

Who's the Woman on the Bull?: Achilles Tatius 1,4,3

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In sections 1,1,2–13 of his *Leucippe and Clitophon* Achilles Tatius has the unidentified author of the novel describe a painting on which is depicted synoptically the story of Europa. The passage begins with ὁρῶ γραφήν ἀνακειμένην γῆς ἅμα καὶ θαλάσσης, Εὐρώπης ἢ γραφή (‘I saw a picture hanging up which was a landscape and a seascape in one. The painting was of Europa’).¹ In section 1,4,2–3 the hero of the novel, Clitophon, relates to the unidentified author that he once fell in love at first sight with a maiden whom he describes as follows: ὡς δὲ ἐπέτεινα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτήν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρθένος ἐκφαίνεται μοι, καὶ καταστράπεται μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῷ προσώπῳ. τοιαύτην εἶδον ἐγὼ ποτε ἐπὶ ταύρῳ γεγραμμένην Εὐρώπην (‘and as I gazed at her, I suddenly saw a maiden on her left, who blinded my eyes, as with a stroke of lightning, by the beauty of her face. She was like that picture of Europa on the bull which I saw but just now.’) The phrase τοιαύτην εἶδον ἐγὼ ποτε ἐπὶ ταύρῳ γεγραμμένην Εὐρώπην is the focus of this essay, in particular the word Εὐρώπην, since some manuscripts, translations, and commentaries show a different reading.

There are two problems, the first being, as we shall see, the discrepancy between the manuscripts. In some manuscripts in 1,4,2–3 Σελήνην appears instead of Εὐρώπην.² The Εὐρώπην parallel between the drawing in 1,1,2–13 and the simile in 1,4,3 makes sense, as supplied from the translation by Gaselee, since the narrative includes references to two women astride bulls. As Hägg has noted, the use of the simile, however, should place the reader

¹ The Greek text and translations are from Gaselee 1984.

² Lumb 1920, 93 has also suggested the possibility of Σιδωνίαν as an alternative to Σελήνην or Εὐρώπην.

on guard: ‘Similes from mythology are rare in Clitophon’s primary narrative (one exception is III, 15,4), but in their speeches the acting characters sometimes use such material (see I, 8,1–9 and VI, 13,2).’³ This simile needs to be examined.

To begin with, Σελήνην is the older reading for 1,4,3. Let us examine the manuscripts: Vilborg supplies αF for Σελήνην and β for Εὐρώπην.⁴ The *familia orientalis*, the alpha family of manuscripts, by far the oldest and the ones with the greater authority, consists of the *consensus codicum* of W: Vaticanus Graecus 1349 (*saec.* XIII) and M: Codex Marcianus Graecus 409 (*saec.* XIII?).⁵ Codex F (Laurentianus 627) dates to the thirteenth century. The *familia italica*, the beta family of manuscripts, consists of the *consensus codicum* of V: Vaticanus Graecus 114 (*saec.* XIII), E: Ambrosianus Graecus 394 (*saec.* XV[I]), R: Vaticanus Graecus 1348 (*saec.* XVI), G: Marcianus Graecus 607 (*saec.* XV). Vilborg also includes in the beta family of manuscripts the *consensus codicum* ξ, which contains X: Parisinus Graecus 2895 (*saec.* XVI in.) and T: Tubingensis Mb 16 (*saec.* XVI). Garnaud lists for Σελήνην WMD and F (D is Vaticanus Graecus 914 [*saec.* XIV]), for Εὐρώπην he supplies VGE.⁶ The name of the mythological figure Selene appears also in 5,1,2: στάθμη μὲν κίωνων ὄρθιος ἑκατέρωθεν ἐκ τῶν Ἥλιου πυλῶν εἰς τὰς Σελήνης πύλας (‘From the Sun Gate to the Moon Gate...led a straight row of columns’).⁷ There is no problem with the textual reading of Σελήνης in 5,1,2.⁸ Does the second uncontroversial appearance of the name of the goddess Selene tie in with the simile in 1,4,3? I think that it does as I discuss in the concluding sections of this essay.

Gaselee prefers Εὐρώπην in 1,4,3 in order that there is ‘some point to the introduction.’⁹ There is a point, however, for the first instance of the mention of Europa: the inclusion of Europa is in line with the novelistic practice of introducing the novels with historical allusions. The novelists, in other

³ Hägg 1971, 107 n. 2.

⁴ Vilborg 1955, 6. Morales 2004, 39 n. 10 observes that there are ‘no papyri known for this section of the text;’ accordingly, I base my argument on seven manuscripts of the novel.

⁵ Vilborg 1955, lxxxviii supplies the dates of the manuscripts. See also Plepelits 1996, 391–394 for a review of the history of the text.

