ........ 1
B) The primitive romances ........................... 6
   1) The Ninus romance of unknown authorship .... 6
   2) The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule of Anton- 
      ius Diogenes ........................................ 10
   3) The Babylonica or Rhodanes and Sinonis of 
      Iamblichus ............................................ 11
C) The conventionalized romances ................. 16
   1) Chaereas and Callirhoe of Chariton .......... 16
   2) The Ephesiaica or Habrocomes and Anthia of 
      Xenophon of Ephesus .......................... 34
   3) Apollonius of Tyre of unknown authorship ... 50

Chapter II   Artistic Maturity and Decadence of the 
            Genre .................................................. 77
A) The AEthiopica or Theagenes and Chariclea of 
   Heliodorus ................................................... 77
B) The Lesbian Pastorals or Daphnis and Chloe of 
   Longus ...................................................... 117
C) Clitophon and Leucippe of Achilles Tatius ...... 142

PART II   SHAKESPEARE AND THE GREEK ROMANCE

Chapter III   Early Evidence ................................. 165
A) Background materials ............................... 165
   1) The Greek romance materials in Renaissance 
      fiction ................................................... 166
   2) The Greek romance materials in Renaissance 
      drama other than Shakespeare .................. 173
   3) The Greek romance materials in Renaissance 
      education ............................................... 181
B) The earlier Shakespeare plays ..................... 181
1) The Comedy of Errors ................................ 182
2) The Two Gentlemen of Verona .......................... 186
3) Romeo and Juliet ...................................... 189
4) A Midsummer Night's Dream ............................. 199
5) The Merchant of Venice .................................. 202
6) I and II Henry the Fourth ............................. 203

C) Shakespeare's middle period ......................... 205
1) Much Ado About Nothing ............................... 205
2) As You Like It .......................................... 212
3) Twelfth Night or What You Will ........................ 216
4) Hamlet .................................................. 222
5) Othello .................................................. 224
6) King Lear ............................................... 232
7) Macbeth .................................................. 235

Chapter IV The Late Romances ......................... 238
A) Pericles, Prince of Tyre ............................... 239
B) Cymbeline .............................................. 245
C) The Winter's Tale ...................................... 271
D) The Tempest ............................................ 286

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS .............................. 304

BIBLIOGRAPHY ............................................. 313

APPENDIX ................................................. 326

VITA ....................................................... 336

ILLUSTRATION

Photograph of Liber Miscellaneorum ..................... 194
ABSTRACT

The interest in Greek letters which formed a major element in the intellectual milieu of the Renaissance resulted in frequent publication of the Hellenistic romances of Apollonius of Tyre, Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius in Greek and in Latin and vernacular translations. Recognition was also made of the romances of Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus as extant in manuscript. Dr. Samuel Lee Wolff in The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction demonstrated the profound influence of the publication in English translation of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius on the Elizabethan novel; this dissertation was planned as an inquiry into similar influence on Elizabethan drama through investigation of the presence of Greek romance materials in the plays of the central figure of the age: William Shakespeare.

Although they had a wide circle of readers during the Renaissance, the Greek romances are not well known today, even by Classical scholars. For this reason, and because Dr. Wolff confined his study to only three, the present study considers all the extant Hellenistic romances of the type defined as Sophistik by Erwin Rohde in his Der Griechische Roman und Seine Vorläufer as individual works and in relation to their genre, its genesis, development, and de-
cadence. Thus, the study falls into two major divisions. Chapters I and II are a fairly detailed treatment of the romances; Chapters III and IV demonstrate the presence of romance materials in Shakespeare's plays. An appendix tabulates their publication in Greek and in Latin and western European vernacular translations up to 1642. It serves as a body of evidence upon which to base conclusions as to their accessibility to Shakespeare.

Through summaries and quotations, evidence is presented to show that plot materials for The Comedy of Errors, Romeo and Juliet, Much Ado About Nothing, As You Like It, Twelfth Night, King Lear, Pericles: Prince of Tyre, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest are derived from the Greek romances; that Two Gentlemen of Verona, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Merchant of Venice and Othello have verbal or incidental elements which apparently have Greek romance affinities; and that the Birnam Wood episode in Macbeth has an analogue in Achilles Tatius. The most important conclusions are that Cymbeline is a conscious imitation of the AEthiopica of Heliodorus; that Daphnis and Chloe of Longus is a primary source of The Tempest; and that pastoral elements of As You Like It, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest all derive ultimately from Daphnis and Chloe.

An over-all view of the evidence brings the final conclusions that for the plays written before Pericles: Prince of Tyre (c. 1607 - 1608), the Greek romances were a strong minor influence on Shakespeare, possibly direct in some instances, but probably in most cases derived from Greek
romance elements in the general literary and intellectual milieu of the Renaissance; and that they were a major influence, an all important source of materials of composition and romantic atmosphere, in Pericles: Prince of Tyre and the romantic comedies which followed and concluded Shakespeare's dramatic career, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest.
FOREWORD

This study was planned originally as a companion to Dr. Samuel Lee Wolff's The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction. Since here Dr. Wolff had demonstrated conclusively that late Greek novels form a distinct vein of influence in Elizabethan fiction, it was only reasonable to suppose that the drama of the period would illustrate similar influence. A few weeks of reading proved the ground so fertile for investigation that, except for incidental references to other Renaissance dramatists, it became necessary to limit the scope of this study to the Greek romance materials in the plays of Shakespeare.

Although investigation reveals a good many notices and references to Shakespeare and the Greek romances, no unified treatment of these materials has been made. Further, since the Greek romances are relatively unknown to the scholarly reader as well as to the general reader, and since Dr. Wolff limited his book to those romances which had been known in English translation to Elizabethan writers, it has seemed desirable to include within this study a broader treatment of this great storehouse of fiction, and to take into consideration all of the Greek romances of a definite period, whether or not they are known to have been translated or edited during the Renaissance.
Thus, the plan has been to present first a fairly detailed review of the Greek romances which were written from about the first century before Christ to approximately the fourth century after Christ, and then to relate these romances to the Shakespeare plays. This, of course, excludes the Byzantine romances of Eustathius Makrembolites, Nicetas Eugenianus, Theodorus Prodromus, and Constantinius Manasses, which are, essentially, only late imitations of the Hellenistic works, and have little fresh material to offer. No attempt has been made to discuss the forerunners of the romance literature; and, in order to keep this project within the reasonable limits of a dissertation, the romantic biographies of the period, such as the pseudo-Callisthenes Romance of Alexander the Great and Apollonius of Tyana of Philostratus, as well as the Christian Greek romances, such as the Acts of Paul and Thecla and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, have been excluded. Lucian's True History, although it is related to the romance of Antonius Diogenes, is really satire in the voyage imaginaire framework rather than romance, and, therefore, does not fall within the boundaries of this study. The Metamorphoses of Apuleius, although it contains a miniature romance suggestive of the Greek romances, is excluded because it is Latin literature, and also because the miniature romance, the episode of Cupid and Psyche, is really as closely related to folklore as to the Sophistick romances which fall within the scope of this study.

Along with the reviews of the romances, Part One of this study includes the briefest possible summaries of their
narratives. If these summaries seem to be inordinately brisk and abrupt, it is because the romances are inordinately rambling and filled with incident. Were the summaries not clipped and pruned to the barest essentials, they would be intolerably cumbersome and a burden to the text.

Part Two deals with the materials of Greek romance as they are to be found in the plays of Shakespeare. The problem of defining the romance materials as sources, analogues, or simply as elements in the intellectual milieu of the dramatist has been a major consideration. Some of the information, particularly the relation between Shakespeare's Pericles, Prince of Tyre and Apollonius of Tyre, has been available before this, but much of it is new. Because a unified study of this material seems to be wanting, an attempt has been made to include a review of the older information along with the presentation of the new.

Since a comprehensive bibliography of the Greek romances would represent a dissertation in itself, the bibliographic appendix has been limited here to the editions and translations which would have been available to the Renaissance reader. In the instances where the romance was not published during the Renaissance, mention of the first edition of the Greek text and of the first English translation has been included.
PART ONE

Chapter One

The Greek romances of the early Christian Era have been called the twilight of Greek literature; they have been referred to contemptuously as the descent from Olympus; they have been relegated by the critics to the literary scrapheaps as childish and wanting in truth. Most of this adverse criticism is occasioned by reflection on their marvelously tortured plots, their self-conscious arty style, their elaborate language, and the puppet-like quality of their protagonists. Even a superficial knowledge of the sublime conception of human nature and of permanent values which are to be found in the work of the true Olympians -- Homer, Sophocles, AEschylus -- convinces one that the harsh opinion is well justified. On the other hand, if one realizes that the Greek romances form one of the tremendous storehouses for plots and episodes of fiction, that they are the forerunners of the modern novel, and the direct beginnings of the historical novel and of that elusive genre known best by its French name, the voyage imaginaire, one cannot fail to see much of value in a study of them as a type of literature and as a reflection of a civilization. As to their actual value as Greek letters, they have a very real and very great importance in one area. The Greek romances are
the one link between Greek literature and Oriental civilization. They seem to have been the only ground where Greek met non-Greek and received rather than dispersed. Stephen Gaselee has summarized this briefly as follows:

Although Greek civilisation [sic] profoundly affected the intellectual history of the world, it was itself hardly affected by the world. It was, generally speaking, self-contained and self-sufficient: the educated Greek very seldom knew any language but his own, and cared little for the institutions, manners, or learning of any foreign country. ... In this corner of Greek literature [the Hellenistic romances] ... we find one of the very few instances of the Greek mind under an external influence — it might almost be said, Oriental ideas expressing themselves in Greek language and terms of thought. ... [their] most significant feature ... is their un-Greek character. We can always point to Oriental elements in their substance, and almost always to Oriental blood in their writers.¹

As hybrids they fill a kind of exotic corner in the history of letters. But the hybrids have a real workaday importance to the student of the English Renaissance. Here a knowledge of the Greek romance is well nigh essential to a full understanding and appreciation of the intellectual milieu. The romances of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius, and Apollonius of Tyre were all published in English translations between the years 1483 and 1638. Other romances and these were also accessible in Greek, Latin, French and Italian. Their impact on the English novel was tremendous;²


and this paper seeks to demonstrate that they played a small part in the drama as well.  

The central study of the Greek romance is Erwin Rohde's Der Griechische Roman und Seine Vorläufer, first published in 1876. Rohde saw two elements as essential to a Greek romance: love and travel. His great study examines minutely love stories and travel tales which seem to be contributing factors to the later romances. Rohde's conclusion was that the romances developed from a synthesis of the two types of story through the direct agency of the rhetorical schools of the Zweite Sophistik, which had a vigorous existence in Greece during the early Roman Empire. Since the


publication of Rohde's book, scholarly opinion as to the origin of the romances has had to be revised to account for the recent discoveries of papyrus fragments of a number of hitherto unknown romances. The most important of these fragments is the one called The Ninus Romance. Before its discovery it was generally believed -- and, indeed, Rohde based his conclusions on that belief -- that the earliest romance was the Babylonica of Iamblichus. This is usually considered to have been written between A.D. 100 and 200. The Ninus Romance is dated on palaeographical evidence sometime in the second century before Christ; and, since it exhibits many of the qualities of the later romances, Rohde's conclusion that the Zweite Sophistik is directly responsible for the development of the Greek romance as a specific genre is obviously untenable.

A more recent explanation is that of Bruno Lavagnini. He contends that the romances developed from local legends in Greece and in Greek culture centers in the Mediterranean World. He supported his thesis by the titles of some of the romances, for example: Ἐπεισόδια by Xenophon of Ephesus and Ἀδιόπικα by Heliodorus; but he insisted that

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5 Rattenbury, op. cit.
7 Rattenbury, pp. 212-213.
8 Ante, p. 8.
the novelle and the New Comedy were instrumental in the development also. Lavagnini emphasized, however, that the essential feature was local legend expanding and idealizing the past. Lavagnini emphasized, however, that the essential feature was local legend expanding and idealizing the past. Gaselee finds romance beginnings in Herodotus' stories of Gyges, Candaules, and Croesus; the episode of Abradatus and Panthea in Xenophon's Cyropaedia; the cycles of stories which grew up around great heroes (romantic biographies such as those of Alexander and Minus); and the novelle, specifically, the Milesian Tales and the Love Romances of Parthenius.

The dating of the romances remains in as much doubt today as does the final word on their origins. Recent discoveries have changed long accepted opinions and have presented fragmentary evidence of some twenty more romances than had been known when Rohde made his study. There is every reason to conclude that more fragments of the same or of different romances will be found tomorrow -- archaeological science being at present in a state of vigorous and lusty health.

Professor Haight's is the most recent extended study of the Greek romances. Her work takes into account all of the new archaeological and palaeographical evidence relative to them, as well as the latest conclusions and

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9 Le Origini del Romanzo Greco (Pisa, 1921). See also Haight, Essays, pp. 1-13.
11 Rattenbury, p. 212.
probabilities which have resulted from study and comparison of internal evidence in manuscripts, both long known and newly found. Her conclusions as to their dates and relative order are as follows:

I Century B.C.

II - III Centuries A.D.

II - III Centuries A.D.

Before A.D. 150

II - III Centuries A.D.

II - III Centuries A.D.

II - III Centuries A.D.

About A.D. 300

Any detailed view of the Greek romances must begin with the Ninus fragment. It is undoubtedly the first true romance of which we have any remains at all, and it is the direct progenitor of the erotic romances and possibly the romantic biographies of the Christian Era. Its hero is Ninus, the legendary founder of Nineveh, and the heroine is probably Semiramis, his equally legendary queen. Aside from the fragmentary romance, what we know of this pair is

12 Haight, Essays, p. 12. Since Haight lists the romances of Diogenes, Iamblichus, and Apollonius of Tyre separately because they are not extant in their original forms, I have inserted them in the relative positions they hold in Croiset, op. cit.
to be gleaned chiefly from Ctesias-Diodorus, although Martin Braun thinks that he has simply distilled and embellished the fundamental substances of popular narratives.\(^\text{13}\) Braun, furthermore, is convinced of the historical reality of Semiramis as Sammu-ramat, the wife of the Assyrian King Shamshi-Adad, who, by some miraculous power of the popular mind, was transformed from an earthly queen to a goddess of love and war in the Babylonian mythology. Minus, the Romilus of Nineveh, was married to Semiramis by a sort of misery-loves-company agreement resulting from mutual oppression when both Babylon and Nineveh were robbed of their independence to become a part of the Persian Empire.\(^\text{14}\) Thus the romance fragment confronts us with the interesting process of historical personages (at least in the person of Semiramis) transformed to mythical, religious figures, and thence to the characters in a novel.

The papyrus itself comes from Egypt. On its recto are some accounts for the year A.D. 101. The writing of the romance is generally judged to be from one hundred to one hundred and fifty years earlier than the bookkeeper's marks.\(^\text{15}\) The fact that the manuscript was utilized for accounts might indicate that it was not valued very highly as literature. It is in two pieces and scholars have not

\(^{13}\text{Martin Braun, History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature (Oxford, 1938), p. 6.}\)

\(^{14}\text{Ibid., pp. 6-8.}\)

\(^{15}\text{Vide Gaselee, Parthenius, p. 383, and Rattenbury, p. 212.}\)
yet settled their proper order. The first fragment in the Gaselee edition shows the hero, Ninus, and the heroine, the daughter of Derceia (the legendary mother of Semiramis), having exchanged oaths, as eager to be married. They are the children of sisters, and each, too shy to approach his own mother, goes to his aunt. Ninus urges that he and Semiramis be permitted to marry since he is soon to go to war and may be killed. He insists that he and the maiden have preserved perfect chastity. Derceia is easily won over. When the heroine approaches her aunt she is too shy to speak, and the aunt, guessing what she would say, speaks for her. The marriage is agreed upon.

The second fragment shows Ninus leading Greek, Carian, and Assyrian foot soldiers, thirty thousand horsemen, and a troop of one hundred and fifty elephants against the Assyrians. The fragment breaks off just as the battle is about to begin.

Many of the characteristics of the later romances are present in this fragment. The hero and the heroine are unashamedly in love. Unlike the lovers in the Medieval Courtly love traditions, they have thought only for honorable marriage. The heroine is beautiful and incredibly modest and shy. The hero is handsome and impulsive, but never false of heart. As this study proceeds the reader unfamiliar with the later romances will see at once from the summaries that these elements are common romance properties.
It has been declared in the Foreword that romantic biography would be excluded from the discussion since including it would swell this study beyond all proper proportions. Nīnus, at first glance, would appear to be romantic biography if we accept the fact that Nīnus and Semīramīs can, to some extent, be identified with historical personages. But this is not romantic biography in the same sense that the pseudo-Callisthenes Romance of Alexander the Great or Philostratus' Apollonius of Tyana are romantic biography. Both of these later works admit much material that is patently untrue and obviously the result of the popular imagination or of deliberate manufacture on the part of the authors. But the general outlines of their stories have some actual basis in fact. They deal with persons of the recent past rather than with the legendary past as does the Nīnus fragment. The Nīnus fragment is a barefaced attachment of famous names to fiction; it can make no pretense to historicity. The very fact that the bloody and viciously erotic nature of Semīramīs in Babylonian mythology has been transformed to that of a young girl of incredible shyness and undoubted chastity, and that the powerful Nīnus of legend has become a youth in his teens, is evidence of this. The romantic biographies of Alexander and Apollonius of Tyana, on the contrary, seek not to humanize, but to mythologize their heroes. That is the basic difference between the novel and the romantic biography of the period. It need only be called to mind when one genre seems to overlap the other.
But for the epitome in the Bibliotheca of Photius (c. 870-891), the great Byzantine scholar and patriarch of Constantinople, The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule of Antonius Diogenes would be lost to us, for all traces of the manuscript have vanished. Photius tells us that the romance was written in twenty-four books and that Dinias, the hero, related to a friend his adventures and those of the heroine, Dercyllis:17

Forced to flee from Arcadia, Dinias accompanied by his friend, Azulis, arrives at the River Tanais. Here they find the cold so intense that they are impelled to travel east. They circle the globe and so are able to reach Thule. Here Dinias meets Dercyllis. She had been exiled from Tyre with her brother by the machinations of the wicked Egyptian priest, Paapis. She tells Dinias of her travels through Rhodes and Crete, and of her adventures in the land of the Cimmerians where she was permitted a view of Hades. She traveled on through Spain where she saw marvels, such as people blind by day with sight by night. After many changes of fortune she arrives in Thule, only to find Paapis there too. By his magic art he was making her die every night and come to life in the mornings. Azulis learns the secret and frees Dercyllis from Paapis' power. She returns to Tyre with her brother. Dinias next wanders beyond Thule toward the pole and to the regions of the moon. Here he meets with many marvels. One morning he awakens in Tyre. He again meets Dercyllis. They decide to pass the remainder of their lives together.

Rohde thought that this romance demonstrated the first timid (schuchterne) appearance of the themes of the fully

16Most accessible in the Teubner edition of the Erotici Scriptores Graeci, ed. Rudolphus Hercher (Lipsiae, 1858), I, 233-238. To my knowledge there is no English translation. Dunlop, I, 13-14 abstracts the story.

17Thus it is an early example of the Ich-roman, a technique generally used in voyage imaginaire literature to lend credibility to the marvelous. Other examples are: Lucian's True History, Swift's Gulliver's Travels, and Defoe's Robinson Crusoe.
developed romances as a sort of overlay to the reise-
fabulistik. But since Ninus has demonstrated these
themes even earlier and in a considerably more developed
form, we might find it convenient to say that The Wonderful
Things Beyond Thule forms a fork in the road between two
such divergent romance forms as Lucian's True History
and the erotic romances of Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus,
Heliodorus, Longus and Achilles Tatius. It is in the true
romance tradition when it features a pair of lovers in
Dinis and Dercyllis, but far from the tradition in placing
its emphasis on marvels rather than on the adventures and
misfortunes the couple experience in establishing their
right to each other or to be united. Like the True History,
The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule exploits geography rather
than history, as does Ninus, and the marvelous rather than
the misfortunes of love which play the major role in the
later sophisticated romances that follow the accepted
erotic pattern.

It is in the Babylonica, or Rhodanes and Sinonis,
that we find the first fully developed love romance, al-
though it can hardly be called "sophisticated," as the
later romances most frequently are described. It contains
most of the elements common to the well known later romances:

18P. 269.

19Its most common title, Photius calls it the
a pair of miraculously beautiful lovers who wander disconsolately in search of each other, apparent deaths, hairbreadth escapes, sudden shifts of fortune, kidnappings, murders, attempted suicides. Like The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule, it is extant only in an epitome in the Bibliotheca of Photius. From him we learn that it was originally written in sixteen books. Iamblichus is known to have been a Syrian. The fact that in his youth he was taught by a Babylonian tutor probably explains the locale of his romance and its "Arabian Nights" quality. Unlike the romance of Diogenes, it does not have the world as its theatre. All of the action occurs in a bewildering maze of incident in the general vicinity of Babylon:

Garmus, the king of Babylon, falls in love with Sinonis. She refuses him, so he seizes her and has her bound with chains of gold. Rhodanes, her lover, is placed on a cross. Through Sinonis' efforts he is taken down before he dies. They flee together. Two eunuchs of the king are sent to capture them. The lovers seek refuge with shepherds and find buried treasure in a meadow. But a demon in the form of a goat falls in love with Sinonis. To escape him the lovers flee to a cave, only to be trapped there by the eunuchs. While in the cave, Sinonis cuts her hair and makes a rope of it to draw water. The eunuchs are routed in the nick of time by a swarm of poisonous bees. The lovers escape, only to fall into a death-like trance from having eaten the honey of the poisonous bees. The eunuchs pass them by as dead. Passersby throw gifts on them, according to the usage of the country. When they awaken they take the funeral offerings.

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20 Accessible in Photii Bibliotheca ex Recensione Immanueiis Bekkeri (Berolini, 1824). To my knowledge, the only English translation is Freese, op. cit., I, 168-177.

21 Vide Dunlop, I, 16f; Rohde, pp. 388-390; and Chassang, pp. xxviii-xxx.
They take refuge with a man who poisons his brother and accuses the lovers of the deed. They are finally freed of the charge when the man kills himself too. They next hide with a robber who eats his victims. The house of the robber is burned by the eunuchs, and the couple save themselves by killing two asses, throwing them in the flames and walking across their bodies as a bridge. Later they save themselves from the eunuchs by passing as their own shades. In flight, they meet with a young girl's funeral. As she is about to be placed in her tomb, she is found to be alive. Her tomb is left open; the lovers hide in it. The eunuchs again pass them by as corpses. Sinon is next captured by a local magistrate who plans to send her back to Babylon. The pair had thoughtfully provided themselves with poison for just such an emergency. A servant perceives their plan and substitutes a sleeping draught for the poison. They take it, and awaken just outside of Babylon. In despair, Sinon stops herself, but not fatally. The magistrate is touched by their devotion and permits them to escape. The second series of adventures begins. The couple go to the temple of Aphrodite where Sinon's wound is healed. [Here follows a long digression on the history of the temple and the island which is formed by the surrounding waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates Rivers. Details of the temple and the mysteries of Aphrodite are given. Various enchantments -- by locusts, lions and mice -- are described.] The couple attend a session of the "Courts of Love." Garmus learns where they are and sends a letter to the priest ordering that Rhodanes and Sinon be seized. The messenger places the letter in the ear of a camel; hangs himself around the camel's neck; forces the camel to cross the river. He falls off and drowns. The camel reaches land. Rhodanes and Sinon discover the letter and flee. They next meet a peasant girl. Sinon gives her some of her jewels to be sold. Because of the jewels, the girl is mistaken for Sinon. The report is sent to Garmus. On the way back the girl meets a man who has just murdered his sweetheart. He is presently engaged in finishing off himself. The girl is sprinkled with his blood. Sinon has begun to fear Garmus is again on her trail; she and her lover prepare to flee. Rhodanes kisses the peasant girl good-bye. Sinon sees blood on his lips and is seized with ungovernable jealousy. She tries to kill the girl. Finally she flees in wrath to the home of a wealthy Babylonian. He courts her and she pretends to yield. When he comes to her at night she stabs him unto death. She is apprehended by his servants and thrown into jail. Garmus finally learns that Sinon has been sighted. In joy he orders all the jails thrown open. Sinon is free again.
Meanwhile, Rhodanes finds the place where the lover had murdered his sweetheart. Sinonis' father had discovered the girl's body half eaten by dogs, and, mistaking it for Sinonis, had erected a tomb inscribed with her name, then hanged himself. Rhodanes prepares to stab himself on the tomb, but the peasant girl passes by and sets things straight. Sinonis rushes in and tries to kill the girl whom she thinks Rhodanes loves. Rhodanes stays her hand and she again runs away. Babylonian officers trace Rhodanes. He is nailed to a cross by Garmus' order. News arrives that Sinonis is being married to the King of Syria. Rhodanes is at once un-nailed and placed in command of the army to invade Syria and fetch back Sinonis. But Garmus deceitfully orders the subordinate officers to murder him right after the victory. Rhodanes is victorious, and regains Sinonis. The soldiers elect him king and depose Garmus. They all live happily ever after.

This tangled maze of horror is so insatiably ghoulish in its incidents and so unfortunate in its heroine as to be silly. The whole story has too much of a Hallowee'en quality to interest even the mildly critical reader. Its theme of apparent death is repeated four times. Twice it is in the form of a death-like trance caused by poison; once it is mistaken identity; and once the couple actually enter a tomb and are mistaken for corpses. The importance of introducing this theme to the romances is not to be underestimated, in spite of its intrinsic triviality in the Babylonica, for it is represented in all of the later

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Photius comments that "The author makes less show of indecencies than Achilles Tatius, but he is more immoral than the Phoenician Heliodorus. Of these three writers, who have all adopted the same subject and have chosen love intrigues for their stories, Heliodorus is more serious and restrained, Iamblichus less so, while Achilles Tatius pushes his obscenity to impudence. The style of Iamblichus is soft and flowing; if there is anything vigorous and sonorous in it, it is less characterized by intensity than by what may be called titillation and nervelessness." Freese, I, 168.
Greek romances, except the *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus; and it is a theme which was adapted by the Renaissance dramatists, as will be shown later.

Artistically, the long digression about the temple of Aphrodite situated on the island at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers is hardly to be countenanced. But to the literary scholar it is the most interesting section of the romance. The priestess of the temple has three children: Tigris, Euphrates, and Mesopotamia. Their names go to bear out Lavagnini's theory of the romances developing from local legends.\(^{23}\) The semi-historical quality of *Ninus* seems here to be transformed to a sort of geographical symbolism that suggests the Thule romance. To this is added a folklore quality when we learn that Mesopotamia, the youngest, was born ugly, but was changed by magic into a woman so beautiful that three lovers sought her hand. To one she gave the goblet from which she drank; to the second she gave the garland from her head; to the third she gave a kiss. The lovers plead before a judge for a decision as to which was the greatest favor. The judge decides in favor of the kiss. But if the miraculously transformed ugly child and the three favors suggest folklore, the pleading of the lovers before a judge is surprisingly suggestive of the Medieval Courts of Love, the primary purpose of which was to render decisions on questionable points in the delicate art.\(^{24}\) With all this, it is not

\(^{23}\) *Ante*, p. 4.

\(^{24}\) *Vide* Dunlop, I, 21.
hard to agree with Photius when he says: "it is to be regretted that he [Iamblichus] did not devote his skill and energies to serious subjects instead of puerile fictions."  

Chaereas and Callirhoe of Chariton of Aphrodisia is the first of the Greek romances to survive intact. In the opening sentence of the novel the author tells us all that we know of him: "I am Chariton of Aphrodisia, secretary to the advocate Athenagoras, and I am going to tell you about a love affair that took place in Syracuse."  

In spite of this positive statement, Rohde was unconvinced of the author's identity. He thought the announcement should be taken in a purely allegorical sense: that is, the patroness of the city, Aphrodite, was a guide and inspiration of the work; the advocate, Athenagoras, served to call to mind the Syracusan of that name who was remembered in connection with Hermocrates, a prominent figure in the novel. Aphrodisia was a city in Caria in Asia Minor. In modern times inscriptions bearing the names Chariton and Athenagoras have been

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25 Freese, I, 168.

26 The most accessible edition is Charitonis Aphrodisiensis de Chaereas et Callirhoe Amatoriarum Narrationum Libri Octo, ed. Warren E. Blake (Oxonii, 1938). Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe, trans. Warren E. Blake (Ann Arbor, 1939), is not only the most accessible English translation, it is also the most scholarly and the most literary.

27 Blake, Chariton's Chaereas, p. 3.

28 Rohde, p. 520.
found at its ancient site. These at least assure that families bearing such names lived there. Since the names are fairly common in Greek, they need not necessarily be connected directly with the author of the romance.

Until 1900, Chaereas and Callirhoe was generally considered to be the latest of the pre-Byzantine romances, not only because it bears a marked resemblance to such late works as the Clitophon and Leucippe of Achilles Tatius and the AEthiopica of Heliodorus in incident and in style, but also because there seem to be no allusions in ancient literature to Chariton as there are to the other romance writers of the period. Since 1900, however, three papyrus fragments of the novel have been discovered in Egypt. One fragment was found with a business record which has served as a guide in dating the romance about A.D. 150. This re-dating is interesting if it is considered in connection with Chariton's emphasis on historical background and historical figures; for it demonstrates a straight line of development from Ninus, in which historical figures serve as the protagonists, to the technique of the modern historical novelists who use historical background and figures to heighten interest and to add color to a story. Chronologically, the technique represents the second stage in the

29 Blake, Chariton's Chaereas, p. v.
30 Vide Rohde, p. 521, and Blake, ibid.
development of the Greek romances. Chariton's historical personages serve in much the same way they would serve were they in a novel of Sir Walter Scott. They are accessories to the story. They act as backdrops before which the hero and the heroine work out their destinies; they lend importance to the plot. Chariton's historical accuracy is manipulated, as is Scott's, to serve his own artistic purpose. For example: Hermocrates, the General of Syracuse who defeated the Athenians in the naval battle of 414 B.C., is represented as the father of the heroine, and Chariton makes him a contemporary of the great Persian King Artaxerxes (c. 404 - c. 359 B.C.), who actually came into his royal power only after Hermocrates had died. A very convincing background of historical reality is created by the use of such figures, and by the frequent mention of the war between Syracuse and Athens, the wars of the Greeks and the Persians, and the military genius of Cyrus the Great. But chiefly the illusion of history is created by having the hero engage actively in the revolt of the Egyptians against Persian domination.

Though Chariton's romance is not a mature novel in the modern sense, it represents a great advance over the crude narratives of Antonius Diogenes and Iamblichus. The stories of these writers develop simply as a series of incidents involving a given set of puppet-like characters. There is no attempt to interrelate the incidents to a connected plot. Things simply happened -- Dinias and Dercyllis
made a journey to Thule and they saw many marvels during their travels. Sinonis and Rhodanes were forced to flee Garmus' power and a series of exciting things happened to them -- Chariton's advance over this simple narrative structure is immense. He has constructed a carefully integrated plot, and, although the characters are tossed about through the machinations of the goddess Aphrodite and the baleful will of Fortune a bit too much to convince the reader of the twentieth century, at least he has given thought to motivation; and that is a great step forward.

Chariton is most successful in characterizations. The heroine, Callirhoe, beautiful beyond all human belief, is a young wife who faithfully continues to love her impetuous husband who has brutally harmed her in a fit of jealous wrath. Although she is the only heroine in all of Greek romance who ever marries a man other than her sworn beloved, she remarries against her personal desires only for the sake of her child. When Callirhoe leaves her second husband to return to her first, she treats the deserted man with dignity and thoughtful consideration. She is ever grateful for the shelter he has given her, and, although she does not return his love, she values it and respects him. She acts always with the good of her child in mind. She is the kind of woman who, when approached by an emissary of the great King of the Persians for reasons which could only be insulting to her, can remind herself that she is a well brought up Greek girl and that he is a Barbarian, and, thus,
she can refuse him without anger.  

The hero, Chaereas, is not so interesting. Indeed, as a hero he is the greatest disappointment in all of Greek romance. At the beginning of the story he has won for his wife the girl he loves beyond all others in the world; before the tables are cleared of the wedding feast he has brutally kicked her in a fit of jealous anger. Chaereas spends the remainder of the romance alternating between tears and lamentations over his behavior and attempting suicide. Toward the end of the book, Chariton tries to turn him into a hero by having him command a victorious army against the forces of the enemy in order to regain his wife; but as a hero Chaereas is scarcely redeemed.

One of the most sympathetically conceived characters in all of ancient fiction is Dionysius, the second husband of Callirhoe. Although she is his slave, he courts her with tact and honor, unaware that she is already married to another. After they are married, Dionysius treats his wife and her child with devotion and love. When Callirhoe leaves him to return to her first husband, he hides his grief, and with noble resignation turns his attention to his children and the governing of his subjects.

The minor characters are just as successful as the more prominent ones. Hermocrates, the General of Syracuse, represents the ideal of the disinterested public servant of a

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32 Blake, Chariton's Chaereas, p. 91. See also p. 106.
democratic state. The stern simplicity of his life and his devotion to Greek ethics and ideals of personal behavior are sharply contrasted with the Oriental magnificence and Eastern manners of King Artaxerxes. The great king of the Persians is depicted as a mighty monarch surrounded with luxury and all the pomp and circumstance of a fabulous Oriental court. Reserved and mysterious, he is at the same time a thoughtful ruler, concerned always with the welfare of the state, with equity and justice. His queen, Statira, befriends the heroine and offers her kindness and friendship even when she realizes that her husband has fallen in love with Callirhoe and that her own position is thereby endangered. In this delicate situation Statira acts with intelligent subtlety and understanding. Plangon, the nurse-confidante of Callirhoe, is a stock character borrowed from the New Comedy. She has a long stage history -- through Greek and Latin drama -- right down to Juliet's nurse. Chariton's conception of her is colorful and sympathetic. Another so called stock character is Polycharmus, the friend of the hero. He unselfishly leaves his home to join Chaereas in his search for Callirhoe; he bears his own and much of Chaereas' burden of labor when the pair are captured and sold into slavery. His chief function seems to be to save Chaereas from his frequent attempts at suicide. Polycharmus' greatest act of friendship is his begging to die with his friend when Chaereas is condemned to crucifixion.
The story begins in the city of Syracuse in Sicily:

Callirhoe, the daughter of Hermocrates, the General of Syracuse, and Chaereas fall in love at first sight at the feast of Aphrodite. They both love so intensely that they fall ill. Their parents permit them to marry. Very shortly after the wedding, unsuccessful suitors of Callirhoe, in jealousy, plot to make Chaereas doubt the honesty of his wife. He is deceived by them, and in a fit of wrathful anger kicks Callirhoe in the abdomen. She falls, apparently dead. Amid general lamentation, a state funeral is prepared. Chaereas is tried in public for murder. The plot of the jealous suitors is disclosed, but Chaereas refuses to defend himself. He begs for death. Hermocrates and the crowd refuse to convict him. On the ground that his act was unpremeditated, he is released. The body of Callirhoe is carried to the tomb by the sea and deposited with magnificent treasure. Pirates witness the burial. At night Callirhoe revives and realizes that she has been buried alive. As she cries for help the pirates open the grave. They take her and the treasure to their ship. They sail to Miletus, and there she is sold as a slave to Dionysius, an Ionian nobleman. Her beauty is so great that all who see her think she is the goddess Aphrodite come to Earth. Her new master falls in love with her and refuses to treat her as a slave, for he sees nobility in her beauty. Callirhoe continues to love and lament Chaereas. She blames cruel Fortune for his treatment of her. Plangon, the slave assigned to attend Callirhoe, perceives that her mistress is pregnant. Callirhoe is surprised. In despair she decides to terminate the condition rather than bear a child in slavery. At night she dreams that Chaereas has entrusted their child to her care, so she resolves to raise it for his sake. In the meantime, Dionysius has learned Callirhoe's story, except the fact that she is married. Callirhoe has news which makes her think that Chaereas is dead. Dionysius loves her so much that he can not bring himself to send her back to Syracuse. Plangon prevails on Callirhoe to accept Dionysius' offer of marriage. She urges speed, and offers to help Callirhoe pass the child off as somewhat premature. Callirhoe accepts Dionysius after he has made a solemn oath to bring up any children she may bear. They are married; when the child is born Dionysius is completely deceived. Meanwhile the pirate who had robbed the grave and sold Callirhoe into slavery is captured with the funeral treasure. He confesses all. A party of Syracusans led by Chaereas and his friend Polycharmus set out to recover Callirhoe. They are captured by pirates and sold as slaves to Mithridates, a satrap of Caria. Mithridates had visited
Dionysius and fallen in love with Callirhoe. Chaereas and Polycharmus become involved in a slave riot. Mithridates discovers their identity just as they are about to be crucified. He is astonished to find that Chaereas is alive; for Dionysius, having learned from Callirhoe of her first husband, whom she had thought to be dead, had permitted her to erect a great tomb for him by the sea. Mithridates had witnessed the mock funeral for Chaereas. Mithridates tells Chaereas that his wife has remarried. Chaereas tries to kill himself, but is prevented by Polycharmus. He writes to Callirhoe, and Mithridates sends the letter by his servant. The letter falls into the hands of Dionysius. He suspects fraud; and, thinking that Mithridates is trying to seduce Callirhoe, accuses him of attempted adultery to King Artaxerxes of Persia, their overlord. Both parties are summoned to Babylon for trial. Callirhoe, without knowing the true circumstances, accompanies her second husband. In Babylon all are astonished by Callirhoe's beauty. The crowd believes that she is Aphrodite incarnate. At the trial Mithridates dramatically produces Chaereas. Artaxerxes assumes guardianship of Callirhoe until he decides who is to have her as a wife. Some think that she belongs to Dionysius since Chaereas buried her and since she has borne Dionysius a son. Others think that she is still the wife of Chaereas. Artaxerxes falls in love with Callirhoe while he is trying to make up his mind as to which husband shall have her. He approaches her through his eunuch. Callirhoe refuses him on grounds of her friendship with the queen and because her own chastity is above reproach. Meanwhile Egypt rebels from the rule of Persia, and Artaxerxes and Dionysius lead an army to quiet the revolution. The whole Persian court follows, including Callirhoe. Chaereas decides to kill himself when he learns that Callirhoe has been taken from Babylon. He is sure that she will be given to Dionysius as a reward for the part he will play in leading forces against the enemy. Polycharmus stops him in the nick of time. They join the Egyptian army. After several victories Chaereas captures the island where Artaxerxes has left Queen Statira, Callirhoe, and the women of the court. Callirhoe is reunited to her first husband. She explains her second marriage by telling him of the child. Callirhoe urges Chaereas to send Queen Statira and her women back to Artaxerxes. He complies. She sends by Statira an affectionate letter to Dionysius, thanking him for his kindness to her and entrusting him with the care of the child. Chaereas and Callirhoe and their train sail back to Syracuse. They are welcomed by an amazed crowd which had believed them to be dead. After prayers of thanks to Aphrodite, they live happily ever after.
That the goddess Aphrodite is central to the plot is hardly to be perceived in such a brief summary. She plays no direct role, but she is behind the scenes at every moment. Hers is the presiding genius that causes the young couple to meet and love in the opening book. And she it is who, angered by Chaereas' misuse of his wife in his jealous anger, sets in motion the chain of events that follows fast upon the marriage of the unhappy Chaereas and Callirhoe. When her anger is finally appeased by the sufferings of the young couple and by their continued devotion to her cult, she permits them to be reunited. 33 Callirhoe's prayer to the goddess at the conclusion of the last book is more than an artistic closing of the circle that opened at her feast; it is a summary of Aphrodite's central place in the action of the narrative:

My thanks to thee, Aphrodite! Once again thou hast shown me Chaereas here in Syracuse where as a girl I saw him at thy wish. I offer thee no reproaches, mistress, for what I have suffered; such was my fate. I beg thee, never again part me from Chaereas, but grant us both a happy life, and death together. 34

Aphrodite's cult is apparent at every crisis in the plot. When Callirhoe is sold into slavery at Miletus her first action is to go to the temple of the goddess and beg of her that she might please the eye of no man but Chaereas. Chariton enters the story here to advise us briefly that:

33 Ibid., pp. 39 and 111.
34 Ibid., p. 125.
Aphrodite refused this prayer, for she is the mother of Love and she was laying her plans for still another marriage, though she had no intention of keeping that unbroken either.\textsuperscript{35}

Indeed, it is in the goddess' own temple that Dionysius first sees Callirhoe. He is so dazzled by her beauty that he mistakes her for the goddess, herself.\textsuperscript{36} Later, when Chaereas is searching for his wife, his first clue to her whereabouts is the sight of the golden statue of Callirhoe that Dionysius had erected as a thank offering in the temple where he had first seen her.\textsuperscript{37}

But if Aphrodite is the directress of the broad trend of events, and her worship the intellectual center of the novel, smaller incidents and mishaps are attributed to that baleful abstraction Fortune. Before Callirhoe will marry Dionysius, she insists that he swear by Aphrodite to raise as his honored child any infant she might bear. He is hurt by her lack of confidence in him, but Callirhoe explains: "I believe in you, Dionysius, but I cannot trust Fortune."\textsuperscript{38}

When the pirate who knew of Callirhoe's strange fate was captured and brought to Syracuse for trial, Chariton, himself, tells us what occasioned this:

...human resources proved entirely inefficient, and it was Fortune who brought the truth to light -- Fortune,

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., p. 23.
\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., p. 24. See also pp. 4, 16, 26, 40, 72, 79.
\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., pp. 46f.
\textsuperscript{38}Ibid., p. 38.
without whose aid no work is ever complete.\textsuperscript{39}

Fortune caused Chaereas' letter to fall into the hands of Dionysius instead of reaching Callirhoe, and Fortune caused the war between Egypt and Persia which was finally instrumental in uniting the lovers.\textsuperscript{40}

Dreams and letters also play an important role in the plot. Callirhoe decides to bear her child after Chaereas appears to her in a dream and entrusts his son to her care. Dionysius learns of Callirhoe's first husband when she dreams of him and calls out his name in the night. At the trial in Babylon, Artaxerxes postpones his decision on the disposition of Callirhoe because he dreamed that "the gods of kings are demanding sacrifice" and a thirty-day festival with a cessation of all public business was therefore in order.\textsuperscript{41} Chaereas' intercepted letter to Callirhoe sets in motion the events which send all of the characters to Babylon; and, at the end of the romance, Chaereas returns the captured Persian queen to her husband with an ironic letter informing Artaxerxes that the queen is sent as a gift from Callirhoe. When Callirhoe is finally united to Chaereas, she writes an affectionate letter to Dionysius, thanking him for his benefactions to her and entrusting him with her child. She

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., p. 41.

\textsuperscript{40}Ibid., pp. 61 and 94.

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., pp. 31, 48, 87.
takes a lesson from the past and conceals the letter from her hot-headed husband.\textsuperscript{42}

One of the most interesting aspects of \textit{Chaereas and Callirhoe} is the author's obvious association of his romance with the theater. The most theatrical episode is the courtroom scene in Babylon: Mithridates has been accused of attempting to seduce Callirhoe by writing her in the name of her supposedly dead husband, Chaereas. To clear himself of the charge, Mithridates dramatically produces Chaereas before the assembly. The effect of this stroke is manifold. Callirhoe, Dionysius, Artaxerxes, the crowd -- all react with amazement. Chariton speaks:

Who could worthily tell of the appearance of the courtroom then? What dramatist ever produced so incredible a situation on the stage? Indeed, you might have thought that you were in a theater, filled with a multitude of conflicting passions. All alike were there -- tears, joy, astonishment, pity, disbelief, prayer.\textsuperscript{43}

To continue the theatrical situation, Chaereas and Dionysius, two husbands of the same wife, rush at each other:

"I am her first husband," said Chaereas.
"But I am more faithful," replied Dionysius.
"Did I ever divorce my wife?"
"No, but you put her in the tomb."
"Show me the decree of divorce."
"You can see the tomb, I suppose?"
"Her father gave her to me."
"Yes, but she gave herself to me."
"You are unworthy of the daughter of Hermocrates."
"And you who have been Mithridates' slave are more so?"
"I demand Callirhoe back."

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., pp. 61f, 117.
\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., p. 78. See also p. 89.
"And I am keeping her."
"You are holding another man's wife."
"You killed your own."
"Adulterer!"
"Murderer!"

Such rapid dialogue lifted from its context could easily be mistaken for stage writing. Surely it would "act well."

Chariton has set a careful stage in another episode as well: Callirhoe has been sealed in her tomb. She begins to awaken from her swoon:

... her hands touched the funeral wreaths and ribbons. Her movements created a rattling of gold and silver. There was a prevalent odor of spices. ... [She sits up rapidly, shouting out in anguish,] "I am alive! Save me!" ... [There is no answer. She cries again. Then --] "I have been buried alive though I did no wrong, and I am to die a lingering death. They mourn me as dead, though I am well. ... Cruel Chaereas, ... You should not have buried Callirhoe so soon, ... perhaps you already have plans for remarriage!" ... [She is startled by a noise.] "What does this noise mean? Has some divinity come to seek me in my misery, ... Or is this not mere noise, but the voice of the gods below who are calling me to them?" ... [One of the grave robbers enters the tomb; hears her speak; leaps back in terror.] "Let us get out of here. Some ghost is on guard in there and will not let us come in." [The pirate leader enters with a sword; realizes the truth and leads Callirhoe from the tomb.]

There follows the even more tensely dramatic scene before the open tomb: Callirhoe stands bound before the robber band and listens while they argue her fate:

"I propose to leave the tomb treasure right here and to give Callirhoe back to her husband and father and say ... on hearing a cry we opened the tomb out of pity." ... But before he had finished ... "Misguided fool ... are you telling us to play the philosopher ..."

44 Ibid., pp. 78f.
Shall we show her mercy when her own husband refused to do so and killed her? ... some one may say it is more profitable to sell the girl, since she will fetch a high price because of her beauty. But this, too, has its dangers. Gold has no voice and silver will not tell where we got it. ... But who can hide away property which has eyes, ears, and a tongue? ... Therefore, let us kill her right here and let us not carry around a living accusation against ourselves."

... [The chief speaks.] "Your proposal ... [to return Callirhoe] is dangerous. You, on the other hand, are ruining our profit. I will sell the girl ... once sold let her bring charges, when we are no longer there. Get on board. Let us sail. It is already near dawn."

The romance is crowded with such dramatically conceived episodes: Dionysius' first sight of Callirhoe in the temple, Chaereas' sight of the statue that Dionysius had erected in that same temple to commemorate the great event, the pageant-like funeral of Chaereas, the processional entry of Callirhoe into Babylon, the scene which reunites the lovers -- but enough has been said to demonstrate the theatrical conception of the narrative. Other factors must be mentioned as well.

The use of stock characters has been noted in connection with Plangon, the nurse-confidante, and Polycharmus, the friend of Chaereas. These seem to have been suggested by the so-called New Comedy. Plangon is earthy, wise, clever enough to conceal the truth about her master's child, yet devoted in general to his best interests. Her speeches are colorful with folk wisdom and are a sharp contrast to the dignified literary speeches of Callirhoe and Dionysius. Polycharmus plays the role of the devoted friend and

46Ibid.
47Ibid., pp. 24, 46f, 56, 72, 111f.
confidant to Chaereas. The theme of friendship between two men is common in Greek literature and was freely borrowed in the Renaissance. It plays an important minor role in Chariton's romance. As the stage confidant listens to the actors' thoughts and plans that the audience may be informed of them, Plangon and Polycharmus listen to Callirhoe and Chaereas that the reader may learn.\(^{48}\)

But a more important and a more obvious borrowing from the stage is the convention of the chorus commenting upon the action of the story. In *Chaereas and Callirhoe* this chorus is represented by the crowd. At the trial of Chaereas for the supposed murder of his wife, it is the crowd moved to sympathy by his passionate plea for death and dishonor that urges he be exonerated: "a cry of grief broke forth and every one deserted the cause of the dead woman and mourned the living man."\(^{49}\) When Callirhoe enters the city of Miletus to become the bride of Dionysius, the crowd assembled for the procession cries out, "It is Aphrodite who is the bride!"\(^{50}\) At the mock funeral of Chaereas, "The crowd burst into lamentation and all felt pity for Chaereas, not because he was dead, but because he had been deprived of [Callirhoe.]\(^{51}\) The crowd has opinions as to which is

\(^{48}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 31ff, 47, 52f, 87f.\)

\(^{49}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 8.\)

\(^{50}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 40.\)

\(^{51}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 56.\)
Callirhoe's rightful husband, too:

...the supporters of Chaereas argued, "He was her first husband; he married her as a girl; and it was a love match. Her father gave her to him; her fatherland put her in the tomb. ... Dionysius did not win her consent; he did not really marry her. Pirates put her up for sale; but it is not possible to buy a free-born woman."

The supporters of Dionysius ... replied in turn, "He got her away from a pirate band when she was about to be killed; he paid a thousand pieces of silver to rescue her. ... but Chaereas ... caused her death. ... The fact that they have a child in common ... favors the victory of Dionysius."32

Declamation and soliloquy are another stage convention freely used by Chariton. In any emotional crisis, the characters, seeming to step to the center of the platform, burst forth in impassioned prose. They declaim their woes before all the world with very careful attention to elegant literary allusions and the colors of rhetoric. For example, when Chaereas discovers that the tomb of his wife has been opened and that her body is mysteriously missing, he raises his eyes to heaven, stretches forth his hands and cries out to all the world:

"Which one of the gods is it who has become my rival and has carried Callirhoe away and now holds her by his side, not of her own will, but compelled by a mightier fate? This, then, is why she died so sud­denly, that she might not be disfigured with disease! So once Dionysius robbed Theseus of Ariadne and Zeus stole Semele.

"Or can it be that I had a goddess as my wife and did not know it, and she was beyond my human station? But, even so, she should not have disappeared so quick­ly from the sight of men, however good her excuse. Thetis, too, was a goddess, but she remained with Peleus and bore him a son, while I have been deserted in the

52Ibid., p. 85.
very perfection of my love. What is in store for me? What will become of me, poor wretch that I am? Shall I kill myself? With whom then shall I be buried? I once had this consoling hope that if I could no longer share my chamber with Callirhoe, at least I should find a common tomb with her."53

At the mock funeral for Chaereas, Callirhoe is overcome with grief:

"You first put me in my tomb in Syracuse, and now I, in turn, do the same for you in Miletus! Our misfortunes have been as great as they are unbelievable. We have buried each other and yet neither of us has the dead body of the other. Cruel Fortune, thou hast begrudged us even in death a common burial ground, and hast made even our dead bodies to be exiles!"54

Such speeches, coupled with the frequent courtroom scenes and their legal oratory, are what made Professor Rohde conclude that the erotic romances were developed from the schools of rhetoric of the Zweite Sophistik.55 The professors of those schools -- the "Sophists" of their day -- were interested primarily in style and manner of speech rather than in the content of an oration or literary work. Rhetorical tricks of antithesis, alliteration, assonance, oxymoron, unnatural illustrations -- in fact, all of those distressing stylistic traits found later in Euphues -- were practiced avidly and seem to have pleased the public's fancy. Professor Purser calls this elaborate and artificial style "Asianism," and contrasts it with the business-like straightforward prose of the day, such as that of Julius Caesar,

53ibid., p. 41. See also pp. 13, 17, 42, 52, 74, 86f.
54ibid., p. 56.
55Ante, p. 3f.
which he calls "Atticism." Asianism is common to all the Greek erotic romances of the period, and, since this style is a product of the Zweite Sophistik, the romances frequently have been labelled "sophisticated." In connection with this Asian style, which has been so named because most of its practitioners had Asian -- which is to say Oriental -- backgrounds, it is interesting to recall Gaselee's observation that the Greek romances represent a fusion of Oriental and Greek elements. This peculiarity of style, of course, is one of the elements that contributed to his conclusion.\(^5^7\)

Whatever one may think of the moral implications of Chaereas and Callirhoe, to the Hellenistic world its lesson was the triumph of good over evil. If one is inclined to question the virtue of a woman who would meditate the destruction of her child or deceive her husband as to its parentage, one must remember that infanticide was in general practice in the ancient world and that cleverness and slyness were then more highly regarded than they are today. The fact is, by Greek standards, Callirhoe was virtuous to a very high degree. She was supremely beautiful, perfectly chaste, dutiful to the gods, devoted to her parents and to her husband. She deserved to be rewarded with Chaereas, whatever one may think of Chaereas as a reward. She is the prototype of the Greek romance heroines, and Chaereas is the prototype of the Greek


\(^{5^7}\)Ante, p. 2.
romance heroes. As he is hot-tempered, effeminate, inclined to despair and excessive tears, but completely devoted to his beloved, so are all Greek romance heroes. And, as the theme of this romance is virtue triumphant, so is it the theme of all the sophistik romances of the period.

Habrocomes and Anthia, or the Ephesiaca, followed soon after Chaereas and Callirhoe. Its author, Xenophon of Ephesus, is as unknown as Chariton, although as early as Hooke's translation it is pointed out that Suidas mentions him as the author of The Ephesiaca in ten books and another work about the city of Ephesus. Since the manuscript which has come down to us is in five books, it is possible, but not certain, that it represents an abridgement or an epitome of a much longer work. Rohde called it the "Skelett" of a romance, and based his opinion on its comparatively short speeches, its rather laconic language, and its very rapid -- even kaleidoscopic -- shifting of scene from one group of characters to another. Many of the details of the romance show a very intimate knowledge and understanding of the cult of Artemis as it was practiced at Ephesus in the


60 p. 429.
Hellenistic Age.\footnote{Booke, pp. 12 and 27.} This, coupled with the fact that Xenophon's other book was supposedly about that city, makes it fairly certain that the traditional "of Ephesus" after his name is an accurate appellation.

The Artemeslon, which plays an important role in the Ephesiaca, was the center of the religious life of the ancient city. Professor Croiset points out that this temple was destroyed by the Gallic invaders in A.D. 263, and that it was only partly rebuilt afterwards.\footnote{P. 793.} Since Ephesus was fast becoming a center for a growing Christianity, the old temple never regained its former glory and prestige. In the romance, the temple and the cult of Artemis are reflected as in the height of their prosperity. So the Ephesiaca must surely be dated before A.D. 263. This can be said with some certainty, because Xenophon makes no pretense at writing history. Unlike the Ninus romance and Chaereas and Callirhoe, the Ephesiaca has no character which can be identified as historical. Its time seems to be the "present" as the present would be to Xenophon. The sophisticated Asian style of the romance and its obvious imitations of Chariton make it impossible to date it earlier than the latter half of the second century A.D.