⁶ Garnaud 1991, 8. On the dates of ξ, R, V, G, and W see also Reeve 1981.

⁷ The citations of Selene and Europa in the novel come from O’Sullivan 1980.

⁸ Europa, in conjunction with a bull (as Zeus), occurs as well in 2,15,4: εἰ δὲ ὁ μῦθος Εὐρώπης ἀληθής, Αἰγύπτιον βοῶν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμμήσατο (‘If the story of Europa be true, Zeus put on the appearance of an Egyptian bull’).

⁹ Gaselee 1984, 14 n. 1.

words, did not want to drive away their readers with what was already a different and new type of narrative: fictional prose. Two of the predecessors of Achilles Tatius, Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus, used past or contemporary historical allusion to introduce their work.¹⁰ Longus, the immediate predecessor of Achilles Tatius, prefers mythological and romantic elements over a quasi-historical character for the narrative. Longus creates a utopia for the reader, similar to Theocritus' peaceful and rustic world. Achilles Tatius does not imitate Longus, but rather supplies a more real-to-life description of the world using myth only for the advancement of the narrative. Although myth supplies the structure for the novel,¹¹ the author nevertheless gives an historical coloring to the beginning of the text when he writes: Σιδῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλις Ἀσσυρίων ἢ θάλασσα· μήτηρ Φοινίκων ἢ πόλις· Θηβαίων ὁ δῆμος πατήρ (1,1,1). Tatius, or the unnamed speaker, then proceeds to supply a description of a painting located in the temple of Astarte in Sidon: Εὐρώπης ἢ γραφή (1,1,2). This opening smacks of Herodotus (1,1–2): a woman, Europa, is abducted. Herodotus blames the Phoenicians for the enmity between the Greeks (Cretans?) and the Persians because the Phoenicians stole Io and in turn the Greeks took Europa. Comparable elements reveal the plots: Europa is abducted, Crete and Phoenicia are mentioned, and the deeds take place in or around Sidon and Tyre.

The second problem concerns the choices made by the translators and commentators of the novel, who are divided on whether the original reading was Σελήνην or Εὐρώπην.¹² Of the numerous scholars that have dealt with

¹⁰ Hägg 1971, 63 writes that 'the situation at the beginning of the romance...clearly gives the reader the impression that what is related is supposed to have happened in the author's own time, and there are actually details...which seem to reflect happenings in the second century A.D.'

¹¹ Cf. Cueva 2004, 62–82.

¹² For example, those who prefer Εὐρώπην include Burton 1597, Hodges 1638, Mitscherlich 1792, Smith 1885, Gaselee 1917, and de Castéra 1930, Bartsch 1989, 165, Fusillo 1989, Bettini 1999, 182, and Cheney 1999; those who prefer Σελήνην are Jacobs 1821, Pons 1880, the anonymous author of the Athenian Society 1897 translation, Vilborg 1955, Plepelits 1980, Winkler 1989, Giatromanolakes 1990, Garnaud 1991, Ciccolella 1999, Selden 1994, Nilsson 2001, Whitmarsh 2001, Lightfoot 2003, Nakatani 2003, and Morales 2004.

Fusillo 1989, 165 n. 78 writes: 'Proprio per il richiamo all'*ekphrasis* preferisco leggere Εὐρώπην, invece che la variante Σελήνην, preferita da Vilborg (pp. 21–22), con cui concorda Hägg 1971, p. 203, n. 2.' Bettini 1999, 287 n. 49 writes: 'The manuscript tradition is divided, and Vilborg accepts, instead of *Eurōpēn*, the variant *Selēnēn*. Despite the fact that this second reading appears to have greater support in the manuscripts (see E. Vil-

borg, *Achilles Tatiuss: Leucippe and Clitophon, A Commentary* [1962], p. 20), it nevertheless seems to me that the first reading yields a better text from the point of view of literary consistency. In any case, as Vilborg himself notes, “the author certainly intended to allude to the picture of Europa.” Jacobs 1821, 417 writes: ‘τοιιαυτην ειδον εγω ποτε επι ταυρω γεγραμμενην Σελινην. επι ταυρον Thau. Σελινην servari cum Commel. Flor. Mon. Angl. et interprete Italo. Ευρωπην Marg. Angl. Vat. Mediol. Thuan. et *Cruceius*. Hic recepit *Salm*. Bod. Bip. Europae nomen probabile est deberi librario, cui observabatur adhuc descriptio tabulae in libri initio. Ad hanc, quam modo contemplatus fuerat Clitopho, si respexisset, non, puto, dixisset, ειδον εγω ποτε, sed ειδον ἄρτι, aut ειδομεν. Σελινην eadem est, quae Astarte, Sidoniorum dea, nec fortasse diversa ab Europa, ut illa Sidoniorum numis tauro insidens. *Herodian*. L. V. 6. 4. Λιβυες μεν ον αυτην Ουρανιαν καλοουσι: Φοινικες δε Αστροαρχην ονομαζουσι, Σελινην ειναι θελοντες: *Lucian*, de Dea Syr. §. 4. T. IX. p. 87. Αστάρτην δ’ εγω δοκεω Σελινηατην εμμεναι: ως δε μοι τις των ιερεων απηγετο, Ευρωπης εστι (ιερον) της Κάδμων αδελφεης – τάδε μεν και των ἄλλων Φοινικων ηκουον, και το νόμισμα, τῷ Σιδώνιοι χρεονται, την Ευρωπην εφεζομένην εχει τῷ ταυρω τῷ Διί. Nihil opportunius, quam hominem Tyrium de Dea partia cogitare; nec apparet, si Ευρωπην ab initio fuisset scriptum, quomodo librario Σελινην in mentem venire potuerit.’ Cicolella 1999, 69 writes: ‘*Selene...di un toro*: in una parte dei codici si legge Ευρωπην al posto di Σελινην; si avrebbe dunque un’allusione al quadro di Europa descritto all’inizio del romanzo;...Anche Selene (la luna), sorella e sposa di Helios (il sole), era rappresentata come una fanciulla di grande bellezza, trasportata su un carro d’argento trainato da buoi o cavalli bianchi. Identificata con Artemide o Ecate, e più tardi con la Iside egiziana, fu probabilmente confusa con Europa nel sincretismo religioso del II secolo d.C.’ Selden 1994, 50–51 and nn. 108–130 opts for a reading of Selene that allows for a decoding of ‘two opposing ways’ and that this double reading ‘reveals that any assumption about gender, mutability, or power here is culturally contingent.’ The painting of Europa foreshadows the crucial elements of Achilles Tatiuss’ plot, but the Selene reading ‘projects an antithetical reception for Clitophon’s adventures according to Syriac norms.’ Whitmarsh 2001, 147 writes: ‘*Selene*: the goddess of the moon...One manuscript reads “Europa”, which would link this picture directly to the one at the beginning of the work.’ Lightfoot 2003, 301 suggests that context should help in determining the correct reading: ‘The point of the comparison is made clear by the preceding sentence: irrespective of Europa, Selene is chosen because of her radiance, parallel to Leucippe’s dazzling beauty, και καταστράπεται μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῷ προσώπῳ. Selene illustrates the divine beauty of Leucippe walking ashore in Tyre, precisely the opposite of Europa being carried out to sea in Sidon. It is certainly striking that Selene is mounted on a bull, but it is not entirely without parallel, and does not imply that this is the same picture as the votive painting of Europa.’ Harlan 1965, 105 chooses both: ‘In 1, 4, 3 Leucippe is explicitly likened to the figure of the painting (here called Selene, who is identical to Europa) to dispel any doubt about the significance of the opening scene.’ In Warmington’s 1968 edition of Gaselee’s Loeb text of Achilles Tatiuss this footnote appears: ‘The MSS. all have Σελινην: but it seems necessary to adopt the reading of the β MSS. Ευρωπην, to give some point to the introduction of the story’ (14). Mignogna 1993 opts for the Europa reading based on the premise that Achilles Tatiuss used Moschus’ poem on the abduction of Europa for the structuring of the novel in his intertwining of the adventures of Europa and Clitophon. See also Cheney 1999, ‘Chapter Five: Character Descriptions, the Locus

this textual problem, two have commented extensively on this matter: Vilborg 1962 and Morales 2004.

Vilborg, the author of the standard commentary for this novel, supplies some extensive observations on this problem and argues for Σελήνην because 1) it is the *lectio difficilior*, 2) most manuscripts support it, 3) the ‘particle ποτε would be inapt if the picture just described is meant (we should expect ἄρτι or the like),’ and 4) the ‘verb καταστράπτει...also appears more elaborate if one reads Σελήνην here.’¹³ There is no disagreement with the first two points. The use of the particle ποτε need not be considered inapt because there has been a change in speaker.¹⁴ It is not the author of the novel who makes this remark, but rather Clitophon, the hero of the novel.¹⁵ A suitable translation could then be, ‘such as the Selene on a bull that I once saw painted.’ The verb καταστράπτει moreover is primarily associated with lightning and not moonlight. The Εὐρώπην reading in the cited text above is from Gaselee, who adopts it because, as mentioned, it seemed necessary to

Amoenus, and the Art-Work Ekphrasis in the Roman Novels’, 60–121 for a view very similar to that of Mignogna 1993.