Xenophon follows the accepted pattern of the genre. His protagonists are Habrocomes, a beautiful youth, and his
equally beautiful girl-wife, Anthia. Like Chaereas and Callirhoe, these lovers are tragically separated early in their married life, and the romance deals with their subsequent adventures and misfortunes as they seek to be reunited:

Habrocomes of Ephesus was both beautiful and learned. He believed himself to be more handsome than Cupid and capable of withstanding Cupid's will. At the festival of Artemis he first sees Anthia, the most beautiful maiden at Ephesus. She is dressed as the goddess and leads a procession of young girls to the ceremony. To revenge himself against the insults of Habrocomes, Cupid causes them to fall in love at first sight. Both love so intensely and so painfully that they fall desperately ill. Their parents send a messenger to the Oracle of Apollo to ask what will cure them. The reply is that marriage will cure them, but before they settle down to a happy life together they will make a sea journey and meet with many painful adventures. The young pair are married. On their wedding night they pledge eternal faith. To fulfill the oracle, they at once set sail. Their first stop is Rhodes. There they are mistaken for gods and they visit the Temple of the Sun and offer a golden armor. They set sail again. Habrocomes dreams that the ship is destroyed and that only he and Anthia are saved from the sea. He wakes to find pirates attacking the ship. They burn it; the crew drowns. Anthia, Habrocomes, and the two servants who accompanied them are taken to Tyre. There they all become slaves in the home of the pirate chief. The chief's daughter, Manto, falls in love with Habrocomes; one of the pirate crew falls in love with Anthia. Manto attempts to gain her desire through the agency of one of the slaves who had accompanied the pair when they left Ephesus. She fails; so she writes a letter to Habrocomes offering to make him her husband, dispose of Anthia, and torture him if he does not comply with her wishes. Habrocomes writes a letter of refusal. Manto, in wrath, tells her father that Habrocomes had tried to molest her. Habrocomes is tortured, chained, and imprisoned. The pirate now marries his daughter to a Syrian. He gives her Anthia as her slave when she sets out on her wedding journey. When they reach Syria, Manto forces Anthia to marry Lampon, a goatherd. Anthia tells Lampon her sad story and he takes an oath never to molest her. Manto's husband falls in love with Anthia. Enraged, Manto orders
Lampon to kill her. Instead he sells her to some Cilician merchants. Meanwhile, the pirate chief finds the letter Manto had written to Habrocomes. Realizing that she had lied for revenge, he releases Habrocomes and makes him manager of his estates. Anthia is taken aboard a ship by the merchants. A storm comes up and all are wrecked. Anthia is cast ashore, only to be captured by brigands. Manto, by now, had written to her father that Anthia had proved to be so troublesome that she had sold her. Habrocomes learns this and sets out to find his wife. Anthia, in the hands of the brigands, is prepared as a sacrifice to the god, Ares. As she is about to be killed, police officials capture the band and Anthia is taken to Tarsus. The chief official falls in love with her and offers her marriage. Fearing his violent passion, Anthia asks for a month to prepare herself. She goes to a physician and begs from him poison to take on her marriage night. She wishes to die, faithful to Habrocomes. Instead, the physician gives her a sleeping draught. Anthia drinks it shortly after the wedding ceremony. She falls, apparently dead. Her new husband mourns and gives her a magnificent funeral. Anthia awakens in the tomb as robbers enter to steal the funeral treasure. They take her to Alexandria. The opened tomb is discovered. Meanwhile, Habrocomes is searching for her and hears the story of the grave robbery. He believes from the description that the corpse was Anthia. He sets out for Alexandria to claim the corpse and punish the thieves. The thieves are now selling Anthia to some Alexandrian merchants. An Indian prince buys her. He attempts her chastity, but she preserves herself by declaring that she is a dedicated maiden, sacred to Isis. The prince believes her and does not force her. Meanwhile, Habrocomes meets with the robber, Hippothoos, who had tried to make a sacrifice of Anthia. They exchange stories and become friends. Habrocomes continues his search and is captured by robber shepherds and sold as a slave to an old soldier. The hideous wife of the soldier makes advances to Habrocomes, but he refuses her. She murders her husband and runs to the public square shouting that Habrocomes has done it. Habrocomes is chained and sent to Alexandria for trial. He is condemned to crucifixion and tied to a cross overlooking the Nile. Left alone to die, he prays to the sun god. At once a strong wind blows the cross over into the river. He now floats FACE UP down the Nile. He is again captured and condemned to the funeral pyre. On the pyre he prays again to the sun god. The Nile floods and quenches the fire. Habrocomes is released as one sacred to the gods. While this is happening, Anthia is in a caravan bound for
India. The same brigand, Hippothoos, who had once tried to sacrifice her to Ares attacks the caravan and takes Anthia. He falls to recognize her. She is confined to a cave. The robber in charge of her attempts to violate her. She draws a sword and kills him. To punish her, the robbers cast her into a pit with starving dogs. The robber assigned to guard the pit falls in love with her and feeds the dogs. She is preserved. Habrocomes is still searching for her body. He meets an old fisherman who entertains him kindly. The fisherman tells Habrocomes his story:

My name is AEgialeus and I am from Sparta. My parents were wealthy and honorable. In the bloom of youth I loved Thelixinoe and she returned my love. Her parents promised her in marriage to another, so we ran away together. I cut off Thelixinoe's hair and she dressed as a boy. We were married and settled in Sicily. The Spartans heard of it and condemned us to death. Though we were in dire poverty we could not return. We lived long and happy in each other's company. Not long ago Thelixinoe died. Her body is not buried, I keep it by me.

The old fisherman then leads Habrocomes to the next room where the mummy of Thelixinoe lies.

"And this is She, said he, my Son ABROCOMAS, I talk to her as tho' she were living; I lay her by me, when I sleep, or when I eat; and if I return home, weary with Labour, the Sight of her refreshes me." 63

Habrocomes laments that he has not Anthia's mummy to comfort him. Meanwhile, the robber set to guard Anthia in the pit escapes with her. They are captured by Egyptian officials. The leader tries to force Anthia, but she runs for refuge to the Temple of Isis. The official takes an oath not to molest her, but his wife is jealous and sells Anthia to a brothel. There she is forced to stand before the door richly dressed in order to attract customers. To preserve her chastity she feigns epilepsy. The brothel owner sells her to Hippothoos. He falls in love with her, and to preserve her chastity she tells him her story. Realizing that she is the wife of his friend, he resolves to help them be reunited. Anthia and Hippothoos journey to Rhodes. There Anthia cuts off her hair and offers it in the temple for the safety of her husband. Habrocomes is in Rhodes seeking her body. He sees the hair and recognizes it. They are finally reunited in the Temple of the Sun, where they had dedicated the armor. The crowd rejoices. The pair returns to Ephesus with Hippothoos, who has decided to reform. They are welcomed with rejoicing and live happily ever after.

63Rooke, p. 89.
Brief as is this summary, when it is compared with the summary of *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, it clearly illustrates the similarity between Xenophon's and Chariton's works. The close connection is to be recognized in the situation of the protagonists; the structure, motivation, and materials of the narrative; and in the intellectual atmosphere in which the characters exist. The common practice today is to assign Chariton a date somewhat earlier than Xenophon, thus making Xenophon the borrower. It is, however, easy to understand why scholars who studied the two novels before the discovery of the Chariton papyrus fragments mistakenly assigned to Chaereas and Callirhoe a date much later than that assigned to the *Ephesiaca*. The likenesses between the two are startlingly obvious, and since Chariton's is altogether the more mature and sophisticated novel, it was naturally concluded that he had simply refined what Xenophon had suggested.

The most striking similarity is in the two heroines, Callirhoe and Anthia. Both are intensely religious and devoted to the service of the patron goddess of their respective cities; both fall in love at a religious ceremony in which they are taking an active part; both are married happily and then tragically separated from their husbands early in the romance; both take sea voyages, meet

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64 Ante, p. 18, and Chassang, p. xxxix.

65Rooke, pp. 75, 82, 93f, 110. Cf. Blake, *Chariton's Chaereas*, pp. 23f, 38, 125.
with storm, shipwreck, and pirates; both are sold into slavery and suffer multiple indignities at the hands of lascivious men. Callirhoe and Anthia both experience unconsciousness so deep that it is mistaken for death and they are buried alive, only to waken in their tombs to be kidnapped by grave robbers. Each of these young wives is possessed of such great beauty that she is frequently mistaken for a goddess; and each finds the preservation of her chastity the chief — as well as the most rewarding — labor of her life.

The heroes, too, have much in common, although they are somewhat more clearly differentiated than the heroines. Both are subject to excessive despair which leads them to attempt suicide. At any sudden change in fortune, Chaereas beats his breast and groans and Habrocomes sheds copious tears. Fortunately, Chaereas' brutality and his too frequent ugly doubting of his wife's good faith have been completely refined out of Habrocomes. He is, above all, gentle and never for a moment does he mistrust his Anthia. His tragic flaw is rather more likely to draw a smile of amusement from a reader in the twentieth century than it is to draw censure:


[The citizens of Ephesus] flatter'd his blooming Youth with more than human Honours; nay, some were not wanting to prostrate themselves before him, and pay him Adoration. Hence, he began to be proud ... of his Person; ... and if he chanc'd to hear of the Charms of any Youth, or Virgin, he would fall into immediate Laughter at the Ignorance of the Belater, as not knowing that all Perfections of Body and Mind center'd in him.

...

[On their wedding night Habrocomes kisses Anthia and says,] "O my Maid, dearer to me than Light, and happier than any Virgin in all the Records of ancient Times. Thou hast a Lover for whom the fairest Maids would gladly live or die."

Like the heroines', the heroes' experiences are similar. Both are tried for their lives; both take sea journeys and meet with storm, shipwreck, capture by pirates and the indignity of being sold into slavery. Each is fatally handsome and attractive to women; but each is strictly faithful to his beloved. Both Habrocomes and Chaereas are condemned to crucifixion, although Chaereas is saved just before he mounts the cross, and Habrocomes is only tied on. But similar as these couples are, Xenophon has not equalled Chariton in his characterizations. Anthia and Habrocomes are disappointingly conventionalized, and the minor characters are simply names attached to good or evil deeds and

69Booke, pp. 10 and 12.

70The crucifixion incidents would seem to be more a reflection of the very common brutality of the age than it is of Iamblichus' Babylonica (ante, p. 14), where the hero is actually nailed to a cross twice and twice taken down before he has had time to die. This is one Greek romance motif that was never, to my knowledge, utilized by Renaissance writers. It was probably rejected as blasphemous.
qualities. Nowhere is there a portrait such as Chariton has painted of Dionysius, who, though a product of antiquity, is a model Renaissance philosopher-prince.

The similarity between the novels is further illustrated by the various means devised to execute the plot. Chariton made frequent use of letters, oaths, and dreams to advance his action, and Xenophon also employs these motifs. When Manto falls in love with Habrocomes she send him a proposal in a letter. He refuses her in a letter as noteworthy for its coolness as hers is for its passion. Like Potiphar's wife, she is enraged by his lack of interest and has him cast into prison on a false charge. The treachery is discovered by her father when he finds her letter addressed to Habrocomes. This discovery serves to release Habrocomes from prison and promote him to the position of a free man once again. It is a second letter of Manto -- this one to her father -- that informs Habrocomes of Anthia's being sold out of Syria. Thus his long search for her is motivated.

Oaths of eternal fidelity are exchanged by the young couple when they are first married. Various oaths are made by would-be seducers of Anthia after she either has truthfully told them of her utter devotion to her husband, or has slyly sought to elude them by declaring that she is sacred to Isis. But oaths do not particularly serve to advance

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71 Ante, p. 26f.
72 Rooke, pp. 43f, 49, 53.
73 Ibid., pp. 27, 40, 49, 59, 66, 94.
the plot. They simply adorn it. The dreams are more decoration. None have any particular use. Habrocomes dreams of a woman in purple who foretells disasters; he wakes to find pirates attacking the ship. The dream is fulfilled, but it did not motivate the attack. Nothing seems to have done that. When Anthia is confined to a brothel she has a long dream of Habrocomes, but nothing comes of it. While Habrocomes is in prison he dreams that he is transformed to a horse.\(^7^4\) Nothing comes of that either, unless it might serve as a useful citation for some scholar anxious to find a source or analogue to Lucian's or Apuleius' ass-man.

The narrative structure of the Ephesiaca has as close an affinity to the Chaereas and Callirhoe as do the characters and the plot situations. Again the novel opens with the meeting of the young couple in the temple, and again the circle of adventures is closed in a temple when Habrocomes and Anthia piously offer a prayer of thanksgiving:

They...enter'd the Temple, deliver'd themselves in this Manner: "To thee, 0 supreme Goddess, to Thee we give Thanks for our present Safety; 0 thou for ever worthy of Adoration, receive our grateful Acknowledgements!" They then prostrated themselves at the Grove, and bow'd down before the Altar;\(^7^5\)

The story moves rapidly; whole episodes often occur in two or three paragraphs; yet the effect of a swiftly developing sequence of events is never achieved, for the narrative maintains a constant and bewildering shift back and forth

\(^{74}\)Ibid., pp. 29, 48, 100f.

\(^{75}\)Ibid., 110. Cf. Blake, Chariton's Chaereas, pp. 3 and 124.
from one group of characters to another. This device of two story threads developing simultaneously is an important characteristic of the Greek romance. It is dictated by the exigencies of keeping the major characters in equal perspective before the reader after they have become separated from each other. And, since all the Greek romancers save Longus saw fit to separate their hero and heroine for many chapters, the same device we find in Antonius Diogenes, Iamblichus, Chariton, and Xenophon is to be found again in the Apollonius of Tyre, Heliodorus, and Achilles Tatius. There is reason to believe that it would be found in the Ninus romance, but not enough of that exists for proof. Of the sophisticated romance writers, only Longus avoids making it the chief structural characteristic of his novel.

Into this double movement of the narrative, Xenophon inserts two separate episodes — stories within the story: one is the tragic tale of the love of Hippothoos, the thief, for the beautiful boy, Hyperanthes; the other is the moving story of Aegialeus, the old fisherman who lived with the mummy of his wife. These episodes have no structural reason for being; they furnish the reader no necessary information; they do nothing to advance the plot. They simply diversify the narrative for the purpose of entertainment. The classic reason for the device in the epic is, of course, the artificial limitations of time and place which are imposed. The

\[76\text{vide ante, pp. 7f.}\]
episode thus becomes the means by which the reader is informed of happenings which have important bearing on the central action, but which either occurred before the main action began, or had taken place in some distant location. Xenophon has no such epic justifications for his episodes. They are purely ornamental — but such precious ornaments as to be their own excuse for being. Xenophon has not introduced the episodic technique to the novel — Iamblichus' "Courts of Love" digression is an earlier example — nor does he do more than suggest its possibilities for the novel. Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and Apuleius, presumably writing later than Xenophon, make much bolder use of it, and for epic reasons. The conventional time and place limits which make it necessary in the epic, however, never exist in their world of romance. Sixteen centuries later Lawrence Sterne brought the episodic technique to its fullest achievement in the novel in his Tristram Shandy.

Whether the idea of the story-within-the-story was suggested to Xenophon by Iamblichus or by epic conventions is neither certain nor important. But one thing is certain; it was not suggested by Chariton. Chariton did, however, show Xenophon how to solve the problem of plot motivation, although this, too, could have been learned from epic traditions. Chariton solves the problem easily: Aphrodite sets the wheel to the main course of events; Fortune turns it east or west of center occasionally, but Aphrodite eventually straightens the wheel back to the course she had
plotted. This supernatural machinery permits Chariton to manipulate his plot with ease, and it offers the additional advantage of a unified intellectual background for the characters. They think and act only in terms of Aphrodite and her worship. The complexities of the universe are simplified to her whim, granting always to Fortune a subordinate role as directress of life's little ironies. In Xenophon's novel the situation is similar, but it is not so clearly defined and simple. He takes the suggestion of supernatural motivation from Chariton or from conventional Greek usage, but he fails to center it in one deity. It is Eros seeking revenge on Habrocomes who motivates the painful love of the young couple. The love begins at the feast of Artemis. It is to the Oracle of Apollo that the parents of the lovers turn when their children fall dangerously ill. Anthia is in the service of Artemis when the book opens, but it is to Isis that she appeals whenever she is in great trouble. She declares herself sacred to Isis several times as a ruse to escape importunate lovers. To increase the confusion, the Temple of the Sun -- Helios -- is the first stop on the voyage of Habrocomes and Anthia. It is Helios to whom Habrocomes addresses prayers when he is in danger of death by crucifixion on the pyre. The Temple of Helios is the scene of the final reunion of the lovers.77

Late mythologizers usually identified Apollo and Helios through their connection with sun worship, but in Xenophon

77Rooke, pp. 11f, 19, 28f, 75, 81f, 93f, and 110.
they are separate identities. Similarly, some connection may be said to exist between Artemis and Isis in the Alexandrian pantheon, for, although Herodotus identifies her with Demeter, she did have her statue in the Artemesion at Ephesus, and, like Artemis, she was a patroness of chastity. Isis' chief center of worship was Memphis; so Xenophon is historically accurate when he sends Anthia to her temple in that city. A unilateral identity of Apollo and Helios and of Artemis and Isis was characteristic of the Hellenistic Age when Greek and Egyptian civilizations fused into a new and exotic amalgam at Alexandria. But the confused background in Xenophon's novel is not due to this fusion, but to its lack, for in all places in the Ephesiaca the four deities maintain their separate identities. It is precisely this intellectual confusion -- or diffusion -- which makes Xenophon a lesser artist than Chariton. It is Chariton's acceptance of Aphrodite's all-pervading power which brings a satisfying unity to Chaereas and Callirhoe; this very lack of a central power -- this scattering of omnipotence -- brings artistic ruin to the Ephesiaca.

The clear and ever present association with the theater which one finds in Chaereas and Callirhoe is totally absent from the Ephesiaca. No reference is ever made to the theater or to dramatic action. The scenes are not "staged," as, for example, the tomb scene or the courtroom scene in the Chariton romance. The author simply reports what happened and what was said. In Chaereas and Callirhoe the crowd
functions much as the chorus in Greek drama. Xenophon introduces the crowd in a similar manner in several instances, but he never calls upon it to speak or to cry out. He describes how it acts or thinks:

[Anthia, dressed as Artemis, is on her way to a religious ceremony.] The Ephesians beholding her in the Grove, have often ador'd her as their Goddess; and the Multitude viewing her have cry'd out with Amazement; so that there has been a strange Confusion of Voices, one Part affirming her to be DIANA herself, the other, one of her Companions; but all agreed in offering up their Requests to her, in paying her Adoration, and pronouncing her Parents above Measure happy."

... 

[The ship with Anthia and Habrocomes pulls into Rhodes] The Rhodians assembled together to gaze on their Beauty and whoever beheld them could not keep silence. Some cry'd out, That a God and Goddess were arrived, Others offer'd them Adoration, and beg'd they would be propitious to them."

The stage convention of declamation and soliloquy is, however, an important characteristic of the Xenophon romance, as of all the romances of the period. Here it is dressed out in the best Asian style, burdened with rhetoric and Sophistik pretentiousness characteristic of the genre:

[Anthia first realizes that she is in love with Habrocomes.] Alas! (says she) into what strange Miseries am I fallen! I am enflam'd with a Passion, inconsistent with my Years, and involv'd in a new kind of Trouble, unbecoming a Virgin! ABROCOMAS'S Love distracts me; a beauteous Youth he is indeed, but too much addicted to Pride. Where will my desires end? Where will my griefs terminate? He, whom I love, is fierce and cruel, I, a poor Maid, surrounded with Guards. Whom shall I choose for a Comforter? to whom shall I communicate my Sorrows? When shall I, once more, see ABROCOMAS?

\[78 ibid., pp. 12 and 28. See also pp. 77 and 110.\]
[On her wedding night Anthia addresses Habrocomes' eyes.] "O how often, cry'd out, [sic] have you tormented me with unsurmountable Griefs! You first transfix'd my Soul with your keen Darts. You who were once so full of Pride and Arrogance, are now full of Love and Kindness. You well deserve my Endearments, for conveying my Affections to Abrocomas's Heart. You I therefore kiss, and to you I now remove my Eyes, these Adorers of ABROCOMAS. O may you ever continue to receive such Objects! may you never henceforth, shew a Virgin of an elegant Form to my Lover;"

The moral implications of the Ephesiaca are no different from those of Chaereas and Callirhoe. Chastity is preserved; virtue is rewarded. If the Ephesiaca tends to have a more bourgeois tone than Chaereas and Callirhoe, it is not because the characters are less virtuous. Habrocomes is far superior to Chaereas as a hero, and Anthia is at least as deserving as Callirhoe. The difference is in their associations. Chaereas and Callirhoe are aristocrats and they move in courtly circles. Even when they are sold as slaves they are sold to powerful and semi-royal persons. Habrocomes and Anthia, on the other hand, have no royal associations, and their families seem to have had no pretensions to wealth beyond that of substantial free citizens of their city. Moreover, the adventures of Habrocomes and Anthia occur in a lower stratum of society. Callirhoe's chastity is tempted by King Artaxerxes; Anthia is forced to flee thieves and patronizers of brothels. Callirhoe and Chaereas are sold as slaves to powerful noblemen; Habrocomes becomes

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79 Ibid., pp. 16 and 23. See also pp. 27, 65, and 70f.
the slave of a pirate and an old soldier, and Anthia is the
slave of the pirate and later of his daughter. It is a mere
local magistrate who wants to marry Anthia, not a Dionysius
of Miletus. This bourgeois tone in Xenophon's work is some­
what analogous to that of the Babylonica of Iamblichus, and
very possibly many of the adventures and situations were
suggested by the romance. That all the romances are inti­
mately associated with one another will be more and more
clear as this study proceeds.

For the student of English letters Apollonius of Tyre is the most interesting of the group of romances under con­
sideration in this study, for it has been a part of the
living literature during every phase of the language. MS
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 201 is a fragment of the
romance as it was translated into Old English prose.
Another fragmentary manuscript is a metrical translation of
Apollonius in pre-Chaucerian Middle English of Winborne
Minster in Dorsetshire. This was printed by J. O.
Halliwell-Phillips in 1850. A later Middle English version

80 The most scholarly text is the Teubner Historia
Apollonii Regis Tyri, ed. Alexander Riese (Lipsiae, 1893).
This is based on the manuscripts known as "A" and "F." The
romance was "gathered into English" by Lawrence Twine in
The Pattern of painful Adventures (London, 1607). This is
accessible in Shakespeare's Library, ed. John Payne Collier

81 Vide The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Story of
Apollonius of Tyre, ed. and trans. Benjamin Thorpe (London,
1834).

82 A new boke about Shakespeare and Stratford-upon­
Avon. This is reprinted in Albert H. Smyth's Shakespeare's
Pericles and Apollonius of Tyre (Philadelphia, 1898),
pp. 249-255.
is Book VIII of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*\(^3\) In 1510 Wynken de Worde published *Kynge Apollyn of Thyre*, \(^4\) Robert Copland's translation of a continental version of the tale. In 1576 and 1607 the romance appeared as Lawrence Twine's *The Patterne of Painfull Adventures*, \(^5\) a translation of the Latin version incorporated into the eternal *Gesta Romanorum* as Chapter CLIII. \(^6\) The next year Shakespeare dramatized the story as *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, \(^7\) basing his play partly on Twine's romance and partly on Gower's version. The changes which Shakespeare made -- chiefly in the names -- were picked up by George Wilkins, who, in the same year, published *The Painful Adventures of Pericles, Prince of Tyre*. \(^8\) This was, apparently, an attempt to capitalize on the popularity of the play.

With all of this persistence in English it is not surprising that versions of the romance exist in other languages.

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\(^4\) *Vide* The Romance of "Kynge Apollyn of Thyre," (Reproduced in facsimilie by E. W. Ashbee from the unique original. London, 1870.)

\(^5\) *Vide* note 80.

\(^6\) Reprinted by Smyth, pp. 293-312.

\(^7\) There is no reason here to involve the reader in the frustrating argument over the authorship of *Pericles*. For the purposes of this study, Shakespeare is the author.

Professor Albert Smyth describes versions in German, Swedish, Slavic, Dutch, Hungarian, Italian, Spanish, Provençal, French, Russian, and Neo-Hellenic. Behind all of these vulgate versions of *Apollonius* are at least sixty Latin manuscripts of the romance which bear mute testimony to its indefatigable charm for centuries of readers. One of the most important Latin versions is a metrical *Apollonius* of Gottfried von Viterbo. This is dated c. 1180 and was inserted in his *Pantheon*. It forms the foundation of Gower's version, and through him, of Shakespeare's *Pericles*.

The ultimate source of *Apollonius of Tyre* is lost, but scholars generally agree that it must have been a pagan Greek romance of about the same period as the *Ephesiaca* (II - III Centuries B.C.). Of this Professor Haight says:

> The Greek original of *Apollonius of Tyre* from its language and style as well as from its many resemblances to the work of Xenophon of Ephesus belongs to the older type of the Greek love romances. That is, it would stand last in the group which, according to the new discoveries and the new dating, begins with the Ninus Romance (First Century B.C.), includes Chariton (before A.D. 150) and Xenophon of Ephesus (of about the close of the Second Century). The Greek original of *Apollonius of Tyre* may well have been written shortly after Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*.

Although Professor Elimar Klebs dates none of the extant Latin manuscripts before 900 A.D., it is generally

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91 *More Essays*, p. 143; see also Smyth, pp. 211-217.
92 *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus* (Berlin, 1899). This is a detailed study of the known manuscripts.
conceded that the earliest Latin version of Apollonius was probably written during the sixth century. This is established by the evaluation which is placed upon coins referred to in the novel and by the fact that Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers (566-568) refers to Apollonius in one of his lyrics. Further, the Latin versions incorporate in the text some of the riddles of Symphosius who lived c. 500. Thus the Latin version must have been written no later than the lyric of Bishop Fortunatus and no earlier than the riddles of Symphosius.

Whether the first Latin version was a translation or an adaptation of a Greek original is still disputed. Riese concluded that it was a translation because of the numerous Graecisms which he found in its language. Professor Haight thinks "it is a Latin adaptation of a Greek original as was Apuleius' Metamorphoses." In any case, the authors of the Latin novel and the Greek original are unknown. But that the translator or "adapter" was a Christian is fairly certain, for the story wears a Christian garb loosely thrown over its Graeco-Oriental skeleton, and the cloak disguises it but thinly. The Oriental element is almost startling in the beginning of the romance; the Christian coloring deepens as the story proceeds:

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93 Smyth, pp. 217-223, and Dunlop, I, 82f, note 3.
94 Pp. xi-xiii.
95 Ibid., p. 142.
King Antiochus of Antioch has a beautiful daughter who is besieged with many suitors. While her father is considering their offers he falls violently in love with her and rapes her. The girl, distraught, plans suicide, but her nurse urges that she accept her father's will. She wickedly complies. To keep suitors from his daughter, King Antiochus devises a riddle for all applicants to solve:

I am carried with mischiefe, I eate my mothers fleshe: I seeke my brother my mothers husband and I can not finde him.\textsuperscript{96}

Those who fail to answer the riddle are decapitated and their heads hung over the door of the palace. A noble young prince of Tyre, Apollonius, decides to try the contest. He solves the riddle, saying that it refers to the king's relation with his daughter. Antiochus declares the answer wrong, but gives Apollonius thirty days to search further for an answer. Apollonius suspects treachery and leaves at once for Tyre. Antiochus sends a servant to murder him. At Tyre Apollonius withdraws to his library and consults all his books of the philosophers and the Chaldeans. Assured that his solution is correct, he realizes that his life is in peril. He loads a ship and sets sail. The king learns of his escape and sets a price on his head — alive or dead. Apollonius learns of this in Tarsus, his first stop, from a plebeian, Hellenious. When Apollonius tries to reward the plebeian with the price of his head he is rebuked. Apollonius next meets with Stranguillio. He learns from him that Tarsus can not give him refuge because there is famine raging in the city. Apollonius gives the grain from his ship to the starving city and refuses money for it. The people proclaim him a public benefactor and set up his statue in the public square. Apollonius sets sail again. A storm arises and breaks up his ship. All but Apollonius perish. He is thrown naked and wretched on a lonely shore where he is found by a poor fisherman. The fisherman gives him shelter, food, and half of his only garment. He tells him of a nearby city of Pentapolis, but offers to share his own poor lot with him if Apollonius can not find a richer patron in the city. In the city Apollonius goes first to the Gymnasium. King Archistrates is there playing ball, and he sees Apollonius play and is pleased with his game. He invites him to dinner, first giving him fine clothing.

\textsuperscript{96}Twine, p. 256.
At dinner Apollonius sits dejected and quiet. The king's beautiful young daughter enters and enquires about him. He tells his story. The Princess then plays upon her lyre to entertain the assembly. All praise her but Apollonius. He says that she needs more instruction. He takes her lyre and performs so well that all are amazed and think that he is Apollo. The Princess at once falls in love. She urges her father to give Apollonius a house, riches, servants. He complies. The Princess, nevertheless, falls violently ill with love and is forced to take to her bed even after her request that he be made her instructor is granted by her indulgent father. While she is ill three young nobles send her letters offering her marriage. The king asks Apollonius to carry the letters to the Princess. She is surprised that he should enter her chamber, but reads the letters and writes a reply for Apollonius to take to her father. Her letter informs him that she will marry the shipwrecked man. The king gives her letter to Apollonius to read. He blushes "wonderfully." The marriage is soon celebrated, for the Princess at once recovers her health. Several months pass and news arrives that King Antiochus and his daughter have been struck dead by a bolt of lightning and that Apollonius has been chosen for the throne. He sets sail for Antioch at once, and his wife insists on accompanying him even though she is with child. During a great storm at sea the Princess gives birth to a little girl and apparently dies. The sailors are superstitious about having a corpse aboard, so a watertight coffin is prepared. Apollonius places his wife in it with twenty gold pieces and a letter begging the finder to give her a proper funeral. He kisses her and the coffin is sealed and cast into the sea. Three days later the box is washed ashore at Ephesus. It is found by a famous physician. As the Princess is placed on her funeral pyre a student of the doctor detects signs of life. He revives her with applications of woolen cloths soaked in hot oil. She tells her story and the doctor agrees to protect her. When she regains her strength she enters the service of Diana as a priestess. Apollonius sails to Tarsus and leaves his baby daughter with Stranguillo to be raised with their child. He leaves her a supply of money, clothing, jewels, and a nurse to care for her. He then sails for Egypt declaring that he will not pare his nails nor cut his hair until his daughter is grown and married. When the daughter, Tharsia, is fourteen years old the nurse tells her the story of her parents and her birth and of how her father was the benefactor of the city. When the nurse dies Tharsia buries her honorably and remains home from school one year to mourn. After the year is up she
returns to school for a liberal education. Every day on her way from school she offers garlands at the tomb of her nurse and prayers to the manes of her parents. Everyone admires her, and Strangullilio's wife, Dionysia, becomes jealous because her own daughter is not equally admired. Dionysia orders her steward to seize the girl, slay her, and cast the body in the sea. The steward, against his will, seizes Tharsia while she is at her prayers. She begs him to let her complete them before she dies. While she prays pirates arrive and carry her off to sea. The steward announces that she is dead. In honor of Apollonius the citizens erect a bronze tablet to her memory. The pirates take Tharsia to Mytilene and sell her at an auction to a brothel owner. He takes her before the image of the god Priapus and orders her to pray to him. She indignantly refuses to pray to such an ugly god, but in her innocence does not realize what he represents. Athenagoras, a noble of the city, is the first to approach her in the brothel. She falls at his feet and tells him her story. Moved to pity he gives her a fee but leaves her a maiden. Others do the same. The bawd orders his steward to corrupt her. She persuades him to let her earn money by giving concerts on her lyre, and so he leaves her innocent, too. She thus earns money to satisfy the bawd and still preserves her chastity. Apollonius returns to Tarsus for his daughter. Strangullilio tells him that she fell ill and died. To prove good faith he returns some of her jewels and shows him the tablet in the square. Apollonius sets sail in despair. He sits in darkness in the hold of his ship and will not be comforted. A storm drives the ship to Mytilene; they dock there. Apollonius threatens to break the leg of any one who approaches him. Athenagoras hears of his story and suspects that he is Tharsia's father. He has her brought to the ship. She goes to the hold and sings her sad story and tells riddles to cheer him. Apollonius answers her riddles at once, then orders her away. She tries to draw him to the light, and in a fit of temper he kicks her so that she falls and blood issues from her nose. She weeps and bemoans her sad fortune. Apollonius realizes from her words that she is his daughter. He rejoices, then threatens the city that would keep his daughter in a brothel. Athenagoras warns the citizens and they seize the bawd and burn him to death. Tharsia sees that the steward is spared and she sets all the girls of the brothel free. Apollonius gives his consent for her to marry Athenagoras. They all sail for Tyre. On the way an angel appears to Apollonius and bids him go to Ephesus to the Temple of Artemis. There the three relate their stories to the priestess. She
falls in the arms of Apollonius, declaring that she is his wife and the daughter of Archistrates. All the citizens of Ephesus rejoice and the four set sail for Tarsus. There they reveal the crime of Strangullio and his wife. The guilty are stoned to death. The steward is shown mercy since he showed mercy to Tharsia in letting her complete her prayers when he was about to put her to death. The whole family returns to King Archistrates. He receives them with joy, and all live together happily for a year. The old king then dies and leaves half the kingdom to the Princess and half to Apollonius. One day while walking on the shore, Apollonius meets with the old fisherman who had befriended him. Apollonius takes him to the palace and makes him his companion for life. The plebeian, Hellenicus, who had warned him of danger from King Antiochus is similarly rewarded. The Princess now bears Apollonius a son. The son is made ruler of the realm of Archistrates, and Apollonius and his wife rule Antioch and Tyre for seventy-four years. They then die of old age.

The weird beginning of Apollonius of Tyre is unique among the Greek romances, which traditionally open with the meeting of the pair of lovers. The unpleasant episode does, however, serve to underscore two important characteristics of the genre: their fundamentally Oriental nature and their frequent association with historical personages or events. The Oriental sources are clearly revealed by Phillip H. Goepp when he considers the incest episode in relation to the later adventures of Tharsia and her mother, and thus concludes that Apollonius is a "somewhat garbled literary version of a traditional story related to the Constance cycle."97 The origins of the Constance cycle have,

of course, been traced as far east as India. Historically, King Antiochus the Great (227-187 B.C.) actually ruled in Asia Minor, but Alfred R. Bellinger calls the incest episode "slander on his memory," and he suggests that it originated when that king married his son Antiochus to his daughter in 196-195 B.C. Marriage between brother and sister was common in Persia, but "it may well have created a scandal" in Greece. History is further suggested in the romance by Apollonius' flight from Tyre when he fears Antiochus' treachery. Tyre passed to the control of Antiochus the Great in 221 B.C., but was ruled by a local satrap. Bellinger thinks the title "Prince" here reflects the position of a subordinate ruler rather than the son of a king. The position of subordination would explain Apollonius' fears of Antiochus even when he is within his own city and, thus, his subsequent flight.

The incest episode is so completely unrelated to the romance as to be an unnecessary appendage calling for

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100 Ibid.
rational explanation. If Goepp is right in considering Apollonius a member of the Constance cycle, then the episode is a traditional element in the tale. Rohde saw a clear connection between the Ephesiaca and Apollonius, and thought that the Latin writer introduced this episode to replace the pagan oracle in Xenophon's romance. He needed a motivation for the travels of Apollonius and as a Christian shied away from the oracle which motivates the travel in the Ephesiaca.  

Considering that the original Apollonius can probably be dated sometime during the Zweite Sophistik, I think Haight's conclusions fairly sound and far more interesting than Rohde's:

...the story of the wicked king Antiochus seems just the sort of prelude that a Greek sophist would have conceived for his double-love story in which the relation of father and daughter, Apollonius and Tharsia, played so striking a part. Nothing was dearer to the rhetorician's art than the principle of contrast, of antithesis. The story of the incestuous relation between Antiochus and his daughter, her corrupt nurse, the king's sadistic cruelty towards her other suitors, is a brilliant companion piece to the beautiful affection between Apollonius and Tharsia, the devotion of her nurse, her triumphal maintenance of her chastity.  

And I might add: of the beautiful relationship between King Archistrates and his daughter, Tharsia's mother.

Excepting the startling incest episode, the narrative materials of Apollonius of Tyre are typical of the sophistik romances, and the general resemblance of the romance to the

Ephesiaca is as pronounced as that which has been demonstrated between the Ephesiaca and Chaereas and Callirhoe. Even a cursory consideration of the three reveals a direct line of descent from Chaereas and Callirhoe to the Ephesiaca to the romance of Apollonius of Tyre. The Ephesiaca, like Chaereas and Callirhoe, begins with the meeting of lovers, their love-sickness and cure through marriage. This proceeds to the expected sea voyage and shipwreck, pirates and slavery. The central narrative material of Apollonius begins the same way, for the incest prelude and Apollonius' flight and shipwreck are so poorly integrated with the primary narrative materials as to be ever open for critical inspection as structural curiosities. After Apollonius and his Princess have met, the romance runs in the true and expected course of love-sickness, marriage, sea journey, apparent death, separation, pirates and slavery. The theater for all this routine is the Mediterranean World -- Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Egypt and back again -- as it was in the Ephesiaca and the other Greek romances as well. The Babylonica, where the lovers wander only in the area of Babylon and Mesopotamia, and Daphnis and Chloe, an island pastoral, are the only exceptions in the genre.

The sea journey, again of a young married couple, is motivated somewhat better than the journey in the Ephesiaca.

103 Vide Rohde, ibid., and Smyth, p. 212. Rohde and Smyth discuss in detail the parallels between the Ephesiaca and Apollonius. I think both make too much of them, since generally the incidents or situations they point to can be recognized in other Greek romances as well. But I must admit that there is an obvious connection between the two romances.
Apollonius and the Princess set out on their voyage to obtain the kingship of Antiocha, although how Apollonius ever became eligible for the honor remains a mystery even today. The other pair of lovers make a rather vague and purposeless journey to fulfill an oracle which had predicted that they would make a journey. The adventures which follow are similar, although their arrangement is somewhat different. The apparent death of the wife occurs in both tales. But the chief adventures of Anthia in the Ephesiaca are paralleled in the Apollonius by Tharsia, the daughter of the original pair. She is a unique character and, to my knowledge, has no parallel in Greek romance. Tharsia is treated, of course, as a heroine. It is the father-daughter relationship alone which makes her unique.

Like Anthia, Tharsia is threatened with death at the hands of a jealous mistress, and, like her, she is rescued at the final moment. Both heroines are captured by pirates, both are sold into slavery, both are forced to serve in a brothel. Through it all, they preserve their chastity inviolate. Anthia and Tharsia both find protectors in local magistrates who offer them honorable marriage. In the Ephesiaca the ceremony takes place, but Anthia, already married, preserves her chastity by taking a sleeping draught. Tharsia marries her protector, but only after she has found her father and has his consent.104

The heroes too have much in common. They both stay for a while in Egypt, dream dreams of fearful portent, meet with storm and disaster at sea. Both travel in search of their wives, although Apollonius searches also for his daughter. In both romances letters figure prominently in the love affairs of the heroes, and the wives of each are associated with the cult of the moon goddess. 105

The subject of plot motivation is an important one. It has been shown how Chariton's device of gathering all the reins of power into the hands of one being, Aphrodite, makes Chaereas and Callirhoe so artistically satisfying. And it is the central motivation behind the narrative which raises the work so far beyond the crudely imagined Babylonica. Conversely, the scattering of omnipotence among several deities creates the artistic havoc in the Ephesiaca and leaves the reader bewildered and unsatisfied with the universe which is created. Motivation in the Apollonius romance in some instances reverts to the crude thoughtlessness of Iamblichus, and in others forges beyond Chariton and Xenophon to the ultimate refinement in creative writing: motivation of the plot through the results of events or circumstances, or through the interaction of the personalities of the characters involved. When the author of the Apollonius uses the latter technique he is reaching toward the true novel. When he carelessly depends on the former

he slips backwards. The fact that he uses both creates a rather curious artistic unbalance in the romance. Surprisingly absent is the usual supernatural machinery. If events happen without circumstantial motivation, they just happen. No unearthly power creates them. And events frequently do happen without causal motivation. Apollonius begins his journey to flee the wrath of Antiochus. But there was never any clear reason for him to have become involved with Antiochus in the first place. It is pure chance which leaves him shipwrecked on a friendly shore where he will find his devoted wife and will renew his lost fortune. Motivation is better in the scenes which follow. Apollonius goes to court because King Archistrates is pleased with his athletic prowess. He is loved by the Princess, not because Artemis, Aphrodite, Fortune, Eros, or Destiny ordained it, but because the Princess is captivated by his learning and musical skill. This is made even more clear at the end of the romance when the Princess tells him:

...you are Apollonius, prince of Tyrus, my lord and deare husband, and you are my schoolemaister, which taught mee musicke: and moreouer you are the sea-wrecked man whom I especially loued aboue many, not for concupiscence sake, but for desire of wisedome.

For once, although the two lovers are thrown together by chance, love is not ordained by the gods, but is the outcome of a compatibility of personalities. True, it is a

106Ibid., pp. 257f, 264, 266f.
107Ibid., p. 321.
result which comes with unbelievable haste on the part of the Princess, and which only dawns on the rather unimaginative hero when her love is finally made known to him.

The love affairs in Greek romances generally suffer from the lack of responsibility which the protagonists have for their own lives. Usually love is predetermined by the governing agency. The result for the genre as a whole is for love to be understood as a purely sexual attraction, accompanied by much talk about the preservation of perfect chastity. The perfect chastity is physical only; psychological chastity seems seldom to exist. Forces of personality have no work to do in these love affairs, for the love is never built on a ground of common interest or personal compatibility. It is just that emphasis on the motivation of the Princess's love and her real psychological chastity which carries the Apollonius romance a step beyond its predecessors and a step nearer to the true novel. The psychology of love is, however, altogether faulty. The hero's boorish condemnation of the Princess's ability to perform on the harp and his boasting of his own prowess are hardly calculated to attract even the most bluestocking of maidens. But the heroine here is extraordinary; she rewards the hero's unchivalric words with her father's wealth and her own love. 108 Goepp suggests that this scene may be a later development from a different original in which the

108 Ibid., pp. 269ff.
hero wins a contest with a princess.\textsuperscript{109}

The events which occur during the sea voyage -- the birth of the child, the death-like condition of the Princess, and her abandonment to the waves -- have real causal connection. For once, things do not just happen to happen. The wife's body is placed in a chest and entrusted to the sea because of the superstitious fear of the sailors about having a dead body aboard the ship.\textsuperscript{110} But why did Apollonius leave his infant daughter with Strangullllo to be reared? Did Strangullllo and his wife have anything to recommend them especially as foster parents? And why did Apollonius go to Egypt?\textsuperscript{111} There is no adequate motivation for any of these details. Later it is pure chance which leads Apollonius to recover his daughter. His ship has been driven by storm to the port where Tharsia was taken by pirates -- who by pure chance had happened along and rescued her from death. But it is an angel appearing in a dream -- the only instance of the supernatural in the narrative -- which leads Apollonius to the recovery of his wife at Ephesus.\textsuperscript{112}

The motivation of the Princess's and Tharsia's adventures is somewhat better. The wife is washed ashore and revived by a physician. Her natural piety leads her, since

\begin{enumerate}
\item [\textsuperscript{109}] P. 157.
\item [\textsuperscript{110}] Twine, pp. 282ff.
\item [\textsuperscript{111}] Ibid., pp. 288f.
\item [\textsuperscript{112}] Ibid., pp. 295f, 303, 317.
\end{enumerate}
she has apparently been abandoned or widowed, to enter the service of Diana. It is because Tharsia's beauty and goodness exceed that of Stranguillio's daughter that the foster mother decides to kill her. -- A poor excuse, but it is not expected that step-mothers in fiction will be rational.

Chance saves Tharsia from death, but it does not provide her with a husband and protector. Her own virtue and chastity do that. When she is forced to be a slave in a brothel she humbly tells each applicant for her favors her sad history. Each is so moved by her beauty and purity that she is left untouched. One of the applicants becomes her husband.

Further, she earns money for the brothel owner by her own wits and cleverness; she gives concerts in the public square to make up for revenues lost to him through her virtue.\textsuperscript{113}

A surprising new thread of Christian piety runs through the whole romance. It is most probable that this element was the work of the sixth century adapter or translator, but parts of it could conceivably have been in the conjectured second century Greek original. The most obvious Christian elements, such as the angel's directing Apollonius to go to Ephesus to recover his wife and the language of the Vulgate Bible which Riese and Haight find so prominent in the Latin manuscripts,\textsuperscript{114} are surely later accretions, but some of the so-called Christian elements could have been strongly

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., pp. 284ff, and 291ff.

\textsuperscript{114} Riese, pp. xvi-xix; Haight, More Essays, p. 159.
suggested by the earlier form of the romance. A case in point is the incident of the humble fisherman who helped Apollonius when he was shipwrecked on a foreign shore. The fisherman took him up naked from the sand, shared his humble cottage and meager food with him, then, reminiscent of St. Martin of Tours, cut in two his only garment and gave half to Apollonius. This suggests the situation in the Ephesiaca, where Habrocomes is generously entertained by an old fisherman. The many parallels between the Apollonius and the Ephesiaca indicate that the author of whichever was the later romance had the other in mind when he wrote. The strong emphasis on the virtue of chastity and the piety of the heroines might seem to be a Christian element. The Princess enters the service of Diana as a sort of nun after she loses her husband; Tharsia is devoted to her religious duties and at the brothel maintains perfect chastity over all odds. Here again it is impossible to tell how much of this emphasis on religious duty and upon chastity can be credited to the Christian adapter and how much was to be found in the pagan original. Callirhoe and Anthia and Chariclea of the Aethiopica are as religious as the heroines of Apollonius, and Anthia manages as well in a brothel as does Tharsia.

115"The Spanish Apolonia has a perfervid Christian tone. ...it is the voice of an angel that summons Apollonius to Ephesus, where his wife is the abbess of a convent!" Smyth, p. 241.
Wherever the Christian coloring originated, the fact remains that Apollonius of Tyre is the most elevated of the Greek romances. The incest episode certainly disfigures it, but since we are told that God struck both Antiochus and his daughter dead by lightning, evil was well punished.116 Much of the elevated tone of Apollonius is the result of the sympathetic light in which it paints the humble and the poor, and the democratic attitude which the rich and noble characters take toward the lowly. Tharsia stays at home from school for a year to mourn the death of her nurse, and that nurse is characterized as a model for foster mothers. Twice the life of the hero is saved by humble folk. First Hellenicus, the plebeian, warns him of danger from Antiochus and then rebukes him when Apollonius offers him a reward:

And, my lord, if the deed were good, the love of virtue were a sufficient force to allure any man thereunto.117

The second time he is saved by a humble fisherman. At the end of the romance, when Apollonius has come into his own, both Hellenicus and the fisherman are richly rewarded and, in the spirit of democracy, made his palace companions. When Tharsia and her father are at last united the wicked procurer is put to death, but his poor slave girls are freed from the brothel. Stranguillio and his wife are also punished with death for their crime, but the steward who was

116This is historically untrue. Antiochus the Great died on an expedition to the East.

117Twine, p. 260.
ordered to kill Tharsia and who had enough compassion to permit her to finish her prayers escaped his master's fate. Sympathy with the oppressed is shown also by King Archistrates. He generously takes an interest in the unknown shipwrecked stranger, invites him home to dinner and introduces him to his daughter. All this before he learns that he is really a nobleman!

Apollonius' character as a hero is a new departure in Greek romance also. Habrocomes, of Xenophon's romance, is described as accomplished and beautiful, and Dionysius of Chariton's romance is a philosopher-prince, but Apollonius, perhaps a foreshadow of Hamlet, is a scholar-prince. He is quick-witted enough to guess the significance of the riddle of the wicked Antiochus, and scholar enough to withdraw "...into his studie, ...[and peruse] all his bookes concerning the kings probleame" to order to resolve any doubts that he might have as to the accuracy of his conclusions. He immediately guesses the answers to Tharsia's riddles too, but with all the cleverness of his mind he is never sly as are other Greek romance heroes. At the court of Archistrates he performs on the lyre with "such cunning and sweetnes, that he seemed rather to be Apollo than Apollonius, and the kings guests confessed that in al their liues they neuer heard the like before." By his art he

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118 Ibid., p. 257.

119 Ibid., p. 270.
won the love of the Princess, and at her request undertook the task of completing her education. His boorish comments on her performance on the lyre and his naïve unawareness of her growing love for him seem as out of place in his characterization as the kick which he gives to his daughter when, each unaware of the other's identity, she tries to lift him from his depression at Mytilene. The incident of the kick parallels fairly closely the situation in Chaereas and Callirhoe, where the hero, mentally distressed, kicks the innocent heroine. This and the boorish comments on the Princess's lyre playing seem to suggest the conjectured Greek original of the romance, for in all other instances the pagan Apollonius behaves like a well-bred Christian gentleman.

In spite of these incongruous incidents, Apollonius is the most interesting characterization of all the Greek romance heroes. Like them he is emotional. He weeps at the banquet at Archistrates' palace; he weeps for the loss of his wife and daughter; and when he first learns the Princess loves him he blushes "wonderfully." He shows good sense in not insisting on his rights to the hand of the wicked King Antiochus' daughter. He generously relieves the famine at Tarsus, and he rewards both the poor men who befriended him. His lack of wisdom in leaving his daughter with Stranguillio to be raised may be another example of the

Ibid., pp. 269, 275, 282.
skeleton of the Greek romance showing through. Separation of hero and heroine -- and Tharsia is treated throughout the romance to the role of heroine -- and false friends are the conventional themes of a Greek romance. Since Apollonius is the hero in such a romance he could not very well escape his fate, but one might think that the separation from his wife would be enough to satisfy the demands of the genre.

Nowhere else in Greek romance do we find such heroines as Tharsia and her mother, who are practically duplicates of each other. Besides being blessed with beauty and virtue, they are eager for learning and are filled with the high seriousness of life. The Princess loves her husband for his wisdom and ability, and her daughter from the age of five years "frequented the schooles, and the studie of liberall Sciences." Tharsia and her mother both perform well on the lyre, and Tharsia can also sing and tell riddles. She is skilled enough to support herself through concerts in the public square of Mytilene. This emphasis on the learning of the protagonists and on the liberal arts, like the kindly treatment afforded the humble, is singular in Greek romance of the period in question. It does much to elevate the general tone of the romance. If the sympathetic attitude toward the poor is a Christian element introduced by the Latin writer, one cannot help thinking the emphasis on the liberal arts indicative of the Greek original, for it seems

121 Ibid., pp. 291 and 289.
to be more suggestive of Athens than Christian Rome of the early Dark Ages.

Without the conjectured second century Greek version of Apollonius of Tyre it is quite impossible to say whether or not it was ever a "sophistike" romance. That it has all of the common narrative features of the sophisticated romances -- letters, dreams, apparent death, shipwreck, pirates, brothels, banquet -- is obvious at once from the summary. But the style of the Latin manuscripts is not sophisticated or rhetorical, but simple, clear, and brief. Sentences are short, and there is some use of conversation and humorous banter. The movement of the narrative is usually rapid, and the story is compressed and telescoped into a few paragraphs or even sentences for each incident, or even for a major turn of the plot. This treatment is much in the manner of the Ephesiaca, but, fortunately, without the confusingly kaleidoscopic effect which the double movement of that narrative provokes. The section of the Apollonius which deals with the courtship of the Prince and the Princess is, however, an exception. The rapidly moving story comes to a sudden halt. The reader has time to rest for a while at Archistrates' court and enjoy a banquet, complete with music and a bit of dramatically developed comedy before the narrative turns back to its usual breathless pace:

[The Princess, sick with love for her school master, has taken to her bed. Three suitors arrive to ask her hand. The king speaks:] ...you are come vnto me at an unseasonable time, for my daughter now applieth her studie, and lieth sicke for the desire of learning,
and the time is much unmeet for marriage. But ... write your names every one severally in a piece of paper, and what iontner you will make, and I will send the writings to my daughter, that she may choose him whom she best liketh of. [They do so and the king gives the notes to Apollonius, saying,] ...Take here these billes, and deliver them to your scholler, [He takes them, and the Princess cries out from her bed,] ...Maister, what is the cause that you come alone into my chamber? Apollonius answered: Madame, I haue brought writings from the king your father, which he willeth you to reade. [She takes the letters; reads; and says,] ... My webeloved Schoolemaister Apollonius, doth it not greeue you that I shall be married unto another? Apollonius answered, No madame it greeueth not me, for whatsoever shall be for your honour, shall be vnto me profitable. Then said Lucina, Maister, if you loued me you would be sorie, and therewithall she called for inke and paper, and wrote and answere vnto her father in forme following. ... these are to let you understand, that I would marry with the Sea-wrecked man, and with none other: ... And when she had sealed it, she deliuered it vnto Apollonius to be carried vnto the king. [Apollonius carries her letter to the king; he reads; turns to the three suitors and demands] ... which of them had suffered shipwracke? Then one of them named Ardonius, answered, If it like your Grace, I haue suffred shipwrack? The other twain named Munditius, and Carmissus, when they heard him say so, waxed wroth, and fel into termes of outrage against him, saying: sickerne, and the fiends of hell consume thee, for thy foule & impudent lie: doe not we, who are thy equals both of birth and age, know right well that thou neuer wentest almost out of this citie gates? ... the king ... looked towards Apollonius, saying: Take these letters and read them, ... Apollonius receiuing the letters, perused them quickly, and perceiving himselfe to be loued, blushed wonderfully.122

The king's little joke about his daughter's illness being due to her studies, the banter of the suitors, and Apollonius' blissful innocence of what is going on all around him are a refreshing change from the usual romance motifs, and the dramatic and conversational technique of presentation

122Ibid., pp. 273ff.
must not be overlooked or underestimated in the history of the novel.

The late *sophistik* romances abound in descriptive passages of works of art, geography, cities, storms, and other natural phenomena. The Latin *Apollonius* has only the barest rudiments of these in descriptions of two works of art and brief mention of storms and cities. The statues of Apollonius at Tarsus and Mytilene are described. At Tarsus he carries a sheaf of grain and stands on a measure of grain, symbols of his famine relief. At Mytilene he holds his daughter in his arms and stands on the head of the brothel keeper. Some precious local color appears in the descriptions of the gymnasium and the banquet at Pentapolis, and in the two recognition scenes at Mytilene and Ephesus. These serve to make *Apollonius* an important historical document for the student of manners and culture, as well as for the student of literature.