¹³ Vilborg 1962, 21. It should be clearly noted that Vilborg 1962, 22 opted for Europa in a contextual sense: ‘the author certainly intended to allude to the picture of Europe.’

¹⁴ For example, Hägg 1971, 124 explains that the ‘main part of Achilles’ romance is one long story told by the protagonist himself, Clitophon, in the first person. It is preceded only by a short introduction by the author himself, also in the first person (I, 1–2 = three pages).’ The author never returns to finish the story. Most 1989, 133 calls the unnamed narrator the ‘stranger,’ and he is ‘a stand-in for the reader’ and a ‘pure cipher, a figure devoid of any specific characteristics whatsoever – with one fateful exception. The only thing we ever learn about him is that he, like the reader (who otherwise would not be reading this kind of text), is ἐρωτικός (i 2.1): and this is the strait gate through which Clitophon will be able to drive the whole σμήνος λόγων of his erotic adventures.’ Reardon 1994, 93 n. 4 suggests that ‘the main story is told in first person by Clitophon to the ostensible narrator, who himself is represented as now recounting it to the reader.’ Morgan 1997, 179 states that the narrative is ‘suspended between a first-person narrator of dubious reliability and a mischievously subversive implied author.’ Martin 2002, 147 separates the identities of the first-speaker and then Clitophon and Nakatani 2003 argues against Most 1989. Whitmarsh 2003, 191 writes, ‘The opening words are those of an unnamed figure explaining how he met Clitophon lamenting his experiences in love; and in response to his request, Clitophon narrated his tale;’ similarly Perry 1967, 111; Hägg 1983, 42; Laplace 1991; Plepeltis 1996, 400; Rabau 1997; Puccini-Delbey 2001; Daude 2003. For a brief overview on the major scholarly trends on this narrator questions see Anderson 1997, 2279–2284.

¹⁵ I do not agree with Lowe 2000, 246 when he writes that ‘Achilles’ narrator and hero are the same fictional person – but at different points in time, and consequently with different models of the total story.’ The argument leading to his conclusion is not clear.

‘give some point to the introduction of the story.’¹⁶ Εὐρώπην would therefore achieve some narrative cohesion. Gaselee, however, goes against manuscript tradition. Plepelits chooses Selene on the grounds that Europa is a ‘Hypostase der Mondgöttin’ and that the Greeks understood this relationship (Plepelits here cites Lucian’s *On the Syrian Goddess*).¹⁷

Morales chooses Selene as the ‘correct textual reading’¹⁸ and dismisses those readings that have Εὐρώπην as correct because it would fit with the teleological reading of the myth of Europa in the painting foreshadowing Leucippe’s adventures in the rest of the novel. The rejection of the Εὐρώπην reading may appear to some as ‘surrendering’ the design of the novel or contrary to the ‘prosaic composition’ theory of novelistic narratives.¹⁹ The preference for Σελήνην argues against perceived ‘authorial ineptitude’ and the unconvincing suggestion that the novels were ‘not planned and revised’ and opts for ‘sophisticated design.’²⁰ The unnamed author reads the painting with the myth of Europa in it, while Clitophon views it as a ‘depiction of Selene;’ this double reading Morales terms ‘bivalent’²¹ and is strengthened by Diggle’s emendation,²² which allows for the introduction of the great goddess at 1,12 as Aphrodite or Astarte and, therefore, a Greek or Phoenician interpretation. Astarte, moreover, was most ‘commonly associated with

¹⁶ Gaselee 1984⁵ 14 n. 1.

¹⁷ Plepelits 1980, 218–219 n. 13 writes, ‘Selene, die Mondgöttin, galt als Symbol weiblicher Schönheit; sie erschien auf Bildwerken gewöhnlich als eine schöne, jugendliche, der Artemis ähnliche Gestalt (da sie gelegentlich der Artemis gleichgesetzt wurde). Bei den bloden Haaren der Mondgöttin scheint man wie beim Sonnengott Helios an die von ihrem Haupt ausgehenden Lichtstrahlen gedacht zu haben. Ähnlich wie Helios auf einem von vier Pferden gezogenen Wagen über den Himmel fährt, fährt Selene auf einem von Zwei Stieren gezogenen Wagen; seltener reitet sie auf einem Stier (die Verbindung der Mondgöttin mit einem Stier wird erklärt mit einer Identifikation von Mondsichel und Stierhorn). Auf einem Stier reitet nun auch, wie in der ersten Bildbeschreibung in Kap. 1 geschildert, Europa. Europa aber ist, religionsgeschichtlich gesehen, nichts anderes als eine Hypostase der Mondgöttin, also eine Heroine, die sich von der ihr zugrunde liegenden Mondgöttin abgelöst hat. Daß die Griechen diesen Zusammenhang ahnten, zeigt eine Stelle in Kap. 4 von Lukians Schrift *Über die syrische Göttin*, wo er die Göttin der Sidonier, Astarte, mit Selene identifiziert und diese weiter mit Europa.’