The introduction in the text of the riddles of Antiochus and Tharsia and of Tharsia's songs fits in well with the general emphasis which the romance places upon the liberal arts. Although these are a feature new to Greek romance, they are not new to Greek literature. Haight notes that they were common in Menippean satire,¹²³ and Smyth shows that in Oriental tales the sick or unhappy are frequently cheered in that manner.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ *Pp. 214f.*
The romance of Apollonius of Tyre has a twofold purpose: it would entertain and it would teach. It is a typical Greek romance in its motives and situations; it is a typical Greek romance in its hero and heroines. In its high moral tone and its emphasis on piety and more than simple physical chastity it stands alone in its class. It is possibly this very feature which served to keep it alive through the Middle Ages and on to our era, for from ancient times it has been a part of living literature and remains so even today by virtue of Shakespeare's adaptation in Pericles, Prince of Tyre. The romances of Antonius Diogenes, Iamblichus, Xenophon of Ephesus, Heliodorus, Longus and Achilles Tatius were familiarly known as late as the tenth century. The criticisms in Photius' Bibliotheca prove that. But then they dropped out of sight until a renewed interest in Greek studies brought them to light during the Renaissance. Had Apollonius shared their cynicism and been typical of its class, it too would probably have dropped from living literature. But the monkish clerks of the Middle Ages found its piety to their taste and preserved it alive.

Up to now this study has been concerned with the development and progress toward stabilization of a literary genre. It has attempted to survey the Greek romance through its primitive stages in Ninos, The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule, and in the Babylonica. It has tried to define the conventionalization of the romance as it is illustrated in Chaereas and Callirhoe, the Ephesiaca, and in Apollonius of Tyre. Now this study must turn its consideration to the
mature product, to the fully formed species of the *genre*. Up to now the romances seem to have existed purely for the sake of the story and, with all their straining after the sensational, are almost folk art in their lack of self consciousness. But *Apollonius of Tyre* marks the end of the era. The next romance is a finished product. With the *AEthiopica* of Heliodorus the Greek romance ceased to develop. All the conventions of the *genre* are present here, but the package is now gift wrapped. Art replaces naivety. Although the romance did not develop after the *AEthiopica*, Longus was able to refine it, to purify and strain it of most of its puerilities which remained in the *AEthiopica*. With Heliodorus the romance form reaches maturity; with Longus it reaches perfection; and as always, when there is perfection there is no further improvement and decadence -- always the tragedy of perfect maturity -- must follow. So with the Greek romance; for here Achilles Tatius' work represents decadence. It stands in relation to the work of Longus and Heliodorus as does the work of Ford in relation to that of Marlowe and Shakespeare.
PART ONE

Chapter Two

With the Aëthiopica1 of Heliodorus of Emesa the Greek romance came of age. The motives and conventions which found their primitive expression in Ninus, The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule, and the Babylonica, and settled into a highly conventionalized and specific genre in Chaereas and Callirhoe, the Ephesiaca, and Apollonius of Tyre, reached their final form in the Aëthiopica. The Aëthiopica is, in fact, the monument to its class; it is the epitome of all Greek romances. Not only does it embody all that its predecessors suggested, but it suggested all that its followers were to attempt. Monumental also are its proportions; far the longest of the Greek romances, it rambles through ten books before the lovers are allowed to live happily ever after. Although the novel was well known in antiquity and went through three editions and eleven translations during the Renaissance, little more is known of the

author than this curiously conclusive identity placed at the end of the romance:

Thus endeth the Aethiopian history of Theagones and Caricia, the author whereof is Heliodorus of Emesos a city in Phoenicia, son of Theodosius, which fetched his petigree from the Sunne.²

The Identity of his ultimate progenitor has never been seriously called into question, but in our times, Heliodorus' own identity has been the subject of considerable scholarly controversy. The fifth century Socrates, in his Historia Ecclesiastica, declared that Heliodorus of Emesa in his youth wrote the Aethiopica and in later life became the Bishop of Tricca in Thessaly. He tells us that during his incumbency of that office, Heliodorus introduced the practice of celibacy to his clergy.³ In the ninth century, Photius repeated Socrates' identification at the end of his summary of the Aethiopica.⁴ In the fourteenth century, Nicephorus Callistus again repeated Socrates, and then added the note that the romance created such a scandal that the bishop was forced to abandon his office.⁵ Since virtue and chastity are the central themes of the Aethiopica, the scandal must have been caused by its pagan pantheon. The philosophic

²Underdowne, p. 290.


⁴Ed. Cit., p. 51.

preoccupation does, however, go far beyond the usual interest in Fate, Fortune, religion and the gods which are so characteristic of the earlier romances; for it deliberately embodies a specific philosophy, the source of which is easily traced to the Neo-Pythagorean teachings of Apollonius of Tyana. And, although it is essentially ethical and sublimated, the *AEthiopica* specifically advocates a pagan system of thought and a pagan religion.

In our times this curiously enticing attribution of the novel to the Bishop of Tricca has been seriously called into question. Rohde makes a great issue of the fact that a Christian bishop in the age of the Church Militant would hardly have glorified a rival system, Neo-Pythagoreanism, and the cults of Helios and Apollo, as does the Heliodorus of the romance. But R. M. Battenbury, although he considers Nicephorus Callistus' statement that the *AEthiopica* created a scandal mere embellishment of a firmly established tradition, points out that Socrates, Photius, and Nicephorus Callistus all clearly imply that the work was a youthful one and written long before Heliodorus acceded to the bishopric. He adds, further, that the author of the romance was quite obviously the most devout of pagans and possessed of deep philosophic insights which could easily have led to conversion. Haight, Oeftering, and Wilson concur with

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6. Pp. 460-476
Even the most cursory examination of the romance opens many fields of interesting inquiry. Besides its positive philosophic bias, which will be examined in more detail later in this study, it is particularly interesting for its structure. The arrangement of the narrative materials must have seemed highly original in a prose work in the ancient world, for Heliodorus borrows from epic poetry and the stage the technique of beginning *in medias res* and then filling in the necessary information about earlier action by means of the "tale within the tale" or the "flashback". As each new character enters the action he relates his previous history and those portions of the history of the protagonists which are known to him. Thus the episodes are made to serve in advancing the action of the plot dramatically. The author is not required to assume omniscience and tell the reader all about the situation. The reader learns all that he needs to know by "living action". He is theoretically kept in a state of curiosity and suspense about the identities and purposes of the characters until all the *dramatis personae* have entered the picture and said their say. Unfortunately, the suspense created by this means is occasionally more theoretical than real, for when Heliodorus has one character relate the story of his life, which includes the

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relation of the story of the life of a friend, and the life of the friend includes the relation of the life of his friend, the stories of the second teller and the original teller are suspended in mid-air while the third is related, and the result is a sort of triple inversion which amounts to nothing more than intolerable literary gymnastics and induces in the reader a state of bemused confusion leading directly to sleep.

The second purpose of the episodic structure is ornamentation. The rhetorical demands of sophistik writing call for almost baroque stylistic embellishment. The episodes were expected to meet this requirement, furnish pleasant entertainment, and heighten interest by creating diversity in the narrative. The source of this cinematic presentation is the Homeric epic and the drama, but the germ of it for the novel exists in the Babylonica and the Ephesiaca. By making them serve to advance the plot as well as to ornament it, Heliodorus uses the episode to a much greater advantage than do Iamblichus and Xenophon of Ephesus, for these utilize only its ornamental value. One does, however, suspect that at some time in the course of his life the text of the Ephesiaca was before Heliodorus, for the most humanly interesting episode in his and Xenophon's romances is concerned with the character of an old fisherman, and since in neither case is the old fisherman of any specific importance to the plot, imitation or remembrance seems to be indicated. At the same time it should be noted that an
old fisherman figures also in an incident of Apollonius of Tyre, although in this case he serves to further the plot.\footnote{\textit{Ante}, p. 38. \textit{Cf. ante}, p. 54.}

With all of its philosophic and structural originality, the plot materials of the \textit{Æthlopla} do no more than maintain and reinforce all the conventional essentials of the earlier Greek romances:

At daybreak on a hilltop at the mouth of the Nile pirates look to the shore and see a wrecked ship and bodies strewn about. The remains of a feast are scattered on the sand. A girl bends over a beautiful youth. She is dressed like Diana and is so beautiful that the pirates think she is the goddess. The youth stirs and she embraces him and dresses his wounds. She sees the pirates and tells them that they are not the cause of the destruction. The pirates gather what treasure they can. Another company of thieves approaches. The first company departs in haste and the second makes prisoners of the pair. They carry them to a hideout in the marsh lands of the delta and give them into the custody of a young Greek, Cnemon. The pair identify themselves as Theagenes and Chariclea. Cnemon tells them his tale:

On the death of my mother, my father married a beautiful girl, Demeneta. She appeared to love me dearly as a son. At the feast of Pallas my father was away all night and she came to me as a lover. I refused her. In anger she accused me of improper behavior to my father and he ordered me beaten. Later she set her maid, Thisbe, to tell me that she was meeting a lover. Thisbe led me to see for myself. In the dark I rushed, sword drawn, into her room. My father leapt from his bed and accused me of attempted parricide. I was publicly tried and banished. I went to Aegina where came Charias to me with the news of Demeneta's death. After my departure she had become insane with love for me. Thisbe treacherously told her that I was secretly living outside the city and that she could arrange an appointment with me. Demeneta left for the assignation and Thisbe informed my father of the truth. He found Demeneta at the country house and accused her openly. She cast herself into a pit and died. I was exonerated. Thyamis, the pirate chief, dreams that the gods give
him Chariclea, but that having her he does not have her. He tells the captives that he is the son of a priest of Egypt and has been cheated from his priesthood by his younger brother, Petosiris. He says he wished Chariclea in marriage and she answers that she is a priestess of Diana, and Theagenes, whom she calls her brother, a priest of Apollo. She tells him that on a journey their ship was wrecked by storm. She agrees to marry Thyamis if he will give her leave to go to a temple of Diana and surrender her vows. She tells Theagenes secretly that this is a ruse to gain time. This fulfills Thyamis' oracular dream. A company of enemies approaches and Thyamis orders Chariclea hidden in a den. When the battle goes against him, remembering the dream that he would have but would not have Chariclea, he enters the cave and thrusts a dagger into her bosom so that no other could have what he cannot have. Thyamis is captured by the band. The island hideout is fired. Theagenes thinks Chariclea dead but Cnemon takes him to the den thinking her safe. They see the dead body and Theagenes falls on it and weeps, trying at the same time to kill himself. Turning the body, Cnemon recognizes Thisbe with Thyamis' sword in her bosom. Chariclea comes out from the back of the cave and the lovers faint with joy. Cnemon says that Thisbe had sailed from Athens with Nausticles, her lover. Chariclea and Theagenes creep away and sleep. She dreams that a man pulls out her eye. The next morning, disguised as beggars, they set out for Chemmis on the Nile, first taking an oath never to forsake each other. Cnemon goes ahead for news of Thyamis. He meets an old man dressed like a Greek, who says that he is an Egyptian. The man, Calasiris, takes Cnemon to the house of his host and before the meal sacrifices to the gods of Greece and Egypt and to Theagenes and Chariclea. Cnemon is surprised and asks about Theagenes and Chariclea. Calasiris calls them his lost children. Cnemon assures him that they are safe. Calasiris tells this tale:

I was a priest at Memphis when my wife died leaving me two sons. A harlot seduced me and rather than defile my priesthood I gave it up. I was informed by the gods that my older son, Thyamis, and my younger son would fight each other; so I left Egypt rather than witness bloodshed between brothers. I journeyed to Delphi, where I was received into the priestly circle. Charicles, a priest of Apollo, became my friend. He told me this story:

For a long while after I was married I had no children. In my old age my wife gave me a daughter who died on her wedding night. My wife soon followed from grief. I traveled to
Egypt where I met a wise and sober black man. He took me to the temple and showed me a bag of rare and precious jewels and offered to give me these and more. He showed me also a maid of seven years, very fair and beautiful, and told me this tale:

The mother of this maid exposed her to Fortune at her birth. With her she left this bag of jewels and this silk cloth with letters in her native tongue. I found her by chance and read the letters on the silk. Knowing then who she was I carried her for safety far into the country to be raised. I kept the jewels and tokens. The maid grew to be so fair I feared that she would become known; so I traveled to Egypt with her. But now the authorities wish me to return to my own country and I commend the maid to you and beg that you will treat her as a free woman.

I took her secretly to my house, called her my daughter and named her Chariclea. We returned to Greece, where she quickly learned Greek and soon grew to womanhood. She became a servant of Diana and determined never to marry. But it is my wish that she marry my nephew and I beg you to help me frame her mind to marry.

A messenger arrived as he said this and announced that the Aeneans of the line of Achilles had come to the temple. A sacrifice was prepared and was attended by their captain, Theagenes, and also by Chariclea. They saw each other. Right after the ceremony Chariclea was forced to take to her bed, ill and disturbed, but she knew not why. Charicles and I attended a feast given by the Aeneans, and the host, Theagenes, seemed also to be ill and unhappy. I decided they both suffered from the same disease. A vision of Apollo and Diana appeared to me and ordered me to return to Egypt and to take with me Theagenes and Chariclea as my children. The vision bade me then to be prepared to take them out of Egypt at the will of the gods. The next morning Theagenes came to me disturbed, saying that if he could not have Chariclea he would die. He sought my aid and I promised it. At the games later he won the race and received a crown from Chariclea. At the crowning he kissed her. This made her more ill than before and she took again to her bed. Visiting her I told her that her illness was love. Thinking her bewitched, Charicles gave me the silk cloth found with her. In the Ethiopian language I read that Chariclea had been born of the Queen of Ethiopia, but was
cast forth at birth because she was white and the
Queen feared to be accused of adultery. The white-
ess had been caused by the Queen's gazing during
the time of conception at a picture of the naked
Andromeda chained to a rock. On the silk the
queen told her child to keep carefully the ring
set with the jewel Pantarba, for it would pro-
tect her from all danger. I told Chariclea of her
parents and that I had once been to Ethiopia to
study its wisdom. There the Queen had sought me
out and told me of her child. She had begged me
to recover it for her, for she was in great sorrow
and still lived without issue. The will of the
gods led me to travel in Greece and there I found
that child, Chariclea. On leaving Chariclea's
chamber I saw Charicles in tears. He had dreamed
that an eagle had carried away his child. I
cheered him by saying that it foretold Chariclea's
approaching marriage and the time was now right
for him to give her her jewels and the royal gar-
ment left with her when she was exposed. I went
to Theagenes and told him the story. At midnight
he went to her house and kidnapped her. Chariclea
went willingly, but begged Theagenes to respect
her chastity until she had recovered her parents
and her native land. He took a solemn oath by
Apollo of Delphi, Diana and Venus "that he would
do all things in suche sorte, as Cariclia would
have him." We then set sail.

With that Nausicles, the host, returns and announces
that he has a better Thisbe than before. Cnemon,
knowing that Thisbe is dead, slips out to investi-
gate. He hears a woman moaning in the dark night
and calling herself Thisbe. He swoons in fright.
The woman is really Chariclea. She and Theagenes
had been captured by a band of armed men and taken
to their chief, Mitranes, whom Oroondates, deputy of
Egypt, had sent out to find Thisbe after being paid
by Nausicles to do so. As soon as Nausicles saw
Chariclea he cried out that she was Thisbe. He took
her away, but Theagenes was sent to Memphis to Oroon-
dates. Nausicles now takes Chariclea into Calasiris
and Cnemon. They recognize her with joy and purchase

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10 In Photius' Bibliotheca one reads that "A Pantarba
is the hydrophane, the oculus mundi ... a kind of opal which
absorbs water on immersion and exhibits a changing play of
colors. ... He [Ctesias] says of the pantarba, a kind of
seal-stone, that 477 seal-stones and other precious stones,
belonging to a Bactrian merchant which had been thrown into
the river, were drawn up from the bottom, all clinging to-
gether, by this stone." Freese, I, 111.

11 Underdown, p. 117.
her freedom from Nausicles with a ring of ivory and amethyst. After supper Calasiris continues his story: The ship sailed into the Caledonian Sea and met with a great storm. We took refuge in the harbor of an island and sought an inn. I met a deaf old fisherman who offered us shelter. We remained with him through the winter. A merchant on the island became enamoured of Chariclea and asked of me her hand. He offered to accompany our party to Egypt and settle there. One day the fisherman reported that a band of pirates had moored behind the promontory to watch for our sailing that they might capture us. The chief had fallen in love with Chariclea and wished to capture her and marry her. I told the merchant that a man was planning to take Chariclea by force and that I would prefer that she marry him. That night Ulysses appeared to me in a dream and rebuked me for not sacrificing to him. He said that I would experience the same trials he had experienced. Soon we secretly set sail with the merchant, but during a calm the pirates besieged us and boarded the ship. They sailed our vessel to the mouth of the Nile. A feast was prepared on the shore, and the chief ordered Chariclea to dress for her wedding. I prevented this by telling the second in command that Chariclea loved him and would marry him. A battle thus was fomented among the pirates. All the crew took one side or the other and Theagenes was drawn into the fray. Eventually all had killed each other. Only Chariclea and Theagenes remained alive. At daybreak another company of thieves ran to the scene and carried away the pair. They overlooked me and I found shelter in the house of Nausicles. Calasiris, Cnemon and Nausicles go in search of Theagenes. They learn he has been taken a captive to Memphis, so they return to Nausicles' house. Cnemon asks the hand of Nausicles' daughter in marriage. At the wedding feast Chariclea slips away and weeps and tears her hair over the lost Theagenes. Calasiris comforts her and tells her they will search for him and for Thyamis, his own son. They disguise as beggars and set out. At nightfall they arrive outside Bessa at a battlefield where there had just been a great slaughter. They see there a woman lamenting over the body of her son. They decide to sleep on the battlefield, fearing to go at night as strangers into the city. There they witness the woman in a performance of magic over her son's body. She makes him rise and prophesy, "Mother, ... neither shall thy sonne come safe home, nor thy self escape death with sworde." The body then falls down and the woman

12Ibid., pp. 170f.
runs madly about over the dead bodies. She trips over a spear; it pierces her and she falls dead. This fulfills the prophecy. Meanwhile Thyamis has escaped his captors and rounded up an army. He arrives at Memphis with Theagenes, who has escaped with him. They go to the court of Arsace, wife of Oroondates, who is in power while he is away. Thyamis identifies himself and says that he will disband his army and go in peace if his priestly rights are restored to him. Arsace sees only Theagenes and is stricken with love at first sight. To settle the argument over the priesthood, she decrees that Thyamis and Petosiris must fight it out between themselves, hand to hand. Petosiris runs in fear; Thyamis, Theagenes, follow. Calasiris and Chariclea see them and run after them also. The brothers fight, thus fulfilling the oracle. The father, dressed as a beggar, intervenes. Recognizing him, the brothers fall to their knees in respect to their father. Chariclea, dressed as a beggar, falls on Theagenes' neck. He boxes her ear, but she says the secret word and makes herself known. They embrace and Arsace rages with secret jealousy. Calasiris is now re-ordained priest and carried to Isis' temple. There he places the priestly symbols on Thyamis. Arsace makes her love for Theagenes known to Cibele, her maid. The maid goes to Isis' temple to sacrifice for her mistress's love but is refused entrance, for Calasiris, in age and joy, has just died. All but priests are excluded from the temple during the funeral rites. Chariclea and Theagenes are also excluded and Cibele orders that they be taken to the palace and lodged. Chariclea whispers to Theagenes to pretend she is his sister. Cibele's son, Achemenes, falls in love with Chariclea at first sight. Arsace makes several attempts to seduce Theagenes herself and through Cibele, but he refuses to submit to her. Chariclea tells him to give Arsace some encouragement to gain time. Achemenes offers to make Theagenes submit if it can be arranged that he have Chariclea as his wife. Arsace takes an oath to that effect, and Achemenes at once declares Theagenes is her bondman since he was taken a prisoner of war. Theagenes confirms this. Arsace next betroths Chariclea to Achemenes. Theagenes begs to speak to Arsace alone. He offers to submit to her if the marriage of Chariclea to Achemenes is broken off. Arsace answers that she has taken a solemn oath to marry Achemenes to Theagenes' sister and must keep it. Theagenes now declares Chariclea his wife. Arsace is enraged, but agrees. Achemenes rushes in anger to Oroondates and reports the story of Arsace's behavior. Oroondates dispatches letters to Arsace ordering Theagenes and Chariclea sent to him at once.
Meanwhile Theagenes has been beaten, bound and thrown into prison. His spirit remains unbroken. Cibele suggests to Arsace that they kill Chariclea and take her from Theagenes' mind. Arsace agrees; Cibele prepares a poison cup and an innocent cup. A maid takes them to the chamber where Cibele and Chariclea wait. She deliberately mixes them, and Cibele dies, accusing Chariclea of the deed. Chariclea is bound and led before Arsace. In despair over Theagenes she says, "If Theagenes be alive, I say that I am not guilty of the murder. But if he have miscarried through thy mischievous attempts, thou shalt need no torments to make me confess the fact." Arsace commands Chariclea beaten, bound, and taken before the Persian magistrates for trial. They condemn her to death on the pyre. As the fire is built Chariclea prays to the sun, declaring her innocence and Arsace's guilt. She jumps into the flames, but the fire recedes in a circle around her. The people cry out that she is innocent and must be freed. But Arsace declares her a witch and has her chained in prison next to Theagenes. They comfort each other. Chariclea remembers her Pantarbe ring and says that it saved her. Theagenes has a dream which foretells that he shall escape with Chariclea to Ethiopia. Next a messenger arrives from Oroondates with the letters. The lovers are taken to his camp. News arrives that Arsace has hanged herself in fear of Oroondates. Ethiopians, at war with Oroondates, suddenly raid the camp and capture the pair. They are presented to Hydaspes, the King of Ethiopia. He is pleased and declares that they shall be kept for a sacrifice of triumph at the end of the war. Chains of gold are placed upon them. [Follows a long digression on the military tactics which Hydaspes employed to win the war with Oroondates.] Theagenes urges Chariclea to make herself known to her father, but she says it is the safest course to wait until they see the Queen, who will surely feel a surge of natural mother love and recognize the tokens. When Hydaspes next sees the pair he is troubled. He says that last night he dreamed he had a full grown daughter. He questions them and Theagenes tells him they are brother and sister, born in Greece. Chariclea tells him that he will know her parents at the altar where they are appointed to be sacrificed. Hydaspes returns his army to Ethiopia, first sending messages to his wife and his wisemen, the Gymnosophists, telling of the victory and ordering the preparations for the sacrificial triumph. The night before she

13Ibid., p. 218.
receives the letter, Persinna, the Queen, dreams she gives birth to a full grown daughter. She interprets this to signify the victory, and the labor the battle before it. Persinna goes to the Temple of the Gymnosophists to bid them to the feast. They tell her that the gods have informed them that the feast will bring to light "a member of your body, and part of the kingdom which was lost." All the country round gathers in the field for the triumph. Hydaspes orders Theagenes and Chariclea brought forth. Persinna, seeing Chariclea, thinks of her lost daughter and begs she not be sacrificed. Hydaspes refuses, although he, too, is moved by her beauty. He says that if she fails to pass the test of virginity she will not be sacrificed. Fire is brought and Theagenes is ordered to tread on it. He is unburnt; thus his virginity is established. He is declared a fit sacrifice to the sun. He whispers to Chariclea to make herself known in the hope of saving them both, but she jumps into the flames, first putting on the royal priestess's garment. She too is unburnt and proved a virgin. All think her like a goddess. Hydaspes tells the Gymnosophists to begin the sacrifice. Sisimithres, the chief, answers, "God defend ... we have defiled both our eyes, and our ears too much with this that is done already. As for us ... the Goddess, do not allow such abominable sacrifice, as is done with men and women, and I would to God that we might also disallow and foredo all the other sacrifices, which are made with slaughter, in as much as in our opinion that sufficeth which is done with prayers and other sweet savours." Chariclea recognizes the chief as the one who had raised her as an infant and she begs him to judge her plea before the King and Queen. She now identifies herself and shows her fascia and tokens. Persinna recognizes them and Sisimithres admits his part. Hydaspes recognizes the Pantarbe, but is unconvinced because of her white color. The picture of Andromeda is brought forth and Chariclea is seen to resemble it exactly. Further, she shows a black mark circling her arm which attests to her black blood. Persinna recognizes it as being the mark on the arm of her infant daughter and embraces her with joy. Hydaspes accepts her as his child. With tears he tells the people that it still remains his public duty to sacrifice her to the gods of his country; his private sorrow must be disregarded for the sake of his

14 Underdowne, p. 261.

15 Ibid., p. 266.
country. The crowd protests; all declare that the
gods have preserved her and will be displeased by her
death. Hydaspes asks Chariclea how Theagenes can be
her brother. She replies that she was forced by
circumstances to tell an untruth and she begs that
she may be offered up with him. The king refuses;
so she begs to be allowed to kill him herself. The
king says that this is only lawfully done by married
folk. Chariclea, her virginity proved by fire,
declares herself married. Hydaspes thinks her out of
her wits and orders her taken to a tent to be calmed.
Heralds announce Meroebus, a young king. He gives a
champion wrestler to Hydaspes as a gift. The King in
return gives him an elephant. The crowd laughs.
Many gifts are exchanged, including a "camelopardalis."
This creature frightens a bull and causes him to run
mad. Theagenes leaps from the altar and subdues him.
The people cry that he should be matched with the
wrestler. He overcomes him too. As his reward he
requests to be sacrificed by Chariclea, and he, too,
declares that she is married. He is refused and led
away. In despair Chariclea tells her mother of their
relationship. A letter arrives from Oroondates re­
questing that Chariclea be returned so that she may
be given back to her father. The man who demands her
is present and makes himself known as Charicles. He
accuses Theagenes of stealing his daughter. Theagenes
admits it; since he has stolen he is an unfit sacri­
fice. Persinna tells her husband of Chariclea's con­
fession. The people rejoice. Sisimithres pronounces
that the gods would not like sacrifice of what they
had miraculously given to Ethiopia, further, "Lette
us therefore suffer divine miracles to sinke in our
mindes, ... and leave [off] murthering, of men and
women for ever hereafter."16 All rejoice. Theagenes
is made a priest of the Sun; Chariclea is made a
priestess of the Moon. Charicles pronounces the
oracle fulfilled.

Here is nothing new; once again we find a plot centered
on a sea voyage taken by a pair of young married lovers.
Again oracles, dreams, oaths and letters follow fast upon
pirates, storm, shipwreck, kidnappings -- all the cloak and
dagger perennials of Heliodorus' predecessors. It is the
same plot with the same materials; only the sequence of

16 Ibid., p. 288.
telling the story is new. Even the traditionally garbled historic background is here, for we see Egypt during her period of domination by the Persians; but Ethiopia is something different:

L'Ethiopie d'Héliodore est un pays de convention. Sans le moindre souci de la vérité, le romancier confond l'Éthiopie d'Hérodote avec celle du temps des Ptolémées, et imagine un empire éthiopien qui n'existait pas pendant la domination de L'Égypte par les Perses.17

In essence, Ethiopia is an imaginary country where anything can happen -- where Chariclea could be born white, where the miraculous is foretold in dreams, for, as with the other romance writers, dreams figure prominently in the narrative.

Xenophon of Ephesus used dreams chiefly for ornament; Chariton found that they could advance the plot; Heliodorus makes them his favorite oracles. In the Aethiopica, dreams foretell immediate action. Thyamis dreams that he is to have Chariclea and not to have her. She soon feigns consent to marry him; but fearing he will lose her, he apparently murders her. Calasiris is ordered by Apollo and Diana in a dream to take Theagenes and Chariclea as his children and lead them to Egypt. This is the immediate motivation of the young couple's travels. Just before Chariclea's identity is made known to him, Hydaspes dreams that he has a full grown daughter.18 More important predictions are made formally by oracles of Apollo. It is thus that Calasiris

17Maillon, ed. cit., p. lxxxix.
learns that he will return to Egypt, and thus that he learns Chariclea will eventually come into her kingdom. Chariclea duly acknowledges the accuracy of the oracle at the end of the romance.\textsuperscript{19} In one instance, reminiscent of the horrors of Iamblichus, a dead body rises from the fields of battle and foretells death.\textsuperscript{20}

Besides the oracles, the plot is furthered by letters, oaths, and disguises. A letter establishes Chariclea's identity; another informs Arsace that her husband is aware of her behavior to Theagenes and, thus, leads to her suicide. Hydaspes announces victory and proclaims the sacrifice of triumph by mail.\textsuperscript{21} Just after their elopement, Theagenes and Chariclea exchange oaths of continence until she shall regain her kingdom; thus are they married, yet virgins.\textsuperscript{22} In danger in Egypt, the young couple disguise as beggars; they are separated for a time. When Chariclea again sees Theagenes, still disguised, she embraces him. Failing to recognize his beloved, Theagenes gives her a heavy blow. In this way Heliodorus preserves a traditional story element and still manages to keep the hero in the reader's good graces.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19}Ibid., pp. 67, 76, and 289.
\item \textsuperscript{20}Haight, Essays, p. 78, considers this an imitation of the Homeric \textit{Nekyia}.
\item \textsuperscript{21}Underdown, pp. 71, 211, 259f. \textit{Vide}, also p. 285.
\item \textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p. 117. Cf. ante, pp. 25 and 42.
\item \textsuperscript{23}Ibid., p. 181. Cf. Blake, \textit{Chariton's Chaereas}, p. 8; Twine, p. 311.
\end{itemize}
Chariclea is superficially a conventionalized heroine, stamped from the same die that struck off Callirhoe, Anthia and Tharsia. There is no question of her virtue and chastity. Twice is her virginity proved by fire, and this after nearly a year of marriage. As is only to be expected, she is divinely beautiful and frequently mistaken for a goddess.\(^{24}\) She is devout in her religious duties and holds office as a priestess of Diana.\(^{25}\) Like her older sisters, she remains eternally faithful to her beloved through all vicissitudes of fortune.\(^{26}\) In spite of all the stereotyped details of her characterization, Chariclea is basically a different woman from the other Greek romance heroines. Her entire career is motivated by self-interest; no matter what her situation, she seems to be able to seize the upper hand -- by duplicity, if necessary -- and direct the outcome to her own purpose.

Callirhoe's misfortunes and adventures are a series of brave sacrifices for husband and child. Anthia's miraculous escapes are motivated only by a desire to fulfill the terms of her oracle so that she might return home and live happily ever after with her husband. Apollonius' wife and daughter are ever eager to put self-interest aside for his sake. But Chariclea's purpose is to come into her kingdom, and no sentimental affections are permitted to stand in her way.

\(^{24}\)Ibid., pp. 11, 265. Cf. ante, pp. 25 and 40.
\(^{25}\)Ibid., pp. 31, 66, 220f. Cf. ante, pp. 31 and 66f.
\(^{26}\)Ibid., pp. 84ff. Cf. ante, pp. 19, 40, 61.
When Chariclea learns of her true identity and finds that she has an opportunity to go to Ethiopia with Calasiris and Theagenes, she has no hesitation about leaving her devoted foster-father, Charicles, without a word of farewell or of explanation. But she is thoughtful enough to take full control of her lover, Theagenes, before they leave, for she insists on having him take "his othe, by Apollo of Delphi, and Diana, by Venus her selfe, and al the Gods of love, that he woulde doo all thinges in suche sorte, as Cariclia would have him. This and many other things they concluded betwene themselves, callinge the Gods witnesses thereto."27

Chariclea can hardly be blamed for her duplicity with pirates and slaves who would force her unwillingly to marriage, and one can only admire her nimble wit in turning every situation to the best possible advantage. It is Chariclea who prevents Theagenes from suicide when he thinks there is no escape for them from the pirates. It is Chariclea who thinks of traveling in disguise; and Chariclea who whispers, "remember [I am] your sister," when she and Theagenes are being led to Arsace's palace.28 But her behavior toward her father at the conclusion of the last book is well nigh incomprehensible, and thoroughly destroys what is otherwise a very bright and attractive, if somewhat

27Ibid., p. 117.
28Ibid., pp. 46, 188f.
self-centered, heroine. When Chariclea is at last brought face to face with her father she is armed with all her credentials: the royal clothing, jewels, Pantarbe ring, and her mother's letter. She has even a circle of black blood like a bracelet about her arm; she has every proof of her identity, and no reason not to straightway exhibit the proof to her father and ask him to call her daughter. Instead, she tells him that she is a Greek and that Theagenes is her brother. She submits to the ordeal of the fire test to determine her fitness as a sacrifice to the gods. When it appears that in no other way can she escape being sacrificed, she identifies herself, but even then she does not clarify her relationship to Theagenes, who at the time is in immediate danger of being sacrificed to the Sun. When her father questions her about how she calls Theagenes brother, she admits only that circumstances forced her to lie. She then begs permission to kill Theagenes herself at the sacrifice. Her father demurs, saying that this can only be done by married folks. Chariclea — who has just passed the test of virginity — immediately declares herself to be married. The king, and no wonder, thinks that she is out of her mind and orders her taken away. It is Charioles' arriving on the scene which untangles the situation that Chariclea seems deliberately to have snarled.

The ridiculous temporizing of Chariclea at a time when a simple explanation would have quickly settled the issue is the fatal blot on her characterization. Actually the confusion was only Heliodorus' way of heightening suspense and
spinning out the details of the mysterious revelation as long as possible. But the device is a blunder; first, because the reader has long since been in on Chariclea's secret and knows very well that she travels with her passport; and second, because it puts the heroine in the very unbecoming light of being a wilful liar. Heliodorus' clumsy attempt to ape the dramatic dénouements of the theatre ruins the characterization of his heroine, who, up to then, has been respected as virtuous, if not as particularly lovable.

But the characterization aside, Chariclea's chief adventures repeat those of the heroines of earlier romances: She falls in love at first sight at a religious ceremony; she takes a Mediterranean voyage; she is shipwrecked; she is captured by pirates; she is held in slavery; she is nearly forced to unwelcome marriage; she is mistaken for dead by her lover; she experiences attempts on her life and separation from her beloved. But two elements of her experience would on first reading seem to be new to the genre: her exposure as an infant and the prolonged reunion scene at the conclusion. The exposure of Chariclea has, however, been already suggested by Apollonius' abandonment of Tharsia with the foster parents, and the reunion and recognition scene which forms the grand finale of the entire work has already been suggested in the final reunion and recognitions of Chaereas and Callirhoe, the Ephesiaca and the Apollonius of Tyre, although in the Aethiopica the scene is developed
to such great lengths as to seem at first to be a really new departure.

Heliodorus personally tells us that Theagenes is beautiful, strong and a leader of men. Except for his fine behavior at the court of Arsace, which really does much to redeem his character, his actions never quite bear out this assertion. For all practical purposes, Theagenes is simply typical of his breed. Like Chaereas, Habrocomes, and Apollennius, he is prone to lamentation and tears, and in adversity he contemplates suicide rather than look for a less final solution to his problems. One bright spot in his characterization is an ironic speech which he makes after he is captured and chained in gold by the Ethiopians, who, of course, use only gold to do the work of iron:

Good lorde, whence commeth this trimme chaunge? Truely fortune flattereth us wonderfully, we chaunge yron for gold, and in prison we are inriched, so that wee bee more worth in our bandes.

Unfortunately, another line in reference to the lovers is more typical of Theagenes' character:

After Theagenes had saide, Let us do as you will: she went before and he folowed her, as if he had bene tied to her.

This attitude of unquestioning dog-like devotion and obedience to the heroine is modeled from Chaereas and Habrocomes.

30Ibid., p. 234.
Apollonius loves his wife, but his love has a quality of manhood and independence about it that is not typical of the Greek romance hero.

Theagenes' adventures, like his character, repeat those of the heroes in the earlier romances. He is not nailed or tied to a cross; Heliodorus is much too civilized for that brutality. But he does strike the heroine, suffer shipwreck and storm, battle, captivity, slavery, public trial, and separation from his beloved, and he experiences what appears to be the loss of his beloved through death.

The minor characters represent stock types as much as do the protagonists. No real attempt is made to differentiate them as persons. Two characters, Calasiris and Charicles, even duplicate each other. Both are philosophers and priests. They are equally liberal in their thinking, eager to learn new wisdom and embrace sound ideas of any origin. They are temperate and tolerant in their lives and attitudes. Each has traveled in search of learning -- Calasiris to Ethiopia, Charicles to Egypt -- and their travels, for each of them, resulted in cosmopolitan attitudes toward religion, virtue, men, and affairs. Both are loving fathers to Chariclea, and since their relationship to her and the role they play in the story are very similar, one suggests that Heliodorus duplicated them in the interest of further complicating and adorning the plot; perhaps this was done on the theory that if one philosopher be good, two should be twice as good.
Of the two, Calasiris plays the major role. From him we learn of Chariclea's past and are taught to speculate on her future. He it is who engineers the escape of the lovers from Delphi and conducts them on their Mediterranean journey. Up to his very death, Calasiris directs the plot, is confidant of hero and heroine, comments, philosophizes, and speculates on events, past and present. It is a pleasant conjecture that his character represents Heliodorus' own person; and if Heliodorus be the Bishop of Tricca, it would be no far jump from Calasiris' large-minded intellectualized paganism to a Christian conversion.

Cnemon, the young Greek whom the lovers meet in the camp of the pirates, seems almost to have been created deliberately for his comic effect. Before Theagenes and Chariclea have completely introduced themselves, he exposes his shocking family history in the tale of "Demeneta and Thisbe." When he sees the dead body of Thisbe he faints and quakes. At the home of Nausicles he mistakes Chariclea for Thisbe, whom he knows to be dead, "and all his body trembled and his teeth chattered sore: and he had perhaps been in extreme perill, if Calasiris, had not perceived it, and comforted him, and brought him to himselfe againe."33

Thyamis has been called a comic opera thief.34 Except for his initial attempt to kill Chariclea, one never takes

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32 Maillon, _ed. cit._, p. xo, thinks so.
33 Underdowne, p. 126.
34 A. Chassang, _op. cit._, p. xxv.
him very seriously as a bad man. His life of evil concludes with his resumption of his rightful priesthood to Isis.

The relationship of Calasiris and Thyamis, father and son, is discovered accidentally and would seem to be just one more Heliodoran attempt to complicate and adorn. Arsace and Cibele are types of depraved womanhood. One is a powerful queen who stops at nothing to have her vicious will; the other is a cringing slave. Both are evil to the core, and with Demeneta, a petulant, badly behaved selfish girl, they make a brilliant contrast to Chariclea's virtue and triumph of purity. Unfortunately, none of the three evil women are very original or very interesting.

Hydaspes reminds one of Athenagoras in Chaereas and Callirhoe. He is a public servant with the highest ideals of duty to the state. When he learns the person designated to become a state sacrifice is his own lost daughter and only child and heir, he puts aside his personal grief for public duty and requires that Chariclea be sacrificed for the sake of the people. It is only the wisdom of his philosophers, the Gymnosophists, which stops his hand. His mind is open to better ideas, and the Gymnosophists are easily able to persuade him forever against human sacrifice.

His queen, Persinna, is a timid but loving mother. She feared for herself enough to expose her baby, but loved it enough to provide it with every chance for survival under such circumstances. Her eventual longing for her daughter was translated into a request to the Egyptian priest,
Calasiris, then visiting in Ethiopia, to seek out the child. Thus began the chain of miraculous events leading to Persinna's eventual joyous reunion with her daughter. Persinna is neither bad nor depraved. Infant exposure was not the crime in the ancient world that it is today. But Persinna is weak. Poetic justice would demand that her child be not found, or, if found, be sacrificed by the state according to the original plan. But Heliodorus was interested in a happy ending in the manner of the comic stage; the retribution of the Gods did not concern him.

This interest in things theatrical is not, however, limited to the simple "staged" happy ending; it is the single point of view of the entire novel, and forms the basis of both presentation and interpretation of events. Integral with the theatrical conception is the forementioned episodic structure, borrowed as much from the stage as from epic poetry. It permits live action -- or dramatic presentation -- throughout the entire romance, for, as on the conventional stage, witnesses rather than an omniscient author report the significant events of the past. This technique eliminates the retarding necessity of accounting for intervening and eventless years, and it enables the past to be gathered up quickly and recounted, in order that major concentration might be placed on the immediate build-up to the crisis -- in this case, the sacrifice at Meroe and the absorbing revelations of the dénouement.

The most significant reflection of Heliodorus' theatrical point of view in the AEthiopica is demonstrated by
the characters' own comments on the action as it progresses. Thus, when Chariclea and Calasiris are reunited at Nausicles' home they embrace, and Nausicles "was astonied ... and knew not what that sudden acquaintance, as if it had beene in a Comedie, ment." After the battle between the two sons of Calasiris, we read that the crowd which witnesses the scene from the city wall:

was full of such wonderful affections, as is commonly represented in Comedies. The wicked battle between the two brothers was ended, and that which men thought should be finished with blood, had of a Tragicall beginning, a Comicall ending. ... Theagenes and Carclilla which played the Lovers parts in this Comedie, were most talked of.

After Chariclea and Theagenes are captured and bound by the Ethiopians, Heliodorus, himself, remarks: "Surely that which was done, was like a prologue of a comedie." When Chariclea reveals her identity to Hydaspes in the final book, he exclaims: "Is not the maid starke mad? who of singular boldnes with lies seeketh to avoyde death, and saith she is my daughter, as if it were in a Comedie?" When all is revealed at the end, Persinha declares: "Perhappes also they were styrred to understand the truth by inspiration of the Gods, whose will it was that this should fall out

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35 Underdowne, p. 132.
36 Ibid., p. 182.
37 Ibid., p. 230.
38 Ibid., p. 268.
wooderfully, as in a Comedie."39

Samuel Lee Wolff in his Greek Romances in Elizabethan Fiction considers the scene of recognition, reunion and reconciliation at Memphis as the pivotal action of the novel, and demonstrative also of Heliodorus' essentially theatrical conception of the romance:

a scene which in structure, function, and ornament is the most representative passage of the "AEthiopica." ... It marks and effects the transition from one main set of adventures -- those caused by storms, pirates ... -- to the other main set -- those due to intrigue and illicit passion. ... the whole passage is avowedly theatrical: the spectators on the walls are likened to the spectators at a play; the arrival of Calasiris is likened to that of an actor **ex machina**, and is termed "an episode," or "the beginning of a rival action." ... Chariclea's entrance is "a new interlude"; her encounter with Theagenes, "the love interest of the play"; several recognitions are involved; and the conclusion is that "the tragedy, which threatened bloodshed, had passed into comedy." Spectacular the situation is too, and most grandiose and "pathetic." The scene of action is no less than the whole exterior of a city, its walls and gateways thronged with people.40

The only scene rivaling this in power and in dramatic interest is the grand finale on the fields of Meroe. Here, too, is an audience watching, interpreting, and commenting on the action in much the same way that the chorus of the Greek drama functioned. Here, too, is the human interest in a bereaved parent, a lost child, a pair of lovers, and more: the imponderable question of public duty in conflict

39Ibid., p. 288. All the passages reflecting drama or the stage are collected by J. W. H. Walden, "Stage Terms in Heliodorus's Aethiopica," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, V (1894), 1-43. These are discussed from the point of view of linguistic and archaeological significance.

with paternal love. All this is set against a background national in scope; for it is not the sacrifice of Theagenes and Chariclea lovers, which is ordained, but the sacrifice of the succession to the throne of an empire. The conflict is not simply paternal love versus private duty to the Gods, for on Hydaspes' final pronouncement hangs the very doom of a nation -- the ultimate destiny of a people. All this is realized too well by the crowd. It cries out its comments in chorus at every turn in the action. The Gods must not be offended. But what is their will? They preserved the heir to the throne of Ethiopia, yet exposed her to public sacrifice. An ordained sacrifice must be made or the Gods will be offended! But would it not also offend to kill the one preserved so miraculously by those same Gods? Hydaspes knows only too well the scope of the problem. His appeal to the wise men is an engaging personal humility in a leader fresh from triumphs against the combined forces of Persia and Egypt. This final scene makes Hydaspes emerge as the hero of the book. It leaves Theagenes pale and breathless beside him; it makes Chariclea look just a little silly.

The wise solution of the Gymnosophists is perhaps a little too ready and easy to satisfy thoroughly, but neither poetic justice nor the awful inevitable are the concern of Heliodorus. The pronouncement of the wise men is an easy, sentimental, and acceptable solution to the tangled affairs of Ethiopia. Further, it has the added advantage of speaking forth the official philosophy of the romance, Neo-Pythagoreanism. It at once supplies the happy ending of the comic
theater and bespeaks Heliodorus' interest in the new and gentler philosophies which were crowding out paganism in the Mediterranean world in his time.

Aside from the theatrical conception of the novel and its epic structure, the most distinguishing feature of the Heliodoran style is the diction, which has two distinct phases: the literary and the rhetorical. Of this it has been said, "It is as though an English novelist should establish his diction upon a study of Chaucer and the Elizabethan drama! There results the style of a bookworm, not even remotely poetical, but broken by inapposite echoes." Of the older Greek writers to whom Heliodorus turned, Haight finds Homer to have been the most significant influence. Phrases such as "May the Gods give you your heart's desire!" -- Calasiris' greeting to Nausicles -- and "exchanging bronze for gold" -- Cybele's assurance to Arsace that Theagenes will desert Chariclea for her -- are but two examples of many lines in the Aethiopica which Haight cites as being Homeric in origin.

Photius says of it: "The work is dramatic, and the style employed is suited to the subject, being full of simplicity and charm. The narrative is diversified by actual, expected, or unexpected incidents that appeal to the feelings, by strange escapes from danger, by clear and pure diction. If, as is only natural, there is a tendency to use figures of speech, they are easy to understand and vividly illustrate the subject matter. The periods are symmetrical, and concisely arranged with view to brevity. The composition in other respects corresponds to the subject. The story is about the love of a man and a woman, and shows a desire for the strict observance of propriety." Freese, I, 120.


Essays, pp. 90f.
Along with literary echoes and phrases, Heliodorus has incorporated throughout the entire book, tags and scraps of verse and songs. The oracles speak in verse; a song is included in the description of the religious ceremony in which the couple meet; Chariclea recites a verse of Homer; and others appear as decorative features to recall older writers wherever they can be fitted conveniently into the narrative.44

Dunlop suggests that Sophocles was another important influence on Heliodorus, and he believes that the leading events of the novel were founded on a lost Sophoclean play, *Ajax* or *The Captives*. Further, he finds Scriptural borrowings, specifically echoes of the story of Sarah and Abraham, in the lovers' posing as brother and sister. Dunlop's suggestion that Heliodorus' fondness for visionary dreams may be due to Biblical influence45 finds rather obvious refutation in the fact that Neo-Pythagoreanism, the official religion of the novel, put a heavy emphasis on dreams and portents. But if Heliodorus and the Bishop of Tricca were one, the Scriptures would surely have been a natural literary mine.

The rhetorical phase of Heliodorus' diction is completely typical of *sophistik* writing. His pages abound with balanced sentences:

> But let us not be drowned with his sorrowe, nor carried away inadvisedlie with his teares, as with a great streame of water, letting passe all due occasion, which as it is in all things, so in warre it is of most force.

44 Underdowne, pp. 67, 76, 80, 90, 102, 105, 223, 289.

45 T, 29 and 32.
If then thou canst helpe me anything, doo it: if not, yet when thy mother is deade, see that her death rites be duley finished.\textsuperscript{46}

antithesis:

And thus the mariage Song, not yet ended, was turned to mourning: and she was carried oute of her Bridebedde, into her grave: and the Tapers that gave her light at her wedding, did serve to kendle her funerall fire.

Now to thee my daughter ... whose beautie is peerles to no purpose, and hast found thy parents in vaine, which hast in an ill time hapned upon thine owne countrey, worse to thee then any strange lande, who hast bene safe in other countreyes, but art in danger of death in thine own...\textsuperscript{47}

sententious sayings:

Wise and discreete men doe not measure just things by countenaunces, and outwarde appearaunce, but rather with equitie.

...heartes which be in feare, and carefull for that they love best oftentimes doo deeme the worst.\textsuperscript{48}

paradox:

But by what name shall I call thee? my spouse? thou werte never espoused. My wife? thou never wast married:

That is a jest in deede ... to wish that he might not die for that cause that he might not live.\textsuperscript{49}

illustrations from natural history:

... the serpent Basiliscus, with his onelie breath and looke, doeth drye up and corrupte all that it passeth by.

I with wayling bewepe my sorrowe, like a Birde whose

\textsuperscript{46}\textsuperscript{Underdowne, pp. 119 and 198.}

\textsuperscript{47}\textsuperscript{Ibid., pp. 69f and 272f.}

\textsuperscript{48}\textsuperscript{Ibid., pp. 267 and 167.}

\textsuperscript{49}\textsuperscript{Ibid., pp. 47 and 280f.}
nest a dragon pulleth downe, and devoureth her young
before her face, and is afaide to come nigh,
neither can she flee away:50

and oratory in the grand manner:

[Theagenes believes that Chariclea is dead.] And Oh
grief intollerable, ohmanifolde mischiefes sent
from the Gods, ... what insatiable fury so much
rageth still to have us destroyed? ... Alas thou
doest holde thy peace, that godly mouthe of thine,
out of which proceeded so heavenly talke, is
stopped: darkenes hath possessed her, who bare the .
starre of beautie: and the last ende of all hath now
gotten the best minister that belonged to any temple
of the GODS.

[Chariclea has become separated from Theagenes.] The
God that hath charge of me, hath me nowe alone, and
with out my husband. Alas wretch that I am, I mean
him, that by name onely is my husbande. ... But why
do I complaine of the miseries which the Gods send
us: let the reste also be fulfilled untill they be
pleased. But O Theagenes, O care only pleasant to
me, if thou be dead, and I heare thereof ... I will
defer no time to be with thee, for it is time I offer
these funerals to thee (and therewithall she pulled
off her haire, and laid it on her bed) ...51

One of the most common embellishments of the sophistik
style was the conventionalized, set description of a work of
art, architecture, or a geographical location; and in an
age without photography or the press, such passages undoubt-
edly were eagerly read. Heliodorus, ever anxious to please,
inserts a formal description, complete with mythological
symbolism, of the ring Calasiris used to buy Chariclea's
freedom from Nausicles. The passage is wholly irrelevant,
retards the plot, and runs to a full page of type, but was

50Ibid., pp. 87 and 62.
51Ibid., pp. 47 and 163.
probably of interest to an Alexandrian reader.\textsuperscript{52} But Heli-
odorus' geographical passages, conventionalized as that of the ring, are nevertheless a delight even to the modern reader, for they abound in local color and little scraps of information about the ancient world. There is a fine de-
scription of the marshy island hideout of the pirates of the Nile Delta, and along with fairly accurate geography, are included details about the homes and family life of the outlaws.\textsuperscript{53} There are several passages about the annual flooding of the Nile River. These include discussion of wind conditions which are such that "all the moysture, which was before gathered together and congeled, melteth, and is resolued into aboundance of water," and also some discussion of the mystical significance of the inundation.\textsuperscript{54} Two long passages describe the Troglodite "people of Aethiopia that live in husbandrie. ... [and] border upon the Arabians." Instead of details about their homeland we are given a quite Caesarian account of their manner of making war.\textsuperscript{55} In describing the Persian army of Oroondates, Heliodorus tells us precisely how the men are armed and that "a steele cote is made thus: with pieces of brasse, and yron, as big as the palme of mans a [sic] hand, they make a coate as it were

\textsuperscript{52}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 134.
\textsuperscript{53}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 14f.
\textsuperscript{54}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 68f, 251, and 261.
\textsuperscript{55}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 228f and 248.
of skales, "The very detailed description of the Camelopardalis should be noted by every naturalist."

Indicative of Heliodorus' literary interests as well as of the delight which writers of the Zweite Sophistik took in formal discourse, is the passage on the birth place of Homer. In a discussion with Cnemon, Calasiris argues that Homer was an Egyptian:

born at Thebes, ... and his father a Priest, as some thinke, and not Mercurie, as is falsely fained. His father was supposed to be a prieste, because that the God lay with his wife doing certain sacrifices after the manner of the countrie, and fell on sleepe in the temple, and there engendred Homer, who had about him token of unlawful generation, for on both his thighs there grewe from his birth a great deale of hair. ... He him selfe neither would tell his name, nor his countrie, nor kindred: ... Either ... because he was ashamed of his banishment, for he was driven out of his countrey by his father, ... for that by the mark on his body, he was known to be a bastarde, or els for policie, that while he concealed his owne countrey, he might lawfully say, he was borne every where."

Another such literary passage deals with the genealogy of the Aenians who traced their blood line to Achilles. During the discussion an argument arises and is quickly settled by a reference to a statement of Homer.

But if Homer and the earlier Greek romances stocked the AEthiopica with its narrative materials, its diction, and its arguments, the most distinctive quality of the romance, the deep philosophic coloring, is the contribution

56 ibid., p. 245.
57 ibid., p. 279.
58 ibid., p. 91.
59 ibid., p. 75.
of Apollonius of Tyana, a biography of the sage written by Philostratus at the request of the Empress Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, and the leading bluestocking of her day. Apollonius of Tyana had lived during the age of Nero and Nerva, and had already been dead some one hundred years when the work was undertaken. The Empress had acquired a memoir of Damis, a follower of Apollonius, and she gave this to Philostratus for his use. A careful scholar for his times, Philostratus also gathered up the letters of Apollonius and an account of his life which had been prepared by Maximus of Aegae. He traveled personally to Tyana to collect word-of-mouth traditions about his subject. The resulting biography specifically repudiates the charges of wizardry and evil practice which had grown up around his name in some circles, and, although it represents Apollonius as superhuman in many respects, it seeks to rationalize and explain his powers as due to his manner of living. It does even more; it tries to match Apollonius with Jesus Christ. The biography is an attempt to divert some of the ever increasing interest which was developing in Jesus' personality and work back into the fast receding pagan religions. It represents the sage as a reformer of paganism and the teacher of a new ethic in much the same way the four gospels represent Jesus as the reformer of Judaism and the teacher of a new way of life.

As with Jesus, miraculous portents preceded and attended the birth of Apollonius. As Jesus confounded the elders in
the temple at the age of twelve, Apollonius early donned the garb of pure philosophy — linen — and accepted the burden of living under the Pythagorean rule. Apollonius retreated into five years of unbroken silence — his wilderness — before he took up his ministry, and during his ministry he wandered with his followers, having no place to lay his head and no thought for the morrow, teaching and questioning and learning. Apollonius had the gift of prescience and could work miracles of healing and raising the dead. He was cast into prison; he was tried for his life. Like Jesus Christ, he emerged triumphant at the end. His, however, was not a sacrificial triumph, but a living one. Apollonius died peacefully in his bed of old age. He left a will providing for his handmaids who nursed him to the end.

Apollonius of Tyana was one of the Neo-Pythagorean philosophers who emerged during the early years of the Christian Church in the futile attempt to stem the tide that was slowly sweeping away paganism. The good sage embraced the local gods and attended the local rites and mysteries wherever he traveled. But he did so with the express purpose of purifying the ceremonies in order to bring them into conformity with the Pythagorean conceptions of the right and the proper, and to make them, at the same time, more acceptable to the gods. In all cases, he treated local traditional mythologies to symbolic or philosophic interpretation. The central idea in his teaching was that it is right, proper, and one's duty to do all honor to all
gods; and that above the gods is a supreme being, creator of all the gods, impossible to be comprehended by the human intelligence, a god not to be named, and only to be honored by the intelligence. Further, he taught that bloodletting of any kind was abhorrent to the gods and that the only pleasing sacrifice was the offering of sweet savours and the pure fruits of the earth. Apollonius attempted to encompass all the multiform pagan cults and rites into the ethical fold of Neo-Pythagoreanism. He demanded no uniformity of ceremony so long as the ceremony was "pure" and the life of philosophic self-denial was lived. Such self-denial and high-thinking were believed to be able to preserve one from all awareness of physical suffering and danger. Abstinence from wine, meat and bodily pleasure were thought to purify the brain and sensitize it to such a degree that telepathy was possible, and dreams, portents, and epiphanies—seemingly miraculous—became common to the practitioner.

Heliodorus' two philosophers, Charicles and Calasiris, are represented as types of Neo-Pythagorean thinkers. Although one is a priest of Isis and the other of Apollo, each is at home in the other's shrine. They freely embrace the local religion wherever they travel, and they are eager to open their minds to the wisdom it has to offer. Both abstain from meat and wine; thus they are able to perceive the future through dreams and portents.

Even more than by the characters of Calasiris and Charicles, Heliodorus' familiarity with Philostratus' work
is indicated by the Gymnosophists, the naked sages of Ethiopia. During his career, Apollonius of Tyana made a special journey to "Ethiopia" to visit these sages and to learn their wisdom. Philostratus alone among ancient authorities, excepting Heliodorus, located the naked philosophers in Ethiopia. It was generally thought that their home was India, where Onesicritus places them, and where they are to be found in the Alexander romance. The Gymnosophists of Apollonius of Tyana exist on a life of pure and rarefied philosophy. They teach that bloodletting of any kind is unpleasing to the gods. Their wisdom is especially honored by the king, and their advice is frequently sought in affairs of state. This, of course, is true of the naked sages of the Aethiopica whose abhorrence of bloodletting saves the lives of Chariclea and Theagenes in the dénouement.

If more evidence is needed to demonstrate Heliodorus' familiarity with Apollonius of Tyana, it may be mentioned that a Pantarbe jewel is described in the pages of the latter, that the episode of Cnemon and his stepmother is outlined -- with other names -- and that a great trial scene forms the latter portion of the book. This trial, like the trial-like conclusion of the Aethiopica, is centered on the problem of human sacrifice.

60 Rohde discusses in full the Greek ideas of Ethiopia's being but an extension of India, and eastern Ethiopians (Indians) and western Ethiopians having but one capitol at Meroe. Pp. 469-471.

According to Professor Conybear, Philostratus' work was published in 217 A.D. \(^62\) This would seem to stand as the date before which the \textit{AEthiopica} could not have been written. Miss Haight estimates the date to be the second or third centuries, \(^63\) but the date of Philostratus' work, 217 A.D., makes the second century clearly impossible, so the \textit{AEthiopica} is most likely a product of the third century.

The interest in Neo-Pythagorean ideas which is so richly interwoven into the fabric of the \textit{AEthiopica} has been the chief deterrent to identifying Heliodorus of Emesos with Heliodorus, the Bishop of Tricca. To the Neo-Pythagoreanism can also be added the ever present fact that the same insistence upon Fortune and Providence which marks the earlier Greek romances is present in this one. When Chariclea is abandoned as an infant she is avowedly given over to Fortune; storms, reunions, and recognitions are considered by the characters to be fortuitous. Always, the protagonists are in the hands of the Gods. Chariclea is, in a manner of speaking, pushed by the Gods -- out of Ethiopia into Egypt, out of Egypt into Greece. When she is grown she is pushed again -- out of Greece back to Egypt, and on to Ethiopia and her heritage. She does not seem to move by her free will; all of her progress is foreordained. \(^64\)

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\(^63\)\textit{Ante}, p. 6.

\(^64\)Wolff has discussed the problem of Fortune and Providence in the \textit{AEthiopica} so exhaustively and so well that I have hesitated to touch upon the subject. \textit{Vide}, pp. 111-117.
That this is unchristian and not likely to have been so written by a Churchman is easy to say but not necessarily true. The intellectual world was in a state of tremendous upheaval during the early centuries of the New Era, and conversions to — and from — Christianity were not uncommon, as witness Julian the Apostate. The vigorous young church, perhaps by confusion, more probably by deliberate calculation, found it expedient to absorb pagan feasts and ceremonies into the ritual, offer them new interpretations, and wisely overlook what it could not condone. Along with pagan folkways, the church was quick to absorb Greek metaphysics, and what began as a small left-wing Jewish reform movement was thus transformed to be all things to all men by this rich infusion of philosophy. All this, coupled with the intense seriousness with which the AEthiopica approaches life and the high importance which it places upon virtue, chastity, and propriety, would seem to make it quite possible that its author could have been a philosophic, contemplative, romantic pagan youth — possibly in pagan orders — who experienced conversion to the new religion and converted his old priestly interests into a new form. With the intellect and learning which he displays so obviously in the novel, it would be no surprise that he should rise to the office of bishop. Coupled with this conjectural argument is the plain fact of the existence of a tradition that the author and the bishop were one. The tradition must have begun from some fact or association, and it is just as possibly true as untrue.
Except for Apollonius of Tyre, the AEthiopica has been the most genuinely popular of all the romances in its class. Perhaps this is to be expected, since in a large sense it summarizes its genre in all of its faults and in all of its virtues; and as such, where there would be a demand for a romance of this class, there would be an especial demand for the AEthiopica. Another explanation of its popularity is its delightful diversity of form and matter. It offers pure entertainment to the uncritical, information to those who seek it, and food for thought to the philosophically inclined. For a few pages incidents may happen thick and fast. Blood may be spilled, cloaks and daggers may fly everywhere, but then the smoke clears and there is time to call a little meeting of the Philological Club and resolve a knotty problem in Homer. After the breath-taking suspense of a palace intrigue, poisoned wine cups, and a public trial, one who takes a serious view of anthropology will be pleased to study the folkways and tribal habits of the North African nomads. If one values sound moral precepts, chastity and virtue, the AEthiopica will oblige; and if one prefers a little spice in the sugar coating, he will find it. Add to all this variety the garnish of an art in style and structure which is specifically calculated to furnish the literary critic and the poetaster with the materials of his trade, how could the AEthiopica have failed?

Of all the Greek romances, only one, the Lesbiaea, or
Daphnis and Chloe of Longus\textsuperscript{65} stands undisputed as literature. The others, even the monumental \textit{AEthiopica}, are now become merely literary curiosities, by-paths for a patient scholar. Daphnis and Chloe, alone of its class, escapes the fault so characteristic of popular fiction: the fault of being so much of its age that it is lost to any other age. It is the only Greek romance to attain the stature of genuine literary merit, and it stands to our day as a modest, but permanent contribution to fictive art.

Like most of the Greek romances, the authorship is shadowy or disputed. Schoell suggests that the name "Longus" is a misinterpretation of the last word of the title of the Florentine manuscript: \textit{Λεοπλακίου Ερωτικων Αβγα}.\textsuperscript{66}

The oldest known use of the name is the Jungermann edition

\textsuperscript{65}The most convenient and accessible text is \textit{Daphnis & Chloe} by Longus with the English Translation of George Thorley, ed. J. M. Edmonds (London, 1935). Loeb Classical Library. The Elizabethan adaptation of the romance has been edited as \textit{Daphnis and Chloe: The Elizabethan Version from Amyot's Translation} by Angel Day, Reprinted from the Unique Original, ed. Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890). Day's version, originally published in 1587, has been used or consulted in this study wherever Longus' materials are examined in relation to Renaissance literature, and the references are to the 1890 edition. But Day's is a poor work at best -- an adaptation of a translation -- and it deletes much of the original material and adds much that never was in the original text. Thus, it has seemed desirable to follow and quote the Thornley translation in the discussion of the Longus text. Of this translation, J. M. Edmonds says, "For although his rendering is generally close enough to the Greek to satisfy the most fastidious modern scholar, it has all the graces of idiom, rhythm, and vocabulary characteristic of the best English prose of the day." (\textit{Ed. cit.}, "Introduction," p. xx.)

of 1605; thus there is no really antique tradition to consider. The name is Latin, but the style of the romance is so clearly that of a Greek Sophist that there has been considerable speculation that Longus was a Greek freedman of a Roman family who bore that cognomen. Near the city of Mytilene in the village of Thermi there is an ancient inscription bearing the name; thus it is just as likely that a Roman family could have been settled in Greece, and that a Greek speaking Roman was the author. There has also been much discussion of the fact that the descriptions of the island of Lesbos in the romance contain some inaccuracies in distances, landscape and climate. But with all the slight inaccuracies, there are also some bits of information which bespeak the native. The result has been speculation that the romance was written in Italy, and that details, such as those which concern the peculiarities of the Lesbian vineyards, were written for Italians, not for Lesbians, to whom such information would be trivial.

Todd asserts that Longus is mentioned by no writer before the Byzantine Age, and that in the Byzantine Age he seems to have escaped the notice of the all-seeing Photius.

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69 Dalmeyda has a valuable review of all these pros and cons in his "Introduction," op. cit., pp. xi-xvi. Vide, also, Rohde, pp. 534-537.
70 P. 35.
This has led to argument over the date of the novel.\textsuperscript{71} Professor Edmonds sees so much of the Age of Lucian in its pages that he assigns it unequivocally to the second or third centuries. Most scholars now accept that dating, and usually place it after the work of Heliodorus and before that of Achilles Tatius.\textsuperscript{72}

The unique excellence of \textit{Daphnis and Chloe} comes chiefly from its pastoral setting, which in itself is unique in the Greek novel. Like the others in its genre, it features a pair of lovers and includes the harrowing excitements of pirates and war, the traditional supernatural direction by the gods, trial scenes, kidnappings, recognitions and reunions. But, unlike the others, the lovers experience all of these adventures quietly at home. They take no journey, save a short one to the city at the end of the book; they lead their simple pastoral lives and the adventures of the world come in to them. As a result, Longus' romance achieves what the others all lack: unity. Where all the others give an impression of kaleidoscopic impermanence and uncertain time sequence, the action of \textit{Daphnis and Chloe}, save for a few paragraphs relating pertinent facts about the childhood of the lovers and a sentence or two to assure the anxious reader that they lived happily ever after, takes but one full year, plus another spring and summer, to come to full


\textsuperscript{72}Ibid.
circle. Where the theater for the other Greek romances is the wide, wide Mediterranean World, Daphnis and Chloe is confined to the island of Lesbos. The action, too, becomes tightly knit and wholly unified by the pastoral background. There is no feeling of breathless jumping from one adventure to another, from one misfortune to the next. With all the mishaps that come in upon them from the outside world, the pair have still their sheep and goats to water, their cheese to press, their vineyards to harvest, when all is again quiet. So much are the pleasant country occupations stressed and developed, and so frequently and so lovingly is the landscape described that the initiated reader receives the impression that Longus wished to write wholly like Theocritus, Moschus, or Bion, but was urged by the popular taste to add the extraneous ingredients of the popular romances:

[The author speaks.] I was hunting in Lesbos when I chanced to see a painting of a history of a love. It inspired me to write this book as an oblation to love, to Pan, and the Nymphs.

About two hundred furlongs from the city of Mytilene in Lesbos is the manor of a rich lord. It fronts the sea and is diversified by pastures, hills, valleys, orchards, and grain fields. On the manor is a goatherd, Lamo. One day he finds a she-goat suckling an infant boy who has been exposed with tokens of great wealth. He takes the child to his wife; they name him Daphnis and rear him as their own. Two years later a shepherd of the manor, Dryas, finds one of his sheep in the sacred cave of the Nymphs suckling an infant girl, similarly exposed with tokens of wealth. Dryas takes her home; his wife accepts her

73 The Babylonica is localized around Babylon, but all over and all around Babylon in an entangling maze of confusion.
and they call her Chloe. When Daphnis is fifteen and Chloe is thirteen their foster fathers both dream that the Nymphs gave Daphnis and Chloe into the hands of a young winged boy, and that the boy commands that Daphnis become a goatherd and that Chloe become a shepherdess. The men fear to disobey the command of the dream, so Daphnis and Chloe are sent to the pastures. It is spring and the children lead happy lives filled with the joys of country sports. Meanwhile, a wolf has been preying on the flocks and the villagers dig trap ditches to catch it. Daphnis accidently falls into one. He is scratched and muddy, so he and Chloe go to the spring that he might wash. As she washes his shoulders, Chloe finds him beautiful. It is the beginning of love, but she does not know it. Alone, she laments that she is sick. Dorco, an oxherd, loves Chloe and gives her country gifts. She is delighted and gives them to Daphnis. Dorco and Daphnis have a contest with Chloe the judge and the prize her kiss. She decides for Daphnis and kisses him at once. The kiss enflames his heart; he neglects his flocks, grows pale and declares that Chloe has poison on her lips. Dorco asks for Chloe's hand and is refused by her foster father. He dresses in a wolf skin and tries to force her. Her screams bring the dogs, who bite him. Daphnis runs up and drives off the dogs. The children dress Dorco's wounds, for they think he was playing at masquerade. Summer comes and then autumn. Tyrian pirates land and plunder the shore. They drive Dorco's oxen to their ship and seize Daphnis. Hearing cries, Chloe runs to help. She finds Dorco wounded and dying. He gives her his pipe and commands that she blow upon it. She kisses him before he dies, then sounds the pipe. The oxen on the ship stampede.

74 This marks the beginning and end of the action which occurs in the Great Lacuma and does not appear in editions before that of Paul-Louis Courier in 1810. For the exciting account of how Courier discovered the missing fragment in the Laurentine Library at Florence, of how he carefully transcribed the material and then obliterated the original by overturning his ink pot, of how he, thus, became involved against the Bonaparte faction and was finally assassinated for his crime against philology, read: Paul-Louis Courier, "Avertissement du Traducteur" et "Lettre à M. Renouard," Les Pastorales de Longus au Daphnis et Chloé, trans. Jacques Amyot, ed. Paul-Louis Courier (Paris, 1821), pp. i-xii and 1-54; Haight, Essays, pp. 141-143; Jacobs, ed. cit., pp. xix-xxi.
and the ship capsizes. The pirates drown, but Daphnis reaches the shore by holding the horns of two cattle. Funeral honors are accorded to Dorco and the children hang his pipes in the cave of the Nymphs as an oblation. Daphnis and Chloe now leave the pastures to help with the winemaking. The first vintage is offered the Nymphs and the children dance with joy in the fields. Old Philetas sees them and tells them this tale:

I have a lovely garden that I trim and dress with care. As I walked in it this noon a beautiful boy appeared in the myrtle grove. He wandered about and pulled the flowers as though it were his own garden. I ran to catch him, fearing for my flowers, but always he eluded me. Weary, I leaned on my staff and asked him what he meant. He laughed and was so beautiful that I gave him leave to pull the flowers if he would but kiss me. He said I was too old for his kisses and he reminded me of my youth when I sang and piped to Amaryllis. He said that he cared for me then, but that now he is taking care of Daphnis and Chloe. The boy sprang into the myrtle grove and I saw wings on his shoulders and on his back a little bow with darts.

Daphnis and Chloe are delighted, and Philetas expounds to them of love. He tells them it is agony for which there is no medicine but kissing and embracing and lying side by side. The children realize that their pains are love and they hasten to kiss and embrace. They dare not try the third remedy. They find that their pains are uncured. Some gallants of Methymna tie their ship to the shore and explore the countryside. The tie loosens and the boat drifts away. They blame Daphnis for their own mistake and beat him. He is taken before Philetas and tried, but defends himself well and the villagers drive away the Methymnaeans. These return by land to their city. In retaliation, the Methymnaeans declare war against Mytilene. When the soldiers come Chloe runs to the cave of the Nymphs. But she is seized and carried to the warship. Daphnis laments her loss to the Nymphs and they appear to him in a dream and tell him that they have care of Chloe and have begged Pan for help. Awakening, Daphnis sacrifices to the Nymphs and to Pan. Meanwhile, weird specters appear on the ship of the enemy. Berried ivy grows on the goats' horns and the sheep howl like wolves. The anchor sticks fast. In fear they set Chloe ashore. A pipe sounds; the sheep and goats which they have stolen run from the ship to shore. The frightened invaders sacrifice to Pan. Reunited, Daphnis and Chloe sacrifice to Pan and Syrinx. The next day they embrace and bind themselves by oaths. Daphnis swears by his
goats that he will love none but Chloe. The war continues and the raid of the enemy is revenged, but ambassadors are soon exchanged and again peace reigns. Winter comes; snow falls; Daphnis and Chloe are confined to their homes. Daphnis goes hunting near Chloe's house. While Daphnis is debating on how to gain entrance, Dryas runs out after a dog who has stolen meat. He invites Daphnis to come in. Daphnis passes the night there. The next day he leaves after kissing Chloe. After that he visits frequently. With the return of spring the children return also to the fields and there they make their usual offerings to the Gods and watch the flocks at their mating. They also experiment with love, but are not satisfied. The city wife of a neighbor sees them and becomes enamoured of Daphnis. She is enflamed with desire and contrives to meet him alone. One day running up to the children she tells them that an eagle has seized her fat goose but has dropped it in the woods. She implores Daphnis to help her retrieve it. Chloe remains with the flock as they go into the woods. Deep in the trees, Lycaenium tells Daphnis that the Nymphs have instructed her to teach him how to love Chloe. Eager to learn, he takes a lesson at once. When he returns to Chloe he resolves to reserve his new knowledge for a later date. Many suitors now seek Chloe's hand. Daphnis is distraught when he is refused by Dryas because of his poverty. In a dream the Nymphs direct him to a purse of gold dropped by the Methymneans on the shore. Daphnis finds it and the couple are betrothed. The wedding is set for autumn that the consent of the master might be asked when he arrives for a visit at the end of the summer. Word at last comes that he approaches and all the manor is put in order. The garden is trimmed and made especially beautiful. A country lout, Lampis, refused by Chloe for Daphnis, destroys the fine garden at night. Lamo laments at length. The son of the master arrives ahead of him and is told of the destruction. He promises to procure a pardon from his father. Gnatho, the parasite, becomes enamoured of Daphnis and begs him for his servant in the city. Daphnis rebukes and avoids him. The master and his wife arrive and are pleased with the estate. They inspect the vineyards and herds and are pleased when Daphnis makes the goats perform to his pipe. Gnatho again begs for Daphnis as his Ganymede. Lamo learns this and declares that he will reveal Daphnis' tokens in the hope that evidence of his high birth will save him from such disgrace. The master and the mistress recognize the tokens as those laid out with their own son. They had sent him with a nurse, Sophrone, to the wilderness because they had three other children already. Since then, two of the children have died and they are glad
to have him back. The young master is delighted to have a brother. Daphnis, afar off, hearing his name and the commotion, misunderstands and runs to cast himself off a cliff. He is saved by his brother. Feasts and sacrifices are made. Chloe weeps that Daphnis has forgotten her. Lampis kidnaps her thinking that she will now not be missed. Daphnis learns this and laments. To get back into Daphnis' favor, Gnatho, who had witnessed the abduction, recovers her and returns her to Daphnis. Dryas now reveals Chloe's tokens. It is decided to take her to the city with Daphnis. The master, Dionysophantes, dreams that the Nymphs petition Eros for a license for the wedding. In the dream, Eros commands that a great feast be given at which Chloe's tokens are to be displayed to the greatest nobles of the city. This is done, and a wealthy noble, Megacles, recognizes them as those he had laid out with a daughter he had exposed in his youth when he was a poor man. Daphnis and Chloe return to the pastures for the wedding. The young couple decide to pass their lives in the fields. A son and a daughter are born to them. The son is put to nurse at a goat; the daughter is suckled by a sheep. Daphnis and Chloe adorn the cave of the Nymphs and do all honors to them and to Pan.

Longus' novel is the best plotted of all the Greek romances. Its single theme — love — and the pastoral background serve to tighten the reins on the plot and to keep it within reasonable bounds. The separation of hero and heroine, common to the earlier romances, creates a serious plot defect in Chaereas and Callirhoe and in the Ephesiaca, for the reader is constantly asked to shift his attention from one set of characters to another, and to keep straight the threads of two stories as they develop in a series of frequently ill-connected episodes. Apollonius of Tyre actually has three lines of development in the main plot: the separate careers of Apollonius, his wife and his daughter. To this is added the further entanglement of the preliminary incest episode. The plot of the Aethiopica, so
deliberately snarled by the involution of the chronology, is further complicated by the separation of the lovers. But *Daphnis and Chloe* is all of a piece. The lovers are never far apart for any length of time, and the chronological sequence develops in such an orderly manner that we are always very aware of the passing of days and of seasons.

The plot of *Daphnis and Chloe* is controlled by the supernatural direction of Eros, but, unlike the Olympians of the other Greek romances, he seldom acts except through natural agents. It is his will that the young couple should love; thus he orders their foster parents in a dream to send them to the pastures. This done, Eros is content to let nature take its course. *Daphnis and Chloe* do not fall unnaturally in love at first sight. This is, of course, the case with Chaereas and Callirhoe, Habrocomes and Anthia, Theagenes and Chariclea. Instead, their mutual interests and playful companionship occasion affection and friendship. Natural psychic changes develop this into love. A chain of very natural causation set off by Daphnis' fall and culminating in Chloe's kiss leads the pair to a realization of their love. The psychological development of the love continues through a series of convincing incidents until it ripens into marriage.75 Once Eros finds this love

75Wolff discusses Longus' use of natural causation at great length and so very adequately that I do not feel justified in further discussion of it here. *Vide*, pp. 124-126.
to be in need of a little supernatural assistance, so he sends old Philetas to the children to tell them the beautiful allegory of the boy in the garden. The episode makes the children realize the nature of their enthrallment and teaches them the cure for its yearnings and pangs. But interruptions of an allegorical nature are not frequent, and, although interruptions by pirates, wars, and abductors occasionally cloud the atmosphere, the lovers and the readers so absorbed in the real issue -- love -- scarcely heed them.

With all the romance motives which go to make up the action of the plot, it is the pastoral element which is dominant and certainly the first thought of everyone when Daphnis and Chloe is mentioned. Longus faithfully copies the traditional elements of pastoral literature: the simple country lovers, the contest between rivals, the sweet magic of the shepherd's pipe, interest in country activities -- the grape harvest, the cheese making, the watering of the herds. Just as typical is Longus's consciousness of the seasons; the story is a processional of the year. It is spring when the lovers meet. Summer brings realization of love. Fall enters with the merriment of winemaking. Winter comes and the lovers are separated. Spring returning, they are reunited and the passing of another summer and the coming of fall brings them to their wedding day. Thus is the story calendared against a background of changeless, ever changing nature:

It was the beginning of spring, and all the flowers of the lawns, meadows, valleys and hills were now
blowing. All was fresh and green. Now was there humming of bees, and chanting of melodious birds, and skipping of newborn lambs; ...

... For now the cooler spring was ended and the summer was come on, and all things were got to their highest flourishing, the trees with their fruits, the fields with standing corn. Sweet then was the singing of grasshoppers, sweet was the odor of the fruits, ...

The autumn now being grown to its height and the vintage at hand, every rural began to stir and be busy in the fields, some to repair the wine presses, some to scour the tuns and hogsheads; others were making baskets, skeps, and panniers, and others providing little hooks to catch and cut the bunches of the grapes. ...

And now winter was come on, a winter more bitter than war to Daphnis and Chloe. For on a sudden there fell a great snow, which blinded all the paths, stopped up all the ways, and shut up all the shepherds and husbandmen. The torrents rushed down in flood and the lakes were frozen and glazed with crystal.  76

Miss Haight finds Theocritus to have been the most important influence on Longus. She sees his traces in the continuous alternations between descriptions of nature and descriptions of emotions, in the protection of Pan and the Nymphs, the brutal love of the scorned shepherd, the patron who lives at a distance. The very name "Daphnis" is taken from Theocritus' and Virgil's ideal shepherd. Bion and Moschus seem to have had similar general influence, and Haight recognizes sure reminiscences of Sappho's poems in Lamo's lament at the crushing of the flowers, and Daphnis' gift to Chloe of an apple from the topmost bough.  77

76 Edmonds, pp. 21, 45, 67, 131.

77 Essays, pp. 135-137.
So all-pervading is the sweet green pasture that one hardly remembers that pirates overran the land, that a war was fought, and the hero was once abducted and the heroine twice abducted! The country mishaps, such as Daphnis' fall into the trap ditch, the disguising of Dorco as a wolf that he might capture Chloe, and the destruction of Lamo's garden are the really memorable events. The trial of Daphnis before Philetas, the abandonment of the infants and their later reunion with their parents, like the incursion of pirates and war, are typical Greek romance motives, and are to be found in the pages of the earlier romances. The oaths and dreams of the more typical romances figure prominently in Daphnis and Chloe also. But where Chaereas and Callirhoe swear by Aphrodite, Anthia by Isis, Theagenes by Diana, Chloe says to Daphnis:

"... But do thou swear to me by this flock of goats, and by that goat which was thy nurse, that thou wilt never forsake Chloe so long as she is faithful to thee; and when she is false and injurious to thee and the Nymphs, then fly her." ... Daphnis was pleased with this pretty jealousy, and standing in the midst of his flocks, with one hand laying hold on a she-goat and the other on a he, swore that he would love Chloe that loved him, ...\(^{78}\)

Dreams assume more importance in Daphnis and Chloe than they do in the earlier romances, for here they are the vehicle by which the supernatural machinery operates. The first presumption which the reader must accept is that the lovers are in the hands of the Gods; this granted, all which

\(^{78}\)Edmonds, p. 123.
follows is natural and to be expected. Daphnis is the charge of Pan. Abandoned in his infancy, he is suckled by a goat, and the same goat leads a foster father to him. As a youth, Daphnis becomes a goatherd and plays skillfully on the reed pipes. All this is symbolic of Pan. When his sweetheart is abducted and his herd carried off by invaders, and he weeps desolate and alone, the Nymphs appear in a dream to tell him that Pan will engineer their release. And lo! The captured flock sprouts berried ivy on its horns, mysterious lights flash, and Daphnis' goats are led from captivity by the music of unearthly pipes. Pan has intervened, and the terrified pirates put Chloe ashore.\(^{79}\)

Chloe is under the special protection of the Nymphs. When she is abandoned in a cave sacred to their honor they send a sheep to suckle her and to lead a foster father to her. Chloe grows up conscious that she lives under their protection. Frequently she visits their sacred cave to offer them prayers and country gifts for sacrifice. The Nymphs, in return, are instrumental in rescuing her from the pirates; in a dream they direct Daphnis to a wallet of money that he might be an acceptable suitor in the eyes of Chloe's foster parents, for they realize that she would be desolate married to another. It is the Nymphs appearing in a dream to Dionysophanes, Daphnis' real father, that causes him to give a feast at which Chloe's tokens are displayed. Thus, they are also instrumental in her recovering her

\(^{79}\)Ibid., pp. 11-13, 97-109.
father. 

But if Daphnis and Chloe are in the hands of Pan and the Nymphs, respectively, as a pair of lovers they are in the hands of Eros. And Eros, like Aphrodite in Chaereas and Callirhoe, is the director and instigator of the plot. When the children are thirteen and fifteen years old:

... Lamo and Dryas had their visions in their sleep. They thought they saw those Nymphs, the Goddesses of the cave out of which the fountain gushed out into a stream, and where Dryas found Chloe; that they delivered Daphnis and Chloe to a certain young boy, very disdainful, very fair, one that had wings at his shoulders, wore a bow and little darts; and that this boy did touch them both with the very selfsame dart, and commanded it from thenceforth one should feed his flock of goats, the other keep her flock of sheep.

After love has awakened and the children experience the bitter pains of lovesickness, Eros appears to old Philetas in his garden and says to him:

... "I take care of Daphnis and Chloe; and when I have brought them together in the morning, I come hither to thy garden and take my pleasure among these groves and flowers of thine, ... And this is the cause why thy roses, violets, lilies, hyacinths, and poppies, ... are still so fair and beautiful. ..." 

Where love is, there is undying beauty! And the vision of Eros leads old Philetas to the children and from him they learn that there is relief from their pains. 

\[80\text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 15-17, 97-109, 171-173, 239-243.}\]
\[81\text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 17-19.}\]
\[82\text{Ibid.}, \text{ p. 75.}\]
\[83\text{Ibid.}, \text{ p. 79.}\]
divinities respect Eros' guidance of the pair. When the Nymphs in a dream direct Daphnis to the purse of money they say:

... "Some other of the Gods takes the care about the marrying of Chloe, but we shall furnish thee with gifts which will easily make [persuade] her father Dryas.\(^8^4\)

When in the course of love it becomes time for the marriage:

... Dionysophanes, ... fell into a deep sleep, and in that had this vision: He thought he saw the Nymphs petition Cupid to grant them at length a license for the wedding; then that Love himself, his bow unbent and his quiver laid by, commanded him to invite the whole nobility of Mytilene to a feast, and when he had set the last bowl, there to show the tokens to everyone; and from that point commence and sing the Hymenaeus.\(^8^5\)

And thus it was done. And so were they married. Through dreams the Gods acted and a love story was begun and in the due course of time it was concluded. It is this singleness of purpose that sets Longus' novel above the other romances. Daphnis and Chloe have only to love. Theirs is a love story, plain and simple, and no other purpose or drive clutters the plot. Chariton's lovers love, but they must solve the problems of their wretched love against the background of international intrigue and power politics. Habrocomes and Anthia are charged with the awful duty of fulfilling an oracle, and love must wait, must step aside, for that. Theagenes and Chariclea are concerned with the succession to the throne of

\(^8^4\)Ibid., p. 169.

\(^8^5\)Ibid., p. 239.
an empire, and they, too, must postpone love, must save it for a more leisurely day. But Daphnis and Chloe have no such concerns, and the unifying quality of their single theme lifts the novel out of the class of mere fiction to the class of literature.

As a pair of lovers, Daphnis and Chloe are typical of the genre in many respects. They are, first of all, young, beautiful and in love; they experience abduction, attempted rape, war and raids by pirates; and with all their rustic background, they are finally proved to be of very high birth. Daphnis is as effeminate as Chaereas, Habrocomes, and Theagenes. When Chloe is captured by pirates he makes no effort to save her. He creeps off, weeps and sleeps. After Pan intervenes and Chloe is returned to him, he embraces her and falls into a swoon.\(^86\) When his parents recognize his tokens and the assembly cries out his name, he misunderstands their meaning, "... and in the scare set a running towards the sea to cast himself from the high crag."\(^87\) When Chloe is abducted by Lampis he breaks into rhetoric and tears and does nothing to recover her.\(^88\) It is Gnatho, the parasite, who takes action. In this lack of resolution, this inability to act, this readiness for tears or suicide, Daphnis is typical of his class.

\(^{86}\text{ibid.}, pp. 101 and 109.\)
\(^{87}\text{ibid.}, p. 223.\)
\(^{88}\text{ibid.}, p. 224.\)
Chloe, however, does not follow the pattern. She is beautiful, religious, and lives for love, but she is not the mistress of the situation as are her sisters, Callirhoe, Anthia, or Chariclea. She is completely taken in by Lycaenium's deception when she seduces Daphnis. When suitors ask for Chloe's hand, and her foster father is about to marry her to one of them, she tells Daphnis her trouble but makes no attempt to help herself. Callirhoe would have devised a plan or an intrigue to escape; Anthia would have taken poison; Tharsia would have maintained a firm and triumphant NO; and Chariclea would have lied her way out. Chloe does nothing while Daphnis weeps. Yet, weak as he is, Daphnis is the stronger of the two, and such is not the order of things in the other romances.

The quality of innocence and childhood which hovers over this pair is singular in the Greek romances. Heroes and heroines of the others are chaste -- indeed, more so than Daphnis who must needs have his lesson -- but theirs is not the chastity of innocence; it is the chastity of conscious choice. Callirhoe is certainly not innocent in her love for Chaereas, although she is always chaste, even when she finds herself in the trying situation of having two husbands on her hands. Anthia and Habrocomes experience and understand passion; the two women of Apollonius of Tyre

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89Ibid., pp. 153 and 157.
90Ibid., p. 167.
are pure beyond question, but they understand the difference between good and evil, and they are so fortunately constituted as to choose the good. Theagenes and Chariclea are physically chaste to the end of their adventures, but the chastity is almost a mockery. It is no more than a postponement of physical love for a calculated benefit; they make capital of it. But Daphnis and Chloe are as Adam and Eve in the Garden before the Fall. They are chaste without realizing what chastity is; they experiment with love with no understanding of its nature, its physical expression, or their own emotions. Daphnis' defection for Lycaenium can, in no way, be interpreted as unfaithfulness to Chloe. He is as eager to have his lesson in love as he would be to learn a new melody for his pipe, for one reason: to please Chloe. But the lesson awakens him, and when he returns to Chloe he is wise enough to reserve his new knowledge for a later date. Daphnis and Chloe are innocent, but Longus is not. He is a thoroughly jaded sophisticate finding a new sport in the quiet observation of childhood. That the children play with matches and he does nothing to take them from their hands is, perhaps, indicative of the Greek attitude that there can be no shame in the natural. Certainly it is the reason for all the Latin in the pages of Edmond's edition of Thornley's English translation of the romance.

The minor characters are shadowy at best. The two sets of foster parents are figureheads; the rough shepherds, Dorco and Lampis, are only pastoral types. Old Philetas,
The philosopher shepherd, is drawn more into the plot than any of the other minor characters, for he has a specific purpose to serve as Eros' mouthpiece. Longus has made him old in age, distinguished for kindly wisdom and winsome memories, but he has made no real attempt to characterize him as an individual. Gnatho, the parasite, figures rather prominently in the latter portion of the book. He is a lecherous young glutton, a boot-licker to the rich, a stock-type drawn from the New Attic Comedy, from which Sophrone, the nurse who exposed Daphnis, and Lycaenium, the naughty city wife who seduced him, are also drawn.

The so-called New Attic Comedy was a stylized drama of manners. Types rather than individuals peopled the stage. There was even a conventional catalogue of names. Gnatho was the expected name for the parasite, Sophrone the expected name for an old nurse. The unifying theme of love, the exposure of children with rich tokens, the final recognitions, although part of the chief ingredients of Heliodorus' romance, are the stock themes of the New Attic Comedy as well. And all these link Daphnis and Chloe with the drama.91 Wolff points out another link: "... The visit of the city folk, most elaborately prepared for, is aggrandized by means of the apparatus of tragedy ... which through a series of rumors and messengers announces the master no less than four times ... each time as coming a little sooner,

91 Haight, Essays, p. 137, and Todd, pp. 55-57, treat this fully.
Longus' cultural interests do not conclude with the theater and with pastoral poetry. He shows a decided interest in art and music as well, and both play an important role in the romance. Music and dancing are incidentally introduced whenever the shepherds relax or feast, and music has a real role to play in the plot: Chloe is taught by the dying Dorco to blow his reeds in order to rescue Daphnis from the ship of the pirates; Pan plays his unearthly strains to rescue Chloe from captivity; Daphnis makes his flocks perform to his piping to the delight of his mother before they are aware of their relationship. As to art, Longus describes what would seem to be bas-relief images representing the Nymphs cut into the walls of the cave, a statue of the goat-legged, horny-headed Pan, and the decorations of the altar in Lamo's garden. Further, the romance itself is an ekphrasis of a picture. In a formal proem, Longus declares:

When I was hunting in Lesbos, I saw in the grove of the Nymphs ... a painted picture, reporting a history of love. ... There were figured in it young women, in the posture, some of teeming, others of swaddling, little children; babes exposed, and ewes giving them suck; shepherds taking up foundlings, young persons plighting their troth; an incursion of thieves, an inroad of armed men.

When I had seen with admiration these and many other things, but all belonging to the affairs of love, I had a mighty instigation to write something as to answer that picture. And therefore, ... I

--- until at length he appears."

92P. 122.

drew up these four books, an oblation to Love and to Pan and to the Nymphs, and a delightful possession even for all men.  

This passage at once marks Longus as a writer of the Zweite Sophistik. Formal descriptions of pictures were a frequent and expected embellishment of the high-style writings of that period, and Longus has gone a bit farther than his contemporaries; he has expanded the formal ekphrasis from the usual page or paragraph into an entire novel. The result, besides being delightful to read, makes of Daphnis and Chloe a kind of "framework" tale, although the frame is purely preliminary. It never ties in at the conclusion, and never intrudes on the story proper. The purpose of the proem is primarily artistic and rhetorical, but it serves also to explain the meaning and the dedication of the story and to forecast the action.

Parts of Daphnis and Chloe are written in the most extravagant Sophistik style. The artificiality of Daphnis' soliloquy on the subject of Chloe's kiss is an example. Rustic it is in all its associations, but where but in a book will a country swain just kissed by his sweetheart talk like this?

... "Whither in the name of the Nymphs will that kiss of Chloe drive me? Her lips are softer than [sic] roses, and her mouth sweeter than the honey-combs, but her kiss stings sharper than a bee. I have often kissed the young kids, I have kissed a pretty whippet and that calf which Dorco gave me, but this kiss is a new thing. My heart leaps up to my lips, my spirit sparkles and my soul melts, and yet

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94 Ibid., pp. 7-9.
I am mad to kiss her again. O what a mischievous victory is this! O what a strange disease, whose very name I know not! Did Chloe take poison before she kissed me? How then is she not dead? ... How sweetly do the flowers grow, and I neglect to make garlands! So it is, the violet and the hyacinth flourish, but alas! Daphnis, Daphnis withers. ..."95

And where but in a book will one find a gardener whose flower beds have just been trampled saying this?

... "Alas, alas, the rosaries, how are they broken down and torn! Woe is me, the violas, how are they spurned and trodden down! Ah me, the hyacinths and daffodils which some villain has pulled up, the wickedest of all mortals! The spring will come, but those will not grow green again; it will be summer and these will not blow; the autumn will come, but these will give no chaplets for our heads...."96

Discounting the not too frequent rhetoric, most of the romance is very beautifully written. Some of the passages describing nature compare favorably with the best of Spenser's and Pope's pastorals, although their nature is not essentially the same. The passage which perhaps reaches the very highest attainment in the romance is the description of the setting in of winter, Daphnis' loneliness and his visit to Chloe, and the charming domestic scenes within her home which follow.97 Had Longus written like this in the entire romance he would stand with the greatest of antiquity. Here is no rhetoric, no self-conscious decoration, no cleverness, only the sparkling refreshment of truth -- to nature and to human nature -- put together with the easy felicity of

95Ibid., p. 37.
96Ibid., p. 201.
97Ibid., pp. 131-145.
genius. Among the most successful passages of the romance are the episodes. Of these, the allegory of Eros told to the children by old Philetas is the longest and one most frequently praised and quoted. In this passage Longus writes with the same effortless grace which characterizes the winter passage, and, with the same easy delight which Shakespeare must have experienced in the creation of his Ariel, he tells a tale of Eros in the sun-drenched garden, at the same time making the episode the key to the understanding and interpretation of the romance. The passage sets the tone -- pastoral fantasia; pronounces the theme -- love; and announces the director of the plot -- Eros. At the same time it warns that the game is only for the young and tender. The old have had their turn and now they are wise. They may look on, but they may not play.

Other episodes in the romance are as well written as the Eros passage, but their function is entirely ornamental. When the shepherds rest after their labors the tales of the stock dove, of Pan and Syrinx, and of Echo are introduced to provide for the general entertainment. Their presence is as characteristic of the sophistik style as is the rhetorical soliloquy, but this is not to deride them. Longus introduces them skillfully and conversationally, and they all make delightful interludes in the course of the story.

98 Ibid., pp. 71-77.
There is a class of critics who make their final evaluations of literature rest on its success or failure in what it attempts to do. Longus attempts in *Daphnis and Chloe* to write a pastoral romance of innocent love and he exceeds beyond all expectations in creating a thing of beauty and a joy forever. There can be no belittling of his results, even while pointing to his personal attitude of omniscient sophistication which, unbidden, peers through at every turn of the romance, for one can never avoid the fact that if Daphnis and Chloe are innocent, their creator is not. And this leads up to that other class of critics who insist that writing is literature only when it is more than writing, only when it teaches. Sidney would have the greatest poetry be the poetry which delights as it instructs. *Daphnis and Chloe* delights. If it instructs at all, the instruction is morally suspect; and it is here that Longus fails, not because of lack of ability, but because of his own overworked ability and his tired sophistication. Were his eyes as fresh as those of Daphnis and Chloe, the romance might have had a different turn. But he sees through the person of old Philetas, heavy with years, and he is who encourages the children to their experiments.

But this is the twentieth century judging the second. This is the twentieth century appraising the passages which describe the children's clumsy experiments with sex. And this is the twentieth century which finds their love too purely sensual to be too pure. It is the twentieth century
which is questioning the casual attitude which the citizens of Mytilene display toward surplus children, and the thoughtless joy of those same children in recovering their thoughtless but wealthy parents.

The Greek mind accepted the animal nature of love rather frankly, and the ancient world admitted infanticide as respectable. The obvious conclusion is that either truth is not for all times, or that decadence was incipient in the age of Longus. The question is not to be settled here, but the note of decadence which mars this otherwise perfect jewel of the Greek romances is slight enough for most to ignore, but real enough to deflect the perfect symmetry of the gem. It is the ill omen of the future; too, for the romance to follow, Achilles Tatius' Clitophon and Leucippe, is almost a mockery of the others in its class, and in its total impression is somewhat depraved.

In point of time, Achilles Tatius' Clitophon and Leucippe is the last of the Greek romances. Before the publication of the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus fragments, the work was usually assigned a date as late as the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. But these papyri

100 The most accessible text is Achilles Tatius with an English Translation, ed. and trans. Stephen Gaselee (London, 1917). Loeb Classical Library. Two English translations appeared during the Renaissance (Vide, Appendix, p. 329); the earlier one, by William Burton, has been republished as The Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe ... Reprinted ... from a copy printed by Thomas Creede in 1597, ed. Stephen Gaselee and H. F. B. Brett-Smith (Oxford, 1923) and is cited in the discussion of the text.

101 Vide, Rohde, pp. 502-504; Croiset, p. 987.
presented palaeographical evidence which indicates that he could not have written much later than A.D. 300. These papyri show that all of the other romances of the class are earlier than Clitophon and Leucippe. The genre did, of course, have a second flowering in the literary revival of the Byzantine period at the hands of Eustathius Makrembolites, Nicetas Eugenianus, Theodorus Prodromus, and Constantinus Manasses. But these writers are of another age, and their work must fall into another sphere of criticism. After Achilles Tatius, the Greek romance as it was known in Antiquity is dead. And many there are who blame him for the killing.

Clitophon and Leucippe stands at the end of a series which can be traced from the pseudo-historic Minus through the elevated heroics of the AEthiopica. With it, the aristocratic background of the preceding romances turns surprisingly bourgeois; the high moral conception of the characters becomes disturbingly cynical; and the typical romance motives are found to be embellished with dialogue and details which seem deliberately calculated to shock or disgust the reader. That these new twists are a reaction to the improbable virtue and tiresome repetition of the incidents of the earlier romances, is suggested by Rattenbury. Haight's more charitable conclusion, that Achilles Tatius was only attempting

103 Ibid., pp. 256-257, suggests this.
to satirize the time-worn romance materials, seems hardly tenable.104

Little, indeed, is known of the author, although the tenth century lexicographer, Suidas, identifies him as:

Achilles Statius of Alexandria: the writer of the story of Leucippe and Clitophon, as well as other episodes of love, in eight books. He finally became a Christian and a bishop. He also wrote a treatise on the sphere, and works on etymology, and a mixed narration telling of many great and marvellous men. His novel is in all respects like that of the other writers of love-romances.105

Gaselee thinks the suggestion that he became a Christian bishop is a transferral of the Heliodorus story, since in no instance is the romance indicative of Christian thought. But, in view of the highly exaggerated account Achilles Tatius gives of the city of Alexandria at the beginning of Book V,106 he finds no reason to question his being a native of that city. Rohde doubts that the work on the sphere is by the same Achilles Tatius who wrote the romance.107 As a result of the legal rhetoric of the long trial scene and the accuracy of the judicial proceedings, it has generally been remarked that the author of Clitophon and Leucippe was a member of the legal profession,108 although there is hardly

106 Ibid., p. viii; Burton, pp. 82f.
108 Vide, Gaselee, Achilles Tatius, p. viii; Haight, Essays, p. 112; Todd, p. 111.
evidence enough to consider this a sound conclusion.

For his chief ingredients, Achilles Tatius makes no departure from his more innocent models. The protagonists are young, beautiful and in love: their adventures are occasioned by a Mediterranean voyage and are chiefly memorable for the long separation of the couple, apparent deaths of the heroine, and harrowing experiences with storm, shipwreck, pirates, brigands, slavery, and the law:

At Sidon while I looked at a painting of Europa and the bull, a young man spoke to me. He said that he had been buffeted about by the pangs of love; he then related this tale:

I am Clitophon of Tyre. My mother died in my infancy and my father remarried. My half-sister, Calligone, was born, and my father planned to marry me to her. While he planned the wedding, I dreamed that Calligone and I were grown to one from the waist down. Suddenly we were cut in two with a sickle. Meanwhile, my father's brother, Sostratus, sent a letter telling us that war had been declared and that he was sending his daughter, Leucippe, and his wife, Panthia, to us for safety. When we met them at the shore I found Leucippe to be beautiful beyond words. I loved her at once. At dinner I feasted my eyes on her. At night I could not sleep. When I did sleep I dreamed of her. Next day I visited my cousin, Clinias, who also loved. He loved a beautiful boy, Charicles. He advised me to press my suit vigorously. During my visit, Charicles was brutally thrown from a horse and killed. Clinias was inconsolable. When I returned home I walked in the garden with Leucippe. The day before her maid had been stung by a bee and Leucippe had put her lips close to the sting and murmured a charm to cure it. I now pretended to be stung on the lip. While she murmured the charm I kissed her and declared my love. At dinner we kissed the insides of wine cups and exchanged them. Now my father pushed on the plans for my wedding to my sister. I was distraught. Sacrifices revealed

109 Ante, p. 58.
evil omens and the ceremony was postponed. A youth of Byzantium, Leucippe's city, had heard of her great beauty and sought her hand. Leucippe's father had refused him because he was wild and profligate. He sailed to Tyre, planning to kidnap her. Calligone and Panthia went to a public sacrifice. Callisthenes, seeing them together, mistook Calligone for Leucippe, whom he had never seen. He dressed his men as women and surrounded them. They seized Calligone and set sail. I was relieved that the wedding was off, but distressed for my sister. A few days later Leucippe agreed to an assignation with me in her bedroom. Satyrus, my man servant, drugged her servant and stole the key. I entered late at night. Just then Panthia dreamed that a robber was snatching off her daughter. She ran screaming to Leucippe's room. I left the bed and ran. Panthia swooned, then berated Leucippe. Leucippe denied a lover, affirmed her virginity, and declared that either a god or a burglar had entered and that she had been too stricken in fright to move or scream. With Clinias and Satyrus I now planned an escape. Satyrus drugged Panthia's wine so that Leucippe could leave with us in a carriage going to Berytus. There we set sail. On shipboard we met Menelaus, an Egyptian, and debated about love. Three days after we left port a great storm arose. Everything was hurled over; nevertheless, the ship broke and sank. Leucippe and I held fast to the drifting prow. We saw Clinias and Satyrus overwhelmed by a wave. The tide carried us and Menelaus and his servants to the coast of Egypt. After resting we set out up the Nile for Alexandria. Suddenly we were overwhelmed by a band of black robbers. They took us as prisoners. Leucippe was carried off as a sacrifice. At dawn soldiers attacked the robbers and captured our party. I told them our story and made friends with the general. The next day as I stood on a promontory, I saw the robbers lead out Leucippe, strap her down face up. I saw them plunge a sword into her abdomen and draw forth her entrails. These they roasted on the altar, cut into small pieces, and ate. They placed her body in a coffin and left the scene. I was in deep misery and resolved on suicide. At her tomb I raised the sword to my throat, but my hand was stayed by two robbers who proved to be Menelaus and Satyrus. They opened the coffin and Leucippe stepped out. Her belly was ripped open and emptied of its entrails. As she embraced me, I fainted. Menelaus explained that they had pretended to join the robber band and had offered to sacrifice the maiden.
as an initiation rite. They had procured a stage dagger with a blade which retracted to the handle under pressure. An oracle had told the robbers to sacrifice a virgin fully clothed, so it was easy to fasten a sheep membrane filled with blood and guts to Leucippe's abdomen. At the sacrifice they cut only as deep as the false abdomen. In joy we all returned to the army camp. Our new friends were delighted with the story. Alone, I demanded of Leucippe my rights as a husband. She denied me, saying that she had dreamed that Diana appeared to her, commanding her to remain a virgin until she should clothe her as a bride for Clito­ phon. I remembered that I had had the same dream, so we resolved on continence for the present. The general of the army, Charmides, now fell violently in love with Leucippe. He tried to bribe Menelaus, but that one told me all. As a ruse to gain time, we told Charmides that Leucippe consented to meet him if he would delay until we reached Alexandria. But suddenly Leucippe fell to the ground, her eyes rolling. I ran to her and she struck me in the face and kicked Menelaus. We had to bind her to her bed. Messages came for the army to move and to give battle with the pirates of the Delta. The pirates devised a plan of having all the old men walk out with supplicatory palm branches and beg mercy on the town. The warriors followed, hidden by the branches, till suddenly they rushed to the front and charged into us. Our men ordered the dykes cut and the enemy fell under the sudden flood. Leucippe now had been mad for ten days. A young man, Chaereas, came to us with the story that Leucippe was the victim of a robber, Gorgias, who loved her and had ordered him, Chaereas, to administer to her a love philter of his own pre­ paration. Chaereas had bribed a servant to pour the philter into Leucippe's wine. By mistake it was given to her full strength and the result was madness rather than love. Now Gorgias' servant was offering a cure if we would pay four pieces of gold. This we did, and Leucippe regained her senses over night. Wakening from madness, she did not recall her illness and was ashamed when I told her of it. The river was now freed from buccaneers and we sailed for Alexandria. Chaereas fell in love with Leucippe and gathered together a band of seamen. These and our group he invited for dinner at Pharos. As Leucippe and I left our house for the party, a hawk struck Leucippe with his wing and looking up I saw a picture of the rape of Philomel. These were evil omens. At dinner the band drew their swords and took hold of Leucippe. I fell wounded. They carried her
to a boat and we gave them chase in another. The pirates brought Leucippe up to the deck and cut off her head. They threw the body into the sea. We dragged this from the water and I wept over it, lamenting that I did not have its noblest portion -- the head. The kidnappers escaped. I lived six months at Alexandria in grief. One day I suddenly beheld Clinias. He said that he had escaped the shipwreck and was taken up by a ship bound for Sidon. From thence he returned to my home at Tyre and learned that two days after I had escaped with Leucippe my father had received a letter from his brother betrothing Leucippe to me with a large dowry. Clinias had learned from a traveler that we had been seen in Egypt and he had set out in search of us. I bemoaned this cruel prank of Fortune. Satyrus now told Clinias about Melitte, a beautiful and wealthy widow of Ephesus, who wished me for her husband. I had been refusing her offers for some time. Clinias urged me to marry her. Reluctantly I complied, to Melitte's great joy, but with the provision that we should withhold Aphrodite's rites until we reached Ephesus out of respect to Leucippe, whose head was still, presumably, held by the sea. Sailing to Ephesus, Melitte did all that she could to make me break my vow, but I was adamant. On the day of our arrival at Ephesus, we walked in the garden of her home. A wretched woman, ill clad and wearing heavy fetters, head shorn, fell at our feet crying, "O mistris take pitie upon me, and deliver me which once was free, but now am bound since it hath pleased fortune to have it so." The wretch said further that she was Lacaena of Thessaly. She told us that Melitte's steward, Sosthenes, had bought her from pirates. Melitte comforted her and offered to have her returned to Thessaly without ransom. She berated Sosthenes and had him deposed from his office. Lacaena she gave to her women to be bathed, clothed, and comforted. At dinner Satyrus gave me a letter from Leucippe telling me that she had been sold into slavery and was Lacaena, the slave of Melitte. She declared her love for me and her continued virginity. I could not understand by what miracle she still lived, but I was filled with joy. I at once wrote to her and told her that I, too, had preserved chastity and that I still loved her and would explain the marriage to Melitte. In my bedchamber that night Melitte importuned me to give her the

110 Burton, p. 94.
long awaited rites of Aphrodite. I pretended illness and she wept. The next day Melitte ordered Lacaena brought to her. She told her that she had heard that women of Thessaly were skilled in mixing love philters that kept lovers faithful. She begged her to prepare such a draught for her to give to her husband, since he seemed only to love some dead woman, Leucippe. Leucippe was, thus, doubly assured of my good faith and set off at once to the country for herbs, although she knew nothing of magic. Just then a slave ran up shouting that Thersander was alive and here. He was Melitte's husband who was believed to have perished at sea. He had heard of me on his way back and was filled with anger and vengeance. He seized me by the hair and beat me. I was next chained and thrust into a closet. Leucippe's letter fell from my shirt and Melitte found it and learned Lacaena's true identity. She came to my prison and told me of her knowledge and of her wretched love for me. Now that her husband was at home she was called an adulteress and suffered all the shame of that position with none of the compensatory pleasures. She begged for one complete embrace to cure her wretchedness and to keep from offending Aphrodite. I did my full duty, aware that I acted for the sake of humanity. Melitte offered to help me to escape, and disguised in her clothing I walked out of the prison. When the guard found Melitte in my place she gave him money to leave town for a while. Meanwhile, Sosthenes told Thersander of Leucippe's beauty and enflamed him with desire for her. Sosthenes went to the country where she was staying, seized, bound and gagged her. He then carried her off to a secret hut. There he told her of Thersander's interests. On the way to fetch Thersander he met me. I was surrounded by men and thrown again into prison. Thersander rushed off to the cottage where Leucippe was confined. Seeing her beauty he was struck dumb and decided to give her time that he might gain her good will. He returned to Melitte, and she told him that Clitophon was a well-born Tyrian who had lost all at sea. In memory of Thersander, whom she had presumed to be lost, she had helped him. She had always the hope that her dear husband, too, might be alone and wretched on a foreign shore and might, thus, find a friendly hand. Melitte declared that her relations with Clitophon were completely innocent, for he, himself, had a wife who was presumed to be dead, but was just now found in the person of the slave, Lacaena. Any stories which Thersander might have heard to the contrary were pure slander and rumor. Thersander was pacified for a time.
The next morning he questioned Sosthenes about Lacaena's identity, but found his real proof as he approached the hut where she was confined and heard her talking to herself. She admitted her love for Clitophon. When Thersander entered the hut he made love to her, but she repulsed him in anger and declared her virginity. He laughed and said, "... I pray you were ye theves eunuches? or ... did these theves go into the Philosophers schoole, that none were found, which had eyes?" Ill Leucippe proudly declared that no torture would make her surrender her chastity. Thersander, in wrath, went to the jailer and requested that he be poisoned. The jailer, fearing the consequences, refused, but agreed to let a stooge of Thersander be placed in my cell. From the stooge I learned that Leucippe had been poisoned by Melitte. Thersander had thought of this to get me to leave Ephesus if I should be acquitted, and also to make me hate Melitte. I believed the false story and my body trembled. I moaned and wept. When Clinias came to visit me I told him that I was determined to admit the adultery with which I had been charged and also the murder of Leucippe. Thus, I might die with her and also punish Melitte for her murder. The next day I was tried. After I was accused I told the assembly that I had been engaged to Leucippe, but thinking her dead, had taken up with Melitte. When I found Leucippe, Melitte feared to lose me and my love and offered to make me lord of all her possessions if I would murder my former sweetheart. So I paid a fellow to commit the murder. He escaped to foreign parts, but now I was repentant and admitted all. Melitte admitted all but the murder. Clinias next begged the crowd to pass no death sentence on a distraught man who obviously wished only to die of grief. He said that Sosthenes had tortured Leucippe when she had refused his attentions. He demanded that if there had been a murder the corpse be produced. Messengers were sent to Sosthenes that he might be questioned. He fled; Leucippe escaped and took refuge in the shrine of Diana. Thersander refuted all the arguments and I was sentenced to death. It was ordered that Melitte be tried the next day. An embassy to the temple of Diana now arrived from Byzantium. All judicial punishments had to be suspended. It was headed by Leucippe's father, for a dream had told him that he would find his daughter and nephew in Ephesus. He soon recognized me, and bystanders told him the story. In anger he rushed...
up to me and struck me in the face. Clinias intercepted him saying that I loved Leucippe dearly. Now the temple keeper rushed up with news that a foreigner had taken refuge with the goddess. Leucippe was recognized and all rejoiced. I was released and Thersander rushed out and accused Leucippe of being a harlot and his slave. I defended her and he struck me in the face. Thersander was decried by the crowd for defiling the goddess' precincts. At dinner we all exchanged stories. I related my adventures from the time that Leucippe and I had fled together. As to Melitte, I told them that I had kept perfect chastity with her while I thought that I was her husband. The trial resumed the next day and Thersander objected that a condemned prisoner was at large. He also accused Leucippe of having desecrated Diana's shrine for having taken refuge where only a virgin could rightly enter. He accused Melitte of adultery. Sostratus, Leucippe's father, defended our cause. Thersander interrupted his speech to make a formal challenge: "... Thersander proposeth these conditions of Melitte and Leucippe, that she, since she saith that she never committed any dishonesty with this stranger in my absence [my italics], shall confirme it with an oath and shall go into the fountaine of holy Stix, there if that she be found not to have forsorne her selfe, she shall be set free, but this other, if she have lost her virginitie, shall serve bondage to her maister." 112 The challenge was accepted. Leucippe entered Pan's cave and the doors were shut. A strain of sweet music sounded and the doors opened; Leucippe walked out. Had she been defiled, Pan would have carried her away. Melitte stepped into the River Styx. The waters were still. This proved that her oath, that she had had no relations with me during the time of Thersander's absence abroad, was a true one. Had she lied the waters would have boiled up. Sostrones was now apprehended, and fearing that under tortures he would reveal the schemes, Thersander fled and was formally banished when Sostrones finally did talk. Leucippe next revealed to us how she had lived through beheading. A harlot had been dressed by the pirates in her clothes and had been decapitated. The body was cast into the sea. The pirates kept the head so that I would think that they had killed Leucippe and give up the chase. This we had done. Sostrones next told us

112 Ibid., p. 146.
that Calligone's abductor had fallen so deeply in love with her that he had been remade in character. He loved so deeply that he wished to have her only with honor. He gave up his wild life and became a respectable citizen. We all returned to Tyre and there Leucippe and I were wed.