¹⁸ Morales 2004, 40.

¹⁹ Cf. Nimis 1994, 1998, 1999, and 2004.

²⁰ Morales 2004, 41–42.

²¹ Morales 2004, 42.

²² Cf. Diggle 1972.

Aphrodite' and 'though it is less attested, to have an affinity with Selene.'²³ On the latter connection, Morales writes:²⁴

In Greek mythology, Selene is the goddess of the moon, sister of the Sun god Helios. Like her brother, Selene drives a chariot across the sky, sometimes with horses, sometimes oxen. There is an astrological connection between moon-goddess and bull; the exaltation – *hupsoma* – of the moon is the constellation Taurus, sign of the bull... Astarte was said to wear a bull mask as a symbol of her sovereignty (Philo, *FGrH* 3c 2.790 F2.31) and she also has associations with Artemis Tauropolis and Pasiphae, a descendant of Europa who continued the family tradition of bovine liaisons resulting in the birth of the Minotaur. Pausanias 3.26.1 describes a temple at Thalamae with statues of Helios and Pasiphae. Pasiphae, he says, 'is a title of Selene.' This temple is also referred to as dedicated to Pasiphae, the moon-goddess, in Plutarch, *Agis* 9.

Morales also notes that her bivalent reading concurs to some extent with the conclusions of Selden on syllepsis as the 'master trope'²⁵ in the ancient novels. Selden had written:²⁶

The textual problem at 1. 4. 3 is ultimately a red herring, for the Syro-Phoenician iconography is established by the narrative independent of any reference to Selene. The initial description of the painting is already set up to invoke ambivalent responses in readers competent in one system of representation or the other.

Morales objects that both the unnamed narrator and Clitophon both initially view Europa as the woman on the bull and that Selene only appears later in the text. Additionally, Selene in 1,4,3 affords an 'opposing view of the painting'²⁷ and, therefore, only through the use of hindsight can the reader attempt

²³ Morales 2004, 43.

²⁴ Morales 2004, 43, n. 26.

²⁵ Morales 2004, 51.

²⁶ Selden 1994, 63 n. 128.

²⁷ Morales 2004, 44.

to resolve the unnamed narrator's description of the painting with Clitophon's recollection of the work of art.²⁸

Morales also poses an interesting question: 'If her [Leucippe's] likeness to Europa prefigures laxness with her chastity, then what does her likeness to Selene signify?' It is pointed out that Selene/Astarte is associated with sexual pleasure and that 'the moon-goddess is also commonly linked with the chaste Artemis, with whom Leucippe is paralleled at several points throughout the narrative.'²⁹ The answers to this question and the resolution to the variant readings is found in a close examination of the character of the heroine, Leucippe, who undergoes a transformation from a normal individual in the beginning of the novel to a witch, or follower of Selene, by the end of the story. Indeed, Selden's 'red herring'³⁰ and the lack of dependency on Selene are not completely accurate. The development of Leucippe's character must be studied in order to strengthen Vilborg's and Plepelits' rationales and thereby ensure that the correct goddess is included in future translations and Greek texts.

The transformation from normal human to witch is set from the simile in the first chapter of the novel: five instances verify this transformation.

1) In 1,4,3 Leucippe is made to resemble Selene: this is the passage discussed at the beginning of this paper.

2) In 2,7 Leucippe casts a spell on the bee-stung hand of Clio and on the healthy lips of Clitophon:

ἡ δὲ παῖς ἀναθοροῦσα καὶ καταθεμένη τὴν κιθάραν κατενόει τὴν πληγὴν, καὶ ἅμα παρήνει, λέγουσα μηδὲν ἄχθεσθαι· παύσειν γὰρ αὐτὴν τῆς ἀλγηδόνοσ δύο ἐπάσασαν ῥήματα· διδαχθῆναι γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τινος Αἰγυπτίας εἰς πληγὰς σφηκῶν καὶ μελιτῶν. καὶ ἅμα ἐπῆδε· καὶ ἔλεγεν ἡ Κλειὼ μετὰ μικρὸν ῥάων γεγονέναι.

Leucippe jumped up, laid down her harp, examined the wound, and did her best to comfort her, telling her not to complain; for she could ease her of the pain by saying over it a couple of charms which she had learned of a gypsy against the stings of wasps and bees: and she pronounced them, and almost immediately Clio said that she was much better.

²⁸ Morales also discusses the impact that Lucian's *De Dea Syria* 4 has had on the problematic reading at 1,4,3.

²⁹ Morales 2004, 47.

³⁰ Selden 1994, 63 n. 128.

3) In 3,18,3–4 Leucippe is mistaken for Hecate. The third book begins with a shipwreck at Pelusium; the survivors come ashore near a statue of Zeus of Mount Casius and nearby are two paintings by Evanthes: one of Andromeda chained and prepared to be sacrificed, the other of a chained Prometheus with an eagle tearing at his liver. Bartsch has decoded the first painting as an omen of Leucippe's ordeals.³¹ The painting of Prometheus works in a similar way. Book 3 derives its plot from Evanthes' paintings:³² the story line keeps to the paintings. Robbers kidnap Leucippe and peg her to the ground with all her limbs stretched in the same manner as Andromeda. Clitophon then witnesses Leucippe's disembowelment, which is a *Scheintod*. Most importantly, once he has recovered from a fainting spell caused by the death and resurrection of his beloved, Clitophon in response says to Menelaus:

‘Ἄλλὰ νῦν,’ ὁ Μενέλαος ἔφη, ‘καὶ τὰ σπλάγγνα ἀπολήψεται καὶ τὰ στέρνα συμφύσεται καὶ ἄτρωτον ὄψει. ἀλλ’ ἐπικάλυψαί σου τὸ πρόσωπον· καλῶ γὰρ τὴν Ἑκάτην ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον.’ ἐγὼ δὲ πιστεύσας ἐνεκαλυψάμην. ὁ δὲ ἄρχεται τερατεύεσθαι καὶ λόγον τινὰ καταλέγειν· καὶ ἅμα λέγων περιαιρεῖ τὰ μαγγανεύματα τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς Λευκίπτης καὶ ἀποκατέστησεν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον. λέγει δέ μοι, ‘Ἀποκάλυψαι.’ κἀγὼ μόλις μὲν καὶ φοβούμενος (ἀληθῶς γὰρ ὄμην τὴν Ἑκάτην παρεῖναι) ὅμως δ’ οὖν ἀπέστησα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ὀλόκληρον τὴν Λευκίπτην ὄρω.

‘Yes,’ said Menelaus, ‘and now she will get her entrails back again, the wound in her breast shall close, and you shall see her whole and sound. But cover your face, I am going to invoke the assistance of Hecate in the task.’ I believed him and veiled myself, while he began to conjure and to utter some incantation; and as he spoke he removed the deceptive contrivances which had been fitted to Leucippe's belly, and restored it to its original condition. Then he said to me, ‘Uncover yourself’; with some hesitation and full of fright (for I really thought Hecate was there), I at length removed my hands from my eyes and saw Leucippe whole and restored.

³¹ Bartsch 1989, 57.

³² Cf. Cueva 2004, 62–82.

In other words, Leucippe has been compared and assimilated to Hecate, the goddess of witches.

4) In 5,17 she is identified as Lacaena, a woman from Thessaly, an area widely known for having witches:³³ at the end of book four we find the hero and heroine in Alexandria. They enter the city by the Sun Gate and notice that at the opposite end of the town is the Moon Gate and that in between the two portals there is a labyrinth of columns, streets, peoples, and temples: *στάθμη μὲν κίωνων ὄρθιος ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκ τῶν Ἡλίου πολῶν εἰς τὰς Σελίνης πύλας* (5,1). This is a straight line that will not only be traveled by the characters, but also foreshadows the transformation of Leucippe. Coinciding with their arrival to the city is a festival to Zeus (Serapis) that has so many bright ritual torches that they remove the darkness caused by the oncoming night: the field has been set for a conversion from light (the Sun Gate) to darkness (Moon Gate). This polarity sets the theme for the following book.

Another character in the novel, Chaereas, falls in love with Leucippe and plots to kidnap her. He invites Leucippe, Clitophon, and Menelaus to dinner on using the excuse of celebrating his birthday. On the way to the party, a hawk strikes Leucippe's head, which is interpreted as a bad omen. As they search for an explanation the characters come upon a painting depicting Philomela's rape, which tells the complete myth except for the metamorphoses into birds. Clitophon serves as exegete and supplies the reasons for Tereus' lust and the means he employs to rape and mutilate Philomela, an account of Philomela's tapestry, the gruesome banquet, and the transformation of humans into birds. The exclusion of the metamorphoses from the painting and their inclusion in the narrator's account is significant: the reader has to stop and think why the metamorphoses are missing in one medium and not the other. I suggest that the novelist wants the reader to keep the motif of transformation in mind.