The materials of this romance are so typical of the entire genre as to eliminate any need for comment, save for one element -- the gnawing worm of decadence which infects them. The conventional plot compounded of the voyage and separation of a pair of lovers begins with a new twist. After the first declarations of love are made, the heroine agrees to admit the hero to her bed chamber, an act unthinkable to any of the heroines of the earlier romances! The assignation is interrupted by the girl's mother before her chastity has been lost; however, the travel of the pair is motivated by the need to escape parental wrath over what had been attempted. The traditional chastity motive is, thus, undermined before the romance is half begun. In Egypt, in a short breathing spell between adventures, the young couple agree upon continence until they are properly married. But the agreement is not made in the spirit of repentance or virtue, but from fear engendered by a portentous dream.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 66.}

The most cynical twisting of the chastity theme is Clitophon's behavior with Melitte. He marries her in the honest belief that she is a widow and that Leucippe is dead. He had, therefore, every reason to fulfill honorably his role as her husband. This he refuses to do in spite of
Melitte's pleadings and her unhappiness, because of a sentimental respect for the lost Leucippe, which, were it genuine, should have kept him from the marriage in the first place. It is only after Melitte's husband has returned and after Clitophon has again found Leucippe alive that he fully embraces Melitte! And he does so with this rather specious justification:

... I was afraid lest the god of love would be offended with me; especially because Leucippe being recovered, I should shortly dismiss Melite [sic], and the marriages which were appointed between us were not solemnized.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 105.}

Chastity is made a laughing stock at the conclusion when Clitophon tells his tale to the assembly:

... I declared whatsoever she spoke, whatsoever she complained, whatsoever also were done in the ship while we came from Alexandria to Ephesus, howe we lay together, and howe abstinently I behaved my selfe, as if I hadde beene an eunuch.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 137.}

All truth. But Clitophon carefully stops his tale short with the return of Thersander, Melitte's husband. Not only chastity, but the gods are flouted at the trial of Melitte. She swears that "... she never had any thing to do with me in Thersander's absence, except talking together."\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 146.} By the technicality of a phrase she passes the test and ostensibly proves that she is not an adulteress! Whereas, had Clitophon succumbed to her before Thersander's return, she could never have been counted an adulteress at all, for she
then believed herself legally married to Clitophon.

Leucippe's trial is hardly less of a mockery. True, she is physically a virgin, and she has never surrendered even a hair of her head to any but Clitophon. But she was perfectly capable of admitting him to her bedchamber before their flight, and she flagrantly lied to her mother when questioned about his visit. During their travels, Leucippe restrained her impulses out of fear of Diana, who had warned her to chastity in a dream. Had Pan's grotto tested psychological chastity instead of mere physical chastity, Leucippe would have failed to pass. The cynicism over the virtue of hero and heroine is a shock to the reader fresh from the innocence of *Apollonius* and the *AEthiopica*. Even Longus' personal sophistication is not transferred to Daphnis and Chloe. Daphnis' lesson was possible only because he was innocent!

The only instance in Achilles Tatius' novel in which love seems to be removed from a purely physical plane is the sub-plot of Calligone and Callisthenes. Callisthenes had kidnapped Calligone, mistaking her for Leucippe, in the spirit of lust. Her behavior and beauty, however, were such that he fell really in love with her. This love so transformed his rude, profligate character that he became gentle and respectable. Critics have pointed to this as the earliest known instance in literature of a character's being transformed by the power of love.117 A credit it is to

Achilles Tatius, but since it occupies only a few brief paragraphs it hardly is sufficient to redeem the whole romance from depravity.

Another feature of the romance, however, deserves especial mention and praise, and this is the careful way in which Achilles Tatius develops the courtship of the lovers. The crudely imagined love-at-first-sight motive of the older romances is replaced with a sophisticated courtship, highly suggestive of Ovid. The first sight of Leucippe sends Clitophon's blood coursing. After that he makes use of every possible opportunity to feast his eyes on her face, to walk with her in the garden, to place a kiss inside her wine cup, and, finally, to steal kisses by the daintiest method yet devised: the charm for the bee sting.

Unfortunately, the episode is followed almost immediately by the assignation, and that by a passage which completely disfigures love. On shipboard, Clitophon and Menelaus have a formal debate on the relative merits of love between man and boy and man and woman. It is too frank for English, and Burton translates it hesitantly. In the Gaselee edition it is decently clothed in Latin.

The overall decadence of Clitophon and Leucippe is not lessened by the disgusting details of Leucippe's apparent death as a sacrifice of the pirates. That a heroine of a

\[118\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 43-46.}\]
\[119\text{Gaselee, Achilles Tatius, pp. 129-133.}\]
romance should be forced to lie all day in a closed coffin
with a bloody sheep gut tied to her stomach, and that her
lover should have sight of her with her abdomen apparently
split open and empty of its entrails is beyond the pale! No
wonder Clitophon fainted! And here the fainting hero of a
Greek romance has a really good excuse for fainting. As
for permitting the heroine of a romance to go mad, thrash
her limbs, kick and scream -- that is only redeemed by one
factor: it permits the heroine to kick the hero instead of
'herself being kicked. The traditional motive is, thus,
reversed.

Achilles Tatius embraces the convention of the effemi­
nate hero and the strong-willed heroine. At a crisis,'  
Clitophon attempts suicide, faints, or weeps.\textsuperscript{120} Never does
he try to ameliorate a bad situation. He stands on a hill
and watches while the brigands eviscerate his sweetheart; he
stands on a ship and watches pirates decapitate her! He
makes no effort to stay their hands. He meekly accepts
beatings and never fights back:

[Thersander upon his return] ... What is this the
adulterer? and violently rushing upon me, being
wonderfull wroth, strooke me a blow upon the face,
then he plucked me by the haire, and casting me to
the ground, he did beate me with a cudgell: I being
amazed at this suddaine violence, did neither aske
him what he was, neyther why he did strike me, nor
durst offer to speake a word unto him: ...

And with as great force as he could, he stroke me
twice upon the face, that streames of blood gushed
out of my nose, and striking me the third time, his

\textsuperscript{120}Burton, pp. 59, 60, 124.
hand dashed against my teeth: and having hurt his fingers, with a great groan he plucked back his hand: so that my teeth seemed to revenge the injury which was offered to my nose.121

Leucippe is as strong as Clitophon is weak. Save for the initial indiscretion of permitting a lover in her bedroom and her lies to her mother, she behaves very well. The letter which she writes to Clitophon when she discovers that he is married to Melitte is a model of good taste and delicacy.122 Her defence of her virtue against the violence of Sosthenes and Thersander is positively heroic.123 Since the romance is told in the first person by Clitophon, the reader loses sight of Leucippe for long periods of time while she is separated from the narrator; thus, Melitte, who enters the romance in the middle of the book, and who stands well to the front from then on, plays a role which really rivals Leucippe's in importance.

Melitte is a story-book widow -- wealthy, beautiful, voluptuous, and passionate. And with all this, she is intelligent, worldly, and capable of great humanity. Her beauty and warmth move even the cold reserve of Clitophon. She is kind to Leucippe when she knows her only as a wretched slave, and when Thersander returns and Melitte knows that her love for Clitophon is hopeless, she does all that she can to help him and her rival for his love, Leucippe, to escape.

121Ibid., pp. 101, 135-136.
122Ibid., pp. 95-96.
123Ibid., pp. 118-120.
She does not even overlook the poor deceived jailer, but gives him the wherewithal to flee from the wrath of Ther­sander. Her characterization is the most masterful in the novel, and, perhaps, the most masterful in the entire genre. She is a supreme sensualist, but so humanly appealing with it all that she makes Leucippe's virtue seem pale and puling and her own sensualism seem to be supremely desirable. She deserved a better fate than life with either Clitophon or Thersander.

Two of the minor characters are links with the New Attic Comedy. Satyrus is the slave-confidant who provides for all the ins and outs of his master. He is a sort of sophisticated Sam Weller, but minus his delightful eccentricities. He enlivens the novel and provides for some much needed humor. Thersander is the violent, cuckolded husband, a stock character of the day. Haight points out that the messenger speeches in tragedy were the suggestion for the slave's report to Clinias of the death of his beloved, Charicles, in a riding accident. The dagger with the retractable blade which was used in the pseudo-sacrifice of Leucippe was taken from the belongings of "... certaine stage-players, who accustomed to play Homers fables in theaters, ..." At the trial scene the priest of Diana

124 Ibid., pp. 34-36.
125 Essays, p. 112.
126 Burton, p. 62.
comes forward, and of him Clitophon says:

Then stood up the priest, a man most ready to reply, and one which was well read in Aristophanes, beganne to inveigh merily and merrily against Thersander his youth.127

More important than the links with the drama is the influence of the schools of rhetoric which is so apparent in the great trial scene at the end of the romance and in the dialogues and soliloquies of the characters. And, indeed, considering the diction128 alone, it is the epitome in its category. The speeches generally follow conventional rhetorical patterns, and they are so filled with digressive passages, analyses of sentiments, antitheses and equivocation that their end result is to make amusing what was designed to be serious, or to make painfully banal that which was written to be "pathetic." Frequently the result is nothing more than sheer boredom. A classic example of the very worst sophistik banality is Clitophon's speech over Leucippe's coffin after she has been apparently disemboweled:

... O wretch Leucippe: O most unfortunate of all creatures alive: I do not lament thy death, because

127Tbid., p. 142.

128Photius says of it, "It is a dramatic work, introducing some unseemly love episodes. The diction and composition are excellent, the style distinct, and the figures of speech, whenever they are employed, are well adapted to the purpose. The periods as a rule are aphoristic, clear and agreeable, and soothing to the ear. But the obscenity and impurity of sentiment impair his judgment, are prejudicial to seriousness, and make the story disgusting to read or something to be avoided altogether. Except for the names of the characters and his abominable indenacy, the story, in method of treatment and invention, has a great resemblance to the Aethiopica of Heliodorus." Freese, I, 153.
that either farre from home, or thus violently thou
didst die; but that which maketh me most wretched of
all men, because thou wast a sacrifice for so uncleane
theeves; whom being alive, they did not only rent out
thy verie bowels, but ripping thee up most butcherly
from the lower end of thy belly to thy very heart;
but also divided the secret parts of thy wombe, build­
ing up a most execrable aultar, and most hatefull
tombe for thy sweete bodie. Here do thy wretched
corps lye, but where are thy entrailes? If they had
bin burnt with fire, I should have thought the mis­
fortune a great deale the lesse; but since their
sepulchre is the ravening guts of the theeves, what
misfortune can be compared to this mishap (0 cruell
aulter; 0 kind of meate never heard of before: ...

Appalling! But no less so is Clitophon's apostrophe over
what he thinks is Leucippe's headless trunk, while he believes
her noblest part, her head, is in the sea:

Nowe my deere Leucippe, thou hast dyed two deaths,
both by land and sea: and although I have the reliques
of thy body, yet I have lost thee; neither is that
parts of the body which is restored to the land, like
to that which the Sea hath kept, for the least part
of thy shape is left to mee, the Sea possesseth it
alone: but although fortune hath dealt so with me
that I cannot kisse thy lippes, yet I will kisse thy
throate: thus complaining with my selfe, I buried
the carcasse, ...

The emotion is false and the rhetoric ridiculous, but
such a passage gains in importance if one considers it as a
foreshadowing of the euphuistic style, which is also to be
seen in the balanced, frequently paradoxical, antithetical
sentences which are a prominent feature of Clitophon and
Leucippe:

... in her countenance, was palenesse mingled with
her beautie: neither were her cheekes so pale, as
that they wanted theyr accustomed ruddiness: with

129 Burton, p. 59.
130 Ibid., p. 87.
PAGES 161 AND 162 HAVE BEEN REPEATED IN NUMBERING ONLY.

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such a pleasing fear had the painter so grace her, as yet she seemed not to fear the horror of death, the ugliness of the monster, neither the reproaches of her enemies: her hands were stretched forth and bound unto the rocke, which did seeme to hang no otherwise from the arm, then a ripe bunch of grapes from the vine: the whiteness of her arm, did seeme to be mingled with a kind of blewnesse: her fingers seemed to languish with griefe: this was the usage of the maid, every hour expecting death.

... But O Leucippe, ... behold the magnificent preparations for your marriage: a prison for your chamber, the ground for your bed, ropes and fetters for your bracelets and jewels, and in stead of Himeneus merry hymnes, weeping waylings, and lamentations. O sea we have thanked thee in vaine, ... for whilst thou hast saved us, thou hast tormented us more cruelly: ...

The un-natural history which plays such a famous role in Euphuism also crowds the pages of Clitophon and Leucippe:

... And doth the force of love extend so farre, as that birds be enflamed with a certaine heate of his fire? Then answered I: yea not onely birds, but also Serpents, four-footed beasts, plants and stones are naturally inclined to love: for the loadstone doth love yron, that if so be that it touch it, or be but neare it, it draweth it to it, as it were fed with an amorous heate: what I pray you, is not that a kind of mutual kissing, betweene the loving stone and the loved yron.

The bird is called Phoenix, and hath her originall amongst the Aethiopians? [sic] ... she is of this qualitie; that the Aethiopians enjoy her alive, but the Aegiptians have her dead: for when she dieth (which commeth not to passe of a long time, for shee liveth five hundred yeeres) her sonne bringeth her to the river Nilus, and maketh a tombe after this manner: he taketh as much myrrhe, as will suffice to lay the carcasse in, and making it hollow with his beak layeth it in the middle, as it were in a tombe. The body being thus layd in the ground and covered with earth, flyeth towards Nilus: a troupe of birds following as it were companions at the Funerall, and comming to the Cittie of the sunne, which is the place where

131 Ibid., pp. 52, 55.
the dead body doth lye, flieth up to the sunne: So it commeth to passe that living she abideth in Aethiopia, but being dead, she resteth in AEgipt.\textsuperscript{132}

Alternating with natural history and rhetoric, are digressive passages containing ekphraseis of art,\textsuperscript{133} descriptions of cities or geographical peculiarities,\textsuperscript{134} or stories of the gods.\textsuperscript{135} These are in the manner of those in the AEthiopica and in Daphnis and Chloe, but are much more frequent and generally run to greater lengths. Like Daphnis and Chloe, Clitophon and Leucippe begins with the description of a painting. In Astarte's temple at Sidon, Achilles Tatius is viewing a painting of Europa and her bull. He describes it for a full two and one half pages before a young man, who has also been admiring the painting, sighs and says that he, too, has suffered and "for loves sake, so many adversities have hapned."\textsuperscript{136} The young man identifies himself as Clitophon and then tells his tale. There follows the entire romance, the only one of the Greek romances purporting to be a tale told by one of the protagonists, and the only extant one written in the first person. This has the decided advantage of realism where Clitophon's motives and emotions are revealed, but a

\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{132}}Ibid., pp. 17 and 65. See also pp. 18, 30, 34ff, 67ff, 80f.
\textsuperscript{133}Ibid., pp. 2f, 51ff, 83ff.
\textsuperscript{134}Ibid., pp. 1f, 56f, 74f, 80.
\textsuperscript{135}Ibid., pp. 21f, 27f, 83ff, 138ff, 147f.
\textsuperscript{136}Ibid., p. 3.
counterbalancing disadvantage in removing the heroine from the story for long periods of time, and in leaving the reader in almost total ignorance of her purpose and feelings. It also makes the problem of filling in for the reader, the heroine's adventures during her separation from the hero. Achilles Tatius solves this rather clumsily by having Leucippe render a long and heart-breaking soliloquy on the subject of her trials and misfortunes. She declaims the soliloquy while she is the captive of Thersander, and he, standing outside her prison, overhears and learns of her connection with Clitophon. The method is perfectly conventional, but not necessarily satisfactory from the critical view. Placing the tale in the mouth of the hero does, however, remove from the romance the typical shifting cinematic quality which is common to the other romances; further, it enlivens the narrative and eliminates the confusion which the double action in the plots of the earlier romances creates. But, unfortunately for the unity of the romance, Achilles Tatius forgets the machinery which initially motivated the relation of the story by Clitophon at Sidon. The novel concludes with a wedding instead of the polite "thank you" from its auditor-in-chief, Achilles Tatius, which the reader has naturally been led to expect from the opening.

The ekphraseis and myths which are designed to adorn and vary the narration in the sophistik manner, although most often irrelevant to the action, occasionally serve as symbols of parts of the plot which are to follow. Thus,
just before Clitophon and Leucippe go to dine at the Pharos, from where Leucippe will be kidnapped and apparently murdered, the couple see a foreboding portent of evil in a painting of the rape of Philomel. Before the wedding feast which was being prepared for Clitophon and Calligone, the story of Dionysus' gift of wine to the human race is related. The painting of Europa and the bull, led across the sea by Cupid, is symbolic of the whole romance -- Leucippe is fairly kidnapped by a Cupid-directed Clitophon! In this small facet of the romance, Achilles Tatius has made an important artistic advance over his models and set a pattern for the future of the novel.

The religious element which plays a powerful role in the other romances, particularly in the AEthiopica and in Daphnis and Chloe, is minimized and rendered only in the most conventional manner by Achilles Tatius. The characters are not god-driven as is Chariclea, nor are they devout as are Callirhoe, Tharsia, Daphnis and Chloe. Clitophon and Leucippe admire the architecture and adornments of temples; they have respect enough for Diana to preserve chastity after they have been warned in a dream; they attend religious ceremonials and swear by the gods. Leucippe even takes refuge in Diana's temple when she is escaping from Thersander. But all of this is on the periphery of their consciousness. If they really believe in any power at all, they believe in Fortune. Fortune sets the plot in motion and,

137 Ibid., pp. 83ff, 21f, 3f.
thus, is to be blamed for the flight of the pair, since she held up for two days the letter from Leucippe's father proposing that she be the bride of Clitophon. Clitophon places the blame for all of his troubles on Fortune:

... I began to bewail the inconstancy of fortune, saying: ... Alas what shall I do now? what a bride would fortune give me now, whose dead carcass is not wholly given unto me?\textsuperscript{138}

Wolff points out that the most shocking perversion in the Achilles Tatius romance is the way Fortune is made to excuse immoral choice:

Urging Clitophon to tell his adventures, Sostratus assures him that he bears him no ill will: "For if anything grievous has happened to me, it is chiefly attributable not to you but to Fortune" (VII.iv). These passages are characteristic and important, dealing as they do with what we should call the crucial decision -- the first moral choice -- which opens the adventures of the hero and the heroine. The view here taken of Fortune, as something to blame even for a moral choice, and the function here assigned to her, of prime mover of the plot, are confirmed throughout the romance of Achilles Tatius.\textsuperscript{139}

But in spite of this emphasis on Fortune as the directress of the plot, she remains an abstraction in every sense. She is neither reverenced nor worshipped -- merely recognized. Indeed, no power or god is worshipped and there is no religious or philosophical system to fill the intellectual void. Nature does not tolerate a vacuum, and perhaps the vacuum accounts, in part, for the cynical overemphasis on sex, and surely it is at least a partial explanation of

\textsuperscript{138}Ibid., p. 89.

\textsuperscript{139}Wolff, pp. 118-119.
the low-grade ethics of the characters.

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But "This is a long preamble of a tale!" -- or of a study, the avowed purpose of which is to demonstrate the Greek romance materials in Shakespeare's plays. Still I make no attempt to excuse it. Were the romances better known the study might, like Heliodorus, begin in media res, with Shakespeare. But for all their popularity in the past, except for Daphnis and Chloe and Apollonius of Tyre -- ironically, the two which are the least representative of the genre -- these romances are not frequently read today, even by Classical scholars. But they were read during the Renaissance, and they exerted considerable influence on the letters of the day. Illustrative of this influence is the frequency with which Shakespeare turned to them for plot materials and situations, particularly in the romantic comedies of his latter years. Since Shakespeare is the central figure of his age, it is hoped that a study of his utilization of the romance materials will be suggestive of their significance in the drama of his contemporaries as well. The next two chapters proceed with that as their premise and goal.
PART TWO

Chapter Three

It takes but a glance at the Appendix to this study to realize the enormous appeal of the Greek romances to the Renaissance reader, for their publication in their original languages and in translations was frequent and geographically widespread. Samuel Lee Wolff has demonstrated positively their influence on the work of Lyly, Sidney, and Greene.\(^1\) Rowland E. P. Ernle has asserted, but without detailed discussion, that in spirit and atmosphere the Elizabethan novels and romances have more in common with Greek novels than with Spanish romances or with Italian novelle,\(^2\) and Michael Oeftering has studied the significance of Heliodorus in literature,\(^3\) but the whole question of the relationship of the Greek romances to Renaissance literature, both on the Continent and in England, has yet to be comprehensively examined. Bits and pieces of the puzzle have been filled in here and there, but an overall consideration of the topic is still a fertile field for investigation.

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\(^1\) Op. cit.


\(^3\) Op. cit.
Collections of tales in a framework, one of the characteristic Renaissance genres, owe, according to Otto Lohman, their origins to such early examples of the type as the AEthiopica, Clitophon and Leucippe, and Daphnis and Chloe. To these might well be added The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule in which the hero, Dinas, relates the narrative to a friend.

Giovanni Boccaccio borrowed more from the Greek romances than the idea of a framework for the Decameron (1353). Marcus Landau, in a careful study of his source materials, concluded that Boccaccio knew of the Greek romances and that the frequent motives of robbers, abductions, apparent deaths, improbable and unexpected turns of fortune were derived from them. Landau points to the novels of "The Three Sisters and Their Lovers" (IV, 3), "Pietro Boccamozza" (V, 3), and "Madonna Beritola and her Family" (II, 6), as being derived from Greek romance materials; and he likens "The Adventures of the Princess of Babylon" (II, 7) to those of Anthia in Xenophon's Ephesiaca. The episode of the robbery of the tomb in the story of "Andreuccio Da Perugia" (II, 5) has also been related to the Ephesiaca.

Wolff thinks that Boccaccio's tale of "Martuccio Gomito and Gostanza" (V, 2) "has a mediaeval tinge overlaying its probable Greek origin; and the motif released

5Die Quellen des Dekameron (Stuttgart, 1884), p. 296.
prisoner assists his captor against an enemy,' is found in 'Huon of Bordeaux,' as well as in the 'Babylonica' of Iamblichus." He adds that the "flavor of Greek romance is strongest ... in ... the story of 'Cimone and Efigenia' [V, 1]."7 Wolff thinks also that the source of Boccaccio's "Titus and Gisippus" (X, 8), later retold in the Boke Named the Governour (1531) by Sir Thomas Elyot, is a lost Greek romance.8

From his study of the origin of Romeo and Juliet, J. J. Monro concludes that the familiar incidents of the sleeping potion and mistaken death passed into the Italian novels from the Ephesiaca and the Babylonica. The novels of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius would, however, have been as likely a source.9 Boccaccio's novels of "Ferondo" (III, 8), in which the hero is buried alive after taking a drug; and "Girolama and Salvestre" (IV, 8), in which the hero is shipwrecked and saved by an old woman; and the story of "Gentil de' Carisendi and the Wife of Niccoluccio" (X, 4), in which a woman is buried alive, he relates to Romeo and Juliet and, ultimately, to the Greek romances. Monro points also to the relationship of these with the story in the thirteenth question discussed before Fiametta in Il Filocolo of a woman


who had been mistakenly buried alive, but was saved by her lover who came to kiss her after burial.\(^{10}\)

Writing in the fourteenth century, Boccaccio could have read the Greek romances only in manuscript form. Landau considers it unlikely that he did so, and thinks that the resemblances between the novels and the romances result from Boccaccio's merely knowing about them.\(^{11}\) This question, of course, can probably never be settled satisfactorily, and the same uncertainty arises concerning a tale of Matteo Bandello. He continued in the tradition which Boccaccio had set for the Italian novelle, and his tale of "Signor Timbreo di Cordova and Finecia Leonato" (XX) in the Novelle (1554-1573), long known as a source of Much Ado About Nothing, seems to be derived from Chariton's romance, unprinted, to my knowledge, until 1750. Bandello's novels were translated into French (1582) by François de Belleforest, and into English (1566) by William Painter; thus, the elements of the Chariton romance were carried well into the sixteenth century. Heliodorus found his way there, too, in a collection of prose tales, Pan and his Syrinx (1585) by William Warner.

Generally speaking, it does not seem to be unsound to assert that wherever the novel of the Renaissance contains the stock-in-trade of the Greek romances -- abductions,\(^{10}\)ibid.\(^{11}\)p. 296.
abandonments, mistaken death or identity, restoration of lost heirs or relatives, robbers, shipwreck, pirates, sudden shifts of fortune, et cetera -- the Greek romances must be considered before the roots of these novels are fully untangled. At the same time it must be realized that these motives are often present in Chivalric romances of the Middle Ages. The fact is that the romance motives, like folklore, have a kind of universal quality.

A similar assertion may well be made about the relationship between the pastoral romance of the Renaissance and a specific Greek romance, Daphnis and Chloe. Although Virgil was probably the fountainhead from which the pastoral writers drew their materials, the Greeks -- Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, and Longus -- are not to be overlooked. As to Longus, Edwin Greenlaw has shown that his Daphnis and Chloe supplied the chief elements in the plot of a type of pastoral which was used by Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare, and from a study of these sources, he has singled out what he describes as a composite pastoral plot, the essentials of which are as follows:

1) A child of unknown parentage, usually a girl, is brought up by shepherds. As a variant, the heroine may be living in seclusion among shepherds.

2) A lover, who may be a foundling or a man of high birth in guise of a shepherd or a forester, is introduced.

3) The love story is complicated by a rival shepherd, usually a rude, bumbling, or cowardly person. He

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functions as a foil to the hero and supplies the comic element.

4) Melodramatic incidents -- the attack of a lion or a bear -- give the hero opportunity to prove his prowess.

5) A captivity episode is usually introduced. The heroine is abducted; the hero comes to the rescue.

6) It finally develops that the heroine is of high birth and may marry the hero.

The Italian and Spanish pastoral romances have little relation to this plot, but there do occur in them incidents which seem to have been derived from Daphnis and Chloe. The Arcadia (1504) of Giacopo Sannazaro contains a description of various ways of trapping birds. This has been traced to Longus. The strategy of a pretended bee sting to gain a kiss in the Aminta (1573) of Torquato Tasso and the Astrée (1610) of Honoré D'Urfé is derived from Achilles Tatius. Giovanni Guarini's Il Pastor Fido (1590) contains an episode in which appears the device of hunting with dogs a person disguised in a wolf skin. Longus has also been named the source of this. Marin Le Roy de Gomberville is said to have copied Achilles Tatius closely in form and content in his Polexandre (1632-1637), and Madeleine de Scudéry in her Grand Cyrus (1648-1653) frankly acknowledged


14 Vide, Wolff, Greek Romances, p. 135.

15 Homer Smith, "Pastoral Influence in English Drama," PMLA, XII (1897), 365.
her debt to "l'immortel Héliodore" as a master whom all must copy.  

As early a scholar as George Ticknor pointed to Greek romance materials in the Spanish romances. Of Miguel de Cervantes, Ticknor said, "He ... looked ... to the Greek romances, and as far as he used any model, [for Persiles and Sigismunda (1617)] took the 'Theagenes and Chariclea' of Héliodore. ... Two imitations of the Persiles [sic], or, at any rate, two imitations of the Greek romance which was the chief model of the Persiles, soon appeared in Spain. The first is the 'Historia de Hipólito y Aminta' [1627] of Francisco de Gueñinta, ... the other is 'Eustorgio y Clorilene, Historia Moscovia' [1629], by Enrique Suarez de Mendoza y Figueroa."  

Persiles and Sigismunda was translated into French by Vital d'Audiguier in 1618 and into English by Matthew Lownes in 1619.

To my knowledge, the only intensive study of the relationship between the Greek romances and any category of Renaissance literature is that of Wolff, The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction. In his treatment of John Lyly, Wolff shows that the plot of Euphues (1579) is probably derived from Boccaccio's "Titus and Cysippus" (X, 8) of the

16 Vide, Ernle, p. 28.

Decameron, and this novel, he concludes, was derived from a lost Greek romance. In his discussion of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590), Wolff's major contribution is to demonstrate that the revised *Arcadia* was constructed after the pattern of a Heliodoran romance, that is, the romance was structurally derived from the *AEthiopica*. He confirms this attribution by citing numerous details and episodes in the *Arcadia* which have very obvious parallels in the *AEthiopica*. Further, Wolff points to many motives and incidents from Achilles Tatius which Sidney utilizes. The pastoral elements of the *Arcadia* are twofold: the stock plot as delineated by Greenlaw, and the usual motives which are common to the pastoral genre and derive from Virgil, Longus, Moschus, and Bion. In his discussion of Robert Greene, Wolff demonstrates that where Greene depends on Boccaccio for the first and second tales of *Perimeides* (1588) and for *Tullius Love* (1589) he draws Greek romance materials from a secondary source. Further, Wolff shows that Greene has primary indebtedness to Achilles Tatius in his style, which is heavy with rhetoric, antithesis in soliloquy and

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18 *Greek Romances*, pp. 248-255.

19 But be it noted that Mary Patchell in The "Palmerin" Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction (New York, 1947), pp. 115-127, discusses parallels for many of Sidney's themes and motifs in the Palmerin cycle of romances, at the same time admitting the universality of the themes and motifs.

20 *Greek Romances*, pp. 307-366.

dialogue, Euphuistic balance and conceit so characteristic of the pages of Clitophon and Leucippe. Wolff demonstrates that the concept of the subjection of man to Fortune, so prominent in Greene's work, may have come through Achilles Tatius. He also indicates in Greene three allusions to Heliodorus and borrowings from Heliodorus of many incidental situations, motives, tags, and bits of ornament, as well as the suggestion for "spectacular ensemble" scenes and the development of the female characters. The pastoral background for which Greene had such affinity — Pandosto (1588), Tullies Love, Menaphon (1589) — may have been suggested by Day's translation of Longus, or may have come from other sources. But Wolff shows clearly that Greene derived from Longus plot suggestions and much of the incidental material for these novels.

Thomas Lodge must have read Heliodorus, for in the romance of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy, surnamed Robert the Divell (1591), Lodge makes the Soldan of Babylon say, "Theagenes a Greeke, loved Cariclia a Moore, and your Soul­dan a Mahometist, his Emine a Christian."

These same romance materials which pervade Renaissance fiction were frequently utilized by the English dramatists

22Ibid., pp. 376-408.
23Ibid., pp. 408-432.
24Ibid., pp. 432-447.
25Vide Ernis, p. 129.
of the period. Even in the old miracle play of Mary Magdalene (c. 1485) occurs a romantic episode which Bernhard ten Brink likens to Apollonius of Tyre. A queen gives birth to a child during a storm at sea. She apparently dies and is abandoned with her child upon a ledge of rock. The father-king is grief stricken, but later finds the mother and the child miraculously preserved.

A lost play entitled Theagines [sic] and Chariclea was performed for the Christmas celebration at the Court of Elizabeth I in 1572. This has been identified as being the same play as the lost Queen of Ethiopia, acted by Lord Howard's men at Bristol in September of 1578. Whether these plays are identical or not, one suspects that Heliodorus' novel is their source. Both Sanford's (1576) and Underdowne's (1568-9?) translations of the AEthiopica were in circulation in time to inspire their composition.

Two of Lyly's plays contain lines which Wolff considers allusions to the AEthiopica:

Campaspe (1580), I, 1, 64-70.

Timoclea Alexander, I am the sister of Theagenes, who fought a battell with thy father before the City of Chyronie, where he died, I say which noe can gainsay, valiishly.

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28 Greek Romances, p. 248, n. 1.
Alex. [ander, King of Macedon] Lady, there seeme
in your words sparkes of your brothers deedes,
but worser fortune in your life then his death:
but feare not, for you shall liue without violence,
enemies, or necessitie: but what are you fayre
Lady, another sister to Theagines [sic]? 

Mother Bombi (1590), I, 1, 26-28.

Dro [mio] No, but fantasticall of her mind; and
it may be, when this boy was begotten shee thought
of a foole, & so conceiued a foole, your selfe
beeing verie wise, and she surpassing honest.29

E. K. Chambers lists a lost play, Minus and Semiramis,
the First Monarchs of the World, as having been acted in
1595.30 The source of this can hardly be the fragmentary
romance, lost until the nineteenth century, but it deals
with the same pair of lovers, and it is illustrative of their
strong hold upon the romantic imagination.

Sometime before 1598 the pseudo-Shakespearian Mucedorus,
almost certainly inspired by Sidney's Arcadia, was written.
It is an example of the stock pastoral plot descended from
Longus which Greenlaw delineated: A prince disguised as a
shepherd rescues a princess from the clutches of a bear, and
later from a wild man. Also descended from Longus is The
Thracian Wonder (c. 1600).31 This play is drawn directly
from Greene's Menaphon, and the pastoral background of the
novel, which Greene seems to have imitated from Daphnis and

29The Complete Works of John Lyly, ed. R. Warwick

30The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1923), IV, 402.

31Variously credited to John Webster and William
Rowley, and Thomas Heywood. Vide Smith, p. 387; O. L.
Hatcher, "The Sources and Authorship of the 'Thracian
Wonder,'" MLN, XXIII (1908), 16; Fleay, 409.
Chloe, appears again in the play.

The plot materials of *How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* (1602), attributed to Joshua Cooke, are derivative of Greek romance materials, although no specific romance is indicated: A young man, weary of his wife, poisons her and she apparently dies. Recovering, she resists a lover and in disguise meets her husband who has been involved with a courtesan. He confesses his sins and after the recognition is forgiven. The source of this play is Giraldi Cinthio's *Hacatommithi* (1565), novel five, book three. But behind the *novella* seem to lurk materials from the *Babylonica* and *Ephesiana*.

Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* (1605), the theme of which was suggested to him by Queen Anne, shows twelve "negrotes" in mid-ocean, sailing to a land foretold in prophecy where dark skins shall be fair. Did the miraculously white Chariclea, born of black parents, sailing to Ethiopia to fulfill an oracle, inspire the masque? Jonson's fragmentary *Sad Shepherd* (composed c. 1614) is one of the least classical of his works. Yet, consciously or not, a motive from the stock pastoral plot of Longus is reproduced: A witch shuts a maiden in a tree as a prize for her son, a rude, bragging swineherd. The play is unfinished, but, doubtless, the maiden would in time be rescued by her lover.

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The motive of embalming the body of the dead beloved which occurs in an episode of the *Ephesiaca* is utilized by George Chapman in *Monsieur d'Olive* (1606), but aside from this macabre feature, the play seems to be unrelated to the Greek romance.

The Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher plays should be carefully studied for Greek romance materials. Even a brief view of them reveals significant influence. *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1608) contains pastoral motives suggestive of Longus and a chastity trial which Smith believes to be a direct borrowing from Achilles Tatius,\(^{33}\) although it would seem that Heliodorus could well be considered, and the motif is widespread in mediaeval chivalric romance. *In The Night Walker, or the Little Thief* (1609-14?) a girl is saved from live burial by robbery of the coffin in which she has been confined as the result of seeming death. In disguise she settles the complications of the plot. *Cupid's Revenge* (1615) recounts the "Plangus" episode of the *Arcadia* of Sidney. This was probably suggested by the episode of "Cnemon," a variation of the "Phaedra" motive in the *AEthiopica*.\(^{34}\) *In The Knight of Malta* (1619) a sleeping potion is administered to the heroine by a jealous husband. She awakens in the tomb and is there visited by the husband and two suitors. Shades of Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus? The

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\(^{33}\)P. 365.

\(^{34}\)Vide Oeftering, p. 95.
Sea Voyage (1622) contains storm at sea, shipwreck, and castaways, the basic Greek romance plot. The Custom of the Country (before 1628), by Fletcher and Phillip Massinger, finds its source in Cervantes' Persiles and Sigismunda, an imitation of the Aethiopica. Of Massinger's The Emperor of the East (1631), part of the plot has been called an "incredible Greek romance." 35

In The Hector of Germany (1613) of Wentworth Smith, lovers wander over much of Europe, and in the course of their travels experience both shipwreck and separation. This is the basic plot thread in all the Greek romances under present consideration with the exception of Daphnis and Chloe.

Many of the horrors and much of the terrible irony of John Webster's Duchess of Malfi (1623) has been credited to Sidney's Arcadia. 36 Wolff, of course, has traced these elements in the Arcadia to Achilles Tatius. 37

Thomas Heywood's The Captives, or the Lost Recovered (1624) is a romantic tale of family reunion in which two brothers search through foreign countries for two lost sisters. The miraculous preservation of the girls' innocence after their having been confined in a brothel, coupled with the general reunion theme, seems to lead directly to

36 Schelling, I, 591.
37 Greek Romances, pp. 316f.
Apollonius of Tyre and suggests also the Ephesiaca. The City Night Cap (1624) of Robert Davenport, similarly contains brothel scenes which suggest Shakespeare's Pericles and, thus, ultimately may derive from Apollonius of Tyre.

The British Museum manuscript of The White Ethiopian (c. 1625-1675), a play which seems never to have been acted or published, recounts the story of the AEthiopica and draws on Underdowne's translation. This has been edited by Arthur D. Matthews, who describes it as four dreary acts preserving Heliodoran structure in an atrocious singsong style. In the introduction to his edition, Matthews mentions several other English plays as being dependent on the AEthiopica: The Inconstant Lady (1633) of Arthur Wilson features a heroine named "Pantarbo" — Chariclea was protected by the magic Pantarbe jewel — who was exposed at birth and later, like Theagenes, was imprisoned by a lecherous lover who employed a servant to break down her resistance to his advances. She is finally identified as a duke's daughter by a "blew mark" on her arm. The Goblins (1638) of Sir John Suckling contains the motive of the "honorable thief" which Matthews thinks is patterned after Thyamis of the AEthiopica. He cites also Arviragus and Philicia (1636) of Ludowick Carlell and The Strange Discovery (1640) of John Gough as

38 Harleian MS 7313.
being based on Heliodorus' novel. He notes that *The Strange Discovery* is particularly faithful to its source, although it reverts the structure to chronological order.\(^4^0\)

Turning his attention to the effect of Heliodorus on the European stage, Matthews asserts that Koper Brulow's *Cariclea* (Leipzig, 1614), M. V. Velden's *Calasiris Sterfdagh* (Amsterdam, 1631), Alexandre Hardy's *Les Chastes et Loyales Amours de Theagene et Caricleé* (Paris, 1633), and Pedro Calderón's *Los hijos de la Fortuna* (Toledo, c. 1664-1651) are all based on the *AEthiopica*.\(^4^1\)

*The Shepherd's Holiday* (c. 1634) of Joseph Rutter is another stock plot pastoral. It contains the motives of lost children, a prince reared by a shepherd, an oracle fulfilled. The pastoral element primarily suggests Longus, but some of the incidents call to mind Heliodorus. The *Arcadia* (1640) of James Shirley follows its source, Sidney's *Arcadia*, closely, although the elements of the romances become fainter with the removal. The play *Andromana* (1640), attributed to James Shirley, was also inspired by Sidney's novel. This has been related to Heliodorus through the medium of its source.\(^4^2\) It has also been cited as an example of the "Phaedra" story, derived from the "Plangus" episode in the *Arcadia* of Sidney, which developed out of an

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40Ibid., pp. xxix-xxxiv.

41Ibid., p. xxix. Of Alexandre Hardy, Ernle (p. 28) notes that eight of his forty plays show the influence of Heliodorus.

42Vide, Schelling, II, 48.
ancient variation of the theme, the "Cnemon" episode in the *AEthiopice.*

Heliodorus made his presence felt in education as well as in the fiction and drama of Renaissance England. Petrus Olivarius, the teacher of King Edward VI, gave his pupil a method of reading history which included learning choro­

ography from Heliodorus. During the young king's reign, the standard curriculum at Harrow included the reading of Helio­
dorus in Greek in the fifth form. Underdowne's translation was purchased as a textbook for young King James VI of Scot­

land. However, the Puritan element of the day did not look with favor on the novel. In that famous invective against the stage, the *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), William Prynne says pointedly:

> The penning and reading of all amorous Bookes was so execrable in the Primitive times, ... that Helio­
dorus Bishop of Tric a was deprived of his Bishopricke by a Pro vinciall synod, for those wanton amorous Bookes he had written in his youth, his bookes being likewise awarded to the fire to be burnt. Thus, one concludes, Prynne would deal with the entire body of Greek romance in circulation during the Renaissance.

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But Shakespeare was no Puritan, and it is natural to

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43 *Oeftering*, p. 95.


question whether or not he, like his contemporaries, seized upon the Greek romances as a mine of materials and motives to be shaped and turned to his own artistic ends. As early a play as The Comedy of Errors gives an affirmative answer, for it has for some time been linked by scholars with both Apollonius of Tyre and Clitophon and Leucippe.

It is common knowledge that Shakespeare's source for The Comedy of Errors was The Menaechmi of Plautus, although the idea of a double set of twins -- The Menaechmi deals with a single set -- is usually traced to Plautus' Amphitryon. The farcical Comedy of Errors deviates little from The Menaechmi except in its addition of the romantic sub-plot of AEgeon and AEmilia which forces a change from the conclusion of the source play. This sub-plot is so well tied into the main action by the common parenthood of AEgeon and AEmilia to the twin heroes that one hardly views it separately.

The parents of the twin heroes in The Menaechmi do not enter into the action of the play. The spectator is simply informed in the Prologue that a merchant of Syracuse had twin sons, that one was abducted when the children were seven years old, and that shortly after losing the boy, the father died of grief. The play concludes with the reunion of the twin brothers, but it is the brothers drawing on family memories, not the aged parents as in The Comedy of Errors, who explain the puzzle. Shakespeare chose to dramatize the background of his play, and at the same time to give to it a tinge of the romance absent from Plautus. Thus,
The Comedy of Errors opens with AEgeon on trial for his life, for no apparent reason except that he was a Syracusan in the city of Ephesus. At the trial AEgeon tells the Duke of Ephesus of his tragic — romantically tragic — past: Many years ago he and his wife set sail with twin infant sons and twin infant slaves, servants to the sons. A storm arose, and the wife — protecting one son and one slave — and the husband — protecting the other son and the other slave — were separated. The two groups were saved by different ships, and the father and his charges returned to Syracuse. When the son raised by the father reached eighteen years, he and his slave set out to find the mother and their brothers. AEgeon says that they did not return, so for five years he has been searching for them, traveling through Greece and Asia, and at last arriving at Ephesus.

After the recital of all this vital information — the audience would be completely baffled without it — the Plautine material follows, and Shakespeare scarcely deviates from his source until the last act.

In The Menaechmi the puzzle is unraveled by the simple expedient of having the twins meet face to face and each recognize himself in the other. Questions and answers follow, and all is clarified. Shakespeare writes a more roundabout and romantic conclusion: The old father is being led to his public execution when confusion outside an abbey brings forth questions from the Duke. It is learned that one of the twins has taken refuge in the abbey. The other twin confronts the
ducal party, and the abbess is called out to explain the situation. She proves to be the lost AEemilia and settles the crisis by recognizing her husband, who recognizes one of his sons. The general family reunion is followed by a pardon for the condemned man and a banquet for all.

The similarity between the AEgeon-AEemilia plot and Apollonius of Tyre was pointed out by Paul Wislicenus in 1879, and the romance is today generally accepted by scholars as a source for The Comedy of Errors. The storm at sea and the separation of husband, wife, and child are the primary link with the Apollonius romance. But the motives of the wife's taking refuge in the religious life after she is separated from her husband, the long journey, and the recognition of husband and child by the wife are all details which do not appear in The Menaechmi. Further, Apollonius of Tyre concludes at Ephesus, where the hero has been directed to go in a dream and where he finds his wife at the temple of Diana. The Comedy of Errors takes place entirely at Ephesus, and the main plot is really only a vehicle for reuniting the AEgeon-AEmilia family -- at a religious house. The Menaechmi takes place, not at Ephesus,

46 "Zwei neueentdeckte Shakespearequellen," Jahrbuch, XIV (1879), 87-96.

but at Epidamnus, and, although Shakespeare chose to emphasize the sub-plot by having the reunion occur at the traditional Ephesus, he maintains the link with the Plautine source by having AEgeon say that he and his family had sailed out of "Epidamnum" just before the tragic shipwreck had occurred.

The romance of Apollonius of Tyre was certainly accessible to Shakespeare, for two different English versions had been published by 1510. But whether or not he had read these before writing the The Comedy of Errors, Shakespeare could have utilized the romance materials, for Apollonius of Tyre had circulated in manuscript all through the Middle Ages and had been published so frequently, both in Latin and vernacular translations, during the Renaissance that it had become a part of the public domain by 1590 when the play was probably written.

Joseph de Perott finds strong correspondence between the conclusion of The Comedy of Errors and Clitophon and Leucippe. Ephesus is the locale in both instances, although the temple of Artemis in the pagan romance has become an abbey in the Renaissance play. In the play and the romance the end occurs just before an execution, which in both cases is prevented by unforeseen circumstances. One of the heroes of The Comedy of Errors, Antipholus of Syracuse, flees to the Abbey for refuge; in the novel, the heroine, Leucippe,

flees to the temple of the goddess for safety. The duke presiding over the final act of *The Comedy of Errors* corresponds to the judge presiding over the trial-like conclusion of *Clitophon and Leucippe*. After the recognitions and explanations are made in the play, the abbess invites the assembly to a banquet; in the novel all go from the public trial to a banquet at which explanations are made and stories are exchanged.

The motives of prevented execution, refuge in a religious house, public explanation presided over by a government official, and a banquet to celebrate the reunion do not occur in *Apollonius of Tyre* nor in the Plautine sources of the play. But the possibility of Shakespeare's having read *Clitophon and Leucippe* is not so strong as the conjecture that he knew *Apollonius of Tyre* at first hand and in time for the composition of *The Comedy of Errors*. *The Comedy of Errors* is generally dated at c. 1590, with 1594 as the ultimate limit suggested.\(^49\) The first English translation of Achilles Tatius was not published until 1597. It would, however, have been possible for Shakespeare to have read the romance: Two Italian translations were in circulation by 1551, a Latin translation was published in 1554, and two in French by 1575.

De Perott finds the influence of Achilles Tatius in *The

Two Gentlemen of Verona as well as in The Comedy of Errors, pointing to the swift reconciliation of the banished Valentine and the Duke of Milan, father of Silvia, Valentine's beloved, as having been suggested by the reconciliation of the pirate Callisthenes and Hippias, father of Calligone, beloved of the pirate. I think that this suggestion is untenable. The only parallel is reconciliation between an outlaw and the father of the outlaw's beloved. The basic situations are completely different: Valentine of the play is a "Robin Hood" type outlaw as the result of unjust banishment by the Duke. Callisthenes of the novel is a pirate who has been transformed through love into a good man, and the reconciliation between Callisthenes and Hippias comes only after the father has realized that the pirate has been regenerated by love for his daughter:

... hee [Callisthenes] himselfe in handling many things, beganne to be most elegant, temperate, modest in all his actions, nay he had learned to give respect to his betters, to salute every one he met; and as he had formerly beene most profuse in his expences, hee turned his prodigalltie into liberality, relieuing those which were in want, that all the world wondered how on a sudden he became so good a husband; but mee above all the rest he respected: ... Nor was he meanly skilled in chivalry, for at the jousts and turnaments hee behaved himselfe most courageously, having beene alwaies used to riding, though formerly for pleasure, yet now for valour he did it: hee likewise augmented the publique treasury much by many large donations of his owne, ...

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50 "Noch eine eventuell Quelle zum Heiligen Drei-königsabend," Jahrbuch, XLVI (1910), 118ff.

51 Burton, pp. 150f.
Achilles Tatius has hardly written a story of swift reconciliation! Further, even if there were an exact parallel I would hesitate to call Clitophon and Leucippe a source without further evidence of influence of Achilles Tatius in the play. For, although quick reconciliations are a general characteristic of the Greek romances, they are also very common on the Elizabethan stage where it was often the order of the day to wind up everything with marvelous rapidity in the fifth act. Further, since The Two Gentlemen of Verona is usually dated c. 1591-1592, with the latest suggested date, 1594, it would have been necessary for Shakespeare to have read Clitophon and Leucippe in Latin, French, or Italian. On the other hand, there is stronger evidence for Clitophon and Leucippe as a partial source for the conclusion of The Comedy of Errors, and if Shakespeare had read the romance in time for it to influence that play, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, composed within a year or so of The Comedy of Errors, could have come under the same influence, but possibly an influence weakened by the passage of time.

Michael Oeftering suggests that Heliodorus influenced Act IV, scene 1 of The Two Gentlemen of Verona. Here the banished Valentine falls into the hands of a band of outlaws; they are impressed by his appearance and his valour and offer to make him their captain. Valentine replies:

\[\text{Law, op. cit.}\]

\[\text{Pp. 156ff.}\]
Val. [entone] I take your offer and will live with you, 
Provided that you do no outrages 
On silly women, or poor passengers. 54

(IV, i, 70ff)

This offering likens to the story of Thyamis in the AEthi-
opica, who, as leader of a band of outlaws:

... never did wrong to women, for such as were of good 
parentage, I suffered to depart, either redeemed with 
money, or els for pittie of their ill hap, and such 
as were of inferior condition, whom not onely the law 
of armes made prisoners, but also their continuall 
use had taught to serve: I distributed ... to doe 
you service.55

The parallel is interesting and apt, but since the 
motive is duplicated not only in Mediaeval chivalric romance 
but by the Robin Hood legend -- a far more familiar figure 
to an Englishman than Thyamis! -- and since Robin Hood is 
actually mentioned when Valentine is made chief:

Third Out. [law] By the bare scalp of Robin Hood's 
fat friar, 
This fellow were a king for our wild faction!

(IV, i, 36f)

I think Heliodorus an unlikely origin. On the other hand, 
the AEthiopica had been translated twice into English by 
1569, and had circulated in Latin, French, Spanish, and 
Italian before that date. Thus, the romance was easily 
accessible to the Elizabethan reader, and consideration of 
it should not be ruled out entirely.

Romeo and Juliet has a pedigree distinguished in its 
antiquity. It has been related to such ancient love stories

54 The Complete Works of William Shakespeare, ed. W.
J. Craig (Oxford, 1943). All further citations of Shakespeare 
are to this edition unless otherwise noted.

55 Underdowne, p. 29.
as Hero and Leander, Pyramus and Thisbe, Tristan and Isolde, Troilus and Cressida, Floris and Blanchefleur, and the Ephesiaca of Xenophon of Ephesus. Its immediate generation, the combination of all of its important elements, began in Renaissance Italy. The earliest known version of the legend is that of Masuccio de Salernitano, the romance of "Mariotto Mignanelli and Gianozza Saracini," which forms the thirty-third novel of the Cinquante Novelle, published in Naples in 1476. This contains almost all of the plot elements of the final version. Luigi Da Porto's Historia novellamente ritrovata di due nobili amanti, etc., published in Venice c. 1530, and recounting the same tale, gives the lovers the names they have come to be best known by: Romeo and Giulietta.