After Clitophon's interpretation, the characters delay their visit to Chaereas for one day, but this does not obviate Chaereas' plans. He kidnaps Leucippe, stages a second simulated death to stop the pursuing Clitophon, and escapes with Leucippe. On the other hand, Clitophon, through the machinations of Satyrus, is engaged to marry Melite, a widow from Ephesus. His pre-nuptial discussions are held in the temple of Isis. The wedding will take place in Melite's hometown of Ephesus, where Artemis is the patron deity, and not in Egypt. Here we must pause and note the analogues that Achilles

³³ Cf. Lucan 6,58 and Seneca *Herc. Oet.* 449–472.

Tatius has supplied: since Isis is associated with the Underworld, and Artemis is associated with Selene (the moon goddess) and with Hecate, with whom Leucippe was compared in 3,18,3–4, the transformation from light to darkness has been accomplished by degrees. At the beginning of this book the Sun and his powers were emphasized, but now towards the end the Moon and the divinities associated with it come to the fore. Leucippe has walked this path *στάθμη μὲν κιώνων ὄρθιος ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκ τῶν Ἡλίου πυλῶν εἰς τὰς Σελήνης πύλας* (5,1). Leucippe, a noble-born and free person, lost her freedom and became a slave and a follower of the moon goddesses. The transformation from normal person to witch has been planned from the first chapter of the novel. In 1,4,3 Leucippe is said to resemble Selene, in 2,7 Leucippe casts a spell on the bee-stung hand of Clio and on the healthy lips of Clitophon, in 3,18,3 Leucippe is mistaken for Hecate, and in 5,17 she is identified as Lacaena a woman from Thessaly, the genetrix of Greek witches.

5) The transformation is complete when Melite asks Lacaena to supply her with herbs with which she can make Clitophon have sex with her (5,22–26,12). The description of Leucippe picking herbs is especially meaningful because she does this in the moonlight; witchery and the moon-goddesses are united (5,26,12). At the beginning the polarity between the Sun and Moon gates reveals the changes which will take place: divine attributes go from those identified with the sun to those related to the moon; Leucippe the nobly-born becomes a slave; Leucippe is depicted as a witch and as a servant of the moon-goddess.³⁴ This association of witchery and the moon-goddess

³⁴ The connection between Selene and magic has been noted by Rose 1929, 34: ‘The Moon (Selene, Šelenaic, Selenaiia, often Mene) is of great importance in magic, and also in many ancient and modern theories as to the nature of other goddesses: in particular, she has again and again been identified with Artemis, with whom she has nothing really to do. But for mythology proper she is of even less importance than Helios. Like her brother the Sun, she is conceived as a charioteer...But unlike him, she drives a pair, not a four, and sometimes her beasts are oxen; now and then she rides, generally on a horse, sometimes on a steer, once or twice on a mule...In regard to the last two beasts, it is not to be forgotten that the exaltation (ὕψωμα) of the Moon in astrology is in the constellation Taurus, and that a fanciful connexion was traced between the sterile animal and the sterile luminary [in footnote 91 Rose cites Pindar, *Olymp.* 3,19, Gallus *Ciris* 38]; this is therefore more pseudo-philosophy than mythology...Finally, she is identified with Artemis. This seems to be as old as Aeschylus, who calls her daughter of Zeus and Leto [in footnote 93 Rose cites Aeschylus frag. 170 and unidentified numerous late passages]. It is very common in later times, and is in the last degree unlikely, although very popular in the last generation with mythologists.’ Rose 1929, 42 n. 91 makes clear that the steer/bull

appears explicitly in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* 4, where we read that Hera caused Medea to flee with the sons of Phrixus and that Medea would have committed suicide with drugs had Hera not stopped her. The story continues (48–66):

ἔνθεν ἕμεν νηόνδε μάλ' ἐφράσατ'· οὐ γὰρ ἄϊδρις
 ἦεν ὀδῶν, θαμὰ καὶ πρὶν ἀλωμένη ἀμφί τε νεκρούς,
 ἀμφί τε δυσπαλέας ρίζας χθονός, οἶα γυναῖκες
 φαρμακίδες· τρομερῶ δ' ὑπὸ δείματι πάλλετο θυμός.
 τὴν δὲ νέον Τιτηνὶς ἀνερχομένη περάτηθεν
 θοιταλέην ἐσιδοῦσα θεὰ ἐπεχήρατο Μῆνη
 ἀρπαλέως, καὶ τοῖα μετὰ φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἔειπεν·
 “Οὐκ ἄρ' ἐγὼ μούνη μετὰ Λάτμιον ἄντρον ἀλύσκω,
 οὐδ' οἷη καλῶ περιδαίομαι Ἐνδυμίωνι·
 ἦ θαμὰ δὴ καὶ σεῖο κίον δολίησιν ἀοιδαῖς,
 μνησαμένη φιλότητος, ἵνα σκοτίη ἐνὶ νυκτὶ

appears only in very late works such as Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 1,97,217, Pausanias 5,11,8, Festus pp. 134 and 135. On the connection between magic and the moon see also West 1996, 269–270, n. 371; the connection is briefly mentioned but not explained. On the iconography of Selene and Endymion see Schefold 1981, 294–297; for more on the mythology of Selene see Tripp 1970, 525, Keightley 1976, 54–56, and Gantz 1993, 34–36. For an excellent discussion on the connection between the moon and magic see Préaux 1973, 119–122.

The texts on Selene in which she appears often identify or associate her with the moon, for the most part as *δία* or *λαμπρὰν Σελήνην* (for the formulaic nature of the latter combination cf. West 1966, 81). For example, Hesiod (*Theog.* 371–374) assigns Hyperion and Theia as parents of Selene (along with Helios and Eos with whom she is also linked in line 19). The Homeric Hymns vary in Selene's lineage: the hymn to Hermes 4,99–100 has her as the daughter of Pallas; the hymn to Helios 31,5–7 notes that she is the daughter of Hyperion and Euryphaëssa and sister of Eos and Helios; in the hymn to Selene 32,14–16 she bore Pandeia to Zeus. Euripides, *Phoen.* 175–176, calls her the daughter of Helios. In his *Peace* 406–413 Aristophanes links Selene and Helios and has them conspiring against Hermes. Apollodorus in his *Bibliothekē* has Selene (Moon) as the child of Hyperion and Theia and sister of Dawn and Sun (1,2,2), as a comrade of Zeus in his fight against the Giants (1,6,1), and tells that reader that the Moon fell in love with Endymion (1,7,5). On Sappho, Nicander, and Alcaeus and their texts on Selene and Endymion see Lobel and Page 1955, 199 and Page 1955, 130 and 273–274; see also Lucian's *Dial. D.* 19 (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΣ) and Konon's *Narratives* 14 and 24 (in Brown 2002, 123–127 and 172–178). Vergil in *Georgics* 3,391–393 writes that Pan seduced Luna (Selene) *munere...niveo lanae* (391). Conington and Nettleship 1963, 312 state that this story of Pan and Luna was a 'legend borrowed from Nicander, as we are told by Macrobian. Sat. V 22.'

φαρμάσσης εὐκηλος, ἅ τοι φίλα ἔργα τέτυκται.
 νῦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ δῆθεν ὁμοίης ἔμμορες ἄτης·
 δῶκε δ' ἀνιηρόν τοι Ἰήσονα πῆμα γενέσθαι
 δαίμων ἀλγινόεις. ἀλλ' ἔρχεο, τέλαθι δ' ἔμπτῃς.
 καὶ πινυτὴ περ ἐοῦσα, πολύστονον ἄλγος ἀείρειν.”
 ᾿Ως ἄρ' ἔφη· τὴν δ' αἶψα πόδες φέρον ἐγκονέουσιν.

Then she was minded to go to the temple; for well she knew the way, having often aforetime wandered there in quest of corpses and noxious roots of the earth, as a sorceress is wont to do; and her soul fluttered with quivering fear. And the Titanian goddess, the moon, rising from a far land, beheld her as she fled distraught, and fiercely exulted over her, and thus spake to her own heart: ‘Not I alone then stray to the Latmian cave, nor do I alone burn with love for fair Endymion; oft times with thoughts of love have I been driven away by thy crafty spells, in order that in the darkness of night thou mightest work thy sorcery at ease, even the deeds dear to thee. And now thou thyself too hast part in a like mad passion; and some god of affliction has given thee Jason to be thy grievous woe. Well, go on, and steel thy heart, wise though thou be, to take up thy burden of pain, fraught with many sighs.’ Thus spake the goddess; but swiftly the maiden’s feet bore her, hasting on.³⁵

There can be very little doubt that Achilles Tatius linked shaded the character of Leucippe with allusions to the world of witchery and magic. All the ingredients are there: herbs, love, transformation, moonlight, and fear.

In conclusion: the *Σελήνην* reading, the *lectio difficilior*, is the correct reading. It has greater manuscript authority, is supported by scholars who have commented on it, and begins the ring-structure that has Leucippe transformed into a worshiper of the moon goddess. Indeed, the *Σελήνην* reading fits in well with the transformation of Leucippe, whom Achilles Tatius has correlated with Selene from the very start of his novel.³⁶

³⁵ The Greek text and translation are from Seaton 1912, 295–297.

³⁶ I hope that this essay in some way or other can begin to show the immense respect and gratitude that I have for Gareth Schmeling and all that he has done for me. He is, *sine dubio*, responsible for the best that I have done in my work in the ancient novel.

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