After Da Porto, the legend appeared in versions by Gherardo Bolderi (L'Ifelice Amore dei due Fedelissimi Amanti Giuliae e Romeo, Venice, 1553), Matteo Bandello (Giulietta e Romeo, Lucca, 1554), Pierre Boaistuau ("Histoire Troisiesme, De deux amans, dont l'un mourut de venin, l'autre de tristess," in Histoires Tragiques, Paris, 1559), Arthur Brooke (Romeus and Juliet, London, 1562), and William Painter ("Rhmeo and Julietta," in The Palace of Pleasure, London, 1567). The climax came with Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, and this version of the tragedy has never been superseded for beauty and philosophic and poetic values, although Dutch, Spanish, German, and neo-Latin versions of the story followed.

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56 Vide Monro, pp. ix-xvii, for a very fine discussion of this relationship.
Shakespeare's. 57

The core of the Romeo and Juliet legend is found in every version from Masuccio on: Secretly married lovers are separated. An attempt is made to force the heroine to marry another. Rather than comply, she begs a sleeping draught, drinks it, and apparently dies. She is buried, but awakens in the tomb. The husband receives a false report of the death. In some versions she is taken from the tomb by an accomplice before she revives. As early as 1807 Francis Douce pointed out the connection between this plot and a portion of the Ephesiaca of Xenophon of Ephesus,58 in which Anthia, separated from her husband, Habrocomes, and forced into an unwelcome and illegal second marriage, begs poison from a physician. He secretly substitutes a sleeping potion. This she drinks on her wedding night. Mistaken for dead, she is given a sumptuous funeral, but awakens in the tomb and is rescued when robbers break in. Habrocomes receives a false report of her death.

The correspondence with the Shakespeare play is very obvious, but no bibliographic connection was established by Douce between the romance and any version of the Romeo and Juliet legend, for the Ephesiaca went unpublished until 1726. Douce did, however, suggest that Da Porto -- he seems not

57 Monroe, pp. xlii-xlvii, gives a good account of the late versions.

58 Illustrations of Shakespeare and of Ancient Manners (London, 1807), II, 199.
to have known of the earlier Masuccio version -- might have seen a manuscript of the romance.

A thirteenth century manuscript containing the Ephesiaca and other of the Greek erotica was among the collection of Antonio di Tommaso Corbinelli (d. 1425) which he willed to the library of the Benedictine cloister, commonly called La Badia, at Florence. The collection was deposited there by 1439. The manuscript was catalogued under the name Aesopus, the most famous author included in its contents.59 Antonius Cocchius, the eighteenth century scholar, studied it carefully and described it as follows:

Florentiae in monasterio Cassinensium, quod vulgo Abatia Florentina vocatur, multi codices manu scripti servantur, a Montfauconio recensiti in Diario Italico, quos inter insignis est, qui Octavi forma fere quadrata foliisque constans CXL, literis minutissimis paulumque obsoleti coloris, bombycinus, nitide & perquam emendate scriptus, saeculo, ut videtur, xiii. opuscula continet xxii. variorum auctorum, quorum pleraque Christianam Theologiam aut Historiam Byzantinam spectant, jam, mi fallor, vulgata. Cetera sunt Longi Pastoralia, Achillis Alexandrini Tatti Amatoria, Charitonis Aphrodiiensis item Amatoria, Xenophontis Ephesi Ephesiaca, Aesopi vita antiquior & fabulae ordine literarum, versusque aliquot Toû κέρ α.60

Further, there is evidence that the manuscript was known during the Renaissance, for in 1489 Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano, the great humanist professor of Greek letters at the

59Budolf Blum, "La Biblioteca Della Badia Fiorentina e I Codici di Antonio Corbinelli," Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Studi e testi (Città del Vaticano, 1951), CLV, 18 and 88. Catalogued today as "Codex Abbazia Fiorentina 2728, Conventi Soppressi, 627" at the Benedictine Monastery of Monte Cassino.

60Quoted by J. P. D’Orville in the "Praefatio" to the first edition of Chariton: Καπρωμ... Καπραν ου (Amsterdam, 1750), p. xv.
University of Florence, made a brief mention of the Ephesiaca in the *Miscellaneorum Centuria prima*. Poliziano's discussion dealt with the portion describing the temple of Diana at Ephesus and included an inconsiderable excerpt of the novel in Latin. This work must have been tremendously popular, for it was re-issued in 1496 in Brescia; in Venice in 1508, and possibly 1498; 1511 in Paris; and 1522 in Basel. Un-counted are numerous other publications of it in the collected works of Poliziano. W. Parr Greswell, in his biography of Poliziano, translates a delightful letter dated November, 1488 [sic], addressed to Poliziano by Jacobus Antiquarius, secretary to the Duke of Milan, which seems to give a bright picture of the early popularity of the work:

> Going lately, according to my custom, to one of the public offices at Milan: I found several young men who are employed there, neglecting the business of state, and deeply engaged in the perusal of a book, the leaves of which had been distributed among them. -- I enquire what new work is come abroad. -- They answer, "Miscellanies of Poliziano." I ascend; -- take my place among them; and read with equal eagerness: -- delighted with the contemplation of those talents, which begin to distinguish the present times; ... Unable to spend much time here, I send to purchase a copy from the bookseller: -- which my servant has no sooner brought, than I begin to turn over the leaves at home with more attention. ... On you, immortality awaits: you have taken her by the forelock.  

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61 Vide the photostatic reproduction of the portion of the *Miscellaneorum* copied from "Angeli Politiani Miscellaneorum centuriae primeae ad Laurentium Medicem," *Angeli Politiani Operum* (Lugdunii, 1539), I, 602f, on p. 194, infra.

Unfortunately, Poliziano's notice and fragmentary excerpt of the Ephesiacca are not the section which connects it with the Romeo and Juliet legend. It does, however, testify to interest in the romance during the Renaissance, and it is quite possible that Da Porto could have been led from a reading of Poliziano to seek out the manuscript. Such a conjecture is not strained, for Da Porto seems to have had some association with the humanist circle of his day. Pietro Bembo addressed a letter to him on June 9, 1524, in which he mentions "la bella vostra Novella." The second edition of Da Porto's novel, published about ten years after his death, was dedicated by the publishers to Cardinal Bembo, for, according to Maurice Jonas, it was well known that Da Porto and Bembo had been great friends. Da Porto died in 1529, and the first edition of his book, c. 1530, was thus posthumous. From Bembo's letter it can be inferred that the novel was written about 1524. Had the 1522 edition of the Miscellaneorum awakened interest in the Ephesia at the proper time?

The conclusion that the Miscellaneorum accounts for the Da Porto version of the Romeo and Juliet legend does not

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64Maurice Jonas, Romeo and Juliet: A Photographic Reproduction of Luigi Da Porto's Prose Version of Romeo and Giulietta ... With a Literal Translation into English etc. (London, 1921), xix.
account for the earlier one published by Masuccio, nor is
there any way to prove that Da Porto did not learn of the
story from the novel. Masuccio's *Novelle* (1476) preceded the
first publication of the *Miscellaneorum* (1489) by thirteen
years. Very little is known of him (c. 1420-6) beyond
the publication details of his work and the fact that he was
secretary to Roberto Sanseverino, a prominent Neapolitan.

W. G. Waters reconstructs from the dedications of his novels
that he was intimate with many of the public men of his time
and that he spent much of his life in Naples. The fifteenth
novel in the collection was dedicated to Antonio Beccadelli,
known frequently as *Il Panormita*. He was one of the leading
humanists of the time and a professor of history at Milan.
This dedication would indicate that Masuccio had some inter­
est in and connection with the humanist circle which was
responsible for the ever widening interest in Greek letters
in Renaissance Italy.

Actually, the Masuccio version of the Romeo and Juliet
story is closer to the *Ephesiaca* than that of Da Porto or
any of the later accounts, for it retains in vestigial form
that prime essential of Greek romance -- the sea voyage:
After she is rescued from live burial, Gianozza -- Masuccio's
Juliet -- takes a sea voyage to Alexandria in search of her
husband. The husband, meanwhile, having heard a false report
of her death, returns to Sienna with the intention of expiring

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W. G. Waters (London, 1903), I, xvi and xviii.
on her tomb. In the *Ephesiaca*, Anthia is rescued from the tomb by robbers who take her to Alexandria. She experiences many trials and hardships, but always keeps her weather eye open for sight of her husband, Habrocomes, meanwhile, hears a report that she has died and that her body has been stolen from the tomb. He journeys to Alexandria to claim the corpse and die on the body:

[Habrocomes] "... Wretch that I am, I am deprived even of your remains, my only solace. Now am I altogether determined to die; but first I must endure until I find your body, and when I have embraced it I shall bury myself along with it."66

The desire to die on or near the body of the beloved is, of course, common to all the versions of the legend, but the journey to Alexandria, which only Masuccio preserves, seems to link his work more closely to the Greek romance than one can link the Da Porto version.

Of course it is perfectly reasonable to conjecture that Masuccio read the Xenophon romance in manuscript at La Badia before composing "Mariotto Mignanelli and Gianozza Saracini." Greek letters were the darling of his age, and Masuccio could have been as deeply infected with their fever as some of his more famous contemporaries. But to my knowledge, there exists not a thread of evidence on which to base an assumption that he knew the romance at first hand.

Another possible explanation of the obvious connection between the romance and the Romeo and Juliet legend is that

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66 Hadas, p. 141.
Masuccio had heard about it from one of the many Greek scholars that flocked to Italy after 1453, or that its elements had become traditional and had circulated widely in the manner of folklore. Mistaken death is one of the important and frequently used motives of the Greek romance: It occurs in Iamblichus, Chariton, Apollonius of Tyre, Heliodorus, and Achilles Tatius. In Iamblichus lovers spend a night in a tomb; in Chariton occurs the motive of live burial and awakening in the tomb. Yet none of these versions of the motive parallel all the essential incidents of the Romeo and Juliet story as does the version in the Ephesiaca, and the most satisfying explanation seems to be transmission through the La Badia manuscript.

Wolff points to an interesting parallel between Underdowne's translation of Heliodorus and Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, mentioning specifically the parallel of the paradox between life and death:67

Heliodorus:
And thus the marriage Song, not yet ended, was turned to mourning; and she was carried out of her Bridebedde into her grave: and the Tapers that gave her light at her wedding, did now serve to kendle her funerall fire.68

Shakespeare:
Cap. [ulet] All things that we ordained festival, Turn from their office to black funeral; Our instruments to melancholy bells, Our wedding cheer to a sad burial feast, Our solemn hymns to sullen dirges change,

67Greek Romances, p. 217.
68Underdowne, pp. 69f.
Our bridal flowers serve for a buried corse,
And all things change them to the contrary.
(IV, v, 84-90)

Actually, the parallel goes a little further, for in
Heliodorus the lament is made by Charicles for his daughter
who died on her wedding night. In Shakespeare the lament is
by Capulet, father of Juliet, who was discovered apparently
dead on the morning of her wedding day. For Shakespeare to
have imitated Heliodorus is bibliographically possible,
since Underdowne's translation was first published in 1568
or 1569, preceded by a translation of Sanford in 1567.
*Romeo and Juliet* is dated between 1591 and 1598.69

The wind-in-the-sails image of *A Midsummer Night's
Dream*, one of the few of Shakespeare's images which Miss
Spurgeon does not treat,70 seems to be a closer link between
the Shakespeare plays and the Greek romances than the paral­
lel paradox of *Romeo and Juliet*:

> When we have laugh'd to see the sails conceive
And grow big-bellied with the wanton wind;
(II, 1, 128f)

The same image is to be found in *Clitophon and Leucippe*
of Achilles Tatius:

> ἄλγυρον δὲ οὐδ' εἰρήκε, πρὸς τοὺς κάλλως
καὶ τὰ πέτυχα, ἐδοκεῖ πῶς τοὺς ἀφεῖναν
ἀδελφοῖ τοῖς ἀνέγραφοις θαυμάσα,
πρὸς τοὺς καὶ τὰ χάριμα νέων ἐκατεροτέρειν,
ἐκεῖν' ἐκτύληθα γατίρα.

69Law, op. cit.


71Ed. cit., p. 270.
If Shakespeare's source for this image is the Greek romance, he could have read it in Latin, Italian, or French translations in time to have utilized the material in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The first edition in Greek, 1601, was too late for consideration. But an obvious source for the image is Burton's *Achilles Tatius* of 1597:

... and the sweete murmuring of the windes about the cables, did seeme to sing the bridall song to *Hymenaeus*: doo not you see the sayle, which doth swell as it were, like a belly great with child?72

*A Midsummer Night's Dream* has been variously dated from 1590 to 1598,73 and some scholars argue for composition about 1592 and revision about 1596.74 If Shakespeare's wind-in-the-sail image was suggested by Burton's *Achilles Tatius*, then it is additional evidence for a fairly late dating of the play -- 1597 or 1598 --, or for early composition and revision c. 1597. In the same act and scene with the wind image occurs the long speech of Titania about recent bad weather -- lines 81 to 117, but especially:

... The spring, the summer,  
The childing autumn, angry winter, change 
Their wonted liveries, and the mazed world,  
By their increase, now knows not which is which.  

(II, i, 111-114)

These lines are usually interpreted by scholars as referring to the year 1594 which ushered in great and prolonged storms

72P. 93.
and a period of corn shortage that lasted until 1599. Thus they are useful in establishing the date of the play as later than 1594, and probably long enough after the storms for the effect on the corn supply to become a matter of general concern and comment. The wind image, if Burton's translation is the source, points to 1597 or later. 1597 would be a central date for comment on the remarkable corn shortage which lasted until the harvest of 1599.75

On the other hand, if the play is dated as early as 1590, consideration must be given to the proposition that Achilles Tatius is the source of the image if one accepts De Perott's theory that the romance influenced the plots of The Comedy of Errors and The Two Gentlemen of Verona.

Further, evidence of Shakespeare's having known the romance in three different plays, all written at about the same time, seems mutually to strengthen the argument for Achilles Tatius' influence in the individual plays. The soundest conclusion would seem to be that Shakespeare derived the image from a translation of Achilles Tatius or -- a factor never to be overlooked -- from his own observation.

Another detail of A Midsummer Night's Dream reflects the Greek romances slightly: the "rude mechanicals" enact the Pyramus and Thisbe story of Ovid, and the lovers die before "Ninny's tomb" -- that is, Ninus, the hero of the earliest Greek romance. "Ninny's tomb" finds its source in Ovid (43 B.C. to A.D. 17), not the romance unknown until the

nineteenth century, but the double death at the tomb recalls the maze of "tomb" incident in the *Babylonioa*, as well as the romance of *Ninus and Semiramis*, possibly not lost to Ovid.

The *Merchant of Venice* contains some elements which are teasingly suggestive of Heliodorus: a "Moore" -- to the Elizabethans a black man or an Ethiopian common to the court drama -- is one of the princely suitors of Portia. Disguises are employed, both in their elopement by Jessica and Lorenzo and in the trial scene by Portia and Nerissa. The heroine is a richer, stronger, more intelligent and resourceful character than her husband, who, indeed, seems to be very willing simply to love while his lady leads, like Theagenes in his relationship to Chariclea. Further, the climax of the play, like the climax of the *AEthiopica*, comes in a great trial scene at which the heroine is the central and guiding character, as Chariclea is the focus of the trial scene in the *AEthiopica*. Last, mention is made by Gratiano, the gentleman attached to Bassanio, of Pythagoras:

> Thou almost mak' st me waver in my faith
> To hold opinion with Pythagoras,
> That souls of animals infuse themselves
> Into the trunks of men:  

(IV, i, 130-133)

Although this idea was commonplace in the Renaissance, and is to be found in the encyclopedias and general compendia of the age, Pythagoreanism is also the rule of life which plays the all important role in the *AEthiopica*, and is reflected there through the form it took early in the
Christian era under the ministry of Apollonius of Tyana.

Bibliographically, The Merchant of Venice could have come under the exotic influence of Heliodorus: Underdowne's translation was published in 1577, and the play is dated between 1594 and 1597. The sources of The Merchant of Venice are long since settled in the Gesta Romanorum, Christopher Marlowe's Jew of Malta, the ballad of Gernutus and, especially, Il Pecorone of Giovanni Fiorentino -- albeit the motives of the pound of flesh and the three caskets have even earlier Oriental origins, the Oriental features of the Greek romance do not include these -- but it is a pleasing speculation, and not entirely an unsound one, that the parallels with the AEthiopica were derived from the romance. Perhaps the accurate thing is to say that the parallel elements were "in the air," and got there in part from the Classical stage and in part from the romance then in common circulation.

In his study of the sources of the Henry IV plays, R. P. Cowl says:

Heliodorus, AEthiopica, X (tr. Underdowne, [no page reference]) where Theagenes and Chariclea are led forth to sacrifice "with garlands on their heads."

is paralleled by:

They come like sacrifices in their trim,
(IV, 1, 113)

of Henry IV, Part I. I am unable to find the line quoted

\[76\] Law, op. cit.

\[77\] Sources of the Text of Henry the Fourth (Bruges, Belgium, n.d.), p. 43.
by Cowl in my copy of Underdowne's Heliodorus. In my copy, when Theagenes and Chariclea are led forth to be sacrificed in Book X, the reading is:

"... he commanded the prisoners appointed for the purpose to be brought forth, among whom came Theagenes, and Cariclea not bound, but guarded about with men."78

On the other hand, there is a passage in which the queen bids messengers to spread good news which reads as follows:

"The postes did as shee commanded them, and with garlandes of the hearbe Lotos, and [sic] groweth by Nylus, upon their heads, and braunches of palme in their hands which they shaked, ..."79

and one in which Theagenes wrestles with a bull:

"... and fell upon the Bulles head between his hornes and cast his armes about his head like a garland, ..."80

Both of these occur in Book X, but obviously there is no parallel with the Shakespeare play.

Cowl cites this passage in Underdowne's Heliodorus:

"One of those, [robbers] that were landed, went about to shoote at them, [Theagenes and Chariclea] but after the yonge folkes had looked upon them, their hartes failled, and their right hands quaked. For the very barbarous hands (as may appeare) do feare the beautiful personages, and a right gruell eye wil bee made gentle with a lowely looke."81

as a source for the following lines in Henry IV, Part II:82

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78 P. 263.
79 Ibid., p. 260.
80 Ibid., p. 281.
81 Ibid., p. 130.
82 Cowl, p. 42.
War. [wiek] My lord, I found the prince in the next room,
Washing with kindly tears his gentle cheeks,
With such a deep demeanour in great sorrow
That tyranny, which never quaff'd but blood,
Would by beholding him, have wash'd his knife
With gentle eye-drops. ...  

(IV, v, 81-86)

I find both of these references a bit strained.

In its relationship to Greek romance, Much Ado About Nothing presents a problem which is almost exactly duplicated by that of Romeo and Juliet, for the source of the main plot -- the Hero-Claudio love affair -- has been traced ultimately to Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe, although no direct bibliographic connection has been established between the romance and the play, for Chariton, like Xenophon of Ephesus, went unpublished and untranslated until the eighteenth century. Further, Chaereas and Callirhoe is preserved in the same La Badia codex which preserves the Ephesiaca.

For the Hero-Claudio plot of Much Ado About Nothing, Shakespeare possibly drew directly on the twenty-second tale of the first part of Matteo Bandello's Novelle (Lucca, 1554), the story of "Signor Timbreo di Cardona and Fenicia Lionata," or its French translation by François de Belleforest, "Timbrée de Cardone," in volume three of the Histoires Tragiques (Paris, 1566).

Reduced to the simplest terms, the substance of Bandello's novel is as follows: Shortly after the Sicilian Vesper

83 See Note 59, p. 192, supra.
Massacre, Timbreo and his sworn brother, Girondo, young favorites of King Pedro of Aragon, fall in love with Fenicia, daughter of Lionato of Messina. Timbreo is successful in arranging a marriage. Girondo, hoping to break it off and claim the lady for himself, arranges for a friend to tell Timbreo that Fenicia is unchaste, and through connivance with a servant to show him a "foppish lover" entering Fenicia's home with a ladder. Timbreo is made to overhear talk of previous visits, and is thus convinced of Fenicia's duplicity. He at once breaks off the marriage. Stunned, Fenicia falls into a death-like swoon and is reported dead. She recovers; but to protect her honor her parents send her to the country, feign her death, and conduct her funeral with great pomp and ceremony. Girondo repents, confesses, and before Fenicia's tomb begs Timbreo for death. Timbreo forgives him and laments. All is made clear to Lionato, who forgives Timbreo when he promises to marry a wife of Lionato's choosing. After a year, all travel to a country house where Fenicia appears and a double wedding is celebrated between Timbreo and Fenicia and Girondo and Fenicia's younger sister. The company return in great pomp to Messina, where they are publicly welcomed and feasted.

That this is a primary source of the Hero-Claudio plot of Much Ado About Nothing generally goes undisputed, although Shakespeare may well have drawn material for the masquerade deception of Margaret, Hero's waiting woman, from the fifth canto of the Orlando Furioso (1532) of Ludovic Ariosto, or
from one of its adaptations or translations. But whatever Shakespeare's immediate source, the ultimate origin of the plot, and probably Bandello's direct source, was traced in 1898 by Konrad Weichberger to Chariton's romance, Chaereas and Callirhoe, and this has since been recognized by scholars as a valid suggestion.

The correspondence is with Books I and VIII of Chariton:

(Book I) Almost immediately after Chaereas and Callirhoe, the daughter of Hermocrates the General of Syracuse, are married, unsuccessful suitors of Callirhoe, enraged with jealousy, deceive Chaereas into believing his wife unchaste by arranging for a servant to admit a "foppish lover" to Callirhoe's chamber while Chaereas looks on. Chaereas, enraged, rushes into the house and kicks his wife in the stomach. She drops, apparently dead. Chaereas learns the truth, and in remorse begs for death. At the trial he is publicly forgiven by Callirhoe's father when the treachery is disclosed. Callirhoe is buried with great state, but awakens in the tomb, only to be kidnapped by robbers. Chaereas tries to kill himself on her empty tomb, but is

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84"Die Urquelle von Shakespeare's 'Much Ado about Nothing'," Jahrbuch, XXXIV (1898), 339-345.

85Vide A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: Much Adoe About Nothing, second edition (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 344f; Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 387; but Charles T. Prouty in The Sources of "Much Ado About Nothing": A Critical Study, etc. (New Haven, 1950), p. 13, says only "Notice is given Weichberger's attempt to find some connection between the Greek romance of Chaereas and Callirhoe of Chariton and the novels of Bandello ..." This seems to be slightly less "notice" than Weichberger's article deserves.
prevented by his friend, Polycharmes. (Books II through VII). After a series of adventures against a background of the Persian-Egyptian war (Book VIII), Chaereas and Callirhoe are reunited and received with public rejoicing and ceremony. A marriage between Chaereas' sister and Polycharmes is celebrated.

The similarities between these plots are several: Both stories have an historical background to lend them credibility. Bandello sets his novel back to the time of the Sicilian Vesper Massacre, 1282; Chariton makes his heroine a daughter of Hermocrates — an historical figure -- and sets the adventures against the background of the Persian-Egyptian wars of the fourth century B.C., antiquity to Chariton, who was writing in the first or second centuries A.D. In both plots, the apparent death of the heroine is caused by the hero's false accusation of adultery. In both, the hero has been deceived by a rival with the cooperation of a servant into apparently witnessing a "foppish lover" enter his lady's house. Both Fenicia and Callirhoe are "buried" with great pomp. Weichberger makes the point that the authors of both tales were Sicilians -- Bandello from Messina, Chariton from Syracuse. He also thinks the descriptions of the "foppish lovers" parallel each other: 87

Chariton:
He had long lustrous hair with locks scented with

86 P. 343.
87 P. 344.
perfume; his eyes were lined with cosmetics; his cloak was soft; his shoes were light and fine; heavy rings gleamed on his fingers.88

Bandello:
... il disleal Girondo vestì honoratamente un suo servidore, di quanto houeua à far già instrutto, e quello di scuissimi odor; profum.89

Further interesting correspondences are the ready forgiveness of the heroes by the fathers of the injured girls when the circumstances of the deception are made known; the hero and his friend's going to the tomb of the "dead" beloved, where in Chariton the hero is prevented from suicide by his friend, and in Bandello the reverse; and the celebration of the wedding of the hero's friend at the reunion of the lovers. In Chariton the bride of the friend is the hero's sister; in Bandello the bride is the heroine's sister. Further, both romance and novel conclude on a note of public approval and celebration of the reunion of the lovers.

The differences between the novel and the romance are several, although they seem less significant than the likenesses: In Bandello the heroine is engaged to the hero; in Chariton she is very newly married to him. In the novel the hero and the intriguier are comrades, sworn brothers; in Chariton there is no such strong personal connection between them, although the hero is furnished with a close friend and confidant. In Bandello the "death" of the heroine results

88Blake, p. 7.
from a mental blow; in Chariton it results from a physical blow. To account for these differences, except the blow to the heroine, Weichberger suggests the influence of the tale of Genevra and Ariodant in the fifth canto of Orlando Furioso, in which the aid of a servant, masquerading in the heroine's dress, is utilized by the friend in deceiving the hero into believing that his promised bride is unchaste. The motive of the deception through the aid of the servant goes back to Chariton, but since the tale of Genevra and Ariodant in no other way parallels Chariton's romance, it is not suggested that this is Ariosto's source.

The most significant difference between the two plots is in the circumstances of the seeming death of the heroine. The change from a physical to a psychic blow can be easily explained by what might be called the advance of manners with civilization and the development of the code of chivalry during the Middle Ages. Weichberger explains the change from real burial of the heroine to a death and burial feigned by the heroine's parents as being made necessary by the change in the genre from the long and rambling romance to the compact novella. The apparent death and real burial in Chariton was a device to start Callirhoe on her sea journey and adventures, a prime requisite for a Greek romance. But the Renaissance novella is brief and contracted; the harrowing adventures of the sea journey and its consequences were

\[90\text{Pp. 342f.}\]
episodes unrelated to the love plot and had to be dropped.\footnote{p. 343.} Bandello's \textit{novella} would thus seem to be the connecting link between Shakespeare's \textit{Much Ado About Nothing} and the Chariton romance. The same timeworn plot reappears: Claudio is deceived into thinking that his promised wife, Hero, secretly receives a lover. His brutal accusation causes her apparent death. After the funeral come Claudio's repentance at the tomb, forgiveness of him by the injured lady's father, reappearance of the supposedly dead Hero, and a triumphant conclusion in the double union of the protagonists and their friends, Beatrice and Benedict. Few would question Shakespeare's reliance on Bandello's "Signor Timbreo di Cardona and Fenicia Liomata," for these plot materials, and the correspondence between that story and Chariton's \textit{Chaereas and Callirhoe} are too strong to brushed off lightly as coincidence. The manuscript of the romance was readily available at Florence, where Bandello is known to have spent a year about 1505. Further, Bandello was a competent Greek scholar, the translator of the \textit{Hecuba} of Euripides, the friend and correspondent of Julius Caesar Scaliger, and the tutor of the renowned Lucrezia Gonzaga. It is not strained to conjecture that he heard of the La Badia manuscript and read it. The portion of it by Xenophon of Ephesus had been advertised to the humanist public in 1489 by Poliziano's mention of it, and the portion by Achilles Tatius had appeared
in the Italian translation by Angelo Coccio in 1551, three years before the publication of the *Novelle*. Three years more and the world would see the publication of the Longus portion in a French translation by Jacques Amyot (Paris, 1559).

The publication of *Daphnis and Chloe* in Amyot's delightful French must have suited well the temper of the times, for within twenty-eight years another translation in French was made by L. Johnson (Paris, 1578), and one in English was published by Angel Day (London, 1587). Altogether, the three translations had been issued at least five times before the Greek text was published in Florence. At the same time the Longus pastoral plot had become a model for the pastoral *genre* as it developed during the Renaissance, and especially as it is illustrated in the work of Sidney, Spenser and Thomas Lodge. It was from Lodge's *Rosalynde: Euphues' Golden Legacy* (London, 1590) that Shakespeare's first pastoral, *As You Like It*, was derived. Lodge used for his novel a number of incidents found in the typical pastoral plot derived from Longus which Greenlaw delineated thus: 92

1) Rosalynde, forced from her rightful place at court, lives disguised as a boy, tending sheep near the forest of Arden; thus, she fulfills the first point -- the heroine of unknown parentage living in a pastoral setting. Her companion, Alinda, also in exile from the court, lives as a shepherdess. Thus, the traditional motive is doubled.

2) Rosader (Shakespeare's Orlando), the hero, is the abused younger brother of a wealthy landowner. He

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lives as a forester; thus, he satisfies the second point -- the lover of high degree lives in lowly guise.

3) The third point -- the complication of the plot and the comic relief supplied by a rude, bumbling, country suitor of the heroine -- according to Greenlaw, is omitted. But it would seem that the pathetic love of Phoebe, the humble shepherdess, for Rosalynde disguised as a boy, meets this point in a modified way. It is a rival "country" love complicating the situation. Of course the sex is reversed and the comedy is only in the extravagance.

4) Rosader's slaying the lion which comes to devour his brother satisfies the fourth point -- a melodramatic incident to prove the hero's prowess.

5) The fifth point -- the captivity episode -- according to Greenlaw is omitted. But it would seem that the attempt to kidnap Alinda (Shakespeare's Celia), the secondary heroine, as a mistress for the king is a kind of vestigial remnant of the traditional plot motive. Greenlaw sees it as a close imitation of Arcadia II, where a similar incident precedes the captivity.

6) The revelation of the identity of Bosalynde and Alinda as dukes' daughters satisfies doubly the sixth point -- disclosure of true identity and the heroine's high birth that she might marry the high born lover.

It might be added that the restoration of the lost child to the parent, an important motive in Greek romance, especially in Daphnis and Chloe, is here repeated in the reunion of Rosalynde and her father, the rightful duke living in exile.

Shakespeare's As You Like It follows the first and second points exactly. The third point, the comic element and the complication of the love story by a rival shepherd, which Lodge omits except for the fanciful love of Phoebe

94 P. 130.
for Rosalynde, Shakespeare has met by his addition of
William and Audrey, and by making high comedy of the love of
Phoebe for Rosalind. In the fourth point, Shakespeare
matches Lodge in having the hero slay a lion. As to the
fifth point, the captivity episode, Shakespeare omits even
the vestige of it retained in his source. The sixth, revela-
tion of true identity and marriage of the lovers, he matches
in the delightful third scene of Act V. Here, too, occurs
the restoration of lost children to parents in the reunion
of the two girls, Rosalind and Celia, with their fathers.

Two traditional pastoral motives in As You Like It do
not appear in Lodge’s novel: the melancholy malcontent,
Jaques, who is a stock type in Italian and Spanish pastorals,
but who, according to Greenlaw, has no affinity with the
Greek source;95 and the comic element supplied by the rus-
tics, William and Audrey. These additions would suggest
that Shakespeare was consciously writing a conventional
pastoral plot in As You Like It, although his play has
nothing in common with the effete, spun-sugar effect of most
pastorals. Greenlaw, recognizing this difficulty states
that "... it is thoroughly characteristic of Shakespeare
... to stress the more active pastoral life of the foresters
and hunters rather than the elegant trifling of the arti-
ficial pastoral. It is a more robust pastoral, but it is

95Ibid., p. 124. I take issue with Greenlaw on this
point. The character of Philetas in Daphnis and Chloe is
developed as a philosophic shepherd. I consider him to be
the prototype of the Renaissance stock character.
pastoral none the less." 96

It is Wolff's opinion that the Elizabethan literary tradition of "escape" literature -- from city or court to the country, from the active life to the contemplative -- and the employment of the pastoral setting as a solution to turbulence created in court or city which occurs in such romances as Sidney's Arcadia; William Warner's story of Argentile and Curan in Albion's England (1586); Greene's Tullies Love, Menaphon, and Pandosto; Lodge's Rosalynde; and Shakespeare's As You Like It and The Winter's Tale is closely related to the Longus romance and may be derived directly from it. 97

With all the affinity As You Like It seems to have to the plot of Daphnis and Chloe as a conventional type, it is not suggested that Shakespeare was drawing consciously on the Greek source, or even that he was openly aware that the conventional pastoral plot which he seems deliberately to have fashioned was of Greek origin, although it may be stated that this would have been no bibliographic impossi­bility, for a very obvious derivation could be Day's trans­lation of Longus published in English in 1587. As You Like It is never dated earlier than 1599. 98

Lewis Theobald in his famous edition of Shakespeare

96P. 141.
97Greek Romances, pp. 432f.
98Law, op. cit.
explained three lines in *Twelfth Night; or, What you Will* as an allusion to Thyamis, the Egyptian thief in the AEthi-
opica who attempted to kill Chariclea when he found that he could not have her for himself:  

   **Duke.** [Orsino] Why should I not, had I the heart to do it,  
   Like to the Egyptian thief at point of death,  
   Kill what I love? ...  
   
   *(V, 1, 121ff)*

This note has been repeated by almost every editor of *Twelfth-Night* and almost every commentator on Shakespeare's classical attainments since Theobald's edition was published, as an indication that Shakespeare had read Heliodorus, probably in Underdowne's translation. William Theobald, to my knowledge, is the only scholar to disagree with the elder Theobald's conclusion, and it is his opinion that the lines are an allusion to the story in Herodotus, Book II, chapter 121, of two brothers who were caught in a trap when they tried to rob a king's treasury. One brother, able to escape, cut off the head of the other to avoid identification.  

Heliodorus would seem to be the better explanation.  

The plot of *Twelfth-Night* has been related to both *Apollonius of Tyre* and *Clitophon and Leucippe* of Achilles Tatius. The relation to *Apollonius of Tyre* is indirect: Ernest A. Baker in discussing *[Barnaby] Riche his Farewell to Military Profession* (London, 1581) says of one of its

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99 *The Works of Shakespeare etc.* (London, 1772) V, 86. See also *supra*, p. 83.

novelle, "'Apolonius and Silla' ... has Greek affinities, in truth, it can not be entirely unrelated to the famous old Apollonius of Tyre. Riche's "Apolonius and Silla" is considered to be the major source of the plot of Twelfth-Night, although a similar story may be found in Bandello, "Nicuola and Lattanzio," the twenty-eighth story of the first part of his Novelle, and in his French translator, Belleforest, as well as in several Italian and Latin comedies, including Plautus's Menaechmi.

Riche's hero, Apolonius, during a sea journey, is driven by storms to the island of Cyprus. There he is received by the governor, who has a lovely daughter, Silla, and a son, Silvio, away at the wars. Silla falls secretly in love with Apolonius, and when he sails for Constantinople, she follows in another ship. Her ship is wrecked in a storm, but she is washed ashore. Next follows the plot that both Shakespeare and Bandello utilized: The heroine, disguised as a boy, takes service with the hero. Against her inclinations, she is forced to help the hero conduct a love suit for another woman. The other woman falls in love with the disguised girl. Her brother -- often a twin -- turns up, and the love plot is complicated through mistaken identity. When all the confusion is resolved, the brother marries the second lady; the heroine marries the master whom she had served.

Curiously, Riche has begun his tale with materials from *Apollonius of Tyre*, and these he has attached to a modification of the old Plautine material, a combination which occurs also in *The Comedy of Errors*. Materials from *Apollonius of Tyre* are few but obvious: the name of the hero, the situation which brings the hero and heroine first together, the sea journeys, storms and shipwreck. None of these motives occur in the Bandello version, but in *Twelfth-Night* Shakespeare preserves the vestige of the *Apollonius of Tyre* romance in the sea journey and the shipwreck which casts Viola on the shore of Illyria.

It is Joseph de Perott who has linked *Twelfth-Night* to *Clitophon and Leucippe*, another link with *The Comedy of Errors*. His reasons are as follows:

1) Both plots feature a beautiful, rich, powerful woman, mistress of a great house: Melitte, the beautiful widow who married Clitophon, and Olivia.

2) These women both love suddenly and foolishly a youth who loves another: Clitophon and Viola-Cesario.

3) The steward of the woman's household plays a major role in both plots: Sosthenes, who is so cruel to Leucippe, and Malvolio.

4) At the conclusion, one presumed to be dead at sea returns to claim Melitte-Olivia as wife: Thersander, the husband of Melitte, and Sebastian.

5) Imprisonment figures in each plot: Clitophon and Malvolio both have the unhappy experience.

De Perott does not note that the disguise of the major heroines plays an important role in each work: Leucippe is

102 "Noch eine eventuelle Quelle zum Heiligen Dreikönigsabend," *Jahrbuch*, XLVI (1910), 118-120. See also supra, pp. 185f.
disguised as a slave, Viola as the page Cesario. Further, the great lady in each case is the secondary heroine rather than the first. Letters are a device in furthering both plots.

As to dates, Burton's translation of Achilles Tatius into English appeared in 1597, and *Twelfth-Night* is generally dated between 1599 and 1602;\(^{103}\) so the possibility that Achilles Tatius influenced the play is grounded safely in bibliography. "Apolonius and Silla" of Riche is, of course, Shakespeare's primary source. Indeed, in the title of his article de Perott calls *Clitophon* and *Leucippe* "another uncertain" source. But to examine his argument point by point:

1) The role of the secondary heroine, Olivia, is filled in Riche by Julina, a lady described as:

... a noble Dame, a widowe, whose housebande was but lately deceased, one of the noblest men that were in the partes of Grecia, who left his lady and wife large possessions and greate livinges. This ladys name was called Julina, who besides the aboundance of her wealth and greatnesse of her revenues, had likewise the soveraigne of all the dames of Constantinople for her beautie.\(^{104}\)

Thus it can be seen that Shakespeare did not have to go to *Clitophon* and *Leucippe* for the characterization of Olivia. On the other hand, the ladies who play this role in Bandello, and in the dramatic versions other than *Twelfth-Night*, are characterized simply as young girls.

\(^{103}\)Law, *op. cit.*

2) The foolish love of the Olivia role occurs in nearly all of the parallels of Twelfth-Night. In Riche's version it is not dramatically sudden:

> Julina, now haveynge many tymes taken the gaze of this yong youth, ... was so intangleed with the often sight of this sweete temptation, that she fell into as greate a likyng with the man as the maister was with herself;\(^{105}\)

But in Bandello's version it is spontaneous combustion:

> ...; but she paid little heed to that which he said to her, being all intent upon his sight and saying in herself that she had never seen so handsome a youth. In fine, she viewed him so amorously and so deeply did the lad's beauty and grace penetrate into her heart that, unable to restrain herself longer, she threw her arms about his neck and kissing him five or six times ardently on the mouth, said ...\(^{106}\)

The dramatic versions are similar;\(^{107}\) thus, it would not seem to be necessary for Shakespeare to have derived this motive from any but the more obvious sources.

3) The major role Malvolio plays in Olivia's household is not matched by a similar figure in Riche or in other accounts of the story; so this figure could conceivably point to Clitophon and Leucippe.

4) The return at the end of the story of one presumed to be lost at sea is another parallel between Clitophon and Leucippe and Twelfth-Night. In most versions of the story the character filling the role of Sebastian returns from the wars or from travel.

5) Shakespeare would not have to look further than Riche to find a prison motive. There the girl page, Silla, is thrust into prison by her master.

In further support of his view that Achilles Tatius

\(^{105}\)Ibid.


\(^{107}\)Ibid., pp. 339-361.
is a possible source for *Twelfth-Night*, de Perott cites passages from *Clitophon* and *Leucippe* which seem to have parallels in the play:  

**Achilles Tatius:**

... Then sayde Menelaus: but you Clitiphon [sic] doo not seeme to knowe which is the chiepest felicitie in love: that alway is most to be wished for, which bringeth no lothesomenesse, and wherewith one is never satisfied: for those things which remaine the longer to us for to enjoy them, do take away the delight thereof with too much societie, but those things which sometimes are taken away, are alway newe and do daily flourish: and as much as is taken away from them by the shortnesse of time, so much is added to the greatnesse of the desire, and theyr pleasure doth not fade: and wherefore is the Rose accounted the fairest of all plants, but because it soonest doth fade away:  

**Shakespeare:**

[Duke Orsino] For women are as roses, whose fair flower Being once display'd, doth fall that very hour.  

...  

Alas! their love may be call'd appetite,  
No motion of the liver, but the palate,  
That suffer surfeit, cloyment, and revolt;  

(II, iv, 38f and 99ff)

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**Achilles Tatius:**

For beautie is sharper then [sic] any dart to wond withall, & by the eies making passage for his amorous wound, pearseth to the heart.  

**Shakespeare:**

[Olivia] Methinks I feel this youth's perfections With an invisible and subtle stealth  
To creep in at mine eyes.  

(I, v, 317ff)

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108P. 119  
109Burton, pp. 43f.  
110Ibid., p. 6.
In view of the fact that Shakespeare's habit of composition seems to have been to cull suggestions for a play from many and varied sources, the suggestion that Achilles Tatius' novel played a part in the writing of Twelfth-Night should not be overlooked, especially since the Burton translation was readily at hand. The fact is plain, however, that all but two of the parallel motives of the romance and the play appear in the other more obvious sources of Twelfth-Night: Riche and Bandello. As to the passages which de Perott cites as parallels, I do not think they should be entirely disregarded, particularly in view of the two plot similarities. On the other hand, I think it wise to confess their Ovidian nature and admit that their concepts are not exclusive to Achilles Tatius or to Shakespeare. It is my opinion that Twelfth-Night has many Greek romance materials embodied in its plot. Sea journey, shipwreck, disguise and letters are obvious and basic to the play and to the ancient novels. Apollonius of Tyre does seem to be indicated at second hand, but I do not think it wise to put a finger on this or that romance and say, "That is the one." The plot is possibly a descendant of a lost romance, or a conglomerate of suggestions from several extant ones.

There is an interesting passage in Hamlet which seems to be apposite to one in the Underdowne translation of Heliodorus:

Shakespeare:
Ham. [let] ... the funeral bak'd meats
Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables.
(I, ii, 180f)
Heliodorus:
... and the Tapers that gave her light at her wedding, did now serve to kendle her funerall fire.\textsuperscript{111}

This latter is a part of the same passage which Wolff finds parallels lines in \textit{Romeo and Juliet}.\textsuperscript{112} John Addis cites a similar passage in \textit{The Old Law} (1599), a play probably by Phillip Massinger.\textsuperscript{113}

Gnoth. [o] ...; the same rosemary that serves for the funeral, will serve for the wedding.\textsuperscript{114}

(IV, i)

It is, to be sure, bibliographically possible that Underdowne's Heliodorus was the source for these passages, but probably it is safer to say that the \textit{AEthiopica}, with its typical Greek romance style, characterized by all the love of ornament, antithesis, and paradox that is to be found in the Asian prose of the \textit{Zweite Sophistick}, was just another factor, along with \textit{Euphues}, to cause such lines to be written into the work of Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists. On the other hand, Oeffting has pointed out another group of lines in \textit{Hamlet} which bear no resemblance to the Euphuistic style or the conscious artiness of the \textit{Zweite Sophistick}, but which do bear resemblance to lines in

\textsuperscript{111}Underdowne, pp. 69f.
\textsuperscript{112}Supra, p. 198.
\textsuperscript{113}“shakspeariana [sic],” \textit{Notes and Queries}, XI (February 9, 1867), p. 124.
Underdowne's Heliodorus: 115

Shakespeare:

[Hamlet] ...; so loving to my mother
That he might not beteem the winds of heaven
Visit her face too roughly. (I, ii, 140ff)

Heliodorus:

... that [hair] ... was crowned with a garlande of young Laurell, which did not suffer the whole to be blowen more then was seemely with the vehemencie of the wind. 116

The parallel is not absolute, but it is suggestive.

Since both this passage and the forementioned passage occur in Act I, scene ii of the play, it might not be unsound to suggest that Shakespeare was reading the AEthiopica about the time that he composed that section of Hamlet. It is almost certain that he had read it by 1602; evidence in Twelfth-Night117 points to that. Hamlet was probably written between 1600 and 1603, although 1602 is the generally accepted date.118

Othello, written about 1604,119 also indicates that Shakespeare had read the AEthiopica, and the romance seems to have served to fill in points absent from the major source of the play, the seventh novel of the third decade of Giraldi Cinthio's Hecatommithi (Monteregale, Sicily,

116[Underdowne, p. 83.
117[Supra, pp. 215f.
118[Law, op. cit.
119[Ibid.]
1565), "A Moorish Captain takes to wife a Venetian Dame." A vicious and brutal tale, this, but the skeleton of the great tragedy none the less. Since Shakespeare seems to have read the AEthiopica in time to have alluded to it in Twelfth-Night, it is not far-fetched to suppose that he would recall it while writing a play based on Cinthio's novel of a white woman married to a black man, for the AEthiopica has a similar theme: a white man, Theagenes the Greek, married to a Negress, Chariclea, the crown princess of Ethiopia. She was born white accidentally, but her parents were Negroes, and Chariclea carried a black birthmark on her arm to attest to her "black blood."

There has been some disagreement as to Othello's race, whether Shakespeare meant him for an Arab or a Negro, for the word "Moor" by which he is designated could signify either in Elizabethan English. Today it is generally accepted that Othello was meant to be a Negro, and Fernand Baldensperger suggests that he was also an Ethiopian, his race and nation having been suggested by Heliodorus' novel. Baldensperger reasons as follows:

1) Othello is a Christian, and Ethiopia had long been a stronghold of the faith. Had he been an Arab he would have been a pagan. Further, the

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120 Supra. pp. 215f.


122 "Was Othello an Ethiopian?" Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, XX (1938), 3-14.
Turks were enemies of Ethiopia as well as of Venice; thus, it would be in character for Othello to be willing and anxious to fight them.

2) The derivation of the name "Othello" is probably "Oxello, regnum Ethioptiae," a quotation from Jesuit reports about the country. The name "Iago," a form of "Jacob," is one of the most frequent names in Ethiopian documents.

3) Othello's handkerchief is a powerful Ethiopian talisman, a protection against evil, dipped in "the mummy of Egypt." Heliodorus' novel features the magical Pantarbe, Chariclea's powerful talisman, and the novel is associated with both Egypt and Ethiopia.

The points which Baldensperger makes concern details missing from Cinthio's novel. First, there is in Cinthio little characterization of the role of Othello. He is referred to as a "Moore" and as black. He is a powerful general in the service of Venice; but he is not noble; he is not high-minded; he is not specifically Christian. His murder of his wife is conspiracy, not a crime of overwhelming passion. Further, the Moor of the novel does not fight Turks; he is simply stationed at the garrison on Cyprus. Second, the novel did not furnish Shakespeare with the names of the characters, except "Disdemona," which he converted to "Desdemona." If Shakespeare were deliberately characterizing his Moor as an Ethiopian, it would be reasonable to suppose that he consciously sought an Ethiopian name for him -- though I must confess to being able to conjure only a dim picture of Shakespeare in the reading room of the yet to be established British Museum, carefully examining and noting Jesuit reports on Ethiopia for local color! Third, the fatal handkerchief in Cinthio is only a wedding gift from
the Moor to his wife. It has no magical associations. These Shakespeare supplies from his own invention, and they may well have been suggested by the magical Pantarbe of Chariclea, which like the handkerchief was a mother's gift and staved off evil.

If the AEthiopica can be linked with Othello, then it is suggested that Shakespeare drew on it for more of his heroic Moor than the Christian faith and the willingness to fight the Turks, for Hydaspes, a Negro, the model king of the romance, is a close parallel to Othello. Hydaspes is characterized as a great warrior: the entire ninth book of the AEthiopica deals with his war-making and his military methods. It is a veritable text book of strategy and tactic and was so recognized during the Renaissance. Hydaspes is also a model statesman, thinking more of public duty than of private affection. His nobility and magnanimity are so great that he is willing to make a blood sacrifice of his daughter and only heir for the higher welfare of the state. Further, though he is a pagan, he is easily swayed by the gentle philosophies of the neo-Pythagorean Gymnosophists. He respects religion and philosophy and is eager to be taught and anxious to consult with learned men.

Shakespeare's Othello is a great Negro warrior and leader, the descendant of an ancient line, an aristocrat high in the service and councils of the state. His nobility

123 Supra, p. 181.
carries with it the same respect for religion that characterizes Hydaspes. Before Othello kills Desdemona, he cries:

Oth. [ello] Have you pray'd to-night, Desdemona?

... If you bethink yourself of any crime
Unreconcil'd as yet to heaven and grace,
Solicit for it straight.

... I would not kill thy unprepared spirit;
No; heaven forfend! I would not kill thy soul.

... I that am cruel am yet merciful;
I would not have thee linger in thy pain.

(V, 11, 25ff, 31f, 86f)

Like Hydaspes who would sacrifice his daughter for the state, Othello makes a kind of sacrifice of Desdemona:

Oth. [ello] By heaven, ...
O perjur'd woman! thou dust stone my heart,
And mak'st me call what I intend to do
A murder, which I thought a sacrifice:

(V, 11, 62-65)

Othello's is the greater sacrifice, more significantly human than Hydaspes', for he sacrifices his wife for the institution of marriage, not for the cold abstraction of the state. Shakespeare has never made a lover of Othello. He is from the first act a husband. His love is dignified, calm, serene, and protective. Only when the love is made wretched through Desdemona's imputed dishonor does it turn to the blind passion of jealous anger. Then is she sacrificed for honor -- for the honor of marriage:

[Othello] An honourable murderer, if you will;
For nought did I in hate, but all in honour.

(V, 11, 293f)

There is no suggestion of Desdemona's being a sacrifice of honor in Cinthio's novel. There her murder is coldly
plotted as revenge by her husband and the Ensign, Iago's counterpart. The husband coolly looks on while the poor lady is sandbagged to death, and then he assists in arranging the room to make the murder appear an accident.

It was tales of the marvelous, descriptions of strange animals, "travel's history,"

[Othello] Wherein of antres vast and desarts idle, Rough quarries, rocks and hills whose heads touch heaven, It was my hint to speak, such was the process; And of the Cannibals that each other eat, The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads Do grow beneath their shoulders, (I, iii, 140-145)

that won Desdemona for Othello. No such tales occur in the novel of Cinthio, but the AEthiopica abounds with them.124 Neither is Desdemona's lack of interest in other suitors suggested by Cinthio:

[Brabantio] So opposite to marriage that she shunn'd The wealthy curled darlings of our nation. (I, ii, 67f)

But Chariclea of the AEthiopica was a priestess of Diana before Theagenes came into her life:

Shee [Chariclea] hath bidden marriage farewell, and determineth to live a maiden.125

Further, the elopement of Desdemona and Othello is not suggested by Cinthio, but is possibly derived from Heliodorus. Cinthio's poor heroine and her Moor had "lived in ... harmony and peace in Venice"126 for sometime before they

124Supra, pp. 107ff.
125Underdowne, p. 73.
126Giraldi Cinthio, "Un Capitano Moro piglia per mogliera una cittadina Venetiana, etc.," Othello, ed. cit., p. 377
went to the island of Cyprus and treachery. But the lovers of the *AEthiopica* do elope, and the grief of Chariclea's stepfather is emphasized as is the fatal grief of Brabantio, Desdemona's father.  

It is suggested that there is evidence in *Othello* to support the thesis that the *AEthiopica* was a partial source of the play, not the source of the plot, but of details in the play that are absent from Cinthio's novel. In this case it would follow that John Upton's emendation of that much disputed line:

\[
[\text{Othello}] \text{Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away} \\
(V, ii, 346)
\]

to:

\[
[\text{Othello}] \text{Like the base Egyptian, threw a pearl away.}
\]

is to be given more attention than it has had in the past. The quartos and the folios carry the word "Indian," but this was emended to "Judian" by Theobald and William Warburton because of a general failure to explain satisfactorily the meaning of the reference. Upton suggested "Egyptian" because he believed the word "Indian" a misprint and the line an allusion to Thyamis, the Egyptian thief who loved Chariclea, but killed her -- or one who he thought was she -- when he could not have her. This is the *Twelfth-Night* allusion

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127 Vide Underdowne, pp. 118ff.


129 The entire problem is reviewed in *Othello*, ed. *cit.*, pp. 327-331.
again if Upton's emendation is correct.\textsuperscript{130} According to Upton, this story and the remembrance that Brabantio had called him "a foul thief" crowd into Othello's mind after he has murdered his wife, "and with great propriety he calls himself 'the base Egyptian.'"\textsuperscript{131} If the \textit{AEthiopica} was in Shakespeare's mind during the composition of \textit{Othello}, Upton's conclusion is tenable. Certainly Desdemona and Chariclea were "pearls" among women.

There is a curious and unexplained parallel between \textit{Othello} and the romance of Chariton, \textit{Chaereas and Callirhoe}, which had already furnished Shakespeare with the Hero-Claudio plot of \textit{Much Ado About Nothing} through his source in Bandello. Treachery, aided by the wife's servant, causes Chaereas falsely to suspect his newly married wife of adultery. He strikes her and she apparently dies. Waking to life later, she continues to love her husband. Never does she blame him for his cruelty, although she does not understand his motivation. Othello, similarly, is falsely led to suspect Desdemona. He is deceived by a friend, but the suspicion is furthered by his wife's servant, Emilia, when she gives the handkerchief to Iago. In Act IV, scene 1, Othello, in anger and rage, strikes Desdemona in the face. She does not understand the reason for the blow, but she is not angered by it and continues to love him. When he finally kills

\textsuperscript{130}\textsuperscript{Supra}, pp. 215f.

\textsuperscript{131}p. 328.
her, Desdemona's dying words are indicative of love and forgiveness, although she never knows the reason for her husband's attack.

The hero's striking the heroine in rage is a Greek romance motive which does not appear in Cinthio. There the Moor is deceived by a friend, but he coolly plots his wife's death. The motive of the physical blow and the wife's innocent forgiveness is not derived from Bandello either. His is a psychic blow, and though the heroine marries the deceived Timbreo a year after the uproar, the forgiveness is pronounced by the lady's father and seems to be based on cool bourgeois realism: the daughter's honor has been stained by accusation; it is a pity, but be it false or true, the girl must be married to someone! And who else will have her now? Like goods at a fire sale, Fenicia was damaged and her price had to be marked down. One has the same impression of Hero's patched up marriage to Claudio.

Probably Othello's rage and Desdemona's beautiful, forgiving goodness are Shakespeare's invention, the fruit of his penetrating understanding. But if a source must be assigned to them, is it strained to suggest a lost Renaissance novella based on Chariton's romance and embodying different phases of it from those Bandello selected for his?

Wolff has linked King Lear, written almost immediately after Othello, 1605 or 1606,\textsuperscript{132} with Heliodorus, but at

\textsuperscript{132}Law, op. cit.
second hand through the episode of the "unkinde [unnatural] King" of Paphlagonia, by declaring Sidney's source to be the story of Calisiris and Thyamis in the AEthiopica. Sidne\ys Paphlagonian King is almost universally accepted as the source of the sub-plot of Gloucester and his sons in King Lear. That Sidney drew heavily on the AEthiopica for story materials, structure and plot, Wolff very definitely has established, and the bare-boned outlines of Sidney's Paphlagonian story he distinguishes in the Calisiris-Thyamis episode:

Heliodorus' AEthiopica:

Calisiris, an hereditary priest of Isis at Memphis, Egypt, has two fine sons by a legitimate marriage. His wife dies and he succumbs to the temptations of a professional harlot. Rather than defile his priesthood he abandons it, then goes into exile when he is informed by the gods that his sons will shed each other's blood. He cannot bear to witness this. The elder son, Thyamis, is ordained a priest. The younger son accuses him of adultery with the queen to the king. Thyamis flees and becomes a leader of a band of pirates. The younger son is ordained a priest in his place. Thyamis returns to Memphis with Theagenes, Chariclea, and his followers. He challenges his brother to combat, and the queen gives him permission for the battle. During the fight, their father, dressed as a beggar, rushes up to part them. They recognize him and fall on their knees to honor him. The father is restored to the priesthood. After he is crowned with the symbols of office, he removes them from his head and places them on the head of his elder son, Thyamis. The old priest then falls dead. The younger son is heard of no more.

133 Greek Romances, pp. 312f.
134 Ibid., pp. 262-366.
135 Adapted from Burton, Books I and VII.
Sidney's Arcadia:

Pyrocles and Mucedorus take shelter in a hollow rock during a great storm. There they encounter an aged man, blind and poorly dressed, led by a younger man of similar condition. Their bearing is noble and the old man tells this tale: "I was king of Paphlagonia, but my throne has been usurped by my younger son, a bastard. First he turned me against my older son, true born, by lies and treachery, so that I drove him from the country. Next he usurped my power and put out my eyes. Then he drove me out over the countryside. My true born son, disguised as a peasant, came to me and he leads me about. I have begged him to lead me to a high promontory that I might cast myself over, but he refuses." The base born son having heard that the true born son lives and leads the father, rushes on the scene. A battle ensues; reinforcements arrive; but Pyrocles and Mucedorus, aiding the true born son, are the victors. The blind king is restored to the throne. As soon as the crown is again on his head, he sets it on the head of his true born son and dies. The bastard now humbles himself before the new king, begs pardon for his crimes and is forgiven by his brother. He next tries to poison the new king; but the king, ever gentle and mindful of family ties, sends him off on a military expedition. The bastard continues on his treacherous way.136

These two stories differ in many superficial respects, and in the very major aspect of the relation of the sons to the parent and their rendering of honor to the parent. Were other evidences of Heliodorus not so strong in the Arcadia, I would be somewhat inclined to doubt this as a source of the incident, and thus the ultimate source for Shakespeare's Gloucester story. As it is, I do not think Wolff's opinion can be safely disregarded, different as the

stories are in some respects, for the usurpation of a brother's rights are certainly present in Heliodorus as in Sidney and Shakespeare. It is the profound difference in the treatment of the father which makes me hesitate to accept this wholeheartedly as the source.

Achilles Tatius furnishes an interesting parallel to the Birnam Wood episode of Macbeth, and, although Shakespeare's immediate source for the deception was surely Raphael Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande (1586), it is not impossible that he knew the motive from Burton's translation also. The motive of the moving wood has been traced much further back in time than Holinshed's Chronicles, and two widely differing opinions as to its ultimate origin have been formulated.

The Germans, chiefly of the nineteenth century, took a typically German attitude and ascribed its origin to the popular Teutonic folklore of the Middle Ages, specifically, the May festivals in which "König Grüenwald" was welcomed into the villages by the cutting of green branches and marching and dancing with them. The more convincing theory is that the moving wood had a military origin. N. W. Hill has shown that the tactic appears in the Bible, Judges IX: 48-49 (fourth or fifth century B.C.); in the ancient Alexander romance (c. seventh century A.D.); in an Arabian

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137Karl Simrock, Die Quellen des Shakespeare in Novellen, Märchen, und Sagen (Bonn, 1872), p. 257, reviews the whole theory.
account written shortly after the death of Mohammed; and in
the Historia Danica (c. 1208) of Saxo Grammaticus. Pauline
Taylor cites its use in the Liber Historiae Francorum
(eighth century A.D.), in the story of the entrance of Fredegundis into Trucia with the infant King Chlotharius. She
traces it from there to the Speculum Historiale (thirteenth
century) of Vincent of Beauvais; thence to the Original
Chronicles (c. 1420) of Andrew of Wyntoun; the Scotorum
Historiae (1527, completed 1574) of Hector Boëce; to Holinshed; and, finally, to Shakespeare. In each case it is a
military tactic. In 1332, Patrick, Earl of March, in an
attack on Perth made use of the deception of the moving wood.

I quote here an analogue of the Birnam Wood episode
which appears as a military tactic in the pages of Clitophon
and Leucippe (c. A.D. 300) of Achilles Tatius. Except for
its use in the Bible, this is earlier than the other ana-
logues. It is not suggested as Shakespeare’s source, but
Shakespeare had a propensity for taking materials from more
than one place when he was composing a play; and there is
evidence in other plays that he had read the romance:

After they perceived that Charmides approached neere
unto them, they devised this stratageme among them-
selves; they appointed all the old men to go formost
in the band, carrying in their hands Olive branches,
attributed after the manner of petitioners in signe of
peace: they commanded the strongest of their youth to
follow next after, being wonderfully well armed, and
placed in battell array. So determining that the olde

139 "Birnam Wood: AD 700 – AD 1600," MLN, XXXIX (1924),
244-249.
men shoulde carrie theyr branches in signe of peace, and that they should shaddow the Armie of men comming behinde with their boughs, the yong men dragged their weapons after them that they might not be seene. Beeing placed in this order, they went forward to meete Char-mides, desiring him that he would take pittie on their olde age, and spare their whole Cittie, ... but Char-mides having heard what they could say, would not graunt them their requests, ... wherefore the spies seeing them come neere, plucked downe the bankes [of the Nile], so that the Water began to overflow amaine, and in an instant the old men got themselves away, the yong men which dragd [sic] their weapons behind them, beganne to rush upon them:140

From the evidence thus presented there can be little reasonable doubt that the Greek romances were a strong minor influence on Shakespeare, and that they furnished him with many materials of composition. Their presence is to be discovered in plots, in incidental situations and motives, and in verbal echoes. But to say that Shakespeare deliberately turned to the Greek romances for the plays already discussed would certainly be unsound. The romances were a part of the literary background of Elizabethan England, and when Shakespeare utilized their materials he was probably drawing more or less casually -- even unconsciously -- on the common intellectual milieu. But the four plays which mark the end of his career, Pericles, Prince of Tyre, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest, are another matter. The major substance of these is Greek romance, and they all seem to be marked with a consciousness of their origin.

140Burton, pp. 75f.
PART TWO

Chapter Four

The four romances which marked the last years of Shakespeare's career as a dramatist -- Pericles: Prince of Tyre, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest -- are distinguished by common bonds. Philosophically they all contain the same note of quiet, hopeful resignation -- Shakespeare's peace with the world after the Sturm und Drang of Hamlet, the hopeless tragic irony of Othello and King Lear, the onrushing doom of Julius Caesar and Macbeth. Even in the fury of Leontes' unreasoned jealousy, the ugly cynicism of Iachimo's treachery, the ghoulish horror of Imogen's awaking in the cave, there is a note of unreality, an assurance of only temporal agony which seems to calm the reader and spectator alike with a quiet awareness that it is inconceivable that eventually all will not be well. It is this never-never land quality, the mean of the four, which points directly to their common origin and explains their remarkable unity of tone; for the tissue of all these plays is Greek romance: Pericles, Prince of Tyre is a new account of the ancient Apollonius of Tyre; and Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest are apparently conscious derivatives of other Greek novels of the class.

It is not surprising that Shakespeare would turn to
this source for dramatic materials; he seems early to have been ready to meet the public's taste. The chronicle history plays were surely occasioned by Elizabethan nationalism; the great drama of *Hamlet* may well have been written to satisfy popular demand for blood -- a thirst probably created by Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1584-1589). When these four romances were on Shakespeare's desk -- 1607 to 1611 -- the popular taste seems to have been for romantic comedy, as witness the success of Beaumont and Fletcher with *Philaster* (c. 1609), and other similar productions. Further, by the time these plays were being written, all of the Greek romances under present consideration, with the exception of Chariton's and Xenophon's of Ephesus, were easily available in English. True, Burton's Achilles Tatius and Day's Longus had had but one edition each, but *Apollonius of Tyre* could be had in four separate versions, eight editions in all. Sanford's Heliodorus and Abraham Fraunce's metrical version (1591) were issued each only once, but Underdowne's translation had appeared five times by 1607. Such a record of publication would never have been achieved without public demand for the novels. Obviously their materials appealed to contemporary taste in reading. Small wonder then that they were mined by Shakespeare for the stage.

If one is demonstrating just how heavily the last four plays were indebted to the Greek romances, certainly exhibit A

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1Law, *op. cit.*
is the earliest of the four, Pericles, Prince of Tyre (1607 - 1608), for the play is a pure Greek romance, a dramatization of Apollonius of Tyre. In adapting the novel to the stage, Shakespeare is completely faithful to the durable old plot, but he makes innovations in the names of the characters. The hero, Apollonius, assumes the name of Pericles; Athenagoras becomes Lysimachus; Archistrates is Simonides; Hellenicus is hardly disguised by Helicanus. The pair of villains, Strangullio and Dionysia, appear as Cleon and Dionya. The wife receives the name Thaisa; the daughter, Tharsia, becomes Marina. But, according to Haight, in only three names does Shakespeare lack authority in some version of the romance: Pericles, his wife Thaisa, and Marina. Actually Shakespeare had remote authority for the change from Apollonius to Pericles: in a French version of the romance Apollonius calls himself Perillie in answer to the request of the daughter of Archistrates for his name. Thaisa may be derived from Tharsia, the traditional name for the daughter. This would be no surprising shift, for in many versions of the story the wife goes unnamed, and Shakespeare had a good name left over when he so appropriately called the sea-born child Marina. Antiochus, King of Antioch, retains in Pericles the ancient name he bore in history and in the Apollonius of Tyre romance. Thus, the play bears the

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2Ibid.
3More Essays, p. 179.
4Vide Smyth, p. 69.
hall mark of early Greek romance by having about it a vaguely historical background, a background achieved by the suggestive influence of historical names rather than by historical facts.

Aside from changing the names of many of the important characters, the startling difference between Shakespeare's version and the traditional recital of the romance is the introduction of the poet John Gower in the role of chorus and the further addition of dumb shows. These certainly do not alter the plot, and both of them can be explained by dramatic exigency. In turning the loosely constructed, slowly developed romance into a five act play, Shakespeare was faced with the major problem of condensation. Thus, Gower, who had earlier told the same story, is introduced to fill in the background materials, comment on the situation, and carry forward by recitation incidents of the plot which dramatic necessity omitted as cumbersome or superfluous. So from Gower we learn the background of the incest episode, the shipwreck, the marriage of Pericles and Thaisa, the death of Antiochus and the inheritance of Pericles, the education and situation of Marina at Tarsus, Pericles' travel to reclaim his daughter, his learning of her apparent death, and Marina's career after escaping from the brothel -- all incidents which parallel the movement of Apollonius of Tyre. Finally, in the epilogue, Gower comments on the poetic justice which has been measured out to the persons of the play. The dumb shows simply assist Gower's narrative by illustrating his speeches. A great mass of necessary
material is thus economically presented to the spectator. The device of chorus and dumb shows was a happy one, for it enabled Shakespeare to preserve the venerable story and at the same time to shed a graceful air of quaintness and antiquity over the play. Curiously, although the chorus is not present in the Greek romance on which the play is based, it adds a further Greek quality to the play, for the device is an inheritance from the Greek stage through the Senecan drama.

While preserving intact the ancient plot, Shakespeare also maintained the motif of father-daughter relationships so important in *Apollonius of Tyre*. The strong contrast between the depravity of the relationship of Antiochus with his daughter and the ideal relationship of Archistrates and the Princess is repeated in Shakespeare's incestuous couple, and in his dramatization of the relationship of Simonides and Thaisa which makes so attractive the scenes at the court of Pentapolis (II, ii, iii, v). The careless love of Apollonius for his daughter is repeated in the Pericles-Marina situation. Shakespeare has also maintained the ancient characterizations. Marina is as virtuous and as learned as Tharsia of the earlier accounts. Resisting all temptations in the brothel, she declares that she can earn her own way honestly:

... I can sing, weave, sew, and dance,
With other virtues, which I'll keep from boast;
And I will undertake all these to teach.

(IV, vi, 199ff)

Pericles is as clever at riddles as was Apollonius, but
Shakespeare omitted all of these which appear in the older accounts except one, Antiochus' incest riddle. The omission is probably explained by the need for dramatic compression and the fact that one riddle satisfied the traditional requirement as well as ten. Coupled with the description of the hero as "music's master" (II, v, 30) it serves to maintain his role as learned. This comment is especially interesting, for it is made at the banquet scene, where Pericles, unlike Apollonius, does not perform. It would seem to indicate either lack of revision or a subconscious echoing of the sources. Thaisa's lecture on the knight's devices is an addition of Shakespeare which continues her traditional characterization as a bluestocking. Medieval knights in a Greek romance are surely an anachronism, but hardly more of one here than in the curious combination of classical antiquity and feudalism in Chaucer's "Knight's Tale," a story shortly afterwards re-enacted in The Two Noble Kinsmen (c. 1613). Such happy misfits certainly were not questioned by the Elizabethan audience.

Shakespeare did make one other fairly important change. The traditional blow Apollonius gives to his as yet unidentified daughter is modified to a vague request of Marina that Pericles do no "violence" on her:

I said, my lord, if you did know my parentage,  
You would not do me violence. 

(V, i, 100f)

There are no stage directions to clarify her statement, but gentle Shakespeare has excised at last the ugly tradition
reaching all the way back to Charlton.

Less important changes are the additions of characters. The single fisherman who helps Apollonius after the shipwreck becomes three fishermen when Pericles needs help. This gives Shakespeare an opportunity to write a comic scene for the clowns of his troop (II, i). The two bawds who trouble Tharsia are three when Marina is thrust into the brothel; thus giving Shakespeare opportunity to write more flexible and realistic comedy (IV, iv).

Another of Shakespeare's minor changes from his sources is interesting. After guessing the meaning of the incest riddle, Pericles is given forty days of grace by Antiochus; Apollonius had received only thirty. Do the forty days reflect the traditional forty days of the Bible and Renaissance interest in things theological?

Shakespeare's introduction of Gower is the obvious clue to one of his immediate sources, Book VIII of the Confessio Amantis. Gower declares his source to be:

> Of a cronique in daies gon,
The which is cleped Panteon,5

which is to say the popular account of Appolonius of Tyre by Gottfried von Viterbo in the Pantheon. The descent of the Gower version Haight traces in four steps:

> A lost Greek romance of the II-III Centuries A.D.
> A Latin translation of the c. V Century A.D.
> Godfrey of Viterbo's Pantheon, XII Century

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Smyth and Singer both find evidence that Shakespeare also used the Twine translation when composing *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*. Although Twine differs from Gower in no way as far as the essentials of the romance are concerned, his version is a translation of the account of *Apollonius of Tyre* as it appears in the Latin *Gesta Romanorum* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries rather than of the account in the *Pantheon*. The *Gesta* version, however, is directly descended from the same lost Greek romance and its fifth century Latin translation from which developed Godfrey of Viterbo's *Apollonius of Tyre*. Thus, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, drawing upon both Gower and Twine, unites the two versions of the old romance which during the Middle Ages developed independently from the same classical sources.

*Cymbeline* continues in the pattern set by *Pericles*, for, although it is not an adaptation of Greek romance, it embodies many motives which are their common property. The plot has three story threads, and each is characteristic of

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6 More Essays, p. 175.
7 Smyth, p. 70; Singer, pp. 32-67.
8 Haight, More Essays, p. 175. See also ante, pp. 51ff.
9 In view of the fact that *Apollonius of Tyre* has been recognized as the source of *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* since Shakespeare first introduced Gower to his audience; and with recognition of the studies of Riese, Smyth, Singer, and Haight, I have dealt as briefly as possible with the relationship in this study.
The wager story and Imogen's travels
The loss and restoration of the heirs
Cymbeline's war with Rome

The wager story supplies the minimum essentials of Greek romance: separation and travels of married lovers, heroine's chastity suspect, mistaken death, trial-like conclusion where all is explained and all are united. These are the plot elements of the novels of Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Apollonius of Tyre, Heliodorus, and Achilles Tatius, although the plot in Cymbeline points most directly to Chariton.

The loss and restoration of Cymbeline's heirs, Guiderius and Arviragus, and later Imogen, are also a bit of Greek romance. The lost heir motive is initiated in Apollonius of Tyre, but elaborated and developed by Heliodorus and Longus. The version in Cymbeline is closely related to Longus.

The shadowy historical background of Cymbeline's war with Rome was an almost necessary addition if Shakespeare was consciously writing a Greek romance. Its development began with Nimus and may be traced through Chariton to the wars of Hydaspes in the AEthiopica, with which it has close affinity. That the motives for Cymbeline's war were derived from Holinshed does not lessen its Greek romance quality: it is only to be expected that Shakespeare would nationalize the background of a play where he could.

The combination of the three plots makes possible the final scene of recognition and reunion. Peace is made; heirs are restored; lovers are reunited and the heroine's
chastity is proved. Such a conclusion is conventional in a Greek romance and usually takes the form of a public trial-like occasion as it does in Cymbeline.

The wager story which forms the most important plot thread of the play, Shakespeare probably derived from Boccaccio, "Bernabo da Genoa is Tricked by Ambrogioolo" (II, 9) in the Decameron, or from English versions, Frederyke of Jennen (1520 and 1560) and a tale in Westward for Smelts (1603) by Kitt of Kingstone. Other versions of the story exist in German, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic, and early French. Of these Boccaccio's is not the earliest. Simrock believes that it and an account in the German Folkbuch have a common Latin source, and a metrical version in French, Roman de la Violette ou de Gérard de Nevers, by Giber de Montreuil is dated c. 1225.

The resemblance of the wager story to the plot of Chaereas and Callirhoe is marked: a husband is deceived by a villain into thinking his wife unchaste. In many versions, including Boccaccio's, the villain is aided in the deception by a servant of the wife. The enraged husband orders a

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11 Cymbeline, ed. cit., pp. 469f.
servant to kill her, but the servant is merciful and permits
the wife to escape, reporting to the husband that she is
dead. The wife travels far and wide in disguise until vari-
ous circumstances make possible a proof of her chastity.
At the end occurs recognition and reunion of the married
couple, the wife apparently returned from the grave.

That this closely parallels the plot of the Chariton
romance is very obvious, although the details of the wife's
seeming death are different, and the wager motive is added.
Shakespeare's version is even closer to Chariton's than his
sources, for like Chaereas, Posthumus regrets his hasty
action, laments and meditates suicide; and like Callirhoe,
Imogen is led by circumstances to believe her husband dead.

Although no bibliographic connection has been established
between the wager cycle and the Chariton romance, they have
such family resemblance as to make them seem to be variant
developments from a single more ancient parent, or the
wager story a descendant of Chaereas and Callirhoe, modified
by the natural mutations which time and successive generations
always bring about.

In his discussion of Romeo and Juliet in its relation
to the Ephesiaca, Francis Douce remarked that the sleeping
draught which Imogen takes and her awaking in the cave
duplicate the similar situation in Romeo and Juliet, and
parallel the Greek romance. He also likened Pisanio's
sparing of Imogen to another episode in the Ephesiaca:

\[\text{\textit{vide ante}, pp. 191f.}\]
Anthia, held in slavery, is ordered to be killed when her mistress Manto becomes jealous of her. A servant helps her to escape and reports her dead.  

It is easy to see that Imogen's story is much like Juliet's: although she is already married, her parents try to force her into another marriage. A sleeping draught makes her appear dead; she is buried, and awakens in the cave by the dead body of one who seems to be her husband. Greenlaw asserts that Shakespeare's source for this portion of the Cymbeline plot is Shakespeare himself, in his earlier Romeo and Juliet; ultimately, of course, it is Da Porto or Massuccio and the Xenophon of Ephesus romance. The sparing of Imogen by Pisanio, however, does not have a parallel in the sources of Romeo and Juliet, but is an indispensable motive in the wager cycle, and appears also in Apollonius of Tyre as an adventure of Tharsia. Except for that incident, the wager story has no other especially close parallel with the Ephesiaca.

The stock pastoral plot derived from Longus which Greenlaw detected in As You Like It is modified in the Guiderius-Arviragus thread of Cymbeline.  

1) The infant sons of King Cymbeline are stolen by a banished courtier and raised in the wilderness in ignorance of their paternity. This is a variant from the common situation wherein the lost or disguised heir is a girl, but has ancient authority in

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15 Ante, pp. 169f and 212f; Greenlaw, ibid., pp. 139-141.
the situation of Daphnis in Longus' novel.

2) Princess Imogen, disguised as a boy, is introduced in place of the usual lover. Because the princes and Imogen are brothers and sister, Shakespeare could not admit the love motive expected here, but her natural charm is felt by the princes, and they love her as a brother.

3) The unworthy suitor appears in the person of Cloten, a comic character. This is a variant from the "rude, bumbling country swain" to the "rude, bumbling courtly swain." He is, of course, foiled by the high-born foresters.

4) Greenlaw declares that the potion scene, the trance and burial take the place of the country incidents and the melodrama, but is not the slaying of Cloten melodrama, and is not the pathetic funeral of Imogen essentially pastoral?

5) The captivity motive is supplied by the capture of Imogen by the Roman soldiers.

6) The heroine and the two lost princes are restored to their parent and their birth-rights proclaimed in the last act. The heroine is also restored to her lover, Posthumus, albeit he was not involved in the pastoral interlude.

This is another of Shakespeare's "robust" pastorals, and although it deviates in the all-important aspect of not having the heroine in disguise love the high-born hero in country habit, the reasons for the deviation are obvious. Imogen was already provided with a lover before her pastoral life began, and for Arviragus or Guiderius to have loved her would have been doubly unnatural, since she was not only their unknown sister, but also disguised as a boy. Shakespeare never treated such a theme, but it would have been a mine of opportunity for Ford or Webster.

The Greek romance motives in *Cymbeline* which are linked with Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, and Longus are surely second hand, derivative from other sources, and generally a part of Shakespeare's literary heritage. But in *Cymbeline* there is evidence of a more direct influence of both Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus. Most interesting in this connection is the dramatic theme of mistaken death which occurs three times in *Clitophon and Leucippe*. Once Leucippe is apparently eviscerated by robbers; once she is apparently beheaded by pirates; and once false report of her death is made. In *Cymbeline* the motive of mistaken death occurs three times also: Imogen is poisoned and a death-like trance results; her husband, Posthumus, is apparently decapitated; and her death is falsely reported to her husband by Pisanio. The decapitation theme has several parallels with the similar situation in Achilles Tatius, and it seems possible that it was suggested to Shakespeare by the romance.

In the romance, Leucippe is kidnapped by pirates and carried aboard their ship. Clitophon pursues them in another ship, but suddenly he sees Leucippe on the deck of the pirates' ship, her hands bound behind her. She is decapitated, and her body is cast into the sea. The pirates escape with the head, taking it further out to sea. Clitophon recovers the body, laments and buries it. At the end of the book it develops that a harlot had been dressed in Leucippe's clothes, killed, and the head carried off so that Clitophon would believe Leucippe dead and give up the pursuit.
In Cymbeline, Cloten, the unwelcome suitor, is dressed in Posthumus' clothes when he insults Guiderius. In a hand to hand fight, Guiderius decapitates him and casts the head into a stream which will carry it to the sea. With the help of Belarius and Arviragus, he places the body in a cave near the supposedly dead Imogen. Imogen awakes, and recognizing her husband's clothing, believes the body that of Posthumus. She laments and buries it. Not until the last act is the confusion resolved.

The parallel is obvious. In both cases a lover mistakes a headless body dressed in the beloved's clothing for the body of the beloved. In both cases the head is disposed of in the sea to make identification impossible or less likely. Interesting is the fact that the sea figures in Shakespeare's inland decapitation as well as in Achilles Tatius' waterfront horror, and for the same reason. To avoid identification of Cloten's body, Guiderius says:

... I'll throw't into the creek
Behind our rock, and let it to the sea.  
(IV, ii, 151f)

In Imogen's lament over the body, the sea figures symbolically and nautical imagery occurs:

... damn'd Pisanio,
From this most bravest vessel of the world
Struck the main-top!  
(IV, ii, 318ff)

In Clitophon's lament over the body, he cries:

... the least part of thy shape is left to mee,  

17 Burton, p. 87.
In both cases the greater importance of the lost head over the rest of the body is emphasized in the lament by the bereaved.

Another passage which may have been suggested by Achilles Tatius occurs in the bedroom scene: Iachimo steals from the trunk and looks down upon the sleeping Imogen. As material for his treacherous report he notes:

... She hath been reading late
The tale of Tereus; here the leaf's turn'd down
Where Philomel gave up.

(II, 11, 44ff)

Imogen has been reading the hideous tragedy of Philomel and Tereus just before she sleeps, while Iachimo lurks secretly in the trunk, waiting to wreck his treachery against her! The tale is a portent of evil and symbolizes the suffering and sorrow to follow for Imogen.

Similarly, just before Leucippe, as a result of a friend's treachery, falls into the hands of the pirates and suffers her most agonizing tribulations, she and Clitophon are given a sign of trouble ahead:

... and as we went out of the house, there appeared to us a sign of ill luck, for a hawke following a swallow, strooke with his wing Leucippe up of ye head: wherfore being troubled in mind, and looking up into the aire, what strange signe (said I) is this O Jupiter, which thou shewest unto us? But rather if this bird be truly thine, why doest not thou shew us a more manifest signe? wherfore turning me about, ... I did beholde a table, wherein was drawen the mishap of P togne, the violence of Tereus, the cutting out of the tongue of Philomelia, & conteining all the whole history thereof.18

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18 Burton, p. 83.
In both instances the tale of Tereus is an omen of evil which precedes treachery on the part of a friend, separation of the lovers, the apparent death of the heroine, and much sorrow and unhappiness for the protagonists of the tales. Taken alone it would not point conclusively to Achilles Tatius, but coupled with the similarities which occur in the decapitation incident it seems to be significant.

Helliodorus had considerably more direct influence on Cymbeline than did Achilles Tatius. There is much evidence in the play that it is even a conscious imitation of the AEthiopica. Perhaps the imitation was suggested by Sidney's imitation, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, with which it has much in common, or perhaps the AEthiopica was its own suggestive force. Whichever was so, Shakespeare apparently used materials from the AEthiopica in writing Cymbeline, and he probably derived them at first hand from Underdowne's translation.

First, Cymbeline is clearly an example of the Helliodoran structural concept. In the involved chronology of the AEthiopica many important events have occurred before the story opens. These are explained in careful stages as the story proceeds by various characters who saw them happen or were more or less directly involved in them. Most important is the gradual revelation of the birth, abandonment, and education of Chariclea, although the stories of Thyamis and Cnemon are also related out of their chronological order and in the same manner. The result is a puzzling involution
of the action.\textsuperscript{19} In \textit{Cymbeline} two important actions occur before the play opens: the story of Posthumus -- his unhappy birth, education, marriage, and subsequent loss of favor at court -- and the kidnapping of Cymbeline's two sons. We learn the details of Posthumus's history early in the play as one courtier tells another. We learn of the missing princes at the same time, but, as with Chariclea, further details of their story are revealed later, and the mystery is not really cleared up until the final scene.

The narration of the past action and the withholding of details to create suspense is one of the oldest of literary devices and is found in both classical epic and drama. Shakespeare did not have to learn it from the \textit{AEthiopica}, and, indeed, he had used it countless times before \textit{Cymbeline}, but if he were consciously modeling a play into a Heliodoran romance it was a necessary structural element.

Second, the plot of \textit{Cymbeline}, like the plot of the \textit{AEthiopica}, is a complicated arrangement of three separate threads. Their mutual cohesion is not felt until near the conclusion of novel and play:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{AEthiopica} & \textit{Cymbeline} \\
1) Elopement of Theagenes and & 1) Marriage of Imogen and \\
Chariclea -- leads to apparent & Posthumus -- leads to separation of couple, unfortu-
death, separation of couple, & nate chastity wager, apparent 
unfortunate adventures occasioned & death, travel.
by travel. &
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{19}Vide ante, pp. 80f and 82-85.
2) King Hydaspes' lost heir -- the birth, abandonment, and education of Chariclea.

3) King Hydaspes' victorious war with Egypt -- leads to recovery of lost heir; peace brings about the dénouement.

All three of these plot threads in the AEthiopica and in Cymbeline parallel each other, and all are being unfolded more or less concurrently as the novel and the play proceed. The lost heir stories and the victorious wars of the kings are obviously similar themes, but the stories of the pairs of lovers also reveal a connection when they are examined closely. Theagenes and Chariclea are forced to elope because Chariclea's foster father wishes to marry her to his nephew. Their travels occasion many unfortunate adventures, including the apparent death of the heroine and separation of the couple, but finally result in approval of the union. Similarly, Imogen and Posthumus marry secretly because Imogen's father wishes to marry her to his stepson. Posthumus is banished because of the marriage; thus the couple are separated. Now the wager story intervenes and makes less clear the parallel with the AEthiopica. Actually, it leads to the supposed death of the heroine, adventures occasioned by travel, and, ultimately, to the approval of the union. Even though Shakespeare were consciously imitating the AEthiopica, he was far too fine an artist to imitate slavishly and not to improve on his sources when he saw room for improvement. The wager story certainly furnishes better motivation for
the supposed death and adventures of Imogen than the casual depredations of robbers and brigands who do all the mischief in the romance.

Third, in both the AEthiopica and in Cymbeline the action takes place against a background of war and empire. The recovery of heirs to the throne and the business of state are central themes. The love affairs of the chief protagonists are conducted in a field of international tension, and concluded in a great public gathering on a note of popular approval. As the AEthiopica can be called an historical novel, so can Cymbeline be called an historical play; not a history play like those of the Henry the Fourth cycle or Richard the Second, but one such as Sir Walter Scott might have written -- an historical novel dramatized -- the background vaguely true, the lovers pure fiction. Like Cymbeline, Hydaspes is victorious in his war, but he surrenders his rights as conqueror and moves his troops back inside the borders of Ethiopia. Magnanimously, he restores to power the conquered ruler of Egypt, Oorondates, and there is a gracious aura of reconciliation throughout the entire last book of the romance. Cymbeline, too, seems to have preferred the status quo. After he wins a victory against Rome -- in a war ostensibly fought because Britain was too proud to pay tribute -- he proclaims the victory to all and announces to the conquered:

My peace we will begin. And, Caius Lucius, Although the victor, we submit to Caesar, And to the Roman empire; promising To pay our wonted tribute, (V, v, 460-463)
And to the critics baffled by Cymbeline's failure to take advantage of his victory and cast off the bonds of Rome, I suggest that Shakespeare was mindful of Hydaspes' example and wished to end the play on the same harmonious note which concludes the romance.

Fourth, the protagonists of the Aethiopica and Cymbeline are strikingly similar in their characterizations and in their marriage relationships. Both pairs are married, but in each case the consummation of their union has been withheld. Before their elopement, Chariclea and Theagenes make an oath to preserve their virginity until Chariclea is restored to her parents, but they are obviously recognized as married, although Heliodorus makes no reference to ceremony, for in the dénouement Chariclea declares Theagenes to be her husband, and the queen tells King Hydaspes:

... this young Greek [Theagenes] is your daughter's husband.  

The bond which units Imogen and Posthumus seems to have been a handfasting, an old form of irregular or probationary marriage contracted by the parties' joining hands and agreeing to live together as man and wife. Obviously, in Imogen's case it was not considered irrevocable or Cymbeline could not have continued to press Cloten on her, and in no instance does Imogen refuse Cloten for that best of all reasons, a previous marriage. Yet she refers to Posthumus as "husband":

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20 Underdowne, p. 117.

21 Ibi, pp. 287f.
A father cruel, and a step-dame false;
A foolish suitor to a wedded lady,
That hath her husband banish'd: O! that husband,
My supreme crown of grief!

(I, vi, 1-4)

And Posthumus calls her "wife," at the same time making
clear that the marriage is not yet a legal finality:

... my mother seem'd
The Dian of that time; so doth my wife
The nonpareil of this. O! vengeance, vengeance;
Me of my lawful pleasure she restrain'd
And pray'd me oft forbearance; ...

(II, v, 6-10)

Besides this similarity in their marriage relationship,
there is a marked agreement in the characterizations of the
couples. Both heroines are princesses and heirs to the
crown. Imogen loses her right of succession when her brothers
are restored, but during most of the action she holds it.
Both girls are supremely beautiful and faultlessly chaste.
Chariclea is first among Greek romance heroines for her
ready wit and quick inventive intelligence in time of
danger.22 Imogen is no less clever. Roman soldiers find
her sleeping on the headless body of Cloten and startle her
awake. They demand her story, and she who has just come
through the devastating experience of waking from a poison-
induced trance to find the headless trunk of her "husband"
lying beside her has the presence of mind to make up a new
identification and a good story on the spot and without a
moment's hesitation:

22Vide ante, pp. 94f.
Imp. [gen] I am nothing; or if not,
Nothing to be were better. This was my master,
A very valiant Briton and a good,
That here by mountaineers lies slain. Alas!

... Luc. [ius] ... Say his name, good friend.
Imo. [gen] Richard du Champ. - [Aside.] If I do lie
and do
No harm by it, though the gods hear, I hope
They'll pardon it. -- Say you, sir?
Luc. [ius] Thy name?
Imo. [gen] Fidele, sir.

Chariclea and Imogen are equally capable and singleminded
in the handling of their affairs in the trial-like dénouement.
At the conclusion of the AETHIOPIA, Chariclea becomes mist­
tress of the entire proceeding, and by her clever management
of the situation she establishes proof of her chastity, saves
both Theagenes and herself from death as a public sacrifice,
manages an official recognition of herself as the child of
Hydaspes and heir to the crown of Ethiopia, and wins parental
and public approval of her union with Theagenes. Imogen
handles her business with equal capacity. Disguised as a
boy and serving as page to the captive Roman leader, she is
led before Cymbeline. He is pleased with her and grants her
a boon. Her master, Lucius, who has just begged her life
says:

I do not bid thee beg my life, good lad;
And yet I know thou wilt.

(V, v, 102f)

But Imogen has just discovered Iachimo wearing her diamond,
and all sentimental considerations are brushed aside for the
heart of the matter:

Imo. [gen] No, no; alack!
There's other work in hand.

(V, v, 103f)
And from there she manages to wring a full confession of guilt from Iachimo and dispel all doubts of her chastity.

Sentiment is again brushed aside when she first sees Posthumus after she has been led to think him dead. Still dressed as a boy, she calls to him. Failing to recognize her, he strikes her in anger and she falls unconscious. Waking, she finds Pisanio bending over her. Instead of calling for her husband as one might expect, she sets about at once, as Chariclea would surely have done, to settle the score for the poison Pisanio had ostensibly given to her. Eventually, of course, the question of her identity is resolved and her marriage with Posthumus wins her father's blessing.

Despite their ready wit and single-minded determination in business matters, these heroines occasionally refuse to speak out frankly. Chariclea can not bring herself to tell her father the truth of her relationship with Theagenes:

But what fellow is this [Theagenes], that was taken with thee, ... Chariclea blushed, and cast down her eyes, ... what he is in deede, he can tel you better then I: for he is a man, and therefore wil not be afraid to speak more boldly then I that am a woman.²³

But sent aside to a private tent with her mother, after much hesitation she makes clear her marriage.²⁴

Imogen blushes even with her husband:

²³Underdowne, p. 274.
²⁴Ibid., pp. 275f.
[Posthumus] ... [Imogen] pray'd me oft forbearance; did it with
A pudency so rosy the sweet view on't Might well have warm'd old Saturn. (II, v, 10ff)

Sometimes she, too, prefers to talk in private. When she sights Iachimo and the king sees her eyes fix on him, he questions their relationship. She replies:

I'll tell you, sir, in private, if you please
To give me hearing. (V, v, 116f)

With all of these similarities, Imogen's is the finer, deeper character. In her ready wit there is never the note of wilful deception which one regrets in Chariclea; she never invents a tale merely to confuse the issue; her love for her husband has a deeper and less physical note than Chariclea's love for Theagenes. Superficially, Imogen and Chariclea have much in common, are, perhaps, one, but Chariclea is the prototype and Imogen is the sublimation.

As with the heroines, there is a striking similarity in the characterizations of the heroes. Both are personally attractive, successful soldiers, and much is made of their descent from military heroes. Of Theagenes one is informed in more than a full page of text that

... he fetched his petigree from Achilles, ... who doth deeme no lesse by his tall stature, and comely personage, which manifestly confirme Achilles bloud, Saving that he is not so arrogant, and proude as he was, but doth moderate, and asswage ... with commendable courtesie, 

Posthumus was the son of the noble Sicilius who fought

\[^{25}\text{Ibid., p. 103.}\]
against the Romans and "So gain'd the sur-addition Leonatus."

(I, 1, 33) Of him a courtier says:

[First Gentleman] ... I do not think
So fair an outward and such stuff within
Endows a man but he.

(I, 1, 22ff)

Yet each hero is outranked by his lady, the crown princess, and each is less capable of good judgment. Theagenes depends on Chariclea to extract him from difficult situations, Posthumus makes the incredible mistake of getting involved in a wager about his wife's chastity. He doubles his foolishness by setting Iachimo's word above his wife's virtue. And as suicide seems so often to be the only escape for Theagenes, so is suicide Posthumus' plan when he begins to repent the supposed death he had brought to his wife:

[Posthumus] ... Well, I will find him, [death]
... fight I will no more,
But yield me to the veriest hind that shall
Once touch my shoulder.

(V, iii, 73 and 76ff)

Yet both are cheerful in prison. Theagenes jokes about his chains when he is made captive, and much of Act V, scene iv is comic repartee between Posthumus and his jailers. Like the typical Greek romance hero, each must strike his beloved, and they both do so and under similar circumstances:

26 Vide ante, pp. 83, 87f, 94.
27 Vide ante, p. 97, especially n. 29.
28 Vide ante, p. 97, especially n. 30.
AEthiopica
Unfortunately separated from Theagenes, Chariclea is disguised as a female beggar. After much suffering and searching she reaches Memphis during the public trial-like combat of Thyamis and his brother. Recognizing Theagenes in the crowd she

... ranne to him like a mad woman, and hanging by her arms about his necke ... saluted him with certaine pittifull lamentations. He ... supposing her to be one of the makeshifts of the Citie, ... cast her off, ... and at length gave her a blowe on the gare, for that she troubled him in seeing Calasiris.29

Cymbeline
After long separation, Posthumus and Imogen, unknown to each other are present in the trial-like scene when Cymbeline makes peace with Rome. Imogen recognizes Iachimo and he is forced to tell the story of his guilt. Posthumus hears his lady exonerated, and in agony confesses his responsibility for her death. Imogen recognizes him and runs to make herself known. He fails to recognize her, and thinking that she scorns his agony, strikes her so that she falls. (V, v)

Posthumus' rage is better motivated than Theagenes'; and, although it was not necessary to the plot, is a fine bit of characterization. Such action is bound to lessen the appeal of a hero, even if the one he struck were only the page he thought her to be. Theagenes' blow was a Greek romance motive; Posthumus' blow seems to be a conscious duplication of it, for in both instances it occurs at a trial-like public occasion after long separation of the lovers. In both instances the heroines are disguised and, thus, recognize the heroes first. And in both instances the heroes cast aside their ladies in temper, but censure of them is uncalled for since they do so before they have recognized them.

Fifth, the trial-like dénouement which makes up the end of both the romance and the play probably affords the most

29Underdowne, pp. 181f.
conclusive evidence that Shakespeare was creating a Helioc- 
doran romance when he wrote Cymbeline. Both dénouements 
take the form of a great public assembly presided over by a 
king who has just recently been the leader of a victorious 
army. Hydaspes has drawn his people together for a public 
sacrifice to celebrate the victory in Egypt. Cymbeline's 
gathering seems to be to announce the victory against Rome, 
to reward the valiant, and to make disposition of the prisoner-
ers of war. In each case the presiding king is the father 
of a lost daughter and suffers the loss of the heir to his 
crown.

During the proceedings, the lost daughter is present, 
but the relationship is at first unknown to the father. 
In the AEthiopica Chariclea has been appointed as a sacri-
fice to the moon god. When she is led in, her mother is 
moved to think of her lost daughter and begs the king to 
release Chariclea to her service. Hydaspes' reply is:

Yet am I moved somewhat too with the maide, and have 
compassion upon her: 

Likewise, when Imogen is brought in a prisoner -- she has 
been serving the Roman leader as a page -- her father says:

Cym. [beline] I have surely seen him; 
His favour is familiar to me. Boy, 
Thou hast look'd thyself into my grace, 
And art mine own. I know not why nor wherefore, 
To say, 'live, boy:'

(V, v, 93-97)

After Chariclea has been led in a sacrifice, proof of 
her chastity is established in a trial by fire. Shortly

Ibid., p. 264.
after Imogen has been presented to her father, her chastity is attested by Iachimo's confession, an interesting cultural transformation. The kings who conduct these public gatherings each condemn their lost heirs to death unknowingly. Chariclea is ordained a state sacrifice, despite the queen's pleading and Hydaspes' own contrary inclinations, for he puts public duty above private preference. Guiderlus, the lost son and heir of Cymbeline, confesses his slaying of Cloten. The king reluctantly condemns him to death, he, too, putting public duty above private feelings, for Guiderlus has just helped to win the victory against Rome.

Cym. [beline] Marry, the gods forfend!
I would not thy good deeds should from my lips
Pluck a hard sentence: prithee, valiant youth,
Deny't again.

(V, v, 288-291)

But Guiderlus does not deny it, and, like Chariclea, is saved from the death sentence when his identity as the king's heir finally is revealed. In each case before their identity is proved, the kings disdain the suggestion that the veins of Chariclea and Guiderlus contain the blood royal:

AEthiopica
Soft (quoth Cariclea) you woonder at small things,
there be greater matters then this, for I am not onely one of this countrye borne, but of the bloud royall.
Hydaspes despised her words, and turned away as though they had beene to no purpose. ... Therewith the king not onely despised her, but waxed very wroth,
Cymbeline
Bel. [arlius] Stay, sir king:
This man is better than the man he slew,
As well descended as thy self;

... Cym. [beline] Why, old soldier,
Wilt thou undo the worth thou art unpaid for,
By tasting of our wrath? How of descent
As good as we?
Arv. [iragus] In that he spake too far.
Cym. [beline] And thou shalt die for't

(V, v, 302ff, 307-311)

Finally, of course, the heirs are identified. Chariclea has a royal robe, various jewels and tokens, a fascia — the work of her mother — as well as a black birthmark to attest to her paternity. Belarius declares that Arviragus...

... was lapp'd
In a most curious mantle, wrought by the hand
Of his queen mother,

(V, v, 361ff)

and Cymbeline recalls that

Guiderius had
Upon his neck a mole, a sanguine star;
It was a mark of wonder.

(V, v, 364ff)

In each case the lost heirs are identified by an intellectual who has been responsible for their rearing and education. Sisimithres, the Gymnosophist who had found Chariclea as an infant and reared her for seven years, is present at the dénouement. He identifies her tokens and admits his part of her history. Charicles, the Neo-Pythagorean priest of Delphi who had reared her to adulthood, appears on the scene and clarifies details unknown to Sisimithres. Similarly, Belarius,


34 Vide ante, pp. 84f and 89f.
who had kidnapped, reared, and educated Guiderius and Arviragus, identifies those heirs and is characterized as an intellectual, a kind of philosopher escaped from court to woodland. In this sense he reflects the traditional philosophic shepherd found in most pastoral plots, a tradition which supposedly is not derived from Greek sources. Belarius constantly philosophizes in dialogue and soliloquy, presenting ideas which reflect a robust love of nature and the hardy life which seem to have been the key principles in the education which he provided for the young princes.

In both novel and play the symbolism of birth is concurrent with the restoration of the heirs. Before Chariclea is restored to her parents, her mother says that she dreamed

... I was with childe, and brought forth a daughter which was marriageable presently,

When Cymbeline is surrounded at long last by his three children he says:

... O! what, am I
A mother to the birth of three? Ne'er mother
Rejoic'd deliverance more.

(V, v, 369ff)

But to leave the heirs for the heroes! Both Theagenes and Posthumus were prepared to be executed during the dénouement. Theagenes is ordained a sacrifice to the sun god, but is saved by his relationship to Chariclea. Posthumus is led in as a prisoner of war. Looking for death, he had garbed himself as a Roman and, thus, was captured. He, too, is

\[35\] Vide Act III, i11, 1-8, 12-26, 45-55; Act IV, 1, 24-27, 203-208.

\[36\] Underdowne, p. 260.
saved through his relationship to the heroine.

The heroines in each case are the especial concern of the leaders of the defeated army. Oroondates, whom Hydaspes had restored to power after victory, writes a letter requesting Chariclea's return. It is read during the dénouement:

... There was a certaine maid who in carriage from Memphis, happened to fall into your handes by chance of warre, ... this wench I desire you to sende me, both for her owne sake, but most for her fathers, [Charicles, the foster father]37

Lucius, the noble leader of the defeated Roman army, pleads for Imogen -- this before, she is recognized --

... This one thing only
I will entreat; my boy, a Briton born,
Let him be ransom'd; never master had
A page so kind, so duteous, diligent. (V, v, 83-86)

Before the conclusion of the dénouement, oracles are unraveled. In the AEthiopica the priest, Charicles

... remembered him selfe of the Oracles answere at Delphi, and sawe that fulfilled in deede, which was promised before of the Goddes.38

In Cymbeline, Posthumus' dream-delivered oracle is unraveled by the soothsayer, Philarmonus, and the conditions are declared fulfilled in the restoration of the two lost princes and the reunion of Imogen and Posthumus.

The ends of both novel and play ring a similar note:

AEthiopica
Hydaspes then came to the altars, ... ready to beginne sacrifice39

37 Ibid., p. 285.
38 Ibid., p. 289.
39 Ibid., p. 289.
Cymbeline
Cym. [beline] Laud we the gods;
And let our crooked smokes climb to their nostrils
From our bless'd altars.

(V, v, 477ff)

On this body of evidence it is concluded that the AEthiopica is an important source for Cymbeline, not a source for the wager story or Cymbeline's war -- Boccaccio and Holinshed are not displaced -- but a source for the combination and arrangement of the Holinshed and Boccaccio materials, and a source making necessary the introduction of the Guiderius-Arviragus sub-plot -- the lost heir motive. Heliodorus, in short, is the source for the structural elements and specific plot materials and arrangements which make of Cymbeline a modern example of an ancient genre: a Greek romance. This conclusion helps to account for several details in the play which have occasioned unfavorable criticism.

Foremost of these is the fourth scene of the fifth act which contains the comic banter of Posthumus with the jailers and his subsequent dream and oracle. The clumsy oracle and the comedy have both been called out of place, unnecessary and unworthy of Shakespeare's genius -- the work of another hand. But if Shakespeare were deliberately creating a Heliodoran romance, the scene is certainly justified, and evidence against the theory that the scene is the work of another playwright.

The Heliodoran concept of Cymbeline accounts for Posthumus' unfortunate behavior, for it makes necessary the
wager plot by requiring a test of the heroine's virtue. It also demands that the hero strike the heroine under misapprehension as to her identity, and that she suffer seeming death. It accounts for Cymbeline's mysterious surrender of the rights his victory over Rome had won for Britain, and it explains the single seeming flaw in Imogen's characterization: her first settling with Pisanio about her own poisoning, while Posthumus, whom she had long thought dead, stands waiting by to speak with her.

Like Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale appears to be a conscious adaptation of Greek romance to the Elizabethan stage. Heliodorus again plays an important role, and Chariton and Apollonius of Tyre seem shadowed in the background. But Longus' pastoral Daphnis and Chloe is the romance most clearly reflected, both as a primary and as a secondary source. It is the pastoral fourth act which is so patently marked by Longus, first, in the traditional plot motives pointed out by Greenlaw in As You Like It and Cymbeline. Of these, Greenlaw points to only two in The Winter's Tale, both derived from Shakespeare's recognized source, Robert Greene's Pandosto: The Triumph of Time (1588), or, as it is often called, Dorastus and Fawnia.

\[\text{Vide ante, pp. 169f, 212f, 249f.}\]

\[\text{Op. cit., p. 146.}\]

1) Perdita, a child of unknown parentage, is brought up by shepherds.

2) A high born lover, Prince Florizel, dresses as a shepherd to woo her.

Although Greenlaw does not cite them, other points of the stock plot are in the background and the source. Greene's heroine, like the heroines of the Arcadia, is besieged by the typical, rude country lovers, but Shakespeare permits no such clowns to trouble Perdita. Instead, he introduces her foster brother as a country lout, and Mopsa and Dorcas to add the country incidents and humor expected in the pastoral. The usual melodrama of an attack by a lion or a bear finds its substitute in the wrath of Florizel's father and the elopement of the lovers. But it may be reflected in the bear which devours Antigonus. The captivity of the heroine occurs in Pandosto, but is omitted from The Winter's Tale. The final revelation of the heroine's high birth, smoothing the path to marriage, Shakespeare removed from the pastoral fourth act to the court in the fifth act, following Greene's lead. This has authority in Longus, for Chloe's high birth is revealed at a banquet in the city, not at the country manor where she was brought up.

Second, Wolff's study of Pandosto clearly reveals Longus' novel as the source for its pastoral episode; thus, an ultimate source of the pastoral section of The Winter's Tale.43 The direct parallel between Longus and Greene Wolff

43 Greek Romances, pp. 447-455.
outlines as follows, at the same time showing the correspondence with *The Winter's Tale*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Day's Daphnis and Chloe</th>
<th>Pandosto</th>
<th>The Winter's Tale</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>p. 148</td>
<td>p. 29</td>
<td>III, ii, 145f</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pp. 6, 9</td>
<td>p. 33</td>
<td>III, iii, 64f</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>pp. 6, 9</td>
<td>p. 33</td>
<td>III, iii, 65f</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>pp. 6f, 9</td>
<td>p. 33</td>
<td>III, iii, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>p. 7</td>
<td>p. 33</td>
<td>V, 11, 36f</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>p. 10</td>
<td>p. 34</td>
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<td>p. 10</td>
<td>p. 35</td>
<td>III, iii, 129f</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Herdsman bids wife keep the find secret.</td>
<td>(In Amyot 45 translation, p. 6)</td>
<td>p. 36</td>
<td>III,111,129f (Bids son keep secret.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Herdsman adopts child. pp. 8, 11</td>
<td>pp. 36f</td>
<td>IV,1,47</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Child raised to tend flock or herd.</td>
<td>p. 13</td>
<td>p. 37</td>
<td>IV,111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Child dutiful and diligent.</td>
<td>p. 14</td>
<td>p. 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Flock or herd prospers.</td>
<td>p. 142</td>
<td>p. 37</td>
<td>IV,1,44f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Child grows up to be so beautiful as to suggest high birth.</td>
<td>p. 11</td>
<td>p. 38</td>
<td>IV,111,157ff IV,111,593f V,11,39ff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Child wears floral chaplet.</td>
<td>p. 35</td>
<td>p. 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Child looks like nymph or goddess.</td>
<td>pp. 35f</td>
<td>pp. 37f</td>
<td>IV,111,2-5,10 V,1,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Rustic wooers come. pp. 27f, 127</td>
<td>p. 37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Wooers' fathers are wealthy.</td>
<td>p. 127</td>
<td>p. 37</td>
<td></td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Herdsman receives advice about the care of girl's chastity.</td>
<td>p. 127</td>
<td>p. 61</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Before disclosing find, herdsman tells wife he is so resolved.</td>
<td>(In Amyot translation, p. 137)</td>
<td>p. 62</td>
<td>IV,IV,718 (Tells son)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Thus, Wolff's study reveals that the particulars of Perdita's exposure, rearing, love affair, and restoration are derived ultimately from the similar story of Chloe in Longus' pastoral. It is likely that Shakespeare's immediate source was Greene, but Wolff suggests that Shakespeare might have gone directly to Day's translation for some of the materials, and in one instance, Wolff says that this is positively indicated, since a detail of The Winter's Tale agrees with Day but has no parallel in Greene. In Daphnis and Chloe a hunting party of young Methymnaean gentlemen make such noise that sheep and goats are frightened from their highland pasture and run to the shore. Shakespeare borrows the detail of the hunt and uses it economically to provide for the bear to devour Antigonus and to send the old shepherd, seeking after his herd, to the shore where he will find the child. The storm which destroys the ship may also have been suggested to Shakespeare by Day's Longus, for such a storm occurs there in connection with the hunt and
This great afaire [storm] continued in such sort as you haue heard all the night long, and that in so terrible manner as that they uehementlie wished for the daie, hoping in the appearing thereof to be relieved.47

The fourth act of The Winter's Tale is filled with the general pastoral conventions to be found in both Greene and Longus and in almost every other pastoral writer of the Renaissance. The rude shepherd of Longus is the clown in Shakespeare. The lists of flowers and the country frolic at the sheepshearing festival are traditional and one can find parallels of them in all pastoral literature, although Longus seems to be one of the earliest. The visit of the king and Camillo in The Winter's Tale parallels the visit of the lord of the manor and his train in Daphnis and Chloe. The visitation in each case leads to the recognition and recovery of lost heirs. This may be another instance of Shakespeare's turning directly to Day's Longus, for in Pandosto the king and his train do not visit the heroine's pastures until after the couple have eloped; thus, they are not present at the country frolic. Interesting is one minor point: Daphnis', Dorastus', and Florizel's parentage is revealed in the country setting; Chloe's, Fawnia's, and Perdita's parentage is revealed in a setting of high life -- the city and court.

46 Greek Romances, pp. 453ff.
47 Day, p. 74.
From his study of *Pandosto*, Wolff concludes also that the general scope of the plot, in its dependence on the association of a shipwreck with the oracle and with the exposure and restoration of a child, is Heliodoran in concept, and especially as "Fortune" is everywhere recognized as the instrument to create the peripeties and to work out the destined ends of the protagonists.\(^{48}\) The grand ensemble scene in which occurs the vindication of the queen's chastity at public trial by the oracle, the sudden deaths of Garinter and the queen, and the great three-day swoon of the king -- Wolff considers reminiscent of the final ensemble scene of the *AEthiopica*, and he points to the fact that the double death at this gathering is called a "tragical discourse of fortune."\(^{49}\) As in the *AEthiopica*, the entire motivating force of the plot is a king's jealousy. Fear of being accused of adultery caused Persina to abandon the infant Chariclea, and so began the chain of incidents which made up the plot of the romance. The jealousy of Pandosto causes him to suspect his queen of adultery. This leads to the exposure of the infant Fawnia and the subsequent details of the plot.\(^{50}\) As Chariclea was delivered over to Fortune:

... I determined [says her mother] to ridde r a y  selfe of shamefull death (counting it certaine that thy

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\(^{48}\) *Greek Romances*, pp. 410, 422.


\(^{50}\) *Greek Romances*, pp. 424f.
coulor [sic] woulde procure me to be accused of adulterie, and that none woulde beleeeve mee, when I told them the cause) and to commit thee to the unstableness of fortune, ...51

So was the infant Fawnia:

And shalt thou, sweet babe, be committed to fortune, [says her mother] when thou art already spited by fortune? ... Let me ... put this chain about thy little neck, that if fortune save thee, it may help to succour thee.52

The elopement, sea journey, and shipwreck of Dorastus and Fawnia parallel the elopement, sea journey, and shipwreck of Theagenes and Chariclea; and at the dénouement of Pandosto, the moment of last suspense, the king, unknowingly, condemns his lost daughter and only heir to death, as does Hydaspes near the conclusion of the AEthiopica. In both cases the sentence is dismissed by the revelation of identity made by the foster parent and substantiated by tokens provided by the child's mother at the time of the abandonment.53

The same Heliodoran elements which occur in the source are reflected in Shakespeare. A shipwreck, probably directly inspired by Longus, but in the whole romance tradition, removes Antigonus' crew after Perdita has been abandoned and he has been devoured by the bear. An oracle at a public trial proclaims the queen's innocence and the necessity for the recovery of the child. In the last act it is said that the oracle had provided hope to the injured queen during her

51 Underdowne, p. 108.
52 Greene, p. 21.
53 Greek Romances, pp. 426f.
years of seclusion. The exposure and restoration of Perdita agree in general with the Heliodoran pattern in Greene. The tokens of the mother and the public revelation by the foster parent agree, but the motive of the father's unknowingly condemning his child to death is not in *The Winter's Tale*. Perhaps this is because Shakespeare had already used the motive in *Cymbeline*, but more likely it is because the character of Leontes needed softening.

Shakespeare, too, recognizes the hand of Fortune in the affairs of men. When Perdita is condemned by her father, he says:

[Leontes] This female bastard hence; ...

... As by strange fortune
It came to us, I do in justice charge thee,

... That thou commend it strangely to some place,
Where chance may nurse or end it.  (II, iii, 174, 178f, 181f.)

And when Antigonus abandons the infant he says:

... Blossom, speed thee well!
There lie; and there thy character: there these;
Which may, if fortune please, both breed thee, pretty, (III, iii, 45ff)

Fortune is recognized by characters in other situations, too:

Per. [dita] O lady Fortune,
Stand you auspicious!  (IV, iii, 51f)

[Florizel to Camillo]...— cast your good counsels
Upon his passion: let myself and fortune
Tug for the time to come.  (IV, iii, 508ff)

Flo. [rizel] Fortune speed us!  (IV, iii, 684)

[Florizel to Perdita] Dear, look up:
Though Fortune, visible an enemy,
Should chase us with my father, power no jot
Hath she to change our loves.  
(V, i, 215-218)

But Shakespeare is not a slave to chance; he employs
natural causation frequently where Greene, like Heliodorus,
explains the occurrence of a situation by a simple attribution
to Fortune. For example: Antigonus dreams that Hermione
has commanded him to leave the child in Bohemia; whereas in
Greene, the child, placed in a little boat, is through the
agency of Fortune washed upon a friendly shore. Shakespeare
provided a hunt to send a shepherd to the shore after his
sheep and, thus, to find the child. In Greene, the shepherd
goes by chance to the shore in seeking the sheep. Further,
when Florizel and Perdita elope they elect to go to the court
of Leontes, for they think that they will receive a friendly
reception there. Dorastus and Fawnia arrive at Pandosto's
court simply because they are blown there by the wind and
washed ashore by the sea.  

Nevertheless, it would seem that Heliodorus is an im-
portant secondary source of The Winter's Tale, for in several
instances where Greene has borrowed Heliodoran materials
and concepts for the working out of the plot, Shakespeare
has absorbed them into his play. Although in no case are the
Heliodoran elements so strongly suggested as the pastoral
portions suggest Longus, yet are they visible as through a
glass darkly. There is clear evidence that Shakespeare had

54 Wolff discusses the problem of causation in The
Winter's Tale as it is related to Pandosto in Greek Romances,
pp. 452ff.
studied the *AEthiopica* before writing *Cymbeline*, so it seems probable that he recognized the Greek romance in the background of *Pandosto* and thus selected it for the foundation of his play, consciously continuing the tradition established and popularized in *Pericles* and *Cymbeline*. This conclusion is substantiated by an examination of Shakespeare's major deviation from *Pandosto* — his permitting the heroine to suffer seeming death rather than the real death which is the fate of Greene's *Bellaria*. This one change in the plot brings Shakespeare even closer to Greek romance than is his source, for seeming death of the heroine is the standard motive of the *fenre* and appears in each of the romances under present consideration except *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus.

In his study of Hermione's death-like swoon and dramatic return to life, George C. Taylor concluded that Shakespeare looked again to the twenty-second tale of the first part of the *Novelle* of Bandello, "Signor Timbreo di Cardona and Fenicia Lionata," the same tale from which he had drawn materials for a part of *Much Ado About Nothing*. The parallel in the situations is striking: King Leontes accuses Queen Hermione of unchastity. She falls into a death-like swoon, and, although Leontes believes her dead and buried, she is revived and lives secluded from him. The king does penance at her tomb and finally surrenders judgment as to

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55 "Hermione's Statue Again: Shakspere's Return to Bandello," *SAB*, XIII (1938), 82-86.
whom he shall marry to the person responsible for the queen's seclusion, Paulina. A "living likeness" of the "dead" queen is produced by Hermione's posing as her own statue. The reconciliation is quickly effected and is followed by a marriage of the king's friend, Camillo, with the queen's friend, Paulina.

It is obvious that the situation in The Winter's Tale closely parallels the Hero-Claudio plot of Much Ado About Nothing, even to the marriage of the secondary characters at the conclusion. Taylor believes also that the living statue motive was a suggestion derived from Bandello, from the description of Fenicia in her death-like swoon:

... si lessi andare come morta, e perdendo subito il nativo colore, più a' una statua di marmo che à creatura rassembraua ...

Taylor's study, thus, links The Winter's Tale with the romance of Chaereas and Callirhoe of Chariton, which is very probably the ultimate source of Bandello's novella. So again it would seem that in selecting plot materials for his play, Shakespeare turned to a source that was as much like Greek romance in its fundamental nature as was Pandosto.

Elements of a fourth romance, Apollonius of Tyre, are present in Pandosto. First, in establishing the motivation for the king's jealous suspicion of his wife, Greene speaks

56 cf. ante, pp. 205f.
57 Bandello, ed. cit., I, 154.
59 Vide ante, p. 211.
of Bellaria's "... oftentimes coming herself into his [Egistus] bed chamber to see that nothing should be amiss to mislike him." In the romance of Apollonius of Tyre much is made of the hero's entering the bedchamber of the Princess. The important point is that in both cases the entrance is innocent; in no way does it suggest seduction as does the same motive in Clitophon and Leucippe, nor does it take the form of treachery and false accusation leading to a chastity trial as it so frequently does in stories in the Middle Ages. Second, Bellaria's friendship with Egistus is caused by her "... noting in Egistus a princely and bountiful mind, adorned with sundry and excellent qualities." This parallels the intellectual interest which is the prime factor in the courtship of the protagonists in Apollonius of Tyre. Third, the infant Fawnia is set adrift in a little boat. In the Aethiopica and in Daphnis and Chloe, Greene's two recognized sources, the abandoned infants are simply laid on the ground. Possibly the chest in which the seemingly dead heroine of Apollonius of Tyre was set adrift was the suggestive force.

Coupled with these three incidents is the ugly episode

60 Greene, p. 5.
61 Ante, p. 55.
62 Ante, p. 146.
63 Greene, p. 5.
64 vide ante, pp. 55 and 63.
of Pandosto's seeking "to scale the fort" of his daughter Fawnia's chastity. True, the evil is reduced to mere lechery by the fact that Fawnia's identity is not yet established when it occurs, but since the situation has no parallel in Greene's recognized sources, and since other details suggest Apollonius of Tyre, it seems to be a sound conclusion that the incest episode which forms the prologue of this romance may have motivated the episode in Pandosto.

Curiously, Shakespeare rejected all of the Apollonian elements in Greene. No mention is made of Hermione's entering Polixenes' bedchamber; her affection for him carries no specific intellectual motivation; the infant Perdita is not set adrift in a boat, but is "laid ... forth" as are the infants in Greene's sources. Further, Shakespeare has happily excised the entire incest episode, unless these lines spoken after Leontes has had his first sight of the grown Perdita, and before she is identified as his daughter, be a vestigial remnant:

Paul. [ina. to Leontes] Sir, my liege,
Your eye hath too much youth in 't: not a month
Before your queen died, she was more worth such gazes
(V, i, 224ff)

On the other hand, one episode in The Winter's Tale which does suggest Apollonius of Tyre does not appear in Pandosto. At the conclusion of the play, Leontes' sight of his wife as a statue -- goddess-like -- suggests the dénouement

65 Greene, p. 75.

66 Underdowne, p. 71.
of the romance. For fourteen years Apollonius has thought his wife dead. He is directed in a dream to go with his recently recovered daughter -- like Perdita she has been lost, found, and has a new husband -- to the temple of Diana. There his wife had been living in seclusion:

...when Apollonius beheld, [her] although he knew not what she was, yet such was the exceeding brightness and majesty of her countenance, that he fell down at her feet, ... for she thought she glittered like a diadem, and exceeded the brightest stars in beauty. 67

Of course there is a general recognition and husband and wife are lovingly reunited. The wife next inquires about her daughter, lost to her since birth, and Tharsia is presented to her mother at last.

The conclusion of The Winter's Tale parallels the conclusion of Apollonius of Tyre in every essential except the statue motive:

1) Husband believes wife dead since shortly after birth of daughter.
2) Daughter lost since infancy is newly restored to father and provided with a husband (or an intended husband).
3) Father, daughter, and son-in-law go to place where wife has been living in seclusion.
4) Wife represents her own statue (or resembles a goddess).
5) Recognition and reunion follow.

Unlike Pericles, Prince of Tyre and Cymbeline, which draw at first hand on the Greek romances, The Winter's Tale seems to be a composite of several romances through secondary

67 Twine, pp. 318f.
sources. Heliodorus and Longus are present where Shakespeare followed Greene; Chariton appears when Shakespeare turned to Bandello. Apollonius of Tyre may have come at first hand; or, possibly, Shakespeare was his own source and derived the Apollonian material from the earlier play, Pericles, Prince of Tyre. The significant fact is that in every case Shakespeare has developed the plot of The Winter's Tale out of Greek romance materials, and when he deviated from his major source, Pandosto, he deviated in the direction of other Greek romance sources: to Chariton through Bandello and to Apollonius of Tyre.

Even more than The Winter's Tale, The Tempest is an amalgam of materials from varied sources; and, although just one Greek romance is obviously indicated, Daphnis and Chloe, it plays a major role in the fabric of the play. The problem of the source of The Tempest has long intrigued scholars, partly because a single entirely satisfactory work has never been uncovered to account for it. Many significant contributions to the solution of the problem have, however, been offered. In 1817 Ludwig Tieck pointed to Die Schöne Sidea, a play by Jacob Ayrer, as a source or close analogue. It contains many important parallels with The Tempest: a prince-magician, served by a sprite, has a daughter whose hand is won when the son of an enemy carries logs. Die Schöne Sidea was surely written before 1605, the date of Ayrer's death, but since it went unpublished until 1618, it is not generally considered a source. To explain the coincidence, a
common ancestor is conjectured for the two. The Italian comedie dell'arte, a form of entertainment very popular in Shakespeare's England, is also thought to have been a suggestive force for The Tempest. Several of the comedies dealt with the theme of men shipwrecked on an island ruled by a "Mago." Love intrigues between the crew and the natives formed the plots, and often the greed of the sailors provided the comic situation. A possible source for the political intrigue which resulted in Prospero's banishment has been found in William Thomas' History of Italy (London, 1549, 1561). The plot has also been linked to the Spanish Noches de Invierno (Pamplona, 1609) of Antonio Eslava, in which a dethroned king raises a magic castle in mid-ocean where he lives with his daughter until, also by magic, he brings about a marriage between her and the son of an enemy. The Aeneid of Virgil is credited with inspiring both the storm and the meeting of the lovers. Many contemporary accounts of storms and shipwrecks have also been offered as sources for the storm of the first act, and in


69 Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 493f, reviews the theory.


71 Ibid., pp. 383f.

72 Ibid., pp. 287-293.
most of them can be found similarities with the storm of the play.\textsuperscript{73}

The essential key to the understanding of the genesis of Shakespeare's art is the realization of its composite quality, the realization that he drew on a wide and varied background, both in life and in literature, for his materials of composition; thus, it is without questioning the value of these recognized sources that Longus' romance of \textit{Daphnis and Chloe} is also named as an important source for the play.

First, although it is not generally recognized, in fact, not even by Greenlaw, \textit{The Tempest} is primarily a pastoral play, the plot of which easily fits into the frame of the stock Renaissance pastoral derived from Longus.\textsuperscript{74}

1) Miranda, unaware that she is the daughter of the rightful Duke of Milan, is raised in pastoral seclusion on a desert island by her father.

2) Ferdinand appears in the role of her lover. He undertakes pastoral labors (carries logs) to win her.

3) Caliban replaces the blundering shepherd. Before the play opens he has made an attempt against Miranda's honor:

[Prospero to Caliban] ... I have us'd thee, Filth as thou art, with human care; and lodg'd thee In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate The honour of my child.

(I, ii, 345-348)

The comedy scenes between Caliban and the crew members, Trinculo and Stephano, provide humor and reveal Caliban as a bumbling coward. He is, however,

\textsuperscript{73}Reviewed in \textit{The Tempest, ed. cit.}, pp. 308-315, 320-324.

\textsuperscript{74}\textit{Ante}, pp. 169f.
the foil to Ariel rather than to the hero.

4) The traditional melodramatic elements supplied by an attack of a lion or a bear are omitted, unless the storm may be designated the melodrama.

5) The captivity episode is represented by the plot of Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano to kidnap Miranda. The plot is not successful, but the captivity motive is present.

6) When the identity of Miranda and her father is revealed to the strangers, a reconciliation is effected and the lovers make plans for marriage.

The seventh element of the stock pastoral plot, the melancholic or philosophic shepherd -- represented by Jaques in *As You Like It*, Philiesides in Sidney's *Arcadia* -- is not obviously present; for the Renaissance tradition of melancholy or discontent has been passed over and the thoughtful character, represented in this instance by Prospero, reverts to the earlier purely philosophic type as represented by Philetas in *Daphnis and Chloe*.75 But significantly present in *The Tempest* is an important feature of the *Daphnis and Chloe* plot which did not become one of the essential features of the stock pastoral: namely, supernatural direction. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, Pan and the nymphs handle the problem of motivation and preside over the peripeties, while Eros personally conducts the love story. In *The Tempest*, the supernatural control is in the hands of Prospero, but is executed by Ariel.

The problem now becomes one of determining just how direct the influence of Longus is on *The Tempest*. The stock

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75Ante, p. 214, but see especially note 95.
features as outlined could have been derived from almost any pastoral composition of the period. The omission of any melancholy or malcontent element in Prospero's characterization -- the so-called Italian or Spanish feature of the stock plot -- and the addition of the supernatural machinery point directly to Longus rather than to an intermediary source, except that omission can not be a conclusive argument, and supernatural direction abounds in classical literature. Other close parallels with Longus do, however, exist, and these, coupled with the purely Greek features of the plot, lead to the conclusion that Daphnis and Chloe is a primary source of The Tempest.

First there is a general parallel in theme and setting. Both Daphnis and Chloe and The Tempest take as their central topic the idea of celebrating the innocence of youth. Miranda and Ferdinand, Daphnis and Chloe are blessed innocents as lovers. Further, both works are island stories: in each the locale is a sea-surrounded paradise. Nature plays a significant part in the background and becomes a part of the intangible atmosphere in both novel and play. The characters refer frequently to nature and seem to be ever aware of it as a kind of presence.\footnote{\textit{Ante}, pp. 127ff, treat this feature in Longus. The following quotations specifically suggest its development in \textit{The Tempest}:}

\begin{quote}
[Caliban] ... I lov'd thee  
And show'd thee all the qualities o' th' isle,  
The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place, and fertile.  
\end{quote}

\footnote{\textit{Ante}, pp. 127ff, treat this feature in Longus. The following quotations specifically suggest its development in \textit{The Tempest}:}
Second, there is a general correspondence in the characters. Daphnis and Ferdinand are both pretty youths who engage in pastoral labors, and, although Daphnis is country bred and Ferdinand court bred, both approach the heroines with innocent and reverent love. There is no more trivial sophistication in the love of Ferdinand for Miranda than in the pasture-bred love of Daphnis for Chloe. Further, Daphnis is led to Chloe by the supernatural agency of Eros:

So nowe haue I [Eros] ... in ... charge ... Daphnis and Chloe, derllings vnto bewties selfe, ... this morning [I] brought them together vnto the downes,??

And Ferdinand is led to Miranda by the supernatural agency of Ariel:

Re-enter ARIEL invisible, playing and singing:
FERDINAND following??

(I, ii)

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Adr. [ian] The air breathes upon us here most sweetly.
Seb. [astian] As if it had lungs, and rotten ones.
Ant. [onio] Or as 'twere perfumed by a fen.
Gen. [zalo] Here is everything advantageous to life.
...
How lush and lusty the grass looks!
how green.

(II, i, 49-52, 55f)

Cal. [iban] I'll shew thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries; I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough.

(II, ii, 173f)

Cal. [iban] Be not afeard: the isle is full of noises, Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not. Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments Will hum about mine ears; and sometimes voices,

(III, ii, 147-150)

77Day, p. 58.

78The Tempest, ed. Craig, p. 6.
Ariel literally sings Ferdinand to his bride!

Chloe and Miranda are both reared in pastoral seclusion, ignorant of their high births. Both are characterized as innocent of the world and of love --. Miranda has seen no man but her father and the semi-man, Caliban, before she meets Ferdinand. Both heroines are anxious to help their lovers with country labors. Chloe helps with Daphnis' herds; Miranda begs to carry logs for Ferdinand. Both have high regard for their pastoral rearing. At the end of the novel, Chloe's city-born aristocratic background has been established; nevertheless, she and Daphnis return to the country for their wedding and settle there for a long life of pastoral delight. When Miranda hears of her former high estate, she says to her father:

O, the heavens!
What foul play had we that we came from thence?
Or blessed was't we did?

(I, ii, 59ff)

Philetas of the novel and Prospero of the play generally coincide. Philetas is a philosophic shepherd who supervises the love affair of Daphnis and Chloe and acts as judge when Daphnis is tried for trouble created by city gallants. Generally respected, he is the presiding patriarch of the island. Prospero is also a philosopher, although he combines the philosophy with magic. By magic he instigates the love affair of Miranda and Ferdinand. At the end of the play he serves in a judge-like capacity when all identities are revealed and the knots of the plot are untied. He, like Philetas, is a deeply respected patriarch.
Eros is the supernatural instigator and director of the loves of Daphnis and Chloe; Philetas only supervises and instructs. Invisible to the lovers, Eros leads them together. He is associated with gardens, sunlight, laughter:

... filled with all kinde of delight ... so sweete, amiable, and well pleasing, as there is no nightingale, thrush, or other kinde of bird whatsoever, that haunteth either woods or hedge-rows, that ever gave forth the like, or carried in hir tunes, so delightful a melody.\(^7\)

In the novel Eros is a semi-allegorical character. His presence is felt; his work is recognized; but he is invisible to all except Philetas. Matching him in *The Tempest* is Ariel, the supernatural sprite who leads Miranda and Ferdinand together. Prospero instigates the plans for this love, but Ariel executes them. Thus, the roles are reversed. Like Eros, Ariel is associated with the pleasant and sunny aspects of nature. His coming seems to create music. He is apparently invisible to all but Prospero, but others feel his presence and seem to be aware of his influence. The actual derivation of Ariel's name is the Hebrew Cabala, where he is the prince of the angels and the ruler of the waters.\(^8\) Yet the verbal correspondence between Ariel and Eros as names is suggestive.

Another incidental correspondence between Daphnis and Chloe and *The Tempest* may rest in Prospero's command to Ariel: "Go make thyself like a nymph of the sea (I, ii, 301)."

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\(^7\) Day, p. 57

\(^8\) *Vide* Nelson Sherman Bushnell, "Natural Supernaturalism in *The Tempest*," *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 690.
The reason for the command has been questioned, since there is no obvious advantage presented in the play by the proposed transformation. But nymphs figure in *Daphnis and Chloe* as the guardians of the heroine, and they play an important role in the supernatural machinery of the novel. It is here suggested that Ariel in the role of a nymph simply suggested itself since he was to be the supernatural agent to accomplish in *The Tempest* much of what the nymphs accomplished in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

Dorco functions in the novel as the rude, bumbling shepherd, the rival of Daphnis who supplies comedy in his uncouth efforts to win Chloe. As part of his suit he supplies her with an abundance of country gifts:

... new made fresh cheeses, couered wyth a faire white napkin, and strowed ouer wyth the most sweete and delicate floures, ... skimmed creame, spice-cakes, and other preatie conclets, ... and manye other faire tokens to Chloe.

When these fail to win her he disguises himself in a wolf skin and attempts rape. Caliban corresponds closely with Dorco, except that his "wolf skin" is a part of his nature. He is a kind of half-man, half-beast, frequently represented on the stage dressed in an animal skin. In the play he is referred to variously as a cat, puppy-head, fish, or tortoise. Thus, he can be interpreted as any animal-like man-

81 *The Tempest*, ed. Furness, p. 64, reviews the question.

82 *Ante*, p. 130.

83 *Day*, p. 23.
monster, or as a very uncouth man. Before the play opens
he has tried to rape Miranda; he functions in the comic
scenes with Trinculo and Stephano, and to win their friend­
ship offers them a profusion of country gifts:

Cal. [iban] I'll shew thee the best springs; I'll
pluck thee berries;
I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough.

...  
I prithee, let me bring thee where crabs grow;
And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts;
Show thee a jay's nest and instruct thee how
To snare the nimble marmozet; I'll bring thee
To clust'ring filberts, and sometimes I'll get thee
Young scamels from the rock. Wilt thou go with me?

(II, ii, 173f, 180-185)

Incidental correspondences between novel and play make
up the third body of evidence linking the two. An incur­
sion of foreigners occurs in both, and in both instances is
associated with a great storm at sea: In Daphnis and Chloe
gallants of Mytilene come to the island to hunt. They make
trouble, are punished, and in revenge, kidnap Chloe. At
this, Pan deliberately creates a fearful storm and commotion
at sea. Angel Day translates the storm passage thus:

... it seemed at night in the middest of their
banqueting, that all the land about them was on
fire, and a sodaine noise arose in their hearing
as of a great fleete, and armed nauie for the seas,
approching towards them. The sound whereof and
dreadfull sight, made some of th[e] to crie Arme
Arme, and others to gather together their companies
& weapons. One thought his fellowe next him was
hurt, an other feared the shot that he heard ratling
in his eares, this man thought his companion slaine
hard by his side, an other seemed to stumble on dead
carcasses. In briefes, the hurrie and tumult was so
wonderfull and strange, as they almost were at
their wittes endes. ... But yet their rest grewe not
by the mornings shewe as was expected, but rather
the light thereof discovered vnto them farre more
fearefull and straunge effectes, for the goates and
kiddes ... were all wreathed ... with vine leaves and grapes, ... sheep, and lambs, howled as wolves, ...

The seas also them-selves were not void of these wonderfull shewes, for when they that ruled the oares went about to stirre them, they shiuered all in fitters. ...

The dolphins tumbling about their vessels, bounsed them so hard, that they were ready to fall in sunder, and themselves to be drowned in the seas. A dreadful noise was heard from the rocks, not as the sound of any naturall trumpets, but far more shrill and hideous, ... about the middest of the day, ...

Pan himself in a vision stood right before him, and being as he was in the shape under the Pine before described, [orders him to return Chloe] ...

The Captaine ... caused present serch to be made for Chloe ... and she being found with a chapelet of the Pine tree leaves upon her head, hee declared vnto them the express commandment and direction of the god: ... Chloe was no sooner parted out of the vessel where she was, but they heard from the hie rockes a sound againe, but nothing dreadful as the other, but rather much sweet, melodious, and pleasing, such as the most cunning shepheards vse before their flockes and heards.

In The Tempest Neapolitan and Milanese noblemen and their retainers come ashore on the island as the result of a great storm created by the supernatural direction of Prospero and executed by the supernatural agency of Ariel. The storm is described as follows:

[Miranda] The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,

But that the sea, mounting to th' welkin's cheek,

Dashes the fire out.

(I, ii, 3ff)

[Ariel] I boarded the king's ship; now on the beak,

Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,

I flam'd amazement: sometime I'd divide

And burn in many places; on the topmast,

The yards, and boresprit, would I flame distinctly,

Then meet, and join: Jove's lightnings, the precursors

O' the dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary

And sight-outrunning were not: the fire and cracks

Of sulphurous roaring the most mighty Neptune

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84 Pp. 74-77. My italics except "Arme Arme."
Seem to besiege and make his bold waves tremble,
Yea, his dread trident shake.
...

Not a soul

But felt a fever of the mad and play'd
Some tricks of desperation. All but mariners,
Plunged in the foaming brine and quit the vessel,
Then all a-fire with me: the king's son, Ferdinand,
With hair up-staring, -- then like reeds, not hair, --
Was the first man that leap'd; cried, 'Hell is empty,
And all the devils here.'

(I, 11, 196-206, 208-215)

Fer. [dlnand] Where should this music be? I' th' air,
or th' earth?
It sounds no more; -- and sure, it waits upon
Some god o' th' island, Sitting on a bank,
Weeping again the king my father's wrack,
This music crept by me upon the waters,
Allaying both their fury, and my passion,
With its sweet air: thence I have follow'd it, --

(I, 11, 385-391)

[Prospero] -- I have bedimm'd
The noontide sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green sea and the azur'd vault
Set roaring war: to the dread-rattling thunder
Have I given fire and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt: the strong-bas'd promontory
Have I made shake; and by the spurs pluck'd up
The pine and cedar: graves at my command
Have wak'd their sleepers, op'd, and let them forth,
By my so potent art. But this rough magic
I here abjure; and, when I have requir'd
Some heavenly music, -- which even now I do, --
To work mine end upon their senses that
This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,

(V, i, 41-54)

Thus do the situations parallel: an incursion of foreigners to a sea island is associated with a supernaturally created storm. The storms are accompanied by illusions of fire, supernatural visions which include waking the dead, desperate behavior on the part of those trapped in the fray.

85 My italics except "Fer."
Both tumults are compared to war, and both end on a strain of sweet music. Ultimately it is found that no harm has occurred to the unfortunates involved in them. The parallels in the descriptions of the storms are indicated in the quotations by italics, but to assert that the Day version of Longus was Shakespeare's source is unsound, for Amyot's French translation is equally suggestive:

... soudainement advls que toute la terre devint en feu, & entendirent de loing tel que seroit le flot d'une grosse armée de mer, qui fusse venue contre eulx: l'un croyoit à l'arme, l'autre appelloit ses compagnons, l'un pensoit estre ja blessé, l'autre cuydoit veoir un homme mort gissant devant luy; ... Si la nuit avoit esté espouvantable, le jour d'après leur fut encore bien plus effroyable, car les boucz, ... avoyent les cornes entortillées de feuillages de lierre avec leurs grappes, & les brebis, moutons, & beliers ... hurloyent comme loups. On luy trouva à elle-mesme un chapeau de feuilles de pin sur la teste. Et en la mer semblablement se faisoient des choses si estranges, ... les Dauphins saultans tout autour de leurs vaisseaux, & les battans de leurs queus, en descousoyent les jointures, & entendoit—on le son d'une trompe du dessus d'une roche haute & droicte, estant à la crime de l'escueil, [promontory or cliff] au pied duquel ilz estoient à l'abryt; mais ce son n'estoit point plaisant à ouyr, comme seroit le son d'une trompette ordinaire, ains effroy-oit ceux qui l'entendoyent, ne plus ne moins que le son d'une trompette de guerre la nuit: ... qu'environ midy le Capitaine, non sans expresse ordonnance divine, s'endormit, ... [in a vision Pan orders him to return the kidnapped Chloe] Le Capitaine, ... il commanda que l'on cherchast promptement Chloe entre les prisonniers, ce qui fut aussi-tost fait, & la luy amena l'on couronnée de feuillage de pin, ... Si la feit remettre en terre dedans la gallerie capitainesse, dont elle ne fut pas plus tost sortie, que l'on entendit derechef le son de la trompe dedans le rocher, mais non plus effroyable en manière de l'alarme, ains tel que les bergers ont accoustomé de sonner quand ilz menent leurs bestes aux champs.86
Although Wolff's study of The Winter's Tale in its relation to Pandosto leads to the conclusion that Shakespeare knew Longus through the Day translation, there is no positive proof of this. Since there is no supernatural storm in Greene, one can assume Shakespeare knew Longus either from Day or Amyot. Certainly the French version was the more accessible of the two, for although Day's would be the easier to read, Amyot's had gone through four editions between 1559 and 1609, while the English version appeared but once, in 1587, and survives today in a unique copy in the Huth Library. The unique survival, however, would seem to be a good sign that the book was bought, read, and thumbed out of existence. The 1578 French translation of L'Abe Lyonmoise was also buried in one edition. There is, however, evidence in the marriage festivities that if Shakespeare drew upon Daphnis and Chloe for The Tempest, he probably used a version other than Day's, or used Day's in collaboration with another.

Whatever may have been the contemporary reason for interrupting the action of The Tempest with the marriage masque of Act IV, its appropriateness to the play cannot be denied, for the masque was a major attraction at many wedding festivities involving people of royal or noble rank during the Elizabethan period, and it serves in the play to elucidate the pastoral nature of the love of Miranda and Ferdinand, and to give a kind of pastoral blessing to their

\[87\] I have been unable to obtain this edition for examination.
projected union. First Ceres, "most bounteous lady ... Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, and peas (IV, i, 60f)" is called in by Iris, "Who with ... saffron wings ... Diffusest honey-drops, refreshing showers (IV, i, 78f)" to Ceres' "bosky-acres (IV, 1, 81)." Then Juno enters and with Ceres sings a wedding song to Miranda and Ferdinand:

Earth's increase, foison plenty.  
Barns and garners never empty. 
Vines, with clust'ring bunches growing;  
Plants with goodly burden bowing; 
...  
Scarcity and want shall shun you;  
Ceres' blessing so is on you.  

(IV, i, 110-113, 116f)

Next, the nymphs "of the windring brooks (IV, i, 128)" are called. They enter, followed by "sun-burn'd sicklemen, of August weary (IV, i, 134)." The nymphs and reapers join together in a dance just before the masque vanishes.

Nothing else in the play proclaims its essentially pastoral nature so positively as does the masque. The structure of the stock pastoral plot is nearly perfect, but is hidden from the unobservant behind the conventional romance of the situation and the elements of magic in Prospero's characterization. The same air of magic tends to conceal the pastoral quality of the island setting. It is as though Shakespeare saw this and would loudly and clearly proclaim the play pastoral by the device of the masque.

The pastoral blessing on the marriage of Miranda and Ferdinand may have been suggested by the country wedding of Daphnis and Chloe. Longus describes it at some length:
Day, perhaps tired when he reached the final page, omits the wedding with the anything but brief statement that:

The citizens all thereabouts, commending highly the race and wonderfull accomplishments of these two noble creatures, extolled the indifferencie of the match, and praised Himeneus to glue unto them, a happle, fruitfull, and gladsome continuance: whereby were finished in most honourable, and sumptuous maner, to the rejoycing of all beholders, the finall determination of all these pastorall amours.

But Amyot follows his source more closely:

... & Megaclès derechef devoia sa fille Chloé aux Nymphes, & oultre plusieurs autres offrendes, ... & là comme entre villageois, tout s'y disoit & faisoit à la villageoise: l'un chantoit les chansons que chantent les moissonneurs au temps des moissons; l'autre disoit des brocards; que l'on a accoustumé de dire en foulant la vendange.

Thus it can be seen that if the nymphs and reapers dancing in Shakespeare's bucolic marriage masque were suggested by the nymphs and reapers of Daphnis and Chloe's wedding, they probably were furnished by Amyot. Of course the Greek editions of 1598 and 1601 would not have been impossible sources (The Tempest is almost always dated 1611),

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88 Edmonds, pp. 243ff.
89 Day, p. 155.
90 Amyot, pp. 156ff.
91 Law, op. cit.
but they are certainly less obvious ones.

The conclusion that Longus is a source for *The Tempest* is based soundly on the presence of the elements of the stock pastoral plot, from which it deviates in only one instance. The conclusion that Longus is a direct, a primary source, is based not on the correspondence of the chief characters alone -- this does not account for Sycorax, the two foreign kings and their trains -- nor is it based on the striking coincidences in the storm or the similarities in the wedding festivities. It is based on a combination of the three. No single element furnishes exclusive proof that *Daphnis and Chloe* is a primary source for *The Tempest*, but the three elements in combination serve to furnish a body of evidence that makes it possible to assert with a high degree of certainty that Shakespeare drew directly on the novel for elements of *The Tempest*, and combined these with suggestions from other sources to make a highly original and satisfying play.

Thus, there is a substantial body of evidence to indicate that Shakespeare depended strongly on the Greek romance to furnish materials for the four plays which mark the end of his career. *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* is a Greek romance in dramatic form. *Cymbeline* seems to be a conscious adaptation of Heliodoran structure and substance to the stage. It echoes the *Æthiopica* in historical background, characterization and plot incident. Further, it achieves the Heliodoran pattern by adapting the Longus stock pastoral plot to its purpose, by shadowing Chariton, and by imitating motives
from Achilles Tatius. The Winter's Tale uses Greek romance at second hand by adapting a novel based on Longus and Heliodorus to the stage, at the same time making changes from the source plot which suggest the romances of Chariton and Apollonius of Tyre. The Tempest is the culmination of Shakespeare's pastorals; it has been shown here that the stock Longus plot is certainly utilized, and evidence indicates that it was probably a primary source.

At the end of the third chapter it seemed appropriate to conclude that the Greek romances were a strong minor influence on Shakespeare, an influence that might have come directly in some instances, but probably came in most cases from the general intellectual milieu of the age. At the end of this fourth chapter the conclusion must be that the Greek romance was a strong minor influence -- both direct and indirect -- for the plays written before Pericles, but for Pericles and the romantic dramas which followed, the Greek romance sounded the major note, set the tone, and furnished the materials for the composition.
SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The first part of this study has been concerned with the development, conventionalization, and decadence of the Hellenistic Greek romances as a literary genre. It has surveyed the romances in their primitive stages in Ninus, The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule, and the Babylonica; it has attempted to define their conventionalization in Chaereas and Callirhoe, in the Ephesiaca, and in Apollonius of Tyre; it has tried to delineate their artistic maturity in the AEthiopica, and Daphnis and Chloe, and their decadence in Clitophon and Leucippe. In doing this it has demonstrated that as a class these romances feature the motives of travel and separation of lovers, abductions, abandonments, mistaken death and identity, loss and restoration of heirs or relatives, deprivations of robbers or pirates, shipwreck, and sudden shifts of fortune. Since the impressive bibliography of the romances from c. 1470 to 1642 leads to the conclusion that they were well read in western Europe during the Renaissance, it is sound to assert that the Greek romances must be considered wherever the fiction and drama of the period contain these motives if the sources of that literature are to be fully untangled. A similar assertion may well be made about the relationship between Renaissance pastorals and the romance of Daphnis and Chloe, which supplied the chief elements of a
stock pastoral plot utilized by Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare.

The second part of this study has been a detailed examination of Shakespeare's plays, and has resulted in the conclusions that the Greek romances were a strong minor influence on his work up to about 1607 or 1608, and a major influence after that date. The sub-plot of The Comedy of Errors is derived from Apollonius of Tyre and there is evidence that Clitophon and Leucippe furnished suggestions for the conclusion. The ultimate sources of Romeo and Juliet and Much Ado About Nothing are traced, respectively, to the Ephesiaca and Chaereas and Callirhoe through the La Badia manuscript at Florence. The Merchant of Venice contains many of the stock items of the Greek romances, although no specific romances are indicated as sources of its materials. Several elements of the stock plot of Renaissance pastoral literature which derive ultimately from Daphnis and Chloe appear in As You Like It. The plot of Twelfth-Night; or, What You Will is related to Apollonius of Tyre indirectly through its source, "Apolonius and Silla" of Barnaby Riche. Some of its features may derive from Clitophon and Leucippe. Further, Twelfth-Night contains a direct allusion to the AEthiopica, which romance also contains verbal parallels with Romeo and Juliet and Hamlet. The AEthiopica seems also to have suggested the characterization of the Moor in Othello, and some of the details of the play which do not appear in its major source, a novella of Cynthio. Elements of the plot -- the
false accusation of adultery and the striking of the heroine by the hero -- are similar to the portion of the plot of Much Ado About Nothing which is traced ultimately to Chaereas and Callirhoë. An episode in this same romance is the probable origin of the Gloucester plot of King Lear, derived by Shakespeare at second hand through the Arcadia of Sidney. The Birnam Wood episode of Macbeth has an analogue in Clitophon and Leucippe, and that romance contains also an image which parallels the wind-in-the-sails image of A Midsummer Night's Dream.

Thus are the Greek romances reflected in the plays which Shakespeare wrote up to about 1607 or 1608. Their presence is to be discovered in plots, incidental motives, and verbal echoes, and in each instance there is evidence that the relationships are bibliographically possible. But this same bibliographic evidence proves that the romances were a part of the literary background of Elizabethan England, and it seems sound to insist that in most of these instances when Shakespeare used the Greek romance materials he was probably drawing more or less casually -- even unconsciously -- on the common intellectual milieu. But the four plays which mark the end of his career, Pericles: Prince of Tyre, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale and The Tempest, are another matter. The major substance of this group is Greek romance, and each play seems to be marked with a consciousness of its origin.

Pericles, Prince of Tyre is an adaptation to the stage
of Apollonius of Tyre. Although the names of the chief characters are changed, the ancient plot remains intact. In order to adapt the rambling, formless romance to dramatic form, Shakespeare introduced the poet John Gower as chorus and as narrator of parts of the long plot which could not be conveniently compressed into the five acts of the play. The introduction of Gower was an admission of the source, the version of Apollonius included in the Confessio Amantis. Scholars also recognize Shakespeare's dependence on the Twine translation of the romance.

Cymbeline appears to be a conscious adaptation of a Heliódoran romance to the stage, and it is probable that the AEthiopica is a primary source of the play. It is not suggested as a source of the wager story or of Cymbeline's war with Rome, -- Boccaccio and Holinshed are not displaced -- but as a source for the structural combination of the Boccaccio and Holinshed materials, and a source making necessary the Guiderius-Arviragus sub-plot, another example of the stock pastoral plot derived ultimately from Daphnis and Chloe. The complex structure of the AEthiopica (inverted chronology complicated by three distinct story threads) is repeated in Cymbeline, and each of the story threads of the AEthiopica (travel, apparent death, and chastity trial; loss and restoration of heirs; victorious war) has a close parallel in the three story threads of Cymbeline (wager story and Imogen's travels, loss and restoration of heirs, Cymbeline's war with Rome). The AEthiopica, in short,
would seem to be the immediate source for the structural elements and the specific plot materials which make of Cymbeline a modern example of an ancient genre: Greek romance. This conclusion helps to account for several elements in the play which have occasioned unfavorable criticism: the comic banter of Posthumus while he is in jail, Posthumus's unfortunate behavior in the wager plot, and some details of Imogen's characterization. All of these can be accounted for by reference to the AEthiopica, as can Cymbeline's baffling surrender of his rights after a military victory over Rome. Correspondences between Cymbeline and the AEthiopica also exist between the chief characters and in their relationships to each other, as well as in numerous motives and situations of the plot. Most important are the parallels in the panoramic trial-like scenes which conclude romance and play. Cymbeline seems also to draw at first hand on Clitophon and Leucippe for the scene in which Cloten is beheaded and his body mistaken for Posthumus's body. The wager plot has affinities with Chaereas and Callirhoe, and the circumstances of the apparent death of Imogen are traced to Romeo and Juliet, thence to the Ephesiaca.

Unlike Pericles and Cymbeline, which apparently draw at first hand on Greek romances, The Winter's Tale seems to be a composite of materials from several romances, but derived through secondary sources. The immediate source of the plot of The Winter's Tale is Greene's Pandosto, the general scope of which may be called Heliodoran in its
dependence upon shipwreck, oracle, chastity trial, and exposure and restoration of an heir for its peripeties. Through Pandosto, the AEthiopica is reflected at second hand in The Winter's Tale. Similarly, the abandonment, preservation, restoration, and the pastoral life of Greene's heroine are derived from Daphnis and Chloe. These materials Shakespeare repeats in the story of Perdita. The closing scene of The Winter's Tale, the restoration of Hermione, parallels the conclusion of Apollonius of Tyre rather than the conclusion of Pandosto. The romance could be the direct source, or a secondary one, perhaps through Pericles. The most significant change which Shakespeare makes from Greene is in permitting the falsely accused Hermione to suffer apparent death rather than the real death suffered by her counterpart in Pandosto. Since apparent death and restoration of the heroine is one of the most important of Greek romance motives, the change brings The Winter's Tale closer to the Greek romances than is Pandosto. Hermione's situation as a result of this change closely resembles the Hero-Claudio plot of Much Ado About Nothing which is traced ultimately to Chaereas and Callirhoe. The significant fact is that Shakespeare has developed The Winter's Tale out of Greek romance materials, and when he deviates from his major source, Pandosto, he deviates in the direction of other Greek romance materials derived ultimately from Chaereas and Callirhoe and Apollonius of Tyre.

Examination of the plot of The Tempest reveals the
presence of all but one of the elements of the Renaissance stock pastoral plot which derives from *Daphnis and Chloe*. Although this may well have come to Shakespeare indirectly, there is other evidence in the play to show that *Daphnis and Chloe* may be considered one of its primary sources. There is a general correspondence between play and romance in the sea island locations, the ever-felt presence of a beneficent nature, and the angelic innocence of the young lovers. Correspondence exists between other characters as well. Prospero may have developed in part from the philosophic Philetas of the romance, Caliban from Chloe's rude lover, Ariel from Eros. Both plots feature supernatural direction, an element missing from the stock Renaissance pastoral plot. The storm scene of *The Tempest* clearly parallels the storm of *Daphnis and Chloe* as it was translated by Angel Day and Jacques Amyot. In both instances the storm is supernaturally created and directed, and accompanies an incursion of foreigners to a sea island. The pastoral marriage masque of Ferdinand and Miranda has verbal parallels with the pastoral wedding of Daphnis and Chloe. Since Day omits the wedding from his translation, Amyot is suggested as the source. The conclusion that *Daphnis and Chloe* is a source of *The Tempest* is based soundly on the presence of the elements of the stock pastoral plot. The conclusion that *Daphnis and Chloe* is a primary source is based on the general correspondences which exist between the romance and the play in location, theme, and characters, and in the striking
coincidences in the storm scenes and the wedding festivities. The combination of these elements serves to furnish evidence that makes it possible to assert with a high degree of assurance that Shakespeare drew directly upon Daphnis and Chloe during the composition of The Tempest, and that he combined elements of this romance with materials from other sources to make a highly original play.

Thus there is a substantial body of evidence to indicate that the Greek romances furnished the major part of the material for the four romantic comedies which concluded Shakespeare's career. Pericles: Prince of Tyre is a frank adaptation of a Greek romance. Cymbeline appears to be a conscious adaptation of Heliodoran structure and substance to the stage. It echoes the AEthiopica in historical background, characterization, and in incidents of the plot, and achieves its Heliodoran pattern by adapting the stock pastoral plot of Daphnis and Chloe to its purpose, by shadowing Chaereas and Callirhoe, and by imitating motives of Clitophon and Leucippe. The Winter's Tale used Greek romances at second hand by adapting a novel based on Daphnis and Chloe and the AEthiopica to the stage, at the same time making changes from its major source which suggest materials of Chaereas and Callirhoe and Apollonius of Tyre. The Tempest is the culmination of Shakespeare's pastorals, and here the stock pastoral plot of Daphnis and Chloe has been utilized, and evidence indicates that the romance was a primary source.

It seems appropriate to conclude that the Greek romances were a strong minor influence on Shakespeare, an influence
that was generally indirect for plays written before *Pericles*, but for *Pericles* and the three romantic comedies which followed it, the Greek romances are a major source for the elements of composition.

This study leads to the further conclusion that opinions about Shakespeare's knowledge and utilization of Classical literature, and perhaps his attainments in Greek, Latin and western European vernacular tongues, should be reconsidered. It leads also to the conclusion that the work of many of Shakespeare's contemporaries should be examined in relation to the Greek romances if the intellectual forces of his age are to be fully understood and evaluated.
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Theobald, Lewis. See The Works of Shakespeare in Twelve Volumes.


Twine, Lawrence. See *Apollonius of Tyre* romance.


APPENDIX

Renaissance Bibliography of the Greek Romances

This bibliography attempts to list all of the editions and translations of the Greek romances printed in England and in Western Europe during the Renaissance period. It has been prepared primarily as a chronology chart to demonstrate the accessibility of the romance literature to the Renaissance reader. It is also hoped, however, that it will serve as a general reference to accompany the text. In order to facilitate such dual use, the items are segregated alphabetically by author, and then arranged chronologically. In every case the first printed edition of the text and the first English translation of the romance have been included, regardless of the date of their publication. Otherwise, the bibliography includes only books printed up to 1642. First editions are listed in full; later editions are grouped with the first, but mentioned only by date and place of publication, even though in a few instances the title page differs slightly from that of the first edition.

Several manuscripts of the romances, particularly of Apollonius of Tyre, are known to have circulated in the vernacular and in the original language during the Renaissance. But since this bibliography has been prepared primarily to demonstrate the accessibility of the romances to
the general reader, these items are not included, even though they may have attained publication after 1642.

**Apollonius of Tyre** created special difficulties. The romance was frequently included in continental versions of the *Gesta Romanorum*, and, since it would have been impossible to examine all of these editions individually, only a vernacular *Gesta* which includes the romance is listed here. In the case of Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano, possibly the first scholar to take notice of the *Ephesiaca*, the *omnia opera* are omitted, but an attempt has been made to give a complete listing of the *Miscellaneorum Centuria prima*, separately published, in which the mention of the romance was first made.

It is interesting to note that, except for **Apollonius of Tyre**, which was in circulation all through the Middle Ages, the *Ephesiaca* was the first of the Greek romances to be mentioned in print during the Renaissance. In spite of this early revival, it curiously failed to attain the dignity of a full edition or the honor of an English translation until 1726 and 1727, respectively. This bibliography would indicate that Chariton's romance and **Ninus** were entirely unknown during the Renaissance, and that Heliodorus' *AEthiopica*, of which the French translation of Amyot alone went through at least thirteen editions between the years 1547 and 1607, was the most popular of the fully developed **sophistik** romances. But if numbers be the test of strength, **Apollonius of Tyre**, issued in one form or another on at least fifty-four different occasions from c. 1470 to 1642, not including
publication in the Gesta Romanorum, was of all the Greek romances, the one most dear to the public heart.
ACHILLES TATIUS

1546 Amorosi Ragionamenti, dialogo, nel quale si racconta un compassionevole amore di due amanti, etc., trans. M. Lodovico Dolce. Vinegia. [Books V-VIII of Clitophon and Leucippe]
Reissued: 1547, Vinegia.

1551 Achille Tatio Alessandrino Dell' Amore di Leucippe et di Clitophonete, etc., trans. Francesco Angelo Coccio, Venetia.
Reissued: 1598, 1599, 1617, Fiorenza; 1560, 1563, 1568, 1608, 1600, Trivigi.

Reissued: 1589, Cantabrigiae.

1554 Narrationis amatoriae fragmentum in graeco in latinum conversum, trans. L. Annibale Crucelo, Lugduni. [Books V-VIII of Clitophon and Leucippe]


Reissued: 1586, Lyon.

1597 The most delectable and pleasant historye of Clitophon and Leucippe, etc., trans. W. B. [urton]. London.

1601 De Clitophontis et Leucippes amoribus lib. VIII. ... Omnia nunc primum simul ed. Graece ac Lat., Juda and Nicolaus Bonnuitius, Heidelbergae.
Reissued: 1606, Heidelbergae.


APOLLONIUS OF TYRE

c. 1470 A unique copy of a Latin text of Apollonius of Tyre in the Vienna Hofbibliothek. Lacks title page.


1481 * Die Gesten der gheschienissen van Romen. Gouda. [Contains a version of the Apollonius story] Reissued: 1483, Delft; 1484, Zwolle.

1482 * Apollin roy de Thirre. Cy commence la ercrnicque et hystoire de Appollin roy de thir ... et de sa fille, etc. Geneva.

1483 * This [sic] book is intitled confessio amantis, that is to saye in englysshe the confessyon of the lower Maad and compiled by John Gower, etc., ed. William Caxton. Westmestre. [Book VIII contains a version of Apollonius.]


1493 * Die schoone ende die Suuerlicke historie van Apollonius van Thyro. Delft.


1532 * La Gowne de confessions Amantis, London.

1534, Apollonius Aπολλωνιος γιός Τηρου. trans. Gabriel Kontianos or Konstantin Temenos.


1559 * Godfrey de Viterbo, Pantheon sive Universitatis Libri qui Chronicl appellantur, xx, omnes omnium seculorum et gentium, etc. Basiliae. [Contains a version of the Apollonius story.] Reissued: 1584, 1613, Francofurti.

1576 * Juan de Timoneda, El Patrañuelo. Valencia. [Contains a version of the Apollonius story.]


1583  François de Belleforest, Le Septième tome des Histoires tragiques extraites de l'italien, etc. Paris [Contains a version of the Apollonius story.] Reissued: 1582, Paris; 1595, Lyon; 1604, Rouen.


1601  Eine schöne unde kortwylige Historia vom Könige Appollonio wo he van Landt unde Läden vordreven unde vorjaget ... unde doch thom lesten wedder in syn Lundt gekamen ys, trans. Herman Moller. Hamborch.

1608  George Wilkins, The Painful Adventures of Pericles, Prince of Tyre. London. [A novel based on Shakespeare's Pericles. The plot of Apollonius is used with different names.]

1627  En dejlik og skøn Historie om Kong Apollonio i hvilken Lykkens Hul og Verdens Ustadighed beskrives; lydig og fornøjen lejlig at læse og høre. Kjobenhavn.

1634  Pieter Bor Christiaensz, Twee Tragi-comedien in prosa, d'Eene van Appollonius, Prince van Tyro, Ende d'ander van den selven, ende van Tharsia syn Dochter. Etc., Papestræt, in den Blijbel. [A play.]

CHARITON


1764  The Loves of Chaereas and Callirhoe, trans. anonymous. London.
HELIODORUS

1534 Ἡλειόδωρος Αἰθιοπικὸς Πολυπαίας Μνήμαι δείκτης
Heliodori Historiae Aethiopicae libri decem, etc., ed.Vincen­
tius Obsopaeus. Basileae.

1547 L'Histoire Aethiopique de Heliodorus, contenant dix
livres, traitant des loyales et pudiques amours de Théagènes
Paris.
Reissued: 1549, 1559, 1560, 1570, 1616, 1626, Paris; 1559,
1579, 1584, Lyon; 1588, 1596, 1607, Rouen.

1552 Heliodori AElthiopicae Historiae Libri decem, etc.,
Reissued: 1556, Antverpiae; 1637 Lugduni-Batavorum.

1554 Historia Ethiopia ... Traslalada de Francés en vulgar
Castellano por un segreto amigo de su patria y corrigida
segun el Greeco por el mismo, trans. [Fernando de Mena.] Anvers.
Reissued: 1581, Salamanca; 1587, Alcalá de Henares; 1616, Paris.

1556 Historia de Heliodoro delle cose Ethiopiche, Nelle
quale fra diversi, compassionevoli avenimenti di due Amanti,
etc., trans. L. Ghinl. Vinegia.
Reissued: 1559, 1587, 1611, 1633, Venegia.

1567 The amorous and tragical Tales of Plutarch, whereunto
is annexed the History of Cariclea and Theaginis and the
Sayings of the Greeke philosophers, etc., trans. Ja. [mes]
Sanford. London.

1568-9? An AElthiopian Historie written in Greeke by Heliodorus:
very Wittie and pleasaunt, etc., trans. Thomas Vnderdoune.
London.

1584 Martini Crusii Aethiopicae Heliodori Historiae
Epitome. Cum observationibus ejusdem., etc., Francofurti.

1591 Abraham Fraunce, The Countesse of Pembrookes Yvychurch.
Conteining ... The beginning of Heliodorus his AEthiopical
History. London.

1596 Ἡλειόδωρος Αἰθιοπικὸς Πολυπαίας Μνήμαι δείκτης
Heliodori Aethiopicorum libri X Collatione mss. Bibliothecae
Palatinae et aliorum, ed. Hieronymi Commelin1, trans. Stanis­
laus Warschewiczki. Heidelbergae. [Greek and Latin]
Reissued: 1611, Lugduni.

1613 M. v. Velden Calasires Sterfdaţh. Chenomen uyt de
Historie van Heliodorus belanghende de kuyse Vrieze van
Theagenes ende Caricleg. Amstelredam. [Six acts in verse.]


1624 Héliodore: oder, ein sehr schöne liebliche nützliche History von Théagène ... und Chariclia, etc., trans. T. Sub Cruce. Strassburg.


1637 Heliodorus, trans. Gugielmo Cantero. Lugduni Batavorum. [Aëthiopicorum Libri X]

LONGUS


1587 Daphnis and Chloe excellently describing the weight of affection, the simplicitie of love, the purport of honest meaning, the resolution of men, and disposition of Fate, finished in Pastorall, etc., trans. Angell Daye. London.

1598 Αδρινς και Χλοε δυο κατα, Αδρινς και Χλοε, Libri quatuor, ed. Raphaelis Columbianus. Florentiae.


1628 Daphnis et Chloe, etc., trans. le sieur de Marcassus. Paris.

NINUS


PHOTIUS


XENOPHON OF EPHESUS

1489 Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano, Miscellaneorum Centuriae prima. Florentiae. [Contains a fragment of Book I of the Ephesiaca in Latin translation.]
Reissued: 1496, Brixiæ; 1508, Venetiis; 1511, Parisiis; 1522, Basileae. [1498, Venice?]


1727 Xenophon's Ephesian History: or the Love-Adventures of Abrocomas and Anthia in Five Books Translated from the Greek, etc., trans. Mr. Rooke. London.
VITA

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Title of Thesis: The Greek Romance Materials in the Plays of Shakespeare

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Dean of the Graduate School

